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The (mis)education of African descendants in Portugal: Towards vocational traps?

ABSTRACT

The expansion of vocational tracks is among the recent transformations of the Portuguese educational system. This policy measure entails risks of increasing ethno-racial segregation and institutional racism, especially considering the lack of monitoring programmes and the historically high-grade retention rates of the educational system. The experience of African immigrants and their offspring in Portugal is marked by a long history of racism associated with colonialism. Drawing on official data from multiple sources for the period between 2008–09 and 2013–14, this article examines developments in ethno-racial segregation in the educational system. Massive grade retention rates and a major orientation towards vocational tracks are apparent among students of African descent. Differences in comparison with their peers of Portuguese origin are striking, even considering students from similar class backgrounds.

KEYWORDS

institutional racism
vocationalism
tracking
school segregation
African descent
grade retention

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the impact of vocational tracking expansion on school ethno-racial segregation, especially regarding the youth of African descent living in the outskirts of Lisbon. The combination of vocational tracking with the reinforcement of social control mechanisms and competitive procedures in the educational system, is an important factor in the intensification of this kind of institutional racism.

We begin with a brief socio-historical contextualization of migration from African countries to Portugal, with an emphasis on the educational system. Second, we identify key transformations in the Portuguese educational system until 2015, including the 'vocationalist turn', the reinforcement of social control mechanisms such as national exams and the intensification of 'free choice' policies. Bringing in contributions from several international studies, we discuss how these policy measures and trends interplay with racism furthering ethno-racial segregation in educational systems.

Afterwards, we draw on official sources to undertake a longitudinal analysis of tracking at lower and upper secondary education, as well as the trends in rates of grade repetition. This analysis exposes the over-representation of students of African descent in vocational tracks and their high levels of grade retention, together with other expressions of inequality in all levels of education. We discuss how particular institutional processes presented as racial-blind contribute to the racialization of physical and curricular spaces in the educational system, especially considering the absence of almost any form of direct political action on this issue.

In contrast with other countries, the knowledge of these phenomena in the administration or even in the scientific community, in Portugal, is still scarce, especially due to a lack of extensive data until recent times, but also major belief that ethnic-racial inequalities are not a relevant issue in this country or at least that educational expansion would necessarily foster equal opportunities for all. Still, understanding education as a central field for the (re)production of ethno-racial relations, both in the present daily life and in the future (long-term effects on socialization and impacts on social mobility opportunities), it is paramount to understand how the complex dynamics ruling the education systems, including increasing access opportunities but also internal inequalities and segregation, may impact on the ethno-racial relations.

African descendants and Portuguese institutional racism

The presence of people of African descent in Portugal and the processes of racism and exclusion of their youth – in the educational system and beyond – cannot be dissociated from the long record of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa, which covered Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe. The Estado Novo dictatorship (1933–74) bore a hazard combination of extended political efforts to conceal violent colonial exploitation and domination – underpinned by a 'Luso-tropical ideology' which presented Portugal as a multiracial nation – and the toughening of the Portuguese presence in Africa, of which the 1961–74 colonial wars were the ultimate demonstration (Castelo 1998, 2007). Although the five territories became independent nations and the dictatorial regime fell, a part of the colonial ideological landscape prevailed at work in Portuguese institutions, namely in the educational system (Cardoso 1998). For instance, a careful analysis of the contents of history school textbooks exposes the presence of racist

messages and the elision or depoliticization of the Portuguese involvement in the slave trade and colonial imperialism (Araújo and Maeso 2012). Vala et al. (2008) also show how Luso-tropicalism is still present in the covert way Portuguese society expresses its racism.

This historical and political background is also associated with the migration flows from those African countries to Portugal, which increased and became especially noticeable in the 1990s. According to official data from 2014, 3.7% of people living in Portugal are foreigners, that is, with non-Portuguese citizenship. Among the largest foreign communities are those coming from Cape Verde (second), Angola (fourth) and Guinea-Bissau (sixth) (Oliveira and Gomes 2014). Regional variations stand out: whereas approximately 26% of the total population in the country is concentrated in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, this figure rises to 52% in the case of foreign nationals and to 80% in the case of nationals from Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa. It is important to bear in mind that these numbers exclude many immigrants or their children who hold Portuguese nationality. Using a proxy indicator of migrant origin, which is much broader then citizenship/nationality, Seabra (2010) estimates that 9% of the students in public schools in the Lisbon area were of African descent by the mid-1990s, and for 2010, the estimates were in 15% for the students in the sixth grade of that territory (Seabra et al. 2014), a proportion only comparable in historical terms with the 10% of African slaves in the population of Lisbon back in the sixteenth century (Saunders 1982; Tinhorão 1988; Lahon 1999).

In the times of colonial rule, only a small privileged group living in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau had the right to enjoy official schooling, a precondition to access higher education (that, until the 1960s, only existed in Portugal); most of the youth in the colonies were totally excluded from the educational system and, a small proportion, attended indigenous schooling. This marginalized educational stream, parallel to the official secondary education tracks (at the time, lyceums and technical schools), was conceived exclusively for blacks and run by catholic or protestant missions in the colonies (Paulo 2001; Guimarães 2006). It applied a crude vocationalism, with poor scientific, literary and humanistic components, and an archaic training compared with the technological development of the time or the vocational training in the technical schools. The indigenous schooling, as part of the so-called Portuguese empire 'civilizing mission', focused on the inculcation of the catholic religion and Portuguese language, in one hand, and on the principles of obedience to colonial work exploitation, on another (Jerónimo 2010).

A considerable flow of migration to Portugal occurred in the 1960s, especially involving men from Cape Verde who were hired by the Portuguese state to work in the building sector (Saint-Maurice 1997). In the 1970s, a new wave of immigration took shape in the context of independentist movements. Like in France with the *pied-noirs*, Portugal received a massive return of white colonial families, the so-called *retornados* (Pires et al. 1984). In that half a million persons, some were mixed-race or black with strong ties to white colonial families, to colonial administration services and army.

Immigration from Africa intensified in the 1980s and 1990s, in a new landscape of labour needs and opportunities generated by the integration of Portugal in the European Union and the Schengen Agreement, in contrast with the political, social and economic instability in the recently born African countries (Machado et al. 2009). The 1990s therefore signal a transition in Portugal: that from a society in which emigration was predominant to a society in which

emigration and immigration coexist, a trait of the country's semi-peripheral position in the global system (Santos 1985; Baganha and Peixoto 1997).

As migration flows gained numerical volume, the characteristics of African immigrants in the Lisbon area also became more diverse. Economic conditions have remained the major reason for migration among Cape Verdean nationals; the more recent immigration, particularly from Angola and Guinea-Bissau, was nonetheless also motivated by the wish to escape civil wars, and higher educational and economic resources can be found among this migrant groups. Evidence of exclusion and discrimination in the realm of employment is abundant, with African immigrants persistently over-represented in low-skilled and informal work, especially in the building and cleaning sectors (Baganha 1998; Abrantes and Peixoto 2012).

Many immigrants lived in informal construction neighbourhoods (the so-called 'shantytowns'). Many of them were relocated to public housing neighbourhoods through an extensive public policy programme. This Special Rehousing Programme (PER) was launched in 1993, with the aim of eradicating the shanty towns and rehousing their inhabitants in social housing. From the outset and throughout the process, there were several voices that criticized the inability of the PER to provide housing for all the residents, the imposition of places and form of rehousing, but also its segregationist character (Alves 2013). This programme hardly tackled existing ethno-racial and poverty concentration patterns, and often the new public housing neighbourhoods not only were more peripheral than the location where recipients originally lived but they lacked public transports, economic activities and public services (Malheiros 2000; Cachado 2013). Spurred by sporadic and ill-explained episodes, a stereotyped image of those territories and of the youth of African descent was disseminated by the media linking them to crime, drugs and violent gangs (Cunha 1996; Cádima and Figueiredo 2003).

In Portugal, Africans and their offspring are among the ethno-racial minorities suffering a greater number of threats, insults and other forms of harassment in public settings (Santos et al. 2009). However, further research is necessary to know the processes by which territories and schools are unsettled by processes of racialization of space (Goldberg 1993) – in a double sense: as a collective imaginary about space and as territorial processes of segregation – and advanced marginalization in the relation of people with the state (Wacquant 2008). Furthermore, there is a lack of research about how class and race are entwined, namely through the analysis of the schooling trajectories of the middle-class youth of African descent, like it has been done in other contexts (Gillborn et al. 2012).

The creation, in 1991, of what would later become the Entreculturas Secretariat was one of the first public policies designed specifically to promote the school inclusion of the descendants of migrants, through intervention programmes in migrant communities and programmes for valuing diversity, like the Intercultural Education Project (PREDI) (1993–97). Additionally, Entreculturas Secretariat made data collection on the school paths of these students, as well as Roma. Born in the Ministry of Education, in 2004 the Entreculturas Secretariat was integrated in the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities. This political measure was congratulated by the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI 1998) in the beginning; however, in its latest report recommends that Portugal should 'step up the activities of the Entreculturas Secretariat and ensure that it has a real impact on the education system' (ECRI 2013: 17).

Official data collected by Entreculturas and worked by that institution or by researchers (e.g. Seabra 2010), has exposed the disadvantage of students of African descent in the educational system during the 1990s (1993–98). However, such records became unavailable in the following years. Meanwhile, the responsibility for working statistically these issues was transferred to the Ministry of Education. Data were accessible to the public eye only in 2010 and changing the former ethno-cultural categories for a system of categorization based on nationality/citizenship. Although the original version was problematic, this change was a retreat in the already low recognition of the importance of racism in the explanation of inequalities. In general terms, issues of ethnic diversity disappeared from educational policies, even if research on schools continued to stress the importance of the topic (Seabra 2010).

In Portugal, as in other countries, the academic debate and political action is colour-blind and has not privileged the issue of school desegregation, leaving it to the politics of non-decision-making, which nonetheless is a way of making invisible some social conflicts and, by doing so, to reproduce the pre-existing relations of power (Bonal 2012). This politics of non-decision-making can be understood, from the standpoint of critical race theory (Gillborn 2013), as a way of political elites satisfy white middle- and lower-class segments by not touching or even mentioning this specific system of privilege, especially in times of economic crisis. By this apparent inertia, privileged groups are enabled to retain their sense of superiority over some ethno-racial minorities, and to freely display their segregation strategies of social closure and white flight.

The concept of institutional racism was originally used by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton in the context of the 1960s US civil rights movements to uncover the manners – beyond direct racial discrimination and formal segregation – in which racism pervades the operation of corporations and state institutions (Gillborn 1995). Certainly, our focus on institutional racism does not downplay the importance of racism in interpersonal relations, but there's a need to extend the debate on the latter in the Portuguese academic and political spheres.

In one hand, when an act of discrimination is (intentionally or not) carried out by a person or a group of persons holding an institutional role, it permeates the processes and results of institutional action, and it affects the discriminated ones not only in a personal manner but also in their present and future relations with institutions, beyond the moment of the discriminatory act. In other hand, the institutional choices of privileged groups penetrate the functioning of the institutions. A recent case of institutional racism in the Portuguese educational system is discussed by Araújo (2016). The presence of Roma students in a primary school led to a white flight – an individual choice made by many families with the compliance of local and central authorities based on the lack of action and the naturalization of racism. This case exposes a minimal and de-politicized view of racism existing in Portugal, hardly aware of its structural, historical and institutional roots. Another way in which institutional racism operates has to do with the interplay between different policies at the institutional level. The PER was a policy that, by its residential segregation impact, influenced the ethno-racial distribution of students throughout the schools' network, concentrating African descent students in peripheral schools and promoting the flight of white middle-class families. This, together with some of the national policies described below, led to drastic transformations in the tracking policy in these schools. Understood as being more

adapted to students with low achievement and at risk of early school leaving, vocational tracks became the norm in these contexts, with high risks of curricular and school class segregation.

Educational policies and ethno-racial segregation

In the dictatorial period, secondary education in Portugal was highly authoritarian, elitist and segmented between academic and technical tracks (Stoer and Dale 1987). The access of poor young people to secondary education was quite rare at that time; it was accomplished only from the 1980s onwards under a unified comprehensive model, with the reduction of tracking to exceptional cases (Sebastião and Correia 2009). From 1990 to 2015, Portuguese policies were ruled by some rotation between two major parties, one of centre-right and the other of centre-left. A main common orientation over the educational policies was apparent, focused on the expansion of the access and attainment rates, although some variations were also significant. Educational policies on ethnic diversity, which emerged in the 1990s, have hardly gained a legitimate place in educational policies to promote equality, and a colour-blind approach continued to prevail. Compensatory programmes were focused on families' lack of resources and students' low performance. An intercultural approach was developed by some schools and teachers (Vieira 1999), although there are several criticisms about its effective ability to challenge structural patterns of racism and inequality (e.g., Araújo 2018). It should also be said that, from 2011 to 2015, with an economic crisis and a centre-right government, educational policies gained a more conservative and elitist tone. The austerity policies and the moral discourses led to an important set back in the attention to diversity and to an increase in segregation (see below).

Meanwhile, in spite the fact that the Portuguese educational system is mostly public, educational policies in Portugal followed the neo-liberal agenda in motion at the international level (Lipman 2011; Ball 2012), especially under the pressure of powerful international agencies (Alves and Canário 2002; Teodoro 2011). From 1990 to 2015, three major trends can be underlined with a potential to impact on ethno-racial relations: vocationalism, control mechanisms and competition/free choice between schools.

First, vocational courses re-emerged as a route followed by a massive number of students in upper secondary education, and increasingly also in lower secondary education. After a crucial investment in comprehensive secondary education, the rates of retention and early school leaving remained high, and the quality of education came under strong criticism among the dominant groups. Private professional schools were therefore introduced in the 1990s under the argument of the need to raise educational levels and facilitate transitions to work (Azevedo 2014). A huge expansion of professional courses took place since 2005, especially in public secondary schools, under a policy of 'social mix' promotion (Rodrigues 2010). The rates of participation in vocational education increased as much as 50 per cent in upper secondary and 10 per cent in lower secondary, but a strategy to monitor the operation of this policy and its risks of segregation has not been publicly adopted.

Under the vocational approach, we include:

- Cursos Profissionais, created in 1989 in private schools and massively expanded throughout the public schools network, since 2004, for students that completed nine-years Basic Education, providing a professional

diploma and also a school certificate equivalent to the Upper Secondary Education (ISCED level 4)
- *Cursos de* Educação e Formação, created in 2004 and providing a diploma equivalent to the second, or third cycle of Basic Education or to the Upper Secondary Education (ISCED level 1, 2 or 4)
- Cursos Vocacionais, created in 2012 and providing a diploma equivalent to the second or third cycle of Basic Education or to the Upper Secondary Education (ISCED, level 1, 2 or 4).

(Other alternative pathways exist, as alternative curricular pathways, integrated education and training programmes, homeschooling and distance learning,[1] but their vocational orientation is not so evident, and the number of students involved is also less significant.)

The concept of tracking is used here to mention the (social) process of orienting students for these different educational pathways. In contrast with other countries, in Portugal, to proceed to these vocational pathways is not mandatory, so it is chosen by students (or their families). This choice is influenced, among other things, by the information and guidance provided by school psychologists and teachers, as well as by the range of curricular supply at the local level.

While *cursos profissionais* are defined as oriented towards an occupational qualification, *cursos de educação e formação* were explicitly created as a tool for schools to include students older than 15 in failure and drop-out situations. In 2012, the government took a step further, establishing the new *cursos vocacionais* for students older than 13 and with (at least) two retentions. Besides, two main topics have been controversial with these programmes: (1) the recognition of the labour market, especially from *cursos de educação e formação* and *cursos vocacionais*, is usually low, so graduates are often limited to low-skilled occupations; (2) since the curricula are different and students are not prepared for national exams, the ability to proceed to upper secondary and especially for higher education is also low.

The upsurge of vocationalism has been internationally acknowledged and its implications for ethno-racial relations examined. Vocational courses are often provided by private schools but financed by the state, with a frequent absence of resources and standards as to cultural development, citizenship and social cohesion (Pasura 2014). Even when introduced in public secondary schools under social mix policies, they have often contributed to social and racial segregation (Huang and Weng 1998) as well as a reinforcement of private logics, agents and resources within the public system (Poole and Fallon 2015).

As the second major trend, social control mechanisms were reinforced in Portuguese schools, in line with the international trend to reinforce disciplinary and surveillance procedures (Kupchik and Monahan 2006). The same can be said about the primacy of performativity and test regimes (Lingard et al. 2013). The competences and responsibilities of school principals in Portugal were expanded in 2008, while new technological surveillance means, and a new national student statute have been gradually implemented. Moreover, the reintroduction of national exams between 2011 and 2014 (in years 4, 6, 9 and 12) and the new curriculum standards and goals have put teachers, students and families under pressure. Retention rates increased, affecting 34 per cent of 15-year-old students, a rate three times above the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) average (2014). These developments

1. *Percursos curriculares alternativos, programas integrados de educação e formação, ensino doméstico and ensino a distância,* respectively.

contribute to a growing market of supplementary private tutoring, which typically exclude those from poor backgrounds (Neto-Mendes et al. 2013).

Some local consequences of this political turn have been uncovered by a previous study on a national programme – Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária (TEIP) – to improve education in marginalized areas (Abrantes et al. 2013), very similar in its purposes and fragilities to the Education Action Zones in the United Kingdom (Power and Gewirtz 2001), the Zones d'Éducation Prioritaire in France (Benabou et al. 2004). This programme, created in the 1990s, aimed at reducing school failure and early drop-out rates in critical areas, as well as promoting school and community development through local projects. From 2008 onwards, the programme was expanded and reoriented towards the consolidation of schools' planning, control and assessment structures, as well as to hire teachers for extra-class pedagogic activities, especially in maths and Portuguese. Discipline issues, absenteeism and early drop-out rates have decreased, but positive effects in community development or even in students' abilities and pathways are not apparent in many schools. As observed in no-excuses programmes (Golann 2015), the enlargement of school activities, tests and offices appears to promote repression of the selves, conformism to authority and preparation for a dominated position in society rather than the development of skills and values to become a higher education student, a professional or a democratic citizen (Abrantes and Quaresma 2013).

The third major trend is referred to the expansion of the educational system and the growing adoption of free choice policies, leading to the growth of an educational market compounding both public and private schools in competition for students. In this context, as noted by Ball et al. (1998), race becomes a key factor in supply and demand dynamics, conceived alternatively as a problem and a market opportunity. Prejudices and imaginaries concerning different minority groups and different territories condition the strategies of principals, teachers and families, reinforcing both spatial and educational segregation trends.

While elite schools are taken as the reference, spreading dominant views of globalization and capitalism rooted in colonial relations (Kenway and Fahey 2014), ordinary schools develop different recruitment and integration strategies (Jennings 2010) and seek to produce and disseminate images of their establishments as special environments (Maguire et al. 2011). Based on a general perception of insecurity, white middle-class families tend to choose schools not only with good resources and academic records but also with people like them, which reinforces segregation patterns (Byrne and Tona 2012). At the same time, control mechanisms over the youth of African descent are strengthened by educational and security authorities, contributing to the closure of endogenous solidarities (Crozier and Davies 2008).

Quantitative research in different regions across the US has found that school choice policies increased racial segregation. Hispanic and black students – even with high grades – have less possibilities of school choice; therefore, they are over-represented in unstable, poor and low-performance local schools (Lauen 2007; Logan et al. 2012). This is partially explained by the fact that minorities are concentrated in marginalized neighbourhoods, particularly affected by the desertion of the welfare state (Anyon 2005; Wacquant 2008). Still, drawing on a comparison between territorial and educational segregation patterns, Saporito and Sohoni (2006) conclude that racial segregation between schools would be considerably lower if all students attended schools in their residential areas.

In Portugal, the huge attention paid by the media to school rankings based on average scores in national exams was a key mechanism for this change in educational policy (Barroso 2006; Neves et al. 2014). Between 2011 and 2015, the right-wing government went one step further by removing the residential address as a factor of students' selection in public secondary schools and by financing private schools directly. Previously restricted to areas lacking public schools, this type of financial support became a governmental decision according to a quality assessment and the number of students of each private school. Until now, there is no research on impacts with regard to racial segregation.

METHODOLOGY

Since race and ethnicity are largely overlooked in both public debate and official statistics, the triangulation of evidence from different sources is a valuable strategy to look into some of the major trends with regard to institutional racism in the Portuguese educational system. Our analysis draws on recent data from three official sources:

- Data on school enrolment, tracking and attainment from the Directorate-General for Statistics of Education and Science (DGEEC)
- Socio-demographic profile data and entry rates in higher education from the decennial Census conducted by Statistics Portugal (INE)
- Data on retention, tracking, family background, average classification and field of study collected by the Observatory of Secondary Education Students'Trajectories (OTES).

None of the surveys carried out for the collection of these data makes direct references to ethnicity or race. One of the challenges for our analysis was therefore the construction of a statistical variable referring to ethno-racial background. In the DGEEC annual survey, which covers all schools and students, the only information available is students' nationality, making it impossible to capture the cases of students of African descent who have Portuguese nationality. In the case of data from the INE and the OTES, the ethno-racial background variable can be constructed by combining the available information on the birthplace of students and their parents' birthplace. We consider students of African descent to be all of those who were born in Africa with at least one parent also born in Africa, as well as those who were born in Portugal but with both parents born in an African country.

The restrictiveness of the criteria (in short, two of the three having been born in Africa) has to do with the Portuguese colonial history. The independence of the colonial territories in the mid-1970s led to the departure of many white families of Portuguese origin who lived in these countries, most of them in Angola and Mozambique. While referred to as *retornados* ('returnees') in common sense discourse, a part of them were born in Africa. Official statistics, by registering only birthplace do not allow us to distinguish these cases from those of the youth of African descent, either black or mixed-race. We also reduce the implications of this obstacle by undertaking a finer analysis of the countries of origin, comparing Angola and Mozambique (greater probability of including *retornados*) with other African countries. Among the students of African descent in the OTES survey, we observe that 67% were born in Africa, 63% studied in Portugal from the beginning of their formal education

and 62% have Portuguese nationality. Most of them were born in Cape Verde (35%), Angola (29%) and Guinea-Bissau (17%).

Unlike the INE and the DGEEC, the OTES does not cover the whole population nor uses a national representative sample. However, it is one of the largest and richest data sources about the socio-economic background and school trajectories of students in upper secondary education in Portugal. The OTES database of 2013–14 covers 699 public and private schools (86.7 per cent from the universe of schools with upper secondary education in continental Portugal) and 60,448 students attending the tenth grade (65.7 per cent of the universe).

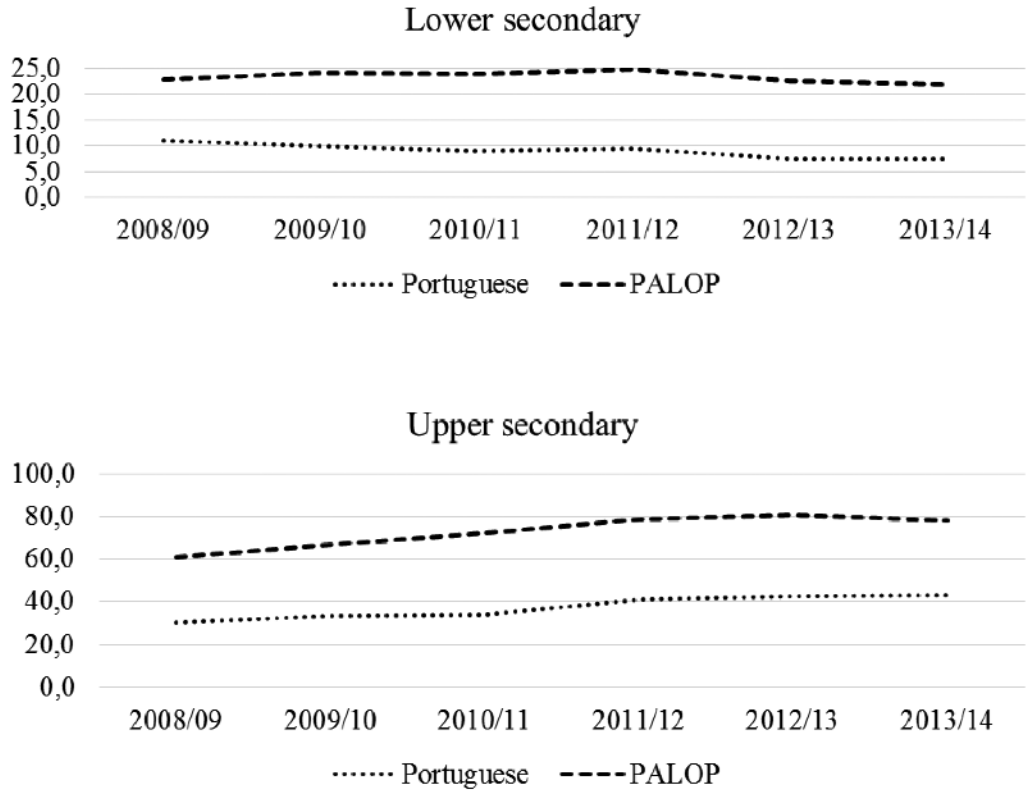
In this article we restrict the analysis of the OTES data to the eighteen municipalities located in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (AML), covering 151 schools and 14,300 students. As mentioned above, about four-fifths of immigrants coming from African countries live in this area. Furthermore, the 'duality' of socio-economic development in the Portuguese territory (Nunes 1964) advise us against comparing a phenomenon deeply rooted in the Lisbon context with what is happening in other regions of the country.

SCHOOL TRAPS? VOCATIONALISM, GRADE RETENTION AND ETHNO-RACIAL SEGREGATION

An analysis covering the period of 2008–09 and 2013–14 shows that students with African nationalities follow vocational courses in upper secondary education much more frequently than their Portuguese peers (see Graph 1, and Appendices, Table 1). We focus on this period, since official data from previous years are not available, but also because, as abovementioned, it enables to analyse a period of reinforcement of educational policies based on vocationalism, social control and competition. In 2012–13, the large majority of students with an African nationality were in a vocational course in upper secondary level (81 per cent), almost twice as many as those with Portuguese nationality; this proportion is even higher if only Cape Verdean and Santomean students are considered.

Three major elements stand out from our analysis. First, this trend is not historically and institutionally rooted in the same manner as it happens in other European countries such as Germany or the Netherlands (Van de Werfhorst and Mijs 2010). Quite to the contrary, it reflects a broad, de-contextualized and rapid change. From 2004 to 2013, the number of students in professional courses raised enormously, both in private and public schools (see Table 2 in the Appendices). This growth occurred especially between 2006 and 2009, the beginning of the economic collapse in Portugal. Most of these courses were designed and conducted without the participation of experts in vocational education, specialized technology or cooperation with labour or higher education organizations. Therefore, concerns remain with regard to their quality, prestige and ability to propel students into satisfactory trajectories.

In addition, the idea that this increment took place in public secondary schools under a policy of social mix is not fully confirmed. The expansion has been fast in both public and private schools, and an educational market based on free choice principles actually translates into a landscape where schools choose their students more often that the other way around (Ball et al. 1998; Barroso 2006); race is likely to be an important factor under consideration in the choices made by either schools or students and their families (Saporito and Sohoni 2006; Byrne and Tona 2012).



Note: PALOP is the acronym for African/Portuguese-speaking countries.

Source: DGEEC (own calculations – see the Appendices, Table 1).

Graph 1: Students enrolled in vocational tracks in lower and upper secondary education from 2008–09 to 2013–14 (%).

Second, although the vocationalist turn was conceived mainly for the upper secondary level, vocational courses were also created in lower secondary and even in upper primary schools, especially in poor and marginalized city areas, under policies for the prevention of school failure and drop-out. This raises serious risks of reinforcing exclusion processes and consolidating particular schooling circuits (Ball et al. 1995) for the more disadvantaged and discriminated social groups, especially in a scenario of non-decision-making policy in regard to ethno-racial segregation and the absence of a policy designed to monitor these mechanisms and their impacts.

For instance, between 2008–09 and 2013–14, the share of Portuguese students in vocational courses at the lower secondary level has never been higher than 11 per cent, and it went through a gradual decrease corroborating its exceptional character within this group. For students with African nationalities, the rate remains above 20 per cent. Like in upper secondary education, these students have twice the chance of being in a vocational course in lower secondary education.

In upper primary education (Years 5 and 6), vocational courses are rare and mainly aimed at cases of extreme educational and social exclusion; the proportion of students has nevertheless risen considerably during the last years (see Appendices, Table 1). Students with an African nationality have three times more chances of being in these tracks. For Cape Verdean students, tracking is even more pronounced.

Third, one of the key criteria to steer students towards vocational education is their academic records, namely grade repetition. The OTES data confirms that vocational tracking is strongly associated with grade retention (Table 3 in the Appendices). Consequently, the high retention rates in Portugal (CNE 2015) and the apparent emphasis on performativity and national standardized tests reinforce the vocational turn. Grade repetition, a school sanction operating as a key mechanism of distribution of prestige, legitimizes the vocational tracking; issues about the merit, aptitude or vocation of the student are brought to the fore, and inequality naturalized. This exertion of power is encouraged by explicit legal and political endorsement.

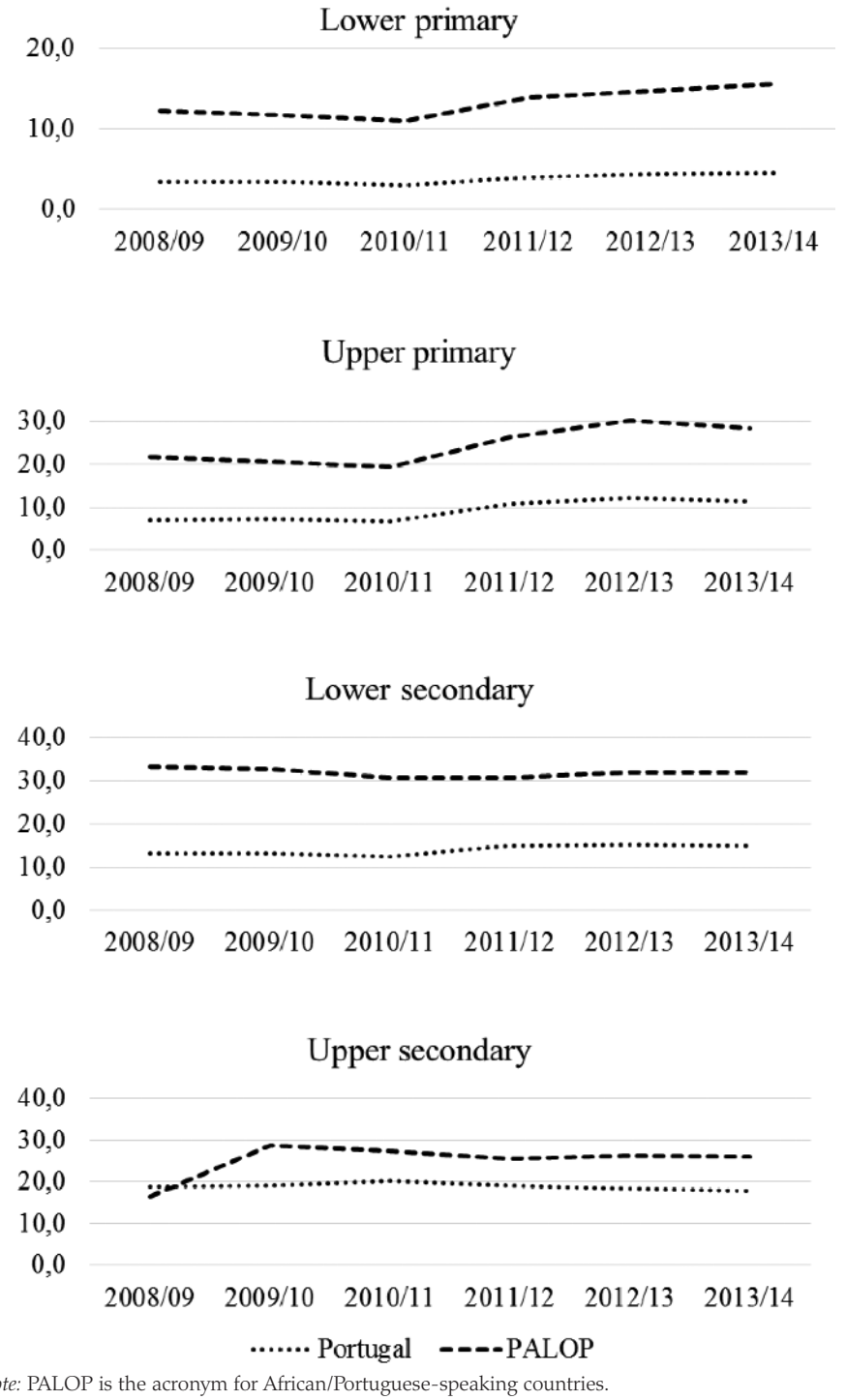
Students with African nationality register higher rates of grade repetition in every school year (see Graph 2, and Table 4 in the Appendices). Although in lower primary education (Years 1 to 4) grade retention among Portuguese students is below 5 per cent, the same rate for students of African descent, especially those of Cape Verdean families, is far from negligible: it is three to four times higher.

With regard to grade retention, the gap is especially striking at the lower secondary education. In 2013–14, students of African nationalities had twice the chance of retention (32 per cent). The fact that such gap is not so pronounced in upper secondary education is partially explained by the extreme tracking to which students of African descent are subjected at an earlier stage. Most of them are diverted from the elitist and competitive academic tracks into vocational courses, where overall grade retention is less significant and national exams do not apply.

The OTES data (see Appendices, Table 5) confirm that students of African descent are more likely to be retained in primary and lower secondary education (59 per cent against 34 per cent among students of any other nationality) and attain lower classifications in school subjects. They are more often tracked into vocational courses both in lower and upper secondary. When enrolled in academic courses, students of African descent are less present in the more restrictive courses, in particular science and technology, which leads to prestigious higher education programmes such as medicine or engineering.

The strong entanglement between grade retention and vocational tracking constitutes a serious school trap for students of African descent. One of its consequences is the amplification of inequalities in higher education. In Portugal, access to higher education is conditioned by students' scores in upper secondary national exams. Every student is legally entitled to undertake these exams. Still, whereas students in the academic tracks are intensively trained – at school and through private tutoring – to succeed in them, this is not the case in vocational courses. Preparing for the exams after some years away from the academic tracks typically requires costly private classes, something out of reach for many families. Even students who have financial resources to do it will hardly be in a position equal to that of their counterparts in an academic track, especially when it comes to accessing the more privileged and competitive university programmes.

The census data for the last decade (2001–11) show a clear deterioration in the opportunities of the youth of African descent to access higher education



Note: PALOP is the acronym for African/Portuguese-speaking countries.
Source: DGEEC, preliminary data (own calculations, see Appendices, Table 4).

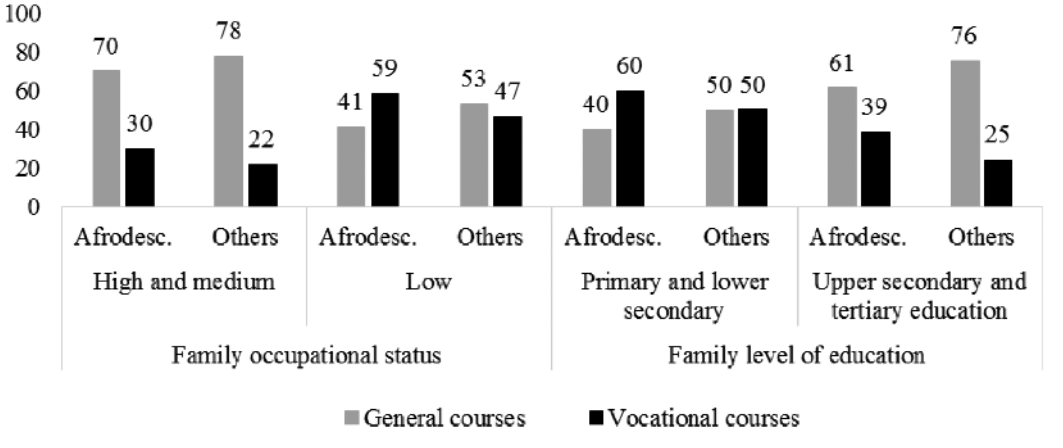
Graph 2: Grade retention in Portugal, 2008–09 to 2013–14 (%).

(Seabra et al. 2016), a conclusion that requires paying attention to both the outbreak of the Portuguese financial crisis in 2008 and vocational policies. In 2011, the youth of African descent at the regular age to enrol in higher education (18–22 years old) only had about half the chances of doing it than their Portuguese counterparts (16 per cent versus 34 per cent) (see Appendices, Table 6). The most penalized among those of African descent were students from Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe. Between 2001 and 2011, the access of the youth of African descent to higher education decreased while that of students with Portuguese background registered a moderate growth. If disparities between students of different ancestries were already apparent in 2001, data from 2011 show a widening gap.

Finally, one may wonder to what extent these ethno-racial gaps can be explained by class inequalities. Confirming previous research (Baganha 1998; Abrantes and Peixoto 2012), our analysis uncovers that families of African origin are less educated (more than half of them do not have an upper secondary degree) and tend to be employed in low-skilled occupations (see Appendices, Table 7). For instance, more than half of the students of African descent are raised by relatives with working-class jobs, when this rate stands at 26 per cent for the remaining students.

Holding social class and educational level constant, the gap between students of African descent and the rest of the students decreases but remains evident (see Graphs 3 and 4, and Appendices, Table 8). The students of African descent coming from economically well-off or highly educated families, when compared to other students with the same class background, are still in disadvantage concerning both school scores and upper secondary tracks. While only a third of students of African descent from wealthier classes have top classifications at the end of lower secondary education, this is the case for 57 per cent of Portuguese students from a similar background.

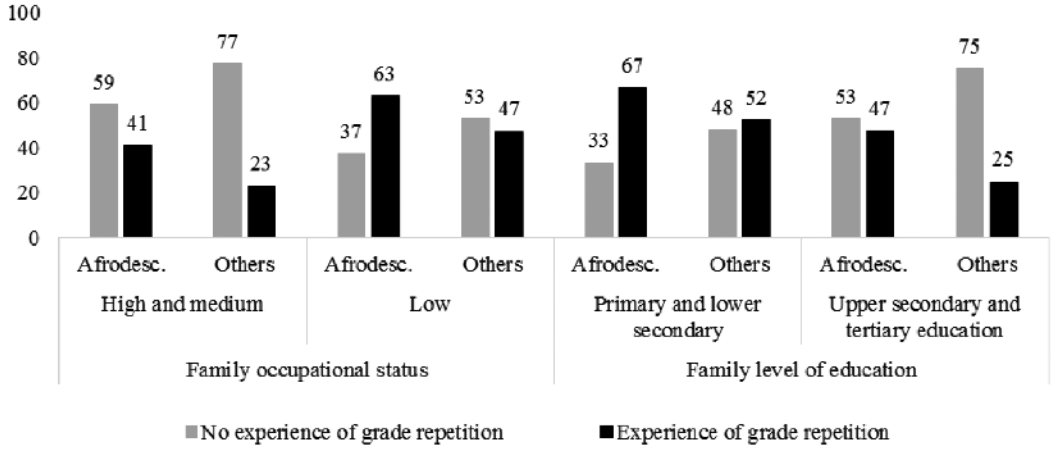
In a nutshell, students of African descent are not simply over-represented in vocational courses: these tracks have actually become their common path into upper secondary education. The target of an overall 50–50 distribution between



Note: Pearson X^2 statistically significant ($p<0,01$). Students of AML only.

Source: Students at the Entry of Upper Secondary 2013/14, OTES/DGEEC (own calculations).

Graph 3: Students' ethno-racial origin and social background by type of education and training course at upper secondary (%).



Note: Pearson X^2 statistically significant ($p<0,001$). Students of AML only.

Source: Students at the Entry of Upper Secondary 2013/14, OTES/DGEEC (own calculations).

Graph 4: Students' ethno-racial origin and social background by past experience of grade retention training course at upper secondary (%).

vocational and academic courses set by policy-makers (Azevedo 2014; Rodrigues 2010) is very far from the reality of students of African descent. The impressive pervasiveness of vocational tracking among students with an African nationality is a strong indicator of long-term processes of exclusion. The largest share of these social groups remains thereby excluded from not only the most valued paths in education, but also from much of the humanistic and scientific components of education. If these results cannot be understood without the dimension of social class, the data worked above show clear signs that other dynamics weigh negatively on the school paths of Afro-descendant students and that the concept of institutional racism is of enormous relevance to understand it.

FINAL REMARKS

Our analysis provides clear evidence that the advancement of vocational tracks, combined with extensive grade repetition, was followed by a substantial cleavage between different ethno-racial backgrounds: students of African descent are much more likely to engage in the vocational tracks, which sharply reduces their opportunities of enjoying a broader education (in scientific and humanistic terms) and accessing higher education. Their conditions and outcomes differ from those of the overall population in apparent manners. Recent immigration (indicated by foreign nationality) and the family's background (indicated by the occupation and education level of the student's parents) are important to understand those patterns, but significant inequalities prevail even when we compare students of African descent with other students from a similar background.

Given the lack of research and discussion on this topic in Portugal, much of our analysis must be understood as exploratory work. Additional research is required to further our knowledge of how school segregation takes place and its relationship with institutional racism. On the one hand, access to official data disaggregated by school and by neighbourhood would enable us to trace and examine developments in school segregation, and to link educational tracking with territorial segregation. On the other hand, to grasp local

processes of 'racialization of space', their influence on educational markets and experiences of racism inside schools, its necessary qualitative research that listens to youth of African descent, but also families, teachers, school leaders, policy-makers at local and central level.

It is appropriate to underscore that the rapid expansion of vocational education has so far lacked a strategy to monitor the risks of segregation, as well as the risks of increasing marginalization of this educational stream per se. Absence should be read as an outcome of inequality mechanisms. The stark inequalities exposed in our analysis, and the nearly absolute silence about them in public policy and debate, justify the title of this article. Despite Luso-tropicalist values and 'class explains it all' theses, school-based and vocational segregation constitute a new stage of a long-run trend in the Portuguese educational system in regard to the schooling of African people, and racism has something to do with it.

So, our work pointed out that a pervasive and long-run policy as the expansion of the vocational tracks shall be accompanied by a monitoring system, including the analysis of its impacts on equity and segregation patterns, in education, citizenship and labour market careers. The common argument in Portugal that schools do not reproduce (and legitimate) ethno-racial discrimination should be questioned. Besides, strategies to promote equal opportunities in the access to different secondary and higher education pathways, including affirmative and de-segregation actions, are crucial to reinforce education and social equity.

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APPENDICES

Upper primary	2008–09	2009–10	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14
Total	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.8	1.6
Portugal	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.8	1.6
PALOP	1.0	1.3	1.4	2.2	2.8	4.6
Angola	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.4	2.4	3.8
Cape Verde	0.9	1.4	1.9	2.6	3.2	5.6
Guinea-Bissau	1.8	2.0	1.0	1.4	2.4	4.2
Mozambique	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.8
São Tomé and Príncipe	1.2	1.3	1.3	3.2	3.4	4.2
Lower secondary	**2008–09**	**2009–10**	**2010–11**	**2011–12**	**2012–13**	**2013–14**
Total	11.2	10.2	9.5	9.8	7.8	7.7
Portugal	11.0	10.0	9.1	9.5	7.5	7.4
PALOP	23.0	24.2	23.9	24.8	22.6	22.0
Angola	22.3	19.9	17.6	17.1	15.6	14.7
Cape Verde	23.8	26.7	28.4	30.8	26.7	25.6
Guinea-Bissau	21.1	24.3	23.0	22.4	20.5	20.8
Mozambique	12.2	15.5	9.7	12.1	15.6	15.2
São Tomé and Príncipe	26.5	25.7	24.2	23.7	26.3	26.7
Upper secondary	**2008–09**	**2009–10**	**2010–11**	**2011–12**	**2012–13**	**2013–14**
Total	31.3	34.6	35.3	42.2	43.9	44.1
Portugal	30.5	33.7	34.2	41.0	42.7	43.3
PALOP	60.9	66.7	72.1	78.7	80.8	78.3
Angola	44.5	49.8	52.1	60.5	60.8	61.6
Cape Verde	72.4	75.8	80.4	85.5	87.3	84.6
Guinea-Bissau	31.0	42.7	46.9	64.6	72.9	73.5
Mozambique	49.2	53.1	65.1	64.3	66.7	63.7
São Tomé and Príncipe	74.5	80.1	85.1	88.4	89.6	87.1

Note 1: Until school year 2010–11 we include in upper primary only 'Education and Training Courses' (CEF). For the same period, we include in lower and upper secondary only CEF and 'Professional Courses' (CP). From 2011 to 2012 onwards, upper primary and lower secondary vocational also include 'Alternative Curriculum Pathways' (PCA), and, from 2012 to 2013 onwards, 'Vocational Courses' (CV). In the case of upper secondary, since 2011–12, we also include 'Technological Courses' (CT) and 'Training Courses' (CA), and, from 2013 to 2014 onwards, CV.

PALOP is the acronym for African Portuguese-speaking countries.

Note 2: In this table, each cell indicates the percentage of students of a certain nationality enrolled in vocational courses in the total of the students of that same nationality and level of studies. Thus, by having a specific reference population, the percentage in each cell should be read independently of the remaining cells.

Source: DGEEC/MEC, preliminary data (own calculations).

Table 1: Students' enrolment in vocational courses by country of nationality and level of education, 2008/09-2013/14 (%).

	Enrolment in the private sector (total)	% of enrolments in private CP	Enrolments in the public sector (total)	% of enrolments in public CP
1990	23,955	8.7 (2088)	285,613	-
2000	62,873	42.6 (26.760)	354,832	0.7 (2.340)
2005	66,134	49.5 (32.711)	310,762	1.3 (4054)
2006	64,976	50.2 (32.641)	282,424	1.5 (4.302)
2007	66,997	49.5 (33.137)	289,714	5.0 (14.572)
2008	69,191	50.5 (34.954)	280,286	12.6 (35.223)
2009	120,346	32.3 (38.896)	377,981	14.4 (54.542)
2010	114,003	36.8 (41.928)	369,979	17.7 (65.338)
2011	97,554	45.3 (44.193)	343,341	19.3 (66.269)
2012	91,696	50.8 (46.573)	319,542	21.0 (67.176)
2013	83,433	57.2 (47.724)	315,014	21.6 (68.161)
2014	79,597	60.3 (47,969)	306,429	22.8 (69,730)

Source: DGEEC/MEC (own calculations).

Table 2: Students' enrolment in 'professional courses' (CP) by sector of education, 1990–2014.

	Family occupational status								Family level of education							
	High and medium				Low				Primary and lower secondary				Upper secondary and tertiary education			
	Afro-desc.		Others		Afro-desc.		Others		Afro-desc.		Others		Afro-desc.		Others	
Past experience of grade retention	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
General courses	86	51	89	41	67	31	74	31	67	31	74	29	82	41	88	40
Vocational courses	14	49	11	59	33	69	26	69	33	69	26	71	18	59	12	60
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Pearson X^2 statistically significant ($p<0.001$).
Data refer only to students of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. The variables 'family occupational status' and 'family level of education' take into account the professional status or level of education of both parents (when information is available); the highest of the two is used to characterize the student's background.

Source: Students at the Entry of Upper Secondary 2013/14, OTES/DGEEC (own calculations).

Table 3: Past experience of grade retention and tracking at the entry of upper secondary (Year 10) by ethno-racial origin, family professional status and level of education, AML (%).

Lower primary	2008–09	2009–10	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14
Total	3.6	3.6	3.2	4.1	4.6	4.8
Portugal	3.4	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.4	4.6
PALOP	12.2	11.7	11.0	13.9	14.8	15.5
Angola	9.0	7.9	9.1	11.8	11.2	10.9
Cape Verde	15.4	14.2	11.2	15.9	16.0	19.2
Guinea-Bissau	11.4	10.8	9.9	14.4	15.6	15.8
Mozambique	12.0	7.1	7.7	6.1	13.2	2.6
São Tomé and Príncipe	10.1	13.8	15.9	12.5	15.3	14.9
Upper primary	**2008–09**	**2009–10**	**2010–11**	**2011–12**	**2012–13**	**2013–14**
Total	7.5	7.6	7.2	11.2	12.6	11.6
Portugal	7.0	7.2	6.8	10.8	12.1	11.3
PALOP	21.8	20.6	19.4	26.4	30.1	28.4
Angola	17.1	16.5	18.7	25.5	28.4	26.1
Cape Verde	25.5	23.6	20.6	28.3	32.8	28.6
Guinea-Bissau	21.1	19.2	16.6	23.6	27.3	27.3
Mozambique	19.1	16.0	10.9	19.7	20.7	23.6
São Tomé and Príncipe	21.6	22.4	22.6	27.1	30.4	33.2
Lower secondary	**2008–09**	**2009–10**	**2010–11**	**2011–12**	**2012–13**	**2013–14**
Total	13.8	13.8	12.9	15.4	15.9	15.4
Portugal	13.2	13.2	12.3	14.9	15.4	14.9
PALOP	33.2	32.8	30.6	30.8	32.0	32.0
Angola	28.3	27.8	23.6	27.2	30.5	30.4
Cape Verde	38.1	37.4	34.2	32.5	34.4	33.6
Guinea-Bissau	33.2	33.4	33.7	32.7	31.0	33.6
Mozambique	21.7	31.2	26.2	24.3	23.8	21.6
São Tomé and Príncipe	29.6	26.4	30.0	29.7	30.2	29.5
Upper secondary	**2008–09**	**2009–10**	**2010–11**	**2011–12**	**2012–13**	**2013–14**
Total	18.7	19.6	20.6	19.7	18.7	18.1
Portugal	18.8	19.0	20.1	19.2	18.3	17.8
PALOP	16.4	28.8	27.5	25.6	26.3	26.0
Angola	17.7	34.1	34.5	32.9	31.3	29.5
Cape Verde	15.5	26.7	24.8	24.5	26.7	26.9
Guinea-Bissau	18.8	39.6	42.2	34.5	30.4	27.3
Mozambique	17.3	25.9	18.5	19.6	17.4	27.4
São Tomé and Príncipe	15.3	20.6	19.9	16.6	18.1	18.2

Note 1: From 2008–09 to 2010–11, the rates of grade repetition in primary (lower and upper) and lower secondary refer only to the 'general education' track. For the same period, the rates of grade repetition in upper secondary refer only to the 'general education' track and 'professional courses'. From 2011–12 to 2013–14, the grade retention rates of upper secondary include all tracks (general and vocational).

PALOP is the acronym for African Portuguese-speaking countries.

Note 2: In this table, each cell indicates the percentage of students of a certain nationality that have experienced grade retention in the total of the students of that same nationality and level of studies. Thus, by having a specific reference population, the percentage in each cell should be read independently of the remaining cells.

Source: DGEEC/MEC, preliminary data (own calculations).

Table 4: Rates of grade retention by nationality and level of education, 2008/09 to 2013/14 (%).

		Afro-desc.	Others	Total
Past experience of grade retention	No	40.7	66.1	64.6
	Yes	59.3	33.9	35.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average classification at the end of lower secondary	3 or less	75.3	53.4	54.6
	4 or more	24.7	46.6	45.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Educational track at lower secondary	General courses	78.5	91.8	91.0
	Vocational and other courses	21.5	8.2	9.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0
Educational track at upper secondary	General courses	48.7	66.9	65.7
	Vocational courses	51.3	33.1	34.3
	Total	100	100.0	100.0
Field of study at upper secondary courses (only general courses)	Science and technology	37.3	52.5	51.7
	Socio-economic sciences	13.0	14.2	14.2
	Languages and humanities	40.7	26.4	27.1
	Visual arts	9.0	6.9	7.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Field of study at upper secondary course (only vocational courses)	Arts	12.6	19.5	18.8
	Business sciences	27.8	25.2	25.4
	Engineering, manufacturing and construction	29.3	19.4	20.5
	Personal and security services	19.1	23.9	23.4
	Other knowledge area	11.2	12.0	11.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Pearson X^2 statistically significant ($p<0.001$).
Data refer only to students of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

Source: Students at the Entry of Upper Secondary 2013/14, OTES/DGEEC (own calculations).

Table 5: Past experience of grade retention, average classification, educational track and field of study by student's ethno-racial origin (%).

		2001	2011
Ethno-racial origin	Portuguese	31.1	34.3
	African-descent	21.4	15.9
African-descent country of birth	PALOP	17.9	9.5
	Portugal	25.5	30.0
Predominant national origin in the family of the African-descent students	Angola	27.8	23.8
	Cape Verde	9.1	8.0
	Guinea-Bissau	8.1	6.5
	Mozambique	38.7	41.0
	São Tomé and Príncipe	12.4	8.3
	Other situations	23.4	31.2

Note: PALOP is the acronym for African Portuguese-speaking countries.

Source: Census 2001 and 2011, INE (own calculations).

Table 6: Entry rates in higher education (18–22 years old) by ethno-racial origin, country of birth and predominant national origin in the family 1991, 2001 and 2011 (%).

		Afro-desc.	Others	Total
Family level of education	Low primary or less	14.5	4.6	5.3
	Upper primary and lower secondary	39.8	25.2	26.2
	Upper secondary	27.9	35.4	34.9
	Higher education	17.8	34.8	33.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occupation of parent/tutor 1 (ISCO-88)	Managers	8.8	13.7	13.4
	Professionals	15.4	25.7	25.1
	Technicians and associate professionals	5.7	13.3	12.9
	Clerical support workers	1.2	5.1	4.8
	Service and sales workers	10.5	12.6	12.5
	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	2.1	1.1	1.2
	Craft and related trades workers	42.3	18.4	19.7
	Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	6.6	7.2	7.2
	Elementary occupations	7.4	2.8	3.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Occupation of parent/tutor 2 (ISCO-88)	Managers	4.2	10.0	9.7
	Professionals	8.0	29.8	28.5
	Technicians and associate professionals	2.7	9.9	9.5
	Clerical support workers	3.2	9.9	9.5
	Service and sales workers	17.8	18.2	18.2
	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	1.0	0.5	0.5
	Craft and related trades workers	1.5	3.1	3.0
	Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	0.3	1.0	0.9
	Elementary occupations	61.3	17.6	20.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Pearson X^2 statistically significant ($p<0.001$).

Data refer only to students of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. The variable 'family level of education' takes into account the level of education of both parents/tutors (when information is available); the highest of the two is used to characterize the student's background.

Source: Students at the Entry of Upper Secondary 2013/14, OTES/DGEEC (own calculations).

Table 7: Students' social background by ethno-racial origin (%).

		High/medium family occupational status		Low family occupational status		Primary and lower secondary		Upper secondary and tertiary education	
Ethno-racial origin		**Afro-desc.**	**Others**	**Afro-desc.**	**Others**	**Afro-desc.**	**Others**	**Afro-desc.**	**Others**
Educational stream at upper secondary	General courses	70.1*	78.1*	41.2	53.1	40	49.9	61.4*	75.5*
	Vocational courses	29.9*	21.9*	58.8	46.9	60	50.1	38.6*	24.5*
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Field of study at upper secondary (only general courses)	Science and technology	38.5*	56.6*	35.9*	45*	31.7*	41.2*	43.6*	56.2*
	Socio-economic sciences	18.2*	15.5*	11.7*	10.1*	11.3*	10.9*	14.1*	14.7*
	Languages and humanities	34.3*	21.7*	43.9*	36.6*	47.3*	39.9*	33.6*	22.6*
	Visual arts	9.1*	6.2*	8.5*	8.3*	9.7*	8*	8.7*	6.4*
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Field of study at upper secondary (only vocational courses)	Arts	21.3	22.2	11*	17.6*	12.5*	17*	13.4*	21.4*
	Business sciences	23	25.2	29.8*	26.1*	29.4*	26.4*	24.8*	24.8*
	Engineering, manufacturing and construction	18	17.9	31.1*	21.2*	27.6*	21.1*	31.5*	17.9*
	Personal and security services	29.5	23.7	17.5*	23.2*	19.1*	22.9*	19.5*	24.5*
	Other fields	8.2	10.9	10.7*	11.9*	11.4*	12.6*	10.7*	11.4*
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Past experience of grade retention	No	59*	77.1*	37.2*	52.8*	33.3*	47.9*	52.6*	75.2*
	Yes	41*	22.9*	62.8*	47.2*	66.7*	52.1*	47.4*	24.8*
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average classification at the end of lower secondary	3 or less	67.9*	43.4*	78.3*	68.7*	78.6*	71*	68.4*	45.6*
	4 or more	32.1*	56.6*	21.7*	31.3*	21.4*	29*	31.6*	54.4*
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Pearson X^2 statistically significant ($p<0.05$), except in differences between students of African descent and other students with low family occupational status or low level of family education at the educational stream that they are enrolled in. Differences are not statistically significant when we compare students of African descent and other students with high or medium family occupational status at the field of study of the vocational course. Data in the table refer only to students of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

Source: Students at the Entry of Upper Secondary 2013/14, OTES/DGEEC (own calculations).

Table 8: Educational track at upper secondary, field of study, past experience of grade retention and average classification by ethno-racial origin and social background (%).

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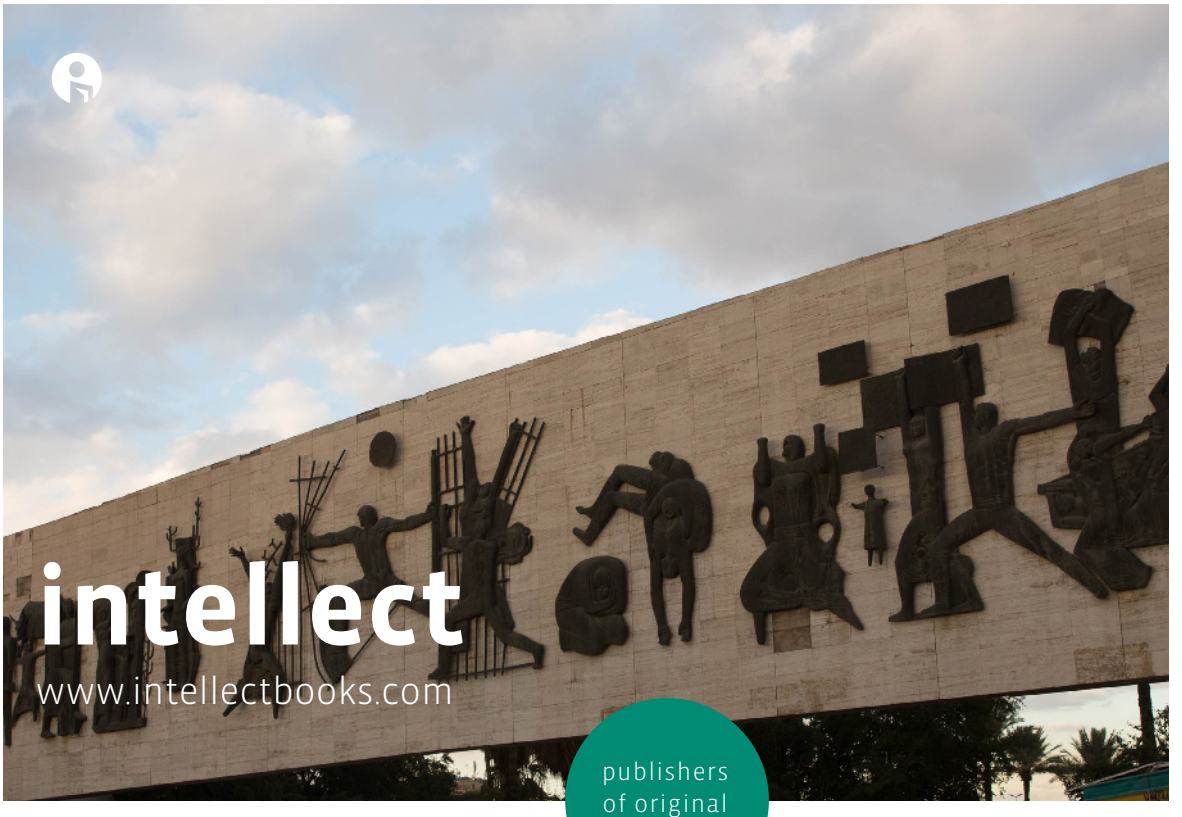

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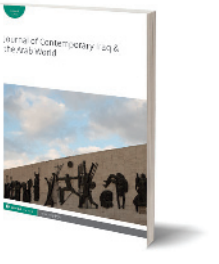

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In recognition of Iraq's increasingly important position on the world stage, this journal is devoted to the study of modern Iraq. Spanning disciplines within the humanities, arts and social sciences, IJCIS covers diverse themes including culture, society, politics, economics and history, reflecting the many facets of contemporary Iraq.

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