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KVALITATIV UNDERSØGELSE AF KARAKTEREN AF OG ÅRSAGER TIL NEGATIV SOCIAL KONTROL PÅ UNGDOMSUDDANNELSERNE



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1. SAMMENFATNING

På opdrag fra Styrelsen for Undervisning og Kvalitet (STUK) har Rambøll Management Consulting (Rambøll) gennemført en kvalitativ undersøgelse af karakteren af og årsager til negativ social kontrol på ungdomsuddannelserne. Undersøgelsen bidrager med viden om, hvordan negativ social kontrol udøves overfor samt forekommer mellem især unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk, samt hvordan og hvorfor selvsegregering forekommer generelt blandt unge på institutionerne. Endvidere belyser undersøgelsen, hvordan skoleledere, lærere og vejlederes blik på eleverne har betydning for opfattelsen af problemstillinger relateret til negativ social kontrol. Slutligt præsenterer undersøgelsen forskellige tiltag og indsatser, som institutionerne gør brug af i forhold til at forebygge og håndtere situationer med negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering.

I det følgende præsenteres en kort sammenfatning af undersøgelsens hovedresultater. Sammenfatningen indeholder dels en række fund vedr. karakteren af og årsager til negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering, dels en overordnet beskrivelse af institutionernes indsatser og tiltag.

- **Undersøgelsen sætter fokus på negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering**, og peger på, at disse to begreber kan forstås som overliggende begreber i forhold til lignende problemstillinger, som fx religion, kultur og etnicitet. Begreberne religion, kultur og etnicitet forstås i denne sammenhæng som identitetsmarkører, som kan farve indholdet for, hvordan (negativ) social kontrol og selvsegregering kommer til udtryk. Religiøs mobning og kulturkonflikter forstås derfor i denne sammenhæng som begreber, der er indlejret i de to overordnede begreber.
- **Karakteren af negativ social kontrol** på ungdomsuddannelserne kommer ifølge interviewpersonerne især til udtryk gennem overvågning og blikke fra andre, sladder og rygter, begrænset selvbestemmelse i forhold til valg af kæreste og valg af uddannelse og endelig begrænset deltagelse i aktiviteter i og uden for skolen. Undersøgelsen peger på, at både piger og drenge kan være udsat for negativ social kontrol, og at det oftest er piger og drenge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk, der er udsatte. Når etniske minoritetspiger udsættes for negativ social kontrol, handler det som oftest om, at de begrænses i deres adfærd, mens etniske minoritetsdrenge både begrænses i deres adfærd, men også forventes at optræde som betroet og loyal repræsentant for familien og dennes ære.
- **Årsager til negativ social kontrol** italesættes af interviewpersonerne overordnet gennem tre forklaringsmodeller: 1) Religion, som definerer, hvad de unge skal eller ikke må, 2) kultur, som definerer, hvad de unge bør eller ikke vil, og 3) socioøkonomiske baggrund, som definerer, hvad de unge kan eller ikke kan. Ifølge lærere og ledere på ungdomsuddannelserne opfattes de tre forklaringsmodeller/årsager som adskilte begreber af de unge, men i praksis fremhæves især religion og kultur som sammenhængende og overlappende forklaringer. Desuden bliver alle tre årsager anvendt strategisk af både de unge og deres forældre, hvormed bestemte holdninger eller handlinger legitimeres.
- **Selvsegregering** kommer i undersøgelsen til udtryk gennem faktorer omhandlende kultur, etnicitet, sprog og social baggrund. Undersøgelsen peger på, at alle unge allerede fra uddannelsens start indgår i mere eller mindre segregerede grupper og/eller har forforståelser om andre unge og eget tilhørsforhold, der får betydning for, hvordan de skaber relationer og grupper sig i ungdomsuddannelserne – denne tendens er ikke forbeholdt etniske minoritetsunge. Kultur, etnicitet og sprog udgør kategorier, som spiller en central rolle i forhold til, hvem de unge identificerer sig med og afgrænser sig fra. Elevernes alder, sociale baggrund samt deres baggrund for valg af ungdomsuddannelse har vist sig ligeledes at have en væsentlig betydning for, hvordan og i hvilken grad de unge oplever at have mulighed for at indgå i sociale sammenhænge og opbygge relationer til andre unge.

- Undersøgelsen peger endvidere på, at **bevægelse mellem fællesskaber** ikke nødvendigvis er forbeholdt alle unge. På ungdomsuddannelserne hersker der mere eller mindre synlige sociale hierarkier mellem de unge, hvilket har betydning for, hvilke fællesskaber og positioner der er tilgængelige for hvilke unge. Elever med mange faglige og/eller sociale ressourcer har som regel en højere position i hierarkiet, og for disse elever er det nemmere og mere legitimt at bevæge sig mellem forskellige fællesskaber end for elever, der har en lavere placering i hierarkiet. Selvsegregering bliver da også et spørgsmål om forhandling mellem de unge i forhold til, hvordan de indgår i fællesskaber, og hvorvidt de bevæger sig på tværs af disse.
- **Årsager til selvsegregering** opleves og italesættes på tværs af de deltagende institutioner som en måde, hvorpå unge opnår tryghed gennem identifikation med og spejling i andre unge, deres normer, kultur og adfærd. Gruppedannelse er en naturlig del af de unges identitetsudvikling, hvor det at tilhøre et bestemt fællesskab virker som et forstærkende element for de unges selvforståelse og deres oplevelse af 'belonging'. Der er imidlertid forskel på, hvorvidt selvsegregering betragtes som et styrkende element i de unges hverdagsliv på ungdomsuddannelserne; fra de unges perspektiv kan det at opleve fælleshed og tilhøre til en bestemt gruppe være afgørende for deres gennemførelse af uddannelsen, og det betragtes som en selvfølgelig del af det at være ung. Fra et voksenperspektiv udgør de unges selvsegregering i højere grad et forstyrrende element, der potentielt begrænser deres muligheder for læring og dannelse.
- Der er i undersøgelsen identificeret forskellige typer af tiltag og indsatser, der mere eller mindre direkte relaterer sig til undersøgelsens problemfelter. Flere af initiativerne omhandler **styrkelse af de sociale fællesskaber på skolen**, både eleverne i mellem og i lærer-elevrelationen, samt et overordnet fokus på og undervisning i **medborgerskab og demokratisk dannelse**. De identificerede tiltag arbejder på denne måde ikke eksplicit med undersøgelsens problemfelter, men kan i høj grad bidrage til det forebyggende arbejde med samt håndtering af negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering på ungdomsuddannelserne.
- **De identificerede tiltag kan overordnet opdeles i fem kategorier:** 1) Institutionelle tiltag til forebyggelse og håndtering af problemfelter, 2) tiltag til styrkelse af relationen mellem lærer og elev, 3) tiltag til socialisering i og på tværs af klasser, 4) tiltag til nedbrydelse af fordomme og grupperinger samt 5) tiltag, der understøtter elevernes mestring af eget liv. Et væsentligt opmærksomhedspunkt i arbejdet med problemfelterne er lærerens rolle, der karakteriseres af både ledere, vejledere og lærere som afgørende i forhold til at skabe et tillidsfuldt forhold til elever, der på baggrund heraf tør henvende sig i tilfælde af oplevelser med problemfelterne. Endvidere understreges det af flere lærere, at læreren har et stort ansvar for at skabe en åben klasserumskultur, hvor der er plads og rum til forskellighed, og hvor alle elever bliver mødt på egne præmisser og ikke ud fra implicite forforståelser om fx kulturel eller religiøs baggrund.
- **Der er store institutionelle forskelle** at finde hos de deltagende ungdomsuddannelser, som både relaterer sig til skolestruktur, fysiske rammer, elevgrundlag og -sammensætning. Disse faktorer er afgørende for, hvordan problemfelterne opleves og italesættes hos de enkelte institutioner og endvidere for, hvordan det er muligt for institutioner at arbejde med håndtering og forebyggelse af problemfelterne. Undersøgelsen peger på, at længden af skoleforløb og elevgruppens sammensætning er centrale faktorer, der har betydning for, i hvilken grad det sociale liv på ungdomsuddannelserne prioriteres af såvel de unge som ledelse og undervisere. Faglig, social og socioøkonomisk baggrund er desuden forhold, der påvirker, i hvor høj grad eleverne har mulighed for og overskud til at investere i fællesskabet og lære hinanden at kende på tværs af grupper og hold.

- **Undersøgelsen er baseret på kvalitativ dataindsamling** og analyse udført over tre måneder. Målgruppen for undersøgelsen har med afsæt i opdraget været de gymnasiale uddannelser samt merkantile og sundhedsfaglige erhvervsuddannelser. Der er udført casebesøg på to gymnasiale uddannelser, fire SOSU-skoler og to merkantile uddannelsesinstitutioner samt telefoninterviews med ledere fra fem gymnasiale uddannelser og én merkantil uddannelsesinstitution. Undersøgelsens udsigelseskraft er begrænset til de 14 medvirkende ungdomsuddannelsers specifikke institutionelle kontekster. De fund, der præsenteres i undersøgelsen, skal derfor ikke forstås som udtømmende beskrivelser, hvorfra man kan udlede generaliserbare tendenser, ligesom undersøgelsen ikke kan sige noget om omfanget af udøvelsen af negativ social kontrol eller variationen på tværs af institutioner og institutionstyper.

2. INDLEDNING

Rambøll Management Consulting har på vegne af Styrelsen for Undervisning og Kvalitet gennemført en kvalitativ undersøgelse af karakteren af og årsager til negativ social kontrol på ungdomsuddannelserne. Undersøgelsen er gennemført fra marts 2019 til maj 2019.

2.1 Formål og baggrund for undersøgelsen

Baggrunden for undersøgelsen tager især afsæt i den danske politiske dagsorden, som igennem de seneste år har haft stort fokus på at sikre lige deltagelsesmuligheder for alle unge mennesker, ligesom retten til selvbestemmelse er et centralt opmærksomhedspunkt i relation til valg og gennemførelse af en ungdomsuddannelse. Dette gælder ikke mindst for unge, som gennem negativ social kontrol begrænses i forhold til deltagelse i samfundet og i retten til at bestemme over eget liv. Fra politisk side har man iværksat handlingsplaner med det formål at forebygge og håndtere de problematikker, der relaterer sig til negativ social kontrol.

Tidligere undersøgelser, der adresserer problemstillingerne, har i høj grad handlet om at afdække omfanget af negativ social kontrol, ligesom der er foretaget kortlægninger af forskningsmæssig viden om forebyggelse af social kontrol samt tilgrænsende felter såsom kritisk tænkning, radikalisering og ekstremisme¹.

Opdraget for denne undersøgelse er en dybdegående kvalitativ undersøgelse af fire problemfelter, hhv. negativ social kontrol, religiøs mobning, selvsegregering og kulturkonflikter blandt unge på ungdomsuddannelserne. Undersøgelsesspørgsmålene relaterer sig til nedenstående:

- Hvorfor og hvordan foregår selvsegregering, fx i valget af uddannelsesinstitution og i deltagelse i sociale arrangementer?
- Hvordan udøves negativ social kontrol overfor unge med ikke-vestlig oprindelse i praksis, og hvilke tegn indikerer i praksis, at religiøs mobning, kulturkonflikter og selvsegregering finder sted på ungdomsuddannelsesinstitutioner?
- Hvilke tiltag og indsatser gør ungdomsuddannelsesinstitutionerne brug af i forhold til at arbejde med håndtering og forebyggelse af problemfelterne?

Undersøgelsen er med afsæt i ovenstående inddelt i to spor. Spor 1 afdækker karakteren af og årsager til de fire problemfelter. I spor 1 er der gennemført casebesøg på to gymnasiale uddannelser, fire SOSU-skoler og to merkantile uddannelsesinstitutioner. Spor 2 afdækker indsatser, tiltag og greb, som kan anvendes i forebyggelsen og håndteringen af problemfelterne på uddannelsesinstitutionerne. I spor 2 er der gennemført interviews med aktører fra fem gymnasiale uddannelser og én merkantil uddannelse.

I forlængelse af den politiske dagsorden skal undersøgelsen forstås i henhold til to målbilleder:

- 1) Et ønske om at sikre ens og lige livsmuligheder for alle, uanset baggrund og tilhørsforhold
- 2) Et ønske om at forebygge etablering og eksistens af parallelsamfund.

Med afsæt i ovenstående målbilleder er det centralt, at unge, der fx er i risiko for at blive udsat for negativ social kontrol, kan få den rette støtte og hjælp til at opnå et liv med den personlige frihed, som er en grundlæggende værdi og rettighed i det danske samfund. Ungdomsuddannelserne spiller en stor rolle i unges socialisering og indføring i samfundets normer og værdier – og de er således centrale aktører i det forebyggende arbejde. Samtidig er institutionerne også centrum for de sociale dynamikker, praksisser og adfærdsmønstre, der kan være forbundet med selve

¹ Als Research APS (2018): *Omfang og karakter af negativ social kontrol i grundskolens 6.-8. klasse*; Als Research (2018): *Unge oplevelser af negativ social kontrol*; Rambøll (2018): *Litteraturstudie om forebyggelse af negativ social kontrol i dagtilbud, fritidstilbud, grundskole og på ungdomsuddannelserne*.

risikofaktorerne knyttet til samt konkrete hændelser forbundet med negativ social kontrol, selvsegregering, kulturkonflikter og religiøs mobning.

Nærværende undersøgelse har til formål at bidrage til større indsigt i, hvordan og hvorfor situationer relateret til undersøgelsens problemfelter udspiller sig på ungdomsuddannelserne. Hvor der tidligere har været et særligt fokus rettet mod den form for negativ social kontrol, der udøves af familiemedlemmer overfor individet, har denne undersøgelse også søgt indblik i, hvordan og hvorfor negativ social kontrol udøves unge mennesker imellem. Undersøgelsen drager paralleller til familieforhold, idet unge mennesker i høj grad er påvirket af normer og kultur hjemmefra, som de bærer med sig ind på bl.a. ungdomsuddannelserne. Undersøgelsen peger ligeledes frem mod indsatser og fokusområder, som ungdomsuddannelserne kan arbejde aktivt med, med henblik på at sikre de to målbilleder om forebyggelse af parallelsamfund og lige livsmuligheder for alle unge.

2.2 Undersøgelsens datagrundlag

Undersøgelsen er baseret på kvalitativ dataindsamling og analyse udført over tre måneder. Undersøgelsen er gennemført i tre faser; en indledende fase, en dataindsamlingsfase og en analyse- og formidlingsfase. Den overordnede tilgang i undersøgelsen har været åben og eksplorativ, og undersøgelsen har i høj grad søgt indsigt i *det levede ungdomsliv* på ungdomsuddannelserne. Undersøgelsen har derfor fokuseret på social dynamik og interaktion mellem unge på ungdomsuddannelserne generelt samt interaktioner elever og fagprofessionelle imellem.

Målgruppen for undersøgelsen har med afsæt i opdraget været de gymnasiale uddannelser samt merkantile og sundhedsfaglige erhvervsuddannelser. Undersøgelsen bygger dels på kvalitative casebesøg gennemført i spor 1, dels på telefoninterviews gennemført i spor 2. De forskellige datakilder fremgår af nedenstående boks. Se i øvrigt bilag 1 for en detaljeret beskrivelse af undersøgelsens forløb, metodisk tilgang samt kriterier for case- og informantudvælgelse.

Boks 2-1: Undersøgelsens datagrundlag

Spor 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Casebesøg over én eller to dage på otte uddannelsesinstitutioner med: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Observation i og uden for undervisningen o Interviews med ledelsesrepræsentanter o Interviews med lærere og vejledere o Dilemmaspil med elever i grupper o Individuelle interviews med elever.
Spor 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dybdegående telefoninterviews med seks uddannelsesinstitutioner med: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Interview med ledelsesrepræsentant o Interview med lærer o Interview med vejleder.

Som det fremgår af ovenstående, er de kvalitative data indsamlet i to spor. I praksis er data dog anvendt på tværs af sporerne, fx i tilfælde, hvor institutioner i spor 1 har udtrykt gode erfaringer med forskellige tiltag eller indsatser, eller hvis interviewpersoner i spor 2 har givet relevante beskrivelser af problemfelternes karakter.

Undersøgelsen er desuden gennemført med aktiv inddragelse af en følgegruppe, der dels har en forskningsmæssig baggrund, dels er tilknyttet praksismiljøer på området. Formålet med inddragelse af følgegruppen har bl.a. været at kvalificere undersøgelsens metodiske tilgang og forståelse

af problemfelterne, samt at validere og perspektivere undersøgelses fund². Konkret har følgegruppen bidraget med deres viden af tre omgange, jf. nedenstående boks.

Boks 2-2: Inddragelse af følgegruppe

1. I den indledende fase har følgegruppen kvalificeret undersøgelsens metodiske tilgang samt valideret og perspektiveret forståelsen af problemfelterne
2. Dernæst har følgegruppen valideret de analytiske fund samt bidraget med egne oplevelser/perspektiver
3. Slutteligt har følgegruppen valideret rapporten.

2.2.1 Undersøgelsens udsigelseskraft

Undersøgelsens kvalitative tilgang har givet mulighed for detaljeret at kunne beskrive, hvordan problemfelterne *opleves, forstås og italesættes* af de medvirkende aktører. Det er i denne sammenhæng væsentligt at være opmærksom på, at interviewpersonernes oplevelser kan være påvirket af den generelle debat og forståelse af undersøgelsens problemfelter. Tematikkerne centreret om de to målbilleder og undersøgelsens genstandsfelt – negativ social kontrol – er i den offentlige debat i Danmark i høj grad forbundet med debatten om integration af især muslimske borgere og/eller borgere med mellemstlig baggrund. I dele af den offentlige debat bliver muslimer ofte portrætteret som personer, der har stærke og traditionelle familiemønstre, og som derfor er mere tilbøjelige til at udøve social kontrol – særligt i forhold til kvinder. Dette kommer fx til udtryk i det heftigt debatterede "burkaforbud" fra 2018, hvor et ofte fremført argument handler om, at muslimske kvinder, der bærer burka, er underlagt negativ social kontrol fra deres familier eller ægtefæller. Den offentlige debat om muslimer og islam i Danmark er karakteriseret ved udtalte og markante identitetsgrænser, der ofte trækker et modsætningsbillede op mellem "os", danskere, og "dem", muslimer. I dominerende dele af den offentlige debat er negativ social kontrol konnoteret med både "muslimskhed" og med køn: Det er muslimske kvinder, der udsættes for social kontrol³.

Debatten, hvor kun enkelte nedslagspunkter er fremhævet ovenfor, er relevant at inddrage her, fordi de markante værdier og holdninger, der udtrykkes i den, også til en vis grad er rammesættende for, hvordan interviewpersonerne i denne undersøgelse forholder sig til og forstår begrebet negativ social kontrol. Det kommer fx til udtryk, når uddannelsesinstitutioner, der er kontaktede i forbindelse med undersøgelsen, frabeder sig at deltage, fordi de ikke ønsker at bidrage til en negativ stigmatisering af deres muslimske elever. Det kommer også til udtryk under interviews, hvor interviewpersoner stort set udelukkende forbinder negativ social kontrol med noget, der foregår blandt muslimske elever og/eller elever med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund.

Interviewpersonernes udsagn og oplevelser kan således forstås som indlejret i kontekstuelle opfattelser af, hvad negativ social kontrol er – navnlig et fænomen, som udøves og forekommer blandt etniske og muslimske minoriteter, og ikke i samme grad forekommer blandt etnisk danske unge. Dette er ikke ensbetydende med, at negativ social kontrol ikke forekommer blandt etniske danske elever, men snarere, at fænomenet for interviewpersonerne i denne undersøgelse ikke bliver identificeret som negativ social kontrol, når det sker blandt etnisk danske elever.

Overordnet set betyder det, at begreberne i denne undersøgelse er genstand for bestemte kontekstuelle opfattelser af, hvad social kontrol indebærer, hvem der udøver det, hvem der er underlagt social kontrol og hvordan det kommer til udtryk. Nærværende undersøgelse bidrager til den offentlige debat via beskrivelser af problemfelterne, gennem lærere, ledere, vejledere og elevers oplevelser af dem, og søger på den måde at bidrage med et nuanceret blik på problemfelterne, som rækker udover den måde, hvorpå de beskrives i den offentlige debat. Dog er det væsentligt at være opmærksom på disse kontekstuelle forståelser, fordi de er indlejret i empirien for

² Det skal understreges, at undersøgelsens fund udelukkende er Rambølls ansvar.

³Jf. Jeldtoft, N. (2013): "The Hypervisibility of Islam" i Jeldtoft, N. & Woodhead, L.: *Everyday Lived Islam in Europe*; Hervik, P. (2011): *The Annoying Difference: The Emergence of Danish Neonationalism, Neoracism, and Populism in the Post-1989 World*.

undersøgelsen. Det er i forlængelse heraf væsentligt i fortolkningen af rapportens fund, at man som læser tager højde for, at interviewpersonernes udsagn er præget af den offentlige debat på området og de tilgængelige forståelser af feltet⁴. Samtidig er det værd at bemærke, at tidspunktet for dataindsamlingen, kort tid før et folketingsvalg⁵, må antages at have betydning for de indsamlede data.

Undersøgelsens udsigelseskraft er desuden begrænset til de 14 medvirkende ungdomsuddannelsers specifikke institutionelle kontekster. De fund, der præsenteres i undersøgelsen, skal derfor ikke forstås som udtømmende beskrivelser, hvorfra man kan udlede generaliserbare tendenser, ligesom undersøgelsen ikke kan sige noget om omfanget af udøvelsen af negativ social kontrol eller de andre problemfelter. Undersøgelsen søger at give indblik i karakteren af og årsager til undersøgelsens problemfelter samt indblik i, hvordan ungdomsuddannelsesinstitutioner arbejder med tiltag til forebyggelse og håndtering af problemfelterne gennem konkrete *eksempler* og *oplevelser* fra ungdomsuddannelsesinstitutionerne.

Undersøgelsens problemfelter har været mere eller mindre udtalte på de deltagende institutioner, hvorfor det er vanskeligt at drage (skarpe) konklusioner på tværs. I formidlingen af de analytiske fund anvendes derfor begreberne 'enkelte', 'nogle' eller 'flere'. 'Enkelte' bruges i de tilfælde, hvor en eller to interviewpersoner udtaler sig om en tendens, oplevelse eller lignende. 'Nogle' anvendes, når der er tale om tre til fem interviewpersoner, og 'flere' henviser til, at flere end fem interviewpersoner har peget på samme tendens.

2.3 Læsevejledning

Denne rapport indeholder i alt fem kapitler:

- Kapitel 1 indeholder en kort sammenfatning af undersøgelsens hovedpointer.
- Kapitel 2 rummer nærværende indledning med undersøgelsens formål, baggrund og metode.
- I kapitel 3 præsenteres undersøgelsens genstandsfelt og de fire problemfelter, herunder hvordan problemfelterne er afgrænset og kvalificeret gennem undersøgelsen.
- Kapitel 4 omhandler resultater af undersøgelsen baseret på analyse i spor 1 med fokus på karakteren af og årsager til negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering på ungdomsuddannelserne. I dette kapitel anvendes såkaldte 'scenarier' (markeret med blå bokse), som er konstrueret på baggrund af ét eller flere udsagn fremført af interviewpersoner i undersøgelsen.
- Slutteligt præsenteres i kapitel 5 analysens fund i spor 2, hvor de identificerede tiltag, indsatser og greb til forebyggelse og/eller håndtering af undersøgelsens problemfelter i ungdomsuddannelseskonteksten beskrives.

⁴ I kapitel 3 beskriver vi, hvordan vi analytisk har operationaliseret begreberne social kontrol, selvsegregering, religiøs mobning og kulturkonflikter for også metodisk at imødegå de kontekstuelle opfattelser af begreberne.

⁵ Folketingsvalget den 5. juni 2019.

3. GENSTANDSFELTET OG DE FIRE PROBLEMFELTER

Undersøgelsens opdrag relaterer sig til fire problemfelter, hhv. negativ social kontrol, selvsegregering, religiøs mobning og kulturkonflikter. Forståelsen af de fire problemfelter er i undersøgelsen operationaliseret via en hypotetisk-deduktiv tilgang, hvor der indledningsvist er arbejdet med en kvalificering og afgrænsning af de fire problemfelter. De empiriske og analytiske fund er endvidere anvendt aktivt til at tilpasse begrebsbrugen og forståelsen af problemfelterne. Analysen af empirien har vist, at social kontrol og selvsegregering skal forstås adskilt i denne analyse. Således arbejder vi i analysen med en operationel forståelse, hvor begreberne social kontrol og selvsegregering udgør to overordnede begreber, inden for hvilke emner som religion, køn, kultur og etnicitet kommer til udtryk.

3.1 De fire problemfelter

Social kontrol forstås i denne undersøgelse som en form for adfærd, der er med til at oppebære grupper og individers forståelse af, hvad der konstituerer korrekte og acceptable normer og adfærd for medlemmer af en gruppe⁶. Social kontrol udøves af medlemmer af grupper som et forsøg på at regulere adfærd for andre af gruppens medlemmer. Det er således en intern gruppedynamik, som er med til at producere og reproducere identitet og tilhørsforhold for individerne i gruppen. Da gruppedannelser er dynamiske, og individer kan føle tilhør og blive opfattet som medlem af flere forskellige grupper afhængig af tid og kontekst, vil individer ofte skulle forholde sig til flere forskellige – og sommetider internt modstridende – forståelser af, hvad der udgør acceptable normer og adfærd. Social kontrol forekommer blandt alle grupper, i alle samfundslag og på forskellige niveauer i samfundet.

I hverdagslivets arenaer, som fx hjemmet, uddannelsesinstitutioner og sociale sammenhænge, handler social kontrol ofte om at kontrollere eller regulere adfærd, der opfattes som 'stødende' i forhold til gruppens moral og normer⁷. Social kontrol kan komme til udtryk på flere forskellige måder: Via opdragelse, som ofte vil være internaliseret af gruppens medlemmer, men også via sociale sanktioner som fx, når et medlem af en gruppe udsættes for et socialt pres, udelukkes, mobbes eller afstraffes pga. adfærd, som ikke er accepteret af den normsættende gruppe. Social kontrol kan således have alvorlige negative konsekvenser for individers muligheder for udfoldelse og deltagelse⁸. I sådanne tilfælde er der tale om *negativ social kontrol*.

I denne forståelse er social kontrol en måde, hvorpå grupper producerer og reproducerer sociale identiteter og tilhørsforhold. Begreberne *religion*, *kultur* og *etnicitet* kan forstås som identitetsmarkører, som kan tone indholdet for, hvordan (negativ) social kontrol kommer til udtryk⁹. Grupper og individer kan således anvende religiøse, kulturelle, etniske, socioøkonomiske eller politiske markører (som fx beklædning, sprog, udseende, moral, spisevaner etc.) til både at udgrænse adfærd, som ikke er accepteret af den normsættende gruppe og til samtidigt at reproducere gruppens identitet^{10,11}. Det er her væsentligt at understrege, at forhandlinger af identitet, hvor en gruppe definerer sig selv i modsætning til andre, er en betingelse for formationen af social identitet, og at dette sker for alle mennesker i alle relationer hver dag¹². Alle disse udtryk for negativ social kontrol kan have negative konsekvenser for individers deltagelse og lige udfoldelsesmuligheder i samfundet¹³.

⁶ Barth, F. (1969): *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*; Durkheim, E. (2001 [1912]): *The elementary forms of Religious Life*

⁷ Durkheim *ibid.*

⁸ Roskilde Festival Foreningen og Børns Villkår (2019): *Adfærdskontrol og tankefængsel - Børns oplevelser med negativ social kontrol.*

⁹ Jenkins, R. (1994): "Rethinking Ethnicity. Identity, categorization and power" I *Ethnic and Racial studies* 17 (2), pp. 197-223.

¹⁰ Goffmann, E. (1959): *The presentation of self in everyday life*

¹¹ Gilliam, L. (2009): *De umulige børn og det ordentlige menneske: Identitet, ballade og muslimske fællesskaber blandt etniske minoritetsbørn.*

¹² Jenkins *ibid.*

¹³ Gilliam, L (2009). *De umulige børn og det ordentlige menneske: Identitet, ballade og muslimske fællesskaber blandt etniske minoritetsbørn.*

Selvsegregering trækker på de samme teorier og forklaringsmodeller om gruppedannelse, som er gennemgået for beskrivelsen af social identitet ovenfor. *Selvsegregering* er en specifik gruppedynamik eller adfærd, som kan finde sted, når grupper oplever et ydre pres, hvor de fx defineres negativt af en anden gruppe¹⁴. I minoritetssammenhænge taler man om *selvsegregering*, som en *minoritetsstrategi*, der handler om, at minoriteten søger at værne om sin egen identitet og kendetegn ved at dyrke en fælles identitet og samtidigt afskærme sig aktivt fra andre grupper ved fx at etablere tydelige grænser, som tager udgangspunkt i, hvad grupper forstår som egne normer, værdier og adfærd. *Selvsegregering* handler altså om, at *in-group*- og *out-group*-dynamikkerne bliver så markante, at nogle grupper aktivt forsøger at afgrænse sig selv fra andre grupper og dette sker ofte med aktiv brug af bestemte identitetsmarkører – fx kultur, religion, etnicitet, socio-økonomiske faktorer og/eller andre forhold.

I forlængelse af ovenstående kan begreberne om *kulturkonflikt* og *religiøs mobning* siges at være indlejret i de to overbegreber. Religion og kultur forstås derved som to ud af flere faktorer, der kan farve, hvordan negativ social kontrol og *selvsegregering* kommer til udtryk. Idet begreberne ikke opfattes som relevante af de deltagende interviewpersoner, kan der i dataindsamlingen ikke gives empirisk belæg for en analytisk relevans af disse. Kulturkonflikter og religiøs mobning kan i nærværende undersøgelse således ikke forstås som selvstændige, analytiske kategorier.

¹⁴ Tajfel, H. (1978): *The Social Psychology of Minorities*; Krag, Helen (2006): *Mangfoldighed, magt og minoriteter*.

4. SPOR 1: ÅRSAGER TIL OG KARAKTEREN AF NEGATIV SOCIAL KONTROL OG SELVSEGREGERING

Nærværende kapitel sætter fokus på karakteren af og årsager til negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering på ungdomsuddannelserne. Kapitlet belyser således, hvordan og hvorfor negativ social kontrol udøves i praksis på ungdomsuddannelserne, samt hvordan og hvorfor selvsegregering foregår.

4.1 Negativ social kontrol

Afsnittet tager udgangspunkt i, hvordan negativ social kontrol forstås og opleves blandt elever, ledere, lærere og vejledere på udvalgte ungdomsdannelsesinstitutioner. Det er væsentligt indledningsvist at fremhæve, der blandt de deltagende uddannelsesinstitutioner er stor forskel på, hvordan og i hvilket omfang negativ social kontrol udøves og opleves. Ligeledes peger flere på, at den form for negativ social kontrol, de unge udsættes for, i høj grad sker i hjemmet og som udgangspunkt kun i mindre grad udspiller sig på selve uddannelsesinstitutionen. Det kan derfor være vanskeligt for de involverede interviewpersoner at give en dækkende beskrivelse af karakteren af og årsagerne til udøvelsen af negativ social kontrol på ungdomsuddannelserne.

Nedenstående analyse skal læses i forlængelse af de væsentlige metodiske betragtninger og forhold præsenteret i kapitel 2.

4.1.1 Forforståelser af negativ social kontrol

Et væsentligt fund i undersøgelsen omhandler, hvordan især lærere og leders forforståelser af negativ social kontrol som fænomen er på spil i den indsamlede empiri. Som beskrevet i rapportens indledning, refererer interviewpersonerne som udgangspunkt til unge med muslimsk eller etnisk minoritetsbaggrund, når tematikkerne relateret til negativ social kontrol berøres. Endvidere er der i nogle tilfælde tale om en høj grad af forudindtagethed i forhold til opfattelser af bestemte kulturelle eller religiøse praksisser, hvilket har betydning for, hvordan negativ social kontrol opleves og italesættes på ungdomsuddannelserne. Ved at viderebringe interviewpersonernes udtalelser kan denne undersøgelse være med til at reproducere forforståelser om elever og familier med minoritetsbaggrund – forforståelser, som denne undersøgelse givet dens karakter og omfang, ikke har mulighed for at afdække baggrunden for.

Det kan derfor betragtes som et analytisk fund i sig selv, at disse forforståelser i høj grad er til stede blandt de medvirkende interviewpersoner i undersøgelsen. Dette er et væsentligt opmærksomhedspunkt, fordi lærere, vejledere og leders forventninger til elevernes opførsel på baggrund af specifikke antagelser om fx kultur og religion, i sig selv kan være begrænsende for elevernes mulighedsrum i og uden for undervisningen¹⁵. Dette kalder på, at der i det fremadrettede arbejde med negativ social kontrol arbejdes aktivt med de fagprofessionelles blik på elever med minoritetsbaggrund; hvordan møder de, og forstår de, disse elever, og hvilke antagelser hviler mødet med elever på? Dette aspekt bliver yderligere belyst i kapitel 5, hvor resultaterne af undersøgelsens spor 2 præsenteres.

4.1.2 Hvordan kommer negativ social kontrol til udtryk?

Tidligere undersøgelser viser, at det typisk er piger med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk, som udsættes for negativ social kontrol¹⁶. Disse fund understøttes i nærværende undersøgelse, idet interviewpersonerne i overvejende grad refererer til piger med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk, når de beskriver karakteren af og situationer med negativ social kontrol.

¹⁵ Lagermann, L.C. (2019). *Farvede forventninger*, Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

¹⁶ Als Research APS (2018): *Omfang og karakter af negativ social kontrol i grundskolens 6.-8. klasse*, Børns Vilkår (2019): *Adfærdskontrol og tankefængsel - Børns oplevelser med negativ social kontrol*.

Undersøgelsen peger dog også på, at drenge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk udsættes for negativ social kontrol – det kommer dog typisk til udtryk på en anden måde. Hvor piger med minoritetsbaggrund kan opleve at blive begrænset i forhold til, hvem de må være sammen med, og hvordan de skal opføre sig i det offentlige rum, bliver det forventet af nogle minoritetsdrenge, at de kontrollerer og overvåger deres søstre eller andre familiemedlemmer. Drengene bliver desuden ifølge enkelte ledere og lærere gjort ansvarlige for, hvordan deres kvindelige familiemedlemmer opfører sig. Dette kan fx komme til udtryk ved, at drengene holder øje med pigerne og rapporterer tilbage til familien, hvis søstre eller andre familiemedlemmer opfører sig uanstændigt.

Interviewpersonener peger dog også på, at der er områder, hvor etniske minoritetsdrenge og -piger kontrolleres på lige vis. Det gælder særligt i forhold til valg af kæreste og ægtefælle, hvor forældrene kan have bestemte krav og forventninger til, hvem de unge indgår forhold med. Derudover fremhæver flere interviewpersoner, at både etniske minoritetsdrenge og -piger kontrolleres i forhold til, hvilken uddannelse de vælger.

Det finder helt klart mest sted blandt pigerne. De oplever kontrol med, hvordan de agerer i forhold til drenge, men også i forhold til meget andet. Det er meget udbredt at holde hinanden på plads. Hvis man har fået en kæreste, bliver det fortalt alle steder. Pigerne skal i den grad styre deres adfærd og sikre, at den ikke afviger fra normen.

Leder, Gymnasium

Det er selvfølgelig mest piger, men jeg synes også at opleve flere og flere drenge, der er underlagt social kontrol. Der er nogle fastlåste forventninger til, hvordan fx arabiske drenge skal være. Det gælder særligt den meget patriarkalske kultur. De vælger heller ikke selv, hvem de vil være kærester med.

Lærer, Gymnasium

Generelt peger interviewpersonerne således på, at både drenge og piger med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk kan være ofre for negativ social kontrol. Det samme gælder i forhold til udøvere af negativ social kontrol, hvor flere interviewpersoner understreger, at det ikke kun er drenge, der kontrollerer piger, men at piger også kontrollerer hinanden. Det gælder fx i skoletiden, hvor pigerne holder øje med, hvem der er sammen i frikvartererne og uden for skoletiden, hvor særligt festerne er genstand for overvågning og adfærdsregulering. Undersøgelsen peger derfor også på, at social kontrol ikke alene udøves af forældre, brødre eller andre familiemedlemmer, men at negativ social kontrol også kan forekomme mellem unge mennesker, der ikke nødvendigvis er i familie med hinanden.

Der er således tale om, at negativ social kontrol er et komplekst fænomen, som tager sig forskelligt ud afhængigt af, hvor det undersøges. Når etniske minoritetspiger udsættes for social kontrol, handler det som oftest om, at de begrænses i deres adfærd, mens etniske minoritetsdrenge både begrænses i deres adfærd, men også forventes at agere som familiens forlængede arm.

I det følgende præsenteres fem måder, hvorpå interviewpersonerne giver udtryk for, at negativ social kontrol kommer til udtryk. De fem områder præsenteres enkeltvist nedenfor og vedrører følgende:

- Overvågning og blikke fra andre
- Sladder og rygter
- Valg af kæreste
- Valg af uddannelse
- Begrænset deltagelse i aktiviteter i og uden for skoletiden.

Overvågning og blikke fra andre

På tværs af de deltagende institutioner peger flere lærere, vejledere og ledere på, at negativ social kontrol særligt kommer til udtryk gennem overvågning (det at blive holdt øje med) samt gennem særlige blikke fra andre unge eller familiemedlemmer. Der er her tale om et kontinuum, hvor den direkte overvågning udgør en mere eksplicit og indgribende form for kontrol, mens de irettesættende blikke er en mere indirekte form for kontrol, som er mindre indgribende for den enkeltes udfoldelsesmuligheder.

Konkret fremhæver lærere og ledere, at der bliver overvåget og holdt øje på flere forskellige måder, ligesom overvågningen foregår i skoletiden såvel som uden for skoletiden. Et element af overvågningen handler om, at etniske minoritetspiger bliver eskorteret til og fra uddannelsesinstitutionen af familiemedlemmer, eller at brødre/fætre henter deres søstre/kusiner til skolefesterne.

Derudover er der eksempler på familiemedlemmer eller andre unge, der sender særlige blikke i skoletiden eller til fester. Disse blikke har karakter af irettesættende blikke, dvs. små signaler mellem de unge, der indikerer, at en opførelse er upassende, forkert eller lignende. I relation hertil fremhæves det, at piger med tørklæde synes at være særligt udsatte for overvågning og blikke fra andre unge. Ifølge ledelsen på en af de deltagende institutioner hænger dette sammen med, at piger med tørklæde i høj grad positionerer sig og bliver positioneret som "rigtige" muslimer, der har højere moral, hvad angår kæresten og det at overholde islams forskrifter. Udefra set er der således højere forventninger til den adfærd, som gør sig gældende for piger med tørklæde, hvorfor pigerne er særligt udsatte for irettesættende blikke. Samtidig fremhæves det blandt enkelte lærere og vejledere, at piger med tørklæde ligeledes selv kan være kontrollerende. Nedenstående citat illustrerer, hvordan piger med tørklæde kan kontrollere og irettesætte piger, der ikke optræder på passende vis. Citatet er ligeledes et eksempel på, at religion kan bruges som en grænsedragningsmærke, dvs. at religion anvendes i et forsøg på at udgrænse andre piger.

De siger tit: "Du er en dårlig muslim". Jeg ved ikke, om det er mobning, men der er helt sikkert tale om hierarkier. Altså nogle af de pæne muslimske piger, som gør alting rigtigt. De ser ned på andre piger, også danske piger. Det gælder særligt i forhold til fester og alkohol.

Leder, Gymnasium

Ifølge flere interviewede lærere og ledere finder overvågningen og de irettesættende blikke sted både i og uden for undervisningen. Tre ansatte på ungdomsuddannelserne udtaler følgende:

Det er ikke kun et problem til fester, det kan også være i klassen. Der er piger, som opsøger os i studievejledningen, fordi de føler, de ikke kan eller må noget som helst. De føler sig kontrolleret og føler sig overvåget nærmest 24/7. Det gør jo, at de færdes mindre frit, og de føler sig hele tiden bange for at træde ved siden af. Nogle af dem giver udtryk for, at de slet ikke ved, hvad de har gjort, for det kan være så lidt. Fx noget, de har sagt, eller hvis de har siddet og snakket med en dreng.

Vejleder, Gymnasium

Det er et overvågningsmønster, som de [drengene med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund] har overfor indvandrerpigerne. Der er meget social kontrol over de piger – også når de er på skolen. De er omkring de piger hele tiden, også i frikvartererne. De følger dem hele tiden. Pigerne har ikke en chance for at integrere sig med de danske piger.

Lærer, Merkantil

Jeg er også religionslærer, og jeg har oplevet, at nogle sidder og vogter over hinanden, når vi arbejder med islam. Hvad de siger, og hvad de ikke siger. Alle kender alle, og det kan lynhurtigt rygtes, hvis ens datter siger noget, som måske i tredje led kan opfattes som kritisk over for islam.

Vejleder, Gymnasium

Som citaterne indikerer, kan overvågningen bidrage til, at de unge minoritetspiger begrænses i forhold til, hvem de taler med, hvad de laver og hvordan de deltager i undervisningen. Flere lærere, ledere og vejledere peger samtidig på, at den negative sociale kontrol i høj grad også

udspiller sig uden for skoletiden, hvor særligt festerne bliver en arena for overvågning og irettesættende blikke. Til festerne bliver der holdt øje med, hvem pigerne snakker og danser med, hvordan de bevæger sig, og hvad de drikker. Nedenfor er illustreret en konkret situation med en ung pige, der henvender sig til studievejlederen, fordi hun føler sig overvåget på dansegulvet.

Boks 4-1: Scenarie – Overvågning på dansegulvet

Der er fest på et gymnasium, og en ung pige danser på dansegulvet sammen med sine veninder. Hun og veninderne har alle anden etnisk baggrund end dansk og bærer tørklæde. Pigen opdager, at en gruppe drenge – også af anden etnisk herkomst end dansk – sætter sig på en stribe foran dansegulvet for at observere, hvad der sker. Pigen bryder sig ikke om det, for hun føler sig overvåget.

Flere lærere og ledere fremhæver, at overvågning er blevet nemmere, mere omfattende og potentielt mere effektiv i kraft af de unges brug af computere og telefoner og særligt deres færden på de sociale medier; dels er det nemmere at følge med i, hvad andre unge laver i deres fritid, dels er det nemmere at hænge folk ud på de sociale medier, fx hvis de ikke opfører passende. Dette bidrager ifølge interviewpersonerne til en markant adfærdsregulering, idet de unge frygter, at billeder eller lignende skal deles med forældre eller andre familiemedlemmer. Mobiltelefoner og de unges mulighed for at dokumentere hinandens opførsel fx gennem billeder betyder således, ifølge flere lærere og ledere, at unge generelt er eller kan føle sig under konstant overvågning.

Sladder og rygter

I forlængelse af overvågningen fremhæver flere interviewpersoner, både elever, lærere og ledere, at unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk udsættes for sladder og rygter, hvis de opfører sig på en måde, som opleves som "uanstændig" eller uden for de opsatte normer. Der er ifølge interviewpersonerne en tendens til, at nogle unge med minoritetsbaggrund sladrer om hinanden – til forældre eller andre familiemedlemmer – hvis de oplever, at en ung handler 'for dansk' eller uden for det kulturelle/religiøse kodeks, fx i forhold til fester, kærester og alkohol. Ifølge ledere, lærere og vejledere anskuer nogle unge det som deres pligt at fortælle forældre mv. om oplevelser, de har set eller hørt om på skolen. Dette er ifølge interviewpersonerne for at sikre, at de unge ikke roder sig ud i noget, de ikke kan styre, eller for sikre, at familiens ære ikke bliver krænket. Overvågning og frygten for at blive hængt ud på de sociale medier gennem sladder og rygter kan medføre en angst hos de unge, som kommer til udtryk gennem selvkontrol – dvs. at de unge adfærdsregulerer sig selv, så de lever op til de opsatte normer.

Det er især pigerne, der er udsat, men det er ofte drengene, der udøver det. De meddeler tilbage til far og mor, hvad de har set og hørt. Det er en anderledes kultur end vores, hvor danske unge betragter det som ukammeratligt at sladre. Det er det ikke i deres verden. Der bliver de nødt til det, så de ikke kommer ud i noget, de ikke kan styre. Det er forskellige verdener. De skal prøve at forhindre, at de kommer ud i noget, de ikke kan styre. De gør det bestemt ikke, fordi de tænker, at de skal gøre et andet menneske ondt.

Vejleder, Gymnasium

Jeg ved, at mange folk ikke kan gøre for det [når de sladrer om andre], de kan ikke være ligeglade. Mange tager det personligt. "Okay, han er ved at få en kæreste, hvad er nu det?". Nogle få er okay med det, andre siger: "Øh, hvad laver du?". Det er mest, hvis mine forældre finder ud af det [at jeg har fået en kæreste], for så ville de lave restriktioner på, hvad jeg må lave.

Elev, Merkantil

Der er ifølge enkelte lærere, vejledere og ledere forskel på, hvorvidt der bliver sladret til forældre/familiemedlemmer eller til skolen. Hvor der blandt nogle etniske minoritets elever er en kultur for at sladre til sine forældre, hvis man har oplevet noget krænkende på skolen, kan det modsat være uacceptabelt at inddrage skolens personale i personlige problemer. Nedenfor gives et konkret eksempel på, hvordan man som ung kan blive udstillet på de sociale medier, hvis man har sladret til en ansat på skolen.

Der er et helt særligt begreb, som flourer blandt de etniske minoriteter; snake. Snake betyder, at man har sladret om nogle, eller at man har bedt om hjælp til noget. Det kan fx være, hvis man er gået til en studievejleder med problemer, eller hvis man har fortalt, hvad der er sket til en fest eller noget. Det er nyt at være en snake. Det er på niveau med luder. De unge deler det på Instagram. Her lægger de et billede ud, hvor personens hoved er dækket til med slanger. Så er man altså færdig. Så ved alle, at man har sladret. Det ville en etnisk dansk elev aldrig finde sig i. Der ville være forældre, der råbte op. Her har danskerne nogle helt andre grænser. Det er som om, at det kører i en verden, der er ved siden af os. En verden, vi ikke kender til og forstår.

Leder, Gymnasium

I forhold til ovenstående scenarie er det væsentligt at tilføje, at flere unge majoritets elever på ungdomsuddannelserne ligeledes udsættes for sladder, rygter og det at blive hængt ud på sociale medier, fx i forhold til slut-shaming. Her kan man tale om, at mekanismen er meget lig ovenstående; at udskamme den involverede for at få vedkommende til at opføre sig eller ikke opføre sig på en bestemt måde. Ifølge nogle interviewpersoner kan der dog for unge, der fra familiens side er underlagt negativ social kontrol eller anden streng dogmatisk/religiøs praksis, være voldsomme konsekvenser af rygter, sladder og udskamning på de sociale medier. Disse unge risikerer at komme i problemer, både hvis familien får viden om rygterne, ligesom rygter, sladder eller kompromitterende billeder kan anvendes til afpresning af de unge.

Valg af kæreste og ægtefælle

Det bliver af flere interviewpersoner, både lærere, ledere og elever, fremhævet, at både minoritetspiger og minoritetsdrengene kan opleve at være begrænset i forhold til, hvem de må være kæreste med. De unge udtaler selv:

Ifølge mine forældre var det et kæmpe problem, at jeg havde en kæreste, som var uden for min kultur. Jeg syntes ikke, det var et problem. Mine venner syntes, det var godt klaret, men mine forældre ville gerne have, at jeg havde en kæreste med samme kultur. Jeg er også blevet truet med at blive smidt ud hjemmefra. Det skete for to måneder siden.

Elev, Merkantil

Hvis jeg ikke tager direkte hjem fra skole, så kan mine forældre godt blive sure. De vil gerne have, at jeg kommer hjem. Det er min far, som bliver sur. Min mor er mere loose. De bestemmer også lidt over, hvor jeg tager hen, og hvem jeg er sammen med. Jeg må heller ikke tage drenge med hjem. [...] Det med drenge er, fordi min far ikke vil se mig med andre drenge, for der kommer én og siger; 'jeg vil giftes med din datter'. Han vil ikke have, at jeg er som danske piger og tager en masse drenge med hjem.

Elev, Merkantil

Jeg fik at vide, at hvis jeg skulle være kæreste med hende, så skulle de give lov. De sagde det ikke sådan direkte, men jeg fik den følelse. Jeg spurgte dem, fordi min kæreste plagede mig, og mine forældre sagde nej. Det gav mig nogle konsekvenser, som fx at jeg ikke måtte snakke med så mange eller være ude.

Elev, Gymnasium

Også lærere, vejledere og ledere giver udtryk for, at de unges frihed til at vælge kæreste/ægtefælle er begrænset, og at det har konsekvenser for deres trivsel og skoleliv.

Vi har haft en del, som blev gift tidligt, også meget tidligt. Og vi har også nogle, som ikke er blevet gift med den, de godt kunne tænke sig. Så vi har haft nogle, der skulle bryde med ægteskabet. Jeg har haft en pige, som jeg har brugt lang tid på, og som heller ikke kunne leve op til uddannelseskravene. Hun havde to piger og boede i et hus. Hun var giftet bort tidligt med en mand, der var psykisk syg. Og hendes mor og søster boede faktisk i samme hus i underetagen. Så hun kunne ikke komme ud af det her forfærdige forhold, fordi familien boede nedenunder. Hvor skulle hun flytte hen? Han var meget ustabil og farlig. Der var vi meget inde over. Hun bliver færdig nu her, men det tog et år mere end planlagt. Det har været så hårdt.

Leder, SOSU

Den seneste pige, jeg har meldt ud, er en pige, som er kommet hertil byen, fordi familien ville have hende muslimsk gift. Vi finder ud af hen ad vejen, at [hendes mand] er voldelig, og at hun ikke vil have ham mere. Sådan en pige, der er anbragt i en by af familien, hvad kan hun gøre? Hun har svært ved at få et sted at bo, hun kan ikke søge hjælp. En dansk pige, der forlader en kæreste, vil ofte søge familien, men det kan hun ikke, for de vil ikke acceptere det. Hun kan ikke bo alene. Sådan en pige er mutters alene. Og selvom vi forsøger at hjælpe fra skolens side med hyppige samtaler, med studievejledere og mig og en mentor. Vi sætter et stort hjælpeapparat op, og alligevel ender det med, at hun ikke kommer i skole.

Leder, Gymnasium

Som det fremgår af ovenstående citater, kan konsekvenserne af arrangerede ægteskaber være alvorlige for de etniske minoritetspiger. I nogle tilfælde vælger pigerne at bryde med ægteskabet, hvilket kan betyde, at de også må bryde med familien. Institutionen kan i sådanne tilfælde sætte den unge i forbindelse med et krisecenter, som støtter den unge gennem situationen. Andre gange fastholdes den unge i ægteskabet, men mistrives i skolelivet såvel som i livet generelt.

I de tilfælde, hvor de etniske minoritetsunge fratages muligheden for at være kæreste med en, de holder af, påvirkes de unge mentalt, ligesom de i højere grad føler sig overvåget i forhold til, om de er sammen med andre af modsatte køn. Disse situationer opleves af ledelse og lærere på uddannelserne som nogle, der går ud over mulighederne for at deltage i skolelivet og i ungdomslivet generelt. Nedenstående scenarie illustrerer, hvordan en ung har svært ved at leve op til skolens faglige forventninger, fordi hun mentalt er påvirket af sin parforholdssituation.

Boks 4-2: Scenarie – Ung kvinde er ved at dumpe et fag

En ung kvinde med anden etnisk herkomst end dansk er til samtale med lederen fra den SOSU-skole, hun går på. Hun er ved at dumpe i dansk. Hun går ofte råbende eller skrigende fra undervisningslokalet. Hun bliver generelt opfattet af sin lærer som en kvinde "med meget attitude". Lederen tager en samtale med hende og spørger ind til, hvordan det går. Først hidser den unge kvinde sig op, men lederen spørger ind til, hvordan det går med dansk. Den unge kvinde svarer, at det har hun faktisk nemt ved. Hun fik 10 i folkeskolen. Lederen spørger ind til, hvordan det går i klassen. Det går fint, svarer den unge kvinde; der var lidt problemer med nogle få klassekammerater. Lederen spørger, hvordan det går med kvindens følelsesregulering – kan hun styre sine følelser? Kvinden svarer, at det kan hun ikke, og lederen kan mærke, at der er noget på spil. Det viser sig, at den unge kvinde har en kæreste, som familien har forbudt hende at være sammen med. Hun har derfor svært ved at koncentrere sig i timerne.

Enkelte lærere og ledere peger også på eksempler, hvor de unge forbydes at gå i skole, fordi forældrene er bange for, at de unge vil være sammen med kæresten i skoletiden. Dette har en negativ indflydelse på den unges skolegang, sociale liv og faglige præstationer. Endelig er der enkelte eksempler på unge, der udsættes for vold og trusler fra forældre, der opdager, at de unge er kærestere med en, som forældrene ikke accepterer. Truslerne går typisk på at blive smidt ud hjemmefra eller blive udstødt. I de meget alvorlige eksempler trues unge piger på livet.

Valg af uddannelse

Både elever, lærere, vejledere og ledere giver udtryk for, at nogle etniske minoritetsunge kan påvirkes i forhold til valg af uddannelse. Der er i denne forbindelse både tale om faktorer, som tiltrækker de unge til særlige uddannelser, ligesom der er faktorer, der afholder de unge fra at søge mod specifikke uddannelser. Til disse faktorer er der stor forskel på, hvorvidt der er tale om gymnasiale uddannelser, SOSU-uddannelser eller merkantile uddannelser.

For de gymnasiale uddannelser gælder, at disse ofte er symboliseret med prestige og mulighed for videreuddannelse. Dette er en tilknytningskraft for flere unge, som hjemmefra møder høje forventninger i forhold til fremtidig karriere. Flere interviewpersoner giver konkret udtryk for, at det er mest fordelagtigt at gå efter ALI-uddannelserne (advokat, læge eller ingeniør), da de unge hermed i højere eller mindre grad er garanteret et arbejdet (både i Danmark og i deres hjemland).

I modsætning til de gymnasiale uddannelser oplever nogle ledere og lærere på både SOSU-uddannelserne og de merkantile uddannelser, at det ikke er tilstrækkeligt prestigefyldt at vælge disse

uddannelser. Ifølge ledere og lærere vælger nogle elever derfor enten at lyve om deres uddannelsesvalg eller begrundet deres valg med muligheden for på anden vis at opnå mere prestigefyldte stillinger. I denne sammenhæng er det relevant at nævne, at flere undersøgelser peger på, at nogle ungdomsuddannelser generelt set opfattes som mere eller mindre prestigefulde end andre¹¹. Dette er således ikke alene gældende for unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk. Dog bliver det af nogle interviewpersoner i nærværende undersøgelse fremhævet som en faktor, der er særligt på spil i nogle etnisk kulturelle miljøer. Konkret fortæller lærere og ledere, at flere piger på SOSU-uddannelserne specifikt vælger denne fagretning, således at de senere kan blive læge, jordemor eller sygeplejerske. I relation til dette nævner enkelte, at SOSU-uddannelserne faktisk bliver accepteret hjemmefra, fordi man inden for denne fagretning bærer hvide kitler.

Men han ville ikke fortælle det [at han går på SOSU-skole] i sit netværk. Dem har vi haft mange af. Det er ikke fint nok. Det er ikke det rigtige. Vi havde også en anden, som kom fra Iran. Hans familie fik det først at vide, da han var ved at være færdig. Han sagde til dem, at han læste ingeniør. Han ville ikke stå ved det. Der er bare noget, de moder, når de kommer hjem, som kan være svært. Særligt for mænd i et kvindedefag.

Leder, SOSU

Der er måske også kulturelt en idé fra familien om, at man kan få den hvide kittel herude. Og samtidig kan vi opleve elever, der er her, fordi det er en uddannelse, man kan komme ind på uden at have et særligt godt snit. Vi har også nogle, der venter på at komme på sygeplejeskolen.

Lærer, SOSU

Gældende for både de gymnasiale uddannelser, SOSU-uddannelserne og de merkantile uddannelser er, at de unge med minoritetsbaggrund i høj grad søger mod uddannelser, hvor deres familiedemedlemmer går. Konkret oplever flere af uddannelsesinstitutionerne således, at den unge specifikt søger mod en uddannelse, fordi den unges bror, søster eller kusine er tilknyttet institutionen. Enkelte ledere fortæller, at det modsatte også kan være tilfældet – at de unge specifikt beder om at være tilknyttet en anden matrikel på institutionen, således at de undgår at opholde sig på samme institution som andre familiedemedlemmer.

Begrænset deltagelse i aktiviteter i- og uden for skoletiden

Elever, lærere, vejledere og ledere oplever endvidere, at negativ social kontrol kan komme til udtryk via begrænsninger i forhold til deltagelse i aktiviteter i og uden for skoletiden. Begrænsningerne i forhold til deltagelse gør sig ofte gældende for etniske minoritetspiger, og her oplever lærere, ledere og vejledere, at der forekommer negativ social kontrol. Af faglige arrangementer bliver studieture fremhævet som et klassisk eksempel. Flere uddannelsesinstitutioner oplever således, at piger med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk ikke får lov til at deltage i studieture. Årsagerne kan ifølge nogle lærere og ledere være mange, men typisk er det et spørgsmål om økonomi, kulturelle konflikter (fx konflikter mellem Mellemøsten og USA i tilfælde, hvor studieturen foregår i USA), utryghed eller ægteskab. Særligt ledelsen oplever, at forældrene har svært ved at acceptere, at pigerne er væk fra familien. Pigerne får derfor ikke lov at deltage på studieture med henvisning til, at de fx kan komme i uføre, fx ved at drikke sig fulde eller socialisere for meget med drenge, og på den måde blive genstand for sladder og rygter, som vil ramme familien. Således rækker kontrollen ud over hjemmet og begrænser pigernes muligheder for at deltage i faglige aktiviteter. Det er dog relevant at påpege, at opfattelsen af baggrunden for den negative sociale kontrol er formet af særligt lederes og læreres forestillinger om, at især piger og kvinder i muslimske familier bliver kontrolleret for ikke at træde ved siden af.

Af andre faglige aktiviteter fremhæves en konkret situation med en konference omkring negativ social kontrol, hvor to piger med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund ikke ønsker at deltage i frygt for familiens reaktion. Situationen er illustreret nedenfor.

¹¹ Rambøll (2018): Kortlægning styrket søgning og gennemførelse af EUD; Rambøll (2018): Kortlægning – Rekruttering og fastholdelse af social- og sundhedspersonale og sygeplejersker i kommuner og regioner.

Boks 4-3: Scenarie – Piger, der ikke må komme med til konference om negativ social kontrol

En lærer på en SOSU-skole har planlagt at tage klassen med til en konference om negativ social kontrol. Her oplever hun problemer med at overtale to piger med anden etnisk herkomst end dansk, som går i klassen, til at tage med. De siger, at de er bekymrede for, hvad deres forældre vil sige til deres deltagelse. Det tager læreren lang tid at overtale dem. Pigerne er bange for, at deres forældre skal finde ud af det. Pigerne mener ikke, at deres forældre vil bryde sig om, at de modtager information om negativ social kontrol.

Endelig er nogle piger – særligt dem, der er udsat for negativ social kontrol af særlig hård karakter – afskåret fra at deltage i sociale arrangementer, herunder skolefester. I tilknytning hertil fremhæver flere ledere, at hvis festerne afholdes i regi af skolen, med vagter og lukkede områder, så er det mere legitimt for de unge at deltage, end hvis der er tale om private fester eller lignende. Tilsvarende kan det være mere legitimt at deltage, hvis festerne er skoletraditioner såsom lanciers eller dimission. I disse tilfælde vil de etniske minoritetspiger have lettere ved at overtale deres forældre til at måtte deltage.

På tværs af institutionerne synes der at være en tendens til, at det i høj grad er ledelsen samt lærere på uddannelsesinstitutionerne, som betragter minoritetspigernes manglende deltagelse i festerne som et problem. Ledelse og lærere giver udtryk for, at pigerne udelukkes fra ungdomsfællesskabet, og at denne eksklusion er 'synd' for pigerne. De unge selv oplever det ikke nødvendigvis som et decideret problem, da flere ikke ønsker at deltage i fester, hvor der drikkes alkohol, og klassekammeraterne er fulde. Flere af eleverne i undersøgelsen giver udtryk for, at det ikke er unormalt, at nogle unge – enten dem selv eller andre – fravælger at deltage i fester, hvor der serveres alkohol. I undersøgelsen bliver dette begrundet i en religiøs overbevisning, fx kristendom eller islam.

4.1.3 Årsager til negativ social kontrol

Der kan ifølge interviewpersonerne være mange årsager til, at en familie, et familiemedlem eller en ung udøver negativ social kontrol. Overordnet set peger interviewpersonerne på tre typer årsager:

- Religion: Definerer, hvad de unge *skal* eller ikke *må*
- Kultur: Definerer, hvad de unge *bør* eller ikke *vil*
- Socioøkonomiske baggrund: Definerer, hvad de unge *kan* eller ikke *kan*.

I forhold til den første årsag – religion – peger flere lærere og ledere på, at religion og religiøst tilhørsforhold, og særligt islam, spiller en afgørende rolle, når unge enten udøver eller accepterer negativ social kontrol. Religionen udspiller sig typisk i form af krav eller regler, som definerer, hvad de unge skal eller ikke må. Med henvisning til religion *skal* nogle unge kvinder fx gå med tørklæde, ligesom religionen forbyder indtag af alkohol. Nogle lærere og ledere fremhæver, at flere unge betragter religion som en legitim forklaring, når de overvåger eller sladrer til forældre, eller når de ikke deltager i fester eller andre sociale arrangementer.

Andre lærere og ledere fremhæver, at religion bruges som *forklaring* på negativ social kontrol, men at den reelle årsag er kultur. Her er der ikke i samme grad tale om krav og regler, men mere normer, der udstikker retninger for de unges adfærd og holdninger – dvs. hvad de unge *bør* eller ikke *vil*. Der er i denne sammenhæng kun ganske få interviewpersoner, som direkte oplever, at unge på ungdomsuddannelserne henviser til islam eller til Koranen, når de skal forklare, hvorfor negativ social kontrol udøves.

Når der henvises til kultur, så handler det ifølge interviewpersonerne i høj grad om, at de unge føler sig forpligtede til at agere på en bestemt måde. For unge piger handler det primært om, at de afholder sig fra at deltage i forskellige aktiviteter eller undgår visse fællesskaber, fordi de ikke ønsker at overtræde opsatte normer, eller fordi de ikke ønsker at udfordre familiens ry og omdømme. For drengene gælder, at de via udøvelsen af social kontrol kan være med til at værne om

familiens ære. På tværs af interviewpersonerne fremstår hensynet til familiens ære som helt centralt. I forlængelse heraf skal det pointeres, at dette primært er ledernes og lærernes oplevelse og forståelse af en bestemt form for ære- og skamkultur. De unge – hverken de etnisk danske eller unge med anden etnisk baggrund – bruger således familiens ære som begrundelse for specifikke handlemønstre eller holdninger.

Overordnet set bruges religion, kultur og etnicitet til at indholdsudfylde årsager til den sociale kontrol. De opfattes som adskilte begreber af informanterne, men i praksis er de i høj grad sammenhængende og overlappende.

Endelig fremhæver flere lærere og ledere, at socioøkonomisk baggrund kan være en medvirkende årsag til, at de unge handler og agerer, som de gør. Fx kan økonomi være årsag til, at nogle piger ikke deltager i studieture. Forældrenes uddannelsesbaggrund kan ligeledes ansues som årsag til, at nogle vælger gymnasiet (hvis forældrene er højtuddannede), eller at andre vælger SOSU (hvis forældrene har en kortere eller ingen uddannelse). Endelig kan socioøkonomisk baggrund, herunder familiesammensætning, betragtes som årsag til, at nogle piger ikke deltager i sociale arrangementer på skolen, fordi de skal passe deres små søskende eller lignende.

For de tre årsager gælder, at de unge 'zapper' imellem dem, afhængigt af, hvilken årsag/forklaring de finder legitim i den konkrete situation. Dette er ofte for at beskytte deres forældre eller for selv at undgå undrende spørgsmål fra klassekammeraterne. En leder på en af de deltagende institutioner beskriver fx, hvordan unge trækker på kulturelle forklaringsmodeller, selvom det handler om, at de af økonomiske årsager ikke kan komme med på studietur. De unge ønsker ikke at fremstå som nogle, hvis forældre ikke har råd, og bruger derfor deres kultur som undskyldning.

4.2 Selvsegregering

I dette afsnit fokuseres på, hvordan selvsegregering kommer til udtryk på de deltagende ungdomsuddannelser. Tilsvarende ovenstående afsnit om negativ social kontrol, repræsenterer afsnittet ikke et generaliseret overblik over karakteren af og årsager til selvsegregering på ungdomsuddannelserne. Der er derimod tale om konkrete, praksisnære eksempler på, hvordan selvsegregering kan udspille sig mellem unge med forskellige baggrunde.

Samtidig er det væsentligt at bemærke, at de deltagende institutioner alle oplever, at selvsegregering finder sted blandt unge, fordi unge helt naturligt grupperer sig og finder sammen i forskellige typer af fællesskaber med egne normer, værdier og adfærd. Der er imidlertid forskel på, hvad de unge samles om, hvorfor og i hvilken grad de bevæger sig mellem forskellige fællesskaber, og om fællesskaberne betragtes som fastlåste, afgrænsede enheder forbeholdt en bestemt gruppe af unge. Af denne grund er det meningsfuldt at skelne mellem, hvad der er almindelig gruppedannelse, og hvornår der er tale om decideret selvsegregering, der har betydning for de unges deltagermuligheder i og uden for ungdomsuddannelserne. På tværs af de deltagende institutioner er der desuden strukturelle, institutionelle og demografiske forskelle, der har betydning for, hvorvidt og i hvilken grad selvsegregering opleves som et problem, der polariserer de unge og skaber ulige muligheder for deltagelse. Disse forskelle udfoldes nærmere gennem afsnittet.

4.2.1 Hvordan kommer selvsegregering til udtryk?

Ifølge de deltagende institutioner, både ledere, lærere og elever, sker der helt automatisk forskellige gruppedannelser blandt de unge, når de starter på ungdomsuddannelserne. De unge vælger fællesskaber til og fra i forhold til, hvilke andre unge de umiddelbart 'connecter' med. Flere elever på ungdomsuddannelserne beskriver, hvordan de fra uddannelsens start 'scannede' rummet for andre unge, der umiddelbart lignede dem selv på udseende, alder, hudfarve, påklædning mv. – altså kropslige tegn, der vækker genklang i forhold til, hvordan de unge ser og forstår sig selv. De unge har således en meget tydelig forståelse af, hvem der hører til deres in-group, og denne forståelse trækker på bl.a. fysiske kendetegn. Den måde, hvorpå unge grupperer sig, er relateret til

deres sociale selvforståelse, dvs. deres forståelse af, hvem de er, og hvem de identificerer sig selv med, og ikke mindst deres oplevelser af andres forståelse af og forventninger til dem. Mange unge træder således ind i ungdomsuddannelserne med en klar forforståelse af, hvor de hører til – en forforståelse, der har bund i bestemte identitetsmarkører – fx kultur, religion, etnicitet, socioøkonomiske faktorer og eller andre forhold. Dette betyder ikke nødvendigvis, at de unges sociale relationer er givet på forhånd. At starte på en ungdomsuddannelse kan også opleves som en ny start, hvor den unge får mulighed for at definere sig selv på ny. Eleverne i nærværende undersøgelse peger dog på, at indgåelse af relationer som oftest tager sit udgangspunkt i en form for genkendelighed, som både kan være fysisk, socialt eller mentalt forankret.

På tværs af de deltagende institutioner peges der på, at de unges gruppedannelser er påvirket af, hvilke mere eller mindre segregerede miljøer de indgår i, før de begynder på skolen, og som de bærer med ind og potentielt reproducerer på ungdomsuddannelserne. De unges sociale og demografiske historik får da betydning for, hvordan de skaber relationer og grupperer sig i uddannelserne. De unge, deres lærere og vejledere samt ledelse på de forskellige ungdomsuddannelser peger samlet set på en række forhold, der er medvirkende til og forstærker de unges selvsegregering. Det drejer sig overordnet set om følgende:

- Kultur, etnicitet og sprog
- Social og uddannelsesmæssig baggrund.

Det er i relation til ovennævnte væsentligt at fremhæve, at når de unge grupperer sig og vælger fællesskaber til og fra, sker det ofte på baggrund af flere forhold. De ovennævnte elementer er således ofte indbyrdes forbundet, fx når piger med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund og tørklæde finder sammen i et fællesskab som i eksemplet nedenfor. Her er det såvel religion, kultur, alder, sprog, social baggrund og måder at gribe skolearbejdet an, der samler pigerne.

Pigerne med tørklæde, de grupperer sig, når der er noget sprogligt. Jeg kan se det på hovedforløbet. Her finder pigerne sammen i en tryghed. Måske fordi de læser og studerer på samme måde. De har samme skolevaner. De kan komme med en helt anden seriositet. De kommer ikke sovende til det. De har familie ved siden af, og de har måske kæmpet længe for at få lov til at tage en uddannelse. Der er en anden seriositet. Og så finder man jo sammen om det.

Leder, SOSU

Kultur, etnicitet og sprog

Fælles for de deltagende institutioner er, at kultur, etnicitet og sprog står som markante karakteristika, der har betydning for, hvordan de unge grupperer sig. Tendensen er generelt set, at de unge grupperer sig i forhold til etnicitet, der således bliver en tydelig identitetsmarkør, som signalerer fællesskab. Som det fremgår af citaterne nedenfor, er kultur, etnicitet og køn desuden sociale kategorier, der kan forstærke selvsegregering, når de krydser hinanden.

Vores elever deler sig op i køn og etnicitet, så overordnet fire grupper. Det er en kæmpe udfordring at få dem til at blande sig. Hvis eleverne ikke kommer i klasse sammen, så forsøger de at komme det.

Leder, Gymnasium

Jamen, de har jo et kulturfællesskab, de har samme sprog, samme religion, og de bor i samme områder. Det gælder også hudfarve, tøjstil, mængden af make-up.

Leder, Gymnasium

Som det ligeledes fremgår af citatet ovenfor, kommer mange af disse unge fra det samme lokalområde, har gået på den samme folkeskole og/eller er relateret familiemæssigt til hinanden. Dette betyder, at der allerede eksisterer et prædefineret fællesskab, som det er naturligt for de unge at deltage i. Opdelingen i grupper på baggrund af etnicitet kommer særligt til udtryk i pauser og i undervisningssammenhænge, hvor de unge selv vælger, hvem de vil være sammen med. Her bliver det tydeligt, hvordan unge med minoritetsbaggrund typisk finder sammen i mindre grupper.

Der er tydelige identitetsmarkører. De etniske piger, der sidder nede i sofaerne og hygger sig - de har det fedt. Drengene har bordfodbold og bordtennis - de finder hinanden mere på tværs. Pigerne holder sig nok mere sammen i klasser og i forhold til etnicitet. De går ikke så meget på tværs.

Lærer, SOSU

Segregering eller gruppedannelse på baggrund af etnicitet gælder særligt de ungdomsuddannelser, der er placeret i større byer, hvor unge med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund udgør en markant større del af den samlede elevgruppe end i de mindre byer.

På samme måde som de etnisk danske unge, samles unge med minoritetsbaggrund i interessefællesskaber. Den umiddelbare og mest eksplicite forskel er, at fællesskaberne for de unge med minoritetsbaggrund også ofte er af kulturel og religiøs karakter. Nærværende undersøgelse viser, at kulturelle og religiøse forhold gør, at disse unge kan opleve et tættere tilhørsforhold til hinanden, end de kan med etnisk danske elever. Religiøse og/eller kulturelle forskelle kan desuden være det, der adskiller de unge med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund. Dette kommer eksempelvis til udtryk ved, at piger med tørklæde finder sammen i et fællesskab, der er afgrænset fra de muslimske piger, som ikke bærer tørklæde.

På særligt de gymnasiale uddannelser synes der desuden at være en tendens til, at der opstår interessefællesskaber omkring alkohol og fester, som går på tværs af køn, men ofte udelukker de unge, der på grund af religion eller kultur ikke må eller har lyst til at drikke alkohol og derfor trækker sig fra sådanne fællesskaber. Som tidligere beskrevet i relation til negativ social kontrol, er tendensen blandt de deltagende institutioner, at der i de fleste tilfælde er tale om unge med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund, som vælger fester og andre sociale arrangementer fra. Alkohol er med andre ord det, der samler nogle og ekskluderer andre fra dele af det sociale liv på ungdomsuddannelserne. På ét af de deltagende gymnasier beskriver de unge, hvor afgørende en identitetsmarkør alkohol kan være. Derfor er de meget opmærksomme på at sørge for øl og drinks uden alkohol til festerne, så det ikke er tydeligt, hvem der ikke drikker alkohol. Det at stå med et glas eller en flaske i hånden uanset indhold markerer, at man er en del af fællesskabet, og det bliver således en måde at skabe social inklusion.

Både elever, lærere, vejledere og ledelse på tværs af ungdomsuddannelserne peger endvidere på, at sprog har en betydning for karakteren af de unges fællesskaber, og hvorvidt et fællesskab af andre unge opleves som åbent eller lukket. Konkret fremhæver flere elever, at det kan opleves som ekskluderende, særligt under gruppearbejde, hvis klassekammerater med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk slår over i deres modersmål og taler sammen indbyrdes. Sproget fungerer da som en grænsedragende mekanisme, der udelukker de elever, der ikke deler samme modersmål. Samtidig giver flere elever udtryk for, at det kan være en mekanisme til at skabe tryghed og samhørighed at tale sit eget sprog med en skolekammerat, fordi man føler sig set og forstået på et dybere plan. På en SOSU-skole udtrykker en gruppe af elever med både minoritets- og majoritetsbaggrund således samstemmende, at det er en helt naturlig dynamik at søge dem, der taler ens eget sprog, fordi man på den måde indtræder i et fællesskab, der allerede er etableret gennem sproget:

Elev 1: Man kan blive glad, hvis man finder én, der kan tale ens sprog. Jeg tænker, man har noget tilfælles, nu kan vi samme sprog. Nogle gange bruger man et arabisk ord ind i dansk, så bliver man glad, fordi de kan det samme, de forstår det på et andet plan.

Elev 2: Ja, og det behøver ikke være sprog, det kan være en interesse, bare det at have en 'connection'.

Elev 3: Det fungerer ligesom, hvis man er på ferie, hvis man er i England, og man møder én, der taler dansk, så bliver man også sådan bedste venner, fordi man taler samme sprog.

Elever, SOSU

Der er endvidere eksempler på, at samtaler på andre modersmål end dansk opleves som en form for mestringsstrategi i undervisningen. Dette illustreres i nedenstående eksempel, hvor to unge

kvinder med minoritetsbaggrund bruger deres modersmål som et redskab til at hjælpe hinanden i undervisningen. Eleverne, der beskriver situationen, oplever det som uproblematisk og forståeligt, at de to har fundet sammen og taler på et sprog, de ikke forstår.

Der er to kvinder, som har en anden baggrund og et andet sprog [end dansk]. De hverken samler eller udelukker. Men de sidder meget for sig selv de to. De kan kommunikere bedre, når de taler deres sprog, og de bruger det meget. Vi kan ikke forstå, hvad de siger. Men jeg tror, de gør det for at bekræfte og hjælpe hinanden – for faglig støtte.

Elever, SOSU

De to unge kvinders egen fortælling står imidlertid i kontrast hertil. I deres fortælling er det ikke kun et spørgsmål om at hjælpe hinanden, der forklarer deres adfærd i klassen – det handler i højere grad om, at de ikke oplever at blive inviteret ind i klassens faglige og sociale fællesskaber samt om at have oplevelsen af at være til besvær, fordi de ikke har de samme danskundskaber og indblik i fagene som de danske elever.

Boks 4-4: Scenarie – At være ekskluderet fra fællesskaber pga. sproglige barrierer

To unge kvinder er de eneste i en SOSU-klasse, der har anden etnisk baggrund end dansk. De har begge flygtningebaggrund og er i gang med at lære dansk. De oplever at have svært ved at indgå i såvel faglige som sociale fællesskaber med de øvrige elever, særligt på grund af deres sproglige udfordringer. De oplever at føle sig til besvær, fordi de andre elever skal bruge tid på at hjælpe dem i gruppearbejde o.l. Flere etnisk danske elever har udtrykt, at de helst vil undgå at være i gruppe med dem, da det kræver for meget og fjerner fokus fra det, de skal lære.

Social og uddannelsesmæssig baggrund

Elever, lærere og ledelse peger på, at elevernes sociale og uddannelsesmæssige baggrund har betydning for, hvordan eleverne grupperer sig i klasserne. Dette synes at være særligt udtalt på SOSU-uddannelserne, idet nogle elever kommer direkte fra folkeskolen, andre har været forbi gymnasiet og endeligt har nogle været på arbejdsmarkedet og kommer på SOSU med det formål at efteruddanne sig. Der er på denne baggrund stor forskel på elevernes alder, deres faglige udgangspunkt, og hvordan de er vant til at indgå i sociale sammenhænge. Eleverne peger på, at det har stor betydning for, hvordan de har det i klassen, og hvem de oplever at have et fællesskab med.

Vi har en meget grupperet klasse. I starten kunne alle snakke med alle, nu er det meget opdelt. Nogle har gået i gymnasium, de er for seje til at tale med os andre. Og så er der dem, der har gået sammen på grundforløb 1. Og så udlændingegruppen.

Elever, SOSU

Elevernes sociale baggrund synes desuden at spille en rolle i forhold til deres overskud til og mulighed for at investere og deltage i sociale fællesskaber på SOSU-uddannelserne. Ledelse og lærere peger på, at der for nogle unge foregår så meget i deres privatliv, at blot det at komme op om morgenen og være til stede på uddannelsen kan være en kamp i sig selv. Flere interviewpersoner fra SOSU-uddannelserne påpeger, at elevgruppen på disse uddannelser generelt er kendetegnet ved at være ressourcetsvag og kommer fra uddannelsesfremmede hjem. Dette gælder både etnisk danske elever og elever med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk. Det at tage en uddannelse er for disse unge et stort skridt på vejen mod en bedre tilværelse, der samtidig betyder, at deres fokus er på at møde op og deltage i undervisningen, inden de skal hjem, hvor der for nogle unges vedkommende venter en syg forælder, de skal tage sig af eller børn, der skal passes.

Boks 4-5: Scenarie – Unge, der kæmper sig igennem uddannelsen

På en SOSU-skole oplever lærerne, at der er unge, som både er fagligt udfordret, og som har svage vilkår derhjemme. Nogle af de unge passer fx en psykisk syg mor eller har en alkoholiseret far. Eleverne deltager alligevel i undervisningen, og det er lærernes oplevelse, at det er de unges måde at komme ud af de svære omstændigheder på.

Endelig peger enkelte lærere på, at elevernes sociale – og kulturelle – baggrund kan give anledning til, at læreren af didaktiske og læringsmæssige årsager kan risikere at forstærke de unges selvsegregering henimod etniske grupperinger. Det handler dels om, at lærere ønsker at differentiere undervisningen, så alle elever kan deltage – uanset hvilke forståelser af læring og skole de kommer med. Og dels kan det ses som et udtryk for, at der på ungdomsuddannelserne er bestemte diskurser og forforståelser om unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk, der mere eller mindre bevidst påvirker lærernes pædagogisk-didaktiske praksis.

En vigtig ting er at bruge noget energi på at kigge indad, få klarlagt sin egen position i det sociale rum, hvad har jeg af fordomme? Hvis man fx er meget venstreorienteret, skal man måske være obs. på forbehold for højreorienterede elever, så man møder hver enkelt menneske så åbent som muligt.

Lærer, Gymnasium

Men didaktisk også, fordi der er kulturelle forskelle i forhold til, hvad man er opdraget til – etnisk danske elever er opdraget til, at man diskuterer tingene, og at man spiller bold op ad autoriteterne, og der er mange elever med anden etnisk baggrund, som har den holdning til læring: Sig, hvad jeg skal lære, så skal jeg nok gøre det. Og i klasser med mange med anden etnisk baggrund, så kan det være anderledes at få danskundervisning til at fungere, fordi man skal være opmærksom på, at man skal lære den måde at agere på i undervisningen i højere grad.

Vejleder, Gymnasium

Bevægelse mellem fællesskaber

At vælge fællesskaber til og fra er ikke nødvendigvis en proces, hvor alle unge har lige muligheder og kan vælge 'frit på alle hylder'. Hvor nogle elever bevæger sig mere eller mindre frit mellem forskellige fællesskaber på tværs af fx køn og etnicitet, er der andre elever, der holder sig til den samme lille gruppe – enten fordi de ikke føler et tilhørsforhold til andre grupperinger, eller fordi de har en position i et socialt hierarki, der ikke tillader fri bevægelighed mellem grupper. Endvidere beskrives elever, der anses som ekstroverte og udadvendte, af lærere og ledere som elever, der naturligt og uden større problemer kan bevæge sig på tværs af fællesskaber. Nogle lærere og ledere peger på, at der ofte er et mere eller mindre synligt socialt hierarki mellem de unge, oftest betinget af de unges sociale, og i nogle tilfælde faglige, ressourcer. Dette har betydning for, hvilke unge der har adgang til hvilke fællesskaber. Selvsegregering bliver da også et spørgsmål om forhandling mellem de unge i forhold til, hvilke positioner i et fællesskab der er tilgængelige for hvem. Af denne grund er det heller ikke nødvendigvis den unge selv, der selvstændigt beslutter, hvilke positioner og fællesskaber han eller hun har adgang til. Citatet nedenfor er et eksempel herpå.

Vi har en gruppe elever, som befinder sig i et system, der er meget forskelligt for skolesystemet. De navigerer efter andre elever i stedet for lærerne. Der er tale om et andet kulturelt system, som er forskelligt fra det, vi har råderet over og indflydelse på. Nogle vil hellere være en del af skolen, men mange andre er del af grupperinger, der er styret af andet end skolen. Grupperingerne har rod i ophavsland, religiøsitet og sådan. Grupperingerne bliver de dominerede fortællinger, som bliver svære at vælge til og fra. Det er ikke et frit valg. Ikke fordi de ikke vil det andet eller andre, men de er unge og nervøse, og derfor går de til dem, de kender. Det er nogle naturlige mekanismer.

Leder, Gymnasium

Undersøgelsen peger ligeledes på, at strukturelle forhold kan udvide eller begrænse de unges muligheder for at blande sig på tværs af fællesskaber. De gymnasiale ungdomsuddannelser har rammer, der gør, at eleverne skal være sammen i den samme klasse og på den samme årgang i ca. tre år. Gymnasetiden er samtidig præget af en høj grad af sociale arrangementer, hvor de unge mødes på tværs af klasser og årgange, og hvor de således har mulighed for at opdage nye interessefællesskaber med andre unge end dem, de plejer at være sammen med. Det lange tidsperspektiv gør desuden, at eleverne generelt set orienterer sig mod flere fællesskaber, får nye interesser og bevæger sig mere fleksibelt ind og ud af grupper i langt højere grad, end det synes at være tilfældet på SOSU-uddannelserne og de merkantile uddannelser. Her er skoleperioderne korte, eleverne skifter hold mellem grund- og hovedforløbene, ligesom sociale arrangementer er mindre

hyppige end på de gymnasiale uddannelser, blandt andet på grund af stor mangfoldighed og aldersspænd i elevgruppen, der gør det svært at skabe et fælles tredje. De deltagende institutioner har således også forskellige forudsætninger for at understøtte elevernes muligheder for at skabe nye og mere mangfoldige fællesskaber, der går på tværs af køn, etnicitet, kultur mv. Der kan være tale om flere forskellige kulturer, der definerer de unges fællesskaber og gør bevægeligheden mellem dem svære. Det kan være forskellige ungdomskulturer, kulturer knyttet til etnicitet og religion, og kulturer, der orienterer sig mod læring og faglig udvikling.

Endvidere er der på institutionerne forskel på, hvordan de fysiske forhold på skolen tillader og indbyder til fælles aktiviteter i og uden for undervisningen. Én af de deltagende institutioner er placeret "ude i ingenting", og dette er ifølge eleverne én af grundene til, at de ikke har lyst til at være på skolen uden for skoletiden til fx fester og fredagsbarer. Ligeledes gør flere interviewpersoner, både lærere, ledere og elever, opmærksom på, at det er afgørende for de sociale fællesskaber, at de fysiske rammer indbyder til, at eleverne samles, både i relation til faglige og sociale aktiviteter. Eksempler på dette er gode gruppearbejdspladser, sofagrupper, bordfodboldspil og poolborde, mulighed for at låne hal eller fodboldbane til idrætsaktiviteter mv.

4.2.2 Årsager til selvsegregering

Som flere af de interviewede unge selv påpeger, er gruppering i mindre grupper og fællesskaber et udtryk for "det, vi alle gør". De oplever det generelt som helt naturligt, at man grupperer sig og vælger nogle fællesskaber frem for andre. Fra deres perspektiv er det en del af det at være ung og finde ud af, hvem man er og ikke er, og hvad man gerne vil med sit liv i forhold til videre uddannelse eller job. Endvidere handler det for de unge – uanset køn og etnicitet – om at føle, at man hører til i et fællesskab, at der er en følelse af fælleshed.

Også i forhold til tryghed. I en skoleverden bliver man jo hele tiden udfordret på et eller andet. Man skal hele tiden udvikle sig eller prøves af. Og så er det jo rart altid at have en tryk ramme eller en tryk base. Det er jo det samme, vi andre gør. Vi samler os jo også med nogle, som vi studerer godt sammen med og har det godt sammen med. Eller nogle, som vi forstår. Man søger jo derhen, hvor man er lig. Fx i gruppearbejde, så søger man jo hen imod dem, som man arbejder godt sammen med. Det er der, trygheden ligger. Men det gælder også pauserne. Der har man nok nemmere ved at tale om noget, som man har tilfælles.

Leder, SOSU

Som citatet ovenfor viser, skaber det at være en del af et fællesskab tryghed for den enkelte elev, og det kan derfor være en afgørende faktor i forhold til at gennemføre en ungdomsuddannelse. De unge, der ikke oplever at have et tilhørsforhold til andre elever i klassen eller føler sig ekskluderet fra fællesskabet, vil modsat have en større tilbøjelighed til at falde fra eller skifte klasse. Denne pointe går igen i forskningslitteraturen¹⁸, hvor studier på forskellig vis undersøger unge med forskellige etniske baggrunde deltagemuligheder i uddannelsessammenhænge. Her fremhæves især betydningen af 'belonging' – dvs. det at føle et tilhørsforhold – i forhold til de unges muligheder for at gennemføre en uddannelse og opleve sig selv som en legitim deltager i et fællesskab.

Fælleshed som 'empowerment' eller 'forstyrrelse'?

På tværs af de deltagende institutioner er der overordnet set enighed om, hvad årsagerne til selvsegregering kan være. Såvel unge, som lærere, vejledere og ledelse peger på, at det handler om at spejle sig i andre, der ligner én selv, om genkendelighed og oplevelser af at høre til et bestemt fællesskab og adskille sig fra andre. Alt sammen elementer i de unges identitetsudvikling og -

¹⁸ Se bl.a.:

1. Khawaja, I. (2010): "To belong everywhere and nowhere": Fortællinger om muslimskhed, fællesgørelse og belonging
2. Khawaja, I. (2018) "Radikalisering i skolen? fra etnicitet og køn til muslimskhed, fælleshed og belonging"
3. Lagermann, L.C. (2014). Unge i – eller ude af? – skolen. Marginaliseringsprocesser og overskridende forandringsbevægelser blandt udskolings elever med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund.
4. Rasmussen, M.S. (2017). Passion og (dis)engagement blandt unge i udskolingen.

afprøvning, som gælder unge på tværs af køn, etnicitet, religion, kulturer mv. En væsentlig pointe er imidlertid, at der er forskel på, hvorvidt selvsegregering opfattes som et problem, der har betydning for de unges muligheder for deltagelse og potentielt bidrager til udviklingen af parallel-samfund. Hvor de unge generelt set oplever grupperinger i ungdomsuddannelserne som en selvfølgelig del af det at være ung, have forskellige interesser og orientere sig mod forskellige kulturer, er der i særlig grad blandt ledelserne på de deltagende institutioner en tendens til at betragte selvsegregering som et reelt problem. Et problem, der polariserer de unge og skaber ulige muligheder for deltagelse, og som især rammer ungdomsuddannelser, hvor andelen af unge med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk er høj.

Vi har været markant udfordret af segregering. Sådan MEGET udfordret. Det er meget svært at overkomme kulturelle barrierer, når man ikke er mere end 17 år gammel [...]. For os er segregering en manglende evne til at skifte mellem grupperinger. Det er et enormt stort problem hos os. Skoler med samme elevsammensætning har de samme problemer. Sådan er det. Det er et problem. Det passer ikke, at man ikke har problemet! Det er et kontroversielt emne, men derfor skal man alligevel snakke om det og handle på det. Vi har en samfundsdebat kørende, som er så polariseret. Enten er du racist eller også er du hippie.

Leder, Gymnasium

Som citatet ovenfor er et eksempel på, handler det problematiske i selvsegregering fra et 'voksenperspektiv' om, at de unge ikke kan eller vil bevæge sig på tværs af fællesskaber. Nogle lærere og ledere peger på en form for fastlåsthed, der kendetegner de unges fællesskaber, og som potentielt skaber yderligere polarisering og isolering af nogle grupper. Herunder i særlig grad etniske minoritetsgrupper, da selvsegregering i forhold til disse grupper også rummer spørgsmål om integration og bekymring for negativ social kontrol.

Hvor fællesheden i grupperne af de unge opleves som en styrkende mekanisme, der giver de unge en følelse af 'belonging', betragtes selv samme fælleshed af flere lærere og ledere som noget, der potentielt truer elevernes muligheder for læring og dannelse. Interviewpersoner beskriver de unges perspektiver på selvsegregering som et udtryk for, at de har 'blinde pletter', der gør, at de ikke ser de langsigtede konsekvenser af at være del af et mere eller mindre lukket fællesskab. 'Voksenperspektivet' på selvsegregering kan endvidere være et udtryk for en oplevelse af, at de unges forskellige kulturer – hvad enten der er tale om ungdomskulturer eller kulturer særligt knyttet til etnicitet – i nogle tilfælde modarbejder ungdomsuddannelsernes institutionelle læringskultur og pædagogiske visioner om demokrati og mangfoldighed som et bærende princip i elevernes fællesskaber.

5. SPOR 2: TILTAG OG INDSATSER TIL AT ARBEJDE MED PROBLEMFELTERNE

I dette kapitel præsenteres de tiltag, indsatser og greb, som er identificeret i undersøgelsens spor 2. Kapitlet indeholder dels beskrivelser af konkrete indsatser, dels beskrivelser af gennemgående elementer i indsatser, der ifølge de interviewede aktører anses og opleves som grundlæggende for at arbejde med problemfelterne på succesfuld vis, både som elementer i det forebyggende arbejde og i håndteringen af problemfelterne. I forhold til de konkrete indsatser, tiltag mv. er det vigtigt at fremhæve, at indsatsbeskrivelserne stammer fra interviews med involverede aktører på uddannelsesinstitutionerne. Vurderinger af tiltag og indsatser er derfor udelukkende baseret på aktørernes egne oplevelser og fortællinger og kan derfor ikke betegnes som god eller lovende praksis.

I forlængelse af ovenstående skal det påpeges, at de forskellige institutioner ikke arbejder med tiltag eller initiativer, som udelukkende håndterer eller forebygger en eller flere af problemfelterne. Institutionerne arbejder i højere grad ud fra en overordnet tematik, fx demokratisk dannelse, medborgerskab eller kritisk tænkning, som mere indirekte tager hånd om problemfelterne.

Indsatserne og de rammesættende faktorer falder overordnet i fem hovedkategorier, hhv.:

- Institutionelle tiltag til forebyggelse og håndtering af problemer relateret til negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering
- Tiltag til styrkelse af relationen mellem lærer og elev
- Tiltag til socialisering i og på tværs af klasser
- Tiltag til nedbrydelse af fordomme og grupperinger
- Tiltag, der understøtter eleverne i mestring af eget liv.

5.1 Institutionelle tiltag til forebyggelse og håndtering af problemer relateret til negativ social kontrol og selvsegregering

En del af de identificerede tiltag kan kategoriseres som overordnede, institutionelle tiltag og fokusområder, som er prioriteret og besluttet på ledelsesniveau. Flere af de medvirkende institutioner i undersøgelsen har således valgt at arbejde fokuseret med 'medborgerskab og demokratisk dannelse' på ét eller flere niveauer af undervisning eller igennem aktiviteter på institutionen. Det kan fx indbefatte dialogmøder, hvor eleverne drøfter deres ønsker til forandring med skolens ledelse, udarbejdelse af klasserumsregler, hvor eleverne i en demokratisk proces udarbejder et kodeks for opførsel i klasserummet samt forløb i undervisningen, hvor der fokuseres eksplicit på demokrati, medborgerskab og rettigheder.

Det aktive arbejde med medborgerskab og demokratisk dannelse på de medvirkende institutioner anses af interviewpersonerne som et bredt funderet initiativ, der skal komme hele elevgruppen til gode. Arbejdet kan dog også ses som en forebyggende indsats i forhold til undersøgelsens problemfelter. Flere interviewpersoner giver udtryk for, at dette arbejde søger mod at skabe en bevidsthed hos eleverne om eget værd og rettigheder, at de har ret til at bestemme over eget liv, at de har indflydelse og kan bruge deres stemmer aktivt i samfundet. Heri ligger en implicit antagelse om, at dette kan gøre eleverne i stand til at reagere på uretfærdigheder og frihedsbegrænsninger, hvad end de måtte observere dem blive udøvet mod andre eller mod dem selv. I forlængelse af de analytiske fund om negativ social kontrol præsenteret tidligere i rapporten, kan det på denne måde anskues som meningsfuldt at arbejde med medborgerskab og demokratisk dannelse for at give eleverne en kritisk bevidsthed om, at de har ret til selv at vælge, fx hvilken uddannelse de vil gå på, eller hvem de vil være kæresten med.

Lærerne fremhæver, hvordan de arbejder med forløb i undervisningen, som skal medvirke til, at eleverne i højere grad kan tænke kritisk, forholde sig objektivt og indtage forskellige positioner, når de diskuterer fx religion eller samfundsfag. Dette gør én lærer ved at træne eleverne i at

reflektere over sprogbruget fra forskellige positioner – hvordan ville man udtrykke denne holdning, hvis man var kristen? Hvis man var religionsstuderende? Hvis man var ateist?

En samfundsfagslærer fortæller ligeledes om et forløb, hvor eleverne bliver trænet i praktisk udøvelse af medborgerskab ved at skulle arbejde med én ting, de gerne vil ændre i samfundet. Eleverne skal konkret tage kontakt til en politiker eller embedsmand for at undersøge, hvad de konkret kan gøre for at opnå deres mål, og derefter komme med et løsningsforslag. Dette medvirker i lærerens optik til, at eleverne bliver gjort bevidste om egne muligheder og rettigheder i den demokratiske proces. Læreren udtaler nedenstående.

Næste gang har de [eleverne] fået nogle redskaber, så er det ikke første gang, de skal gøre, så er skridtet mindre skræmmende. Jeg oplevede, at de var mere engagerede, end de plejer, og ville bruge tid efter skole. Og samtidig så skulle de faglige mål indover, så de skulle reflektere over, hvilke ideologiske grundlag ligger nedenunder deres tanker, så de fik tænkt over i praksis, hvad det betyder at være liberalist eller socialist [...] Jeg havde en pige, der aldrig kom til samfundsfag, i det hele taget aldrig kom i skole, lige pludselig sad hun og skrev til Lars Lokke, det var måske lige ambitiøst nok, men så fik hun fat i en jurist, som hun skrev meget med, hun var sådan en, der havde været på skolen alt for længe, men hun endte med at gå op og få 10 i samfundsfag. Det havde givet mening for hende. Hun så på kvotekongerne og blev helt opslugt af det, og hun fik en indsigt i de demokratiske processer på en helt anden måde, end hvis jeg havde gennemgået det med hende.

Lærer, Gymnasium

Endvidere fortæller en lærer, hvordan det for hende er vigtigt at give elever med minoritetsbaggrund "didaktiske sejre". Dette gøres ved at fokusere på de elementer eller forløb i undervisningen, hvor eleverne er særligt stærke – fx er det lærerens oplevelse, at disse unge ofte har en særlig evne til at forstå de metafysiske elementer i fx folkeviser og romantikken, og dette bruger hun aktivt i undervisningen. Derudover peger flere lærere på, at man kan bruge elevernes mangfoldige baggrunde aktivt til at berige undervisningen og klasserumskulturen ved at inddrage dem og opfordre dem til at trække på egen baggrund i undervisningen. Ved at arbejde aktivt med de forskellige kulturelle baggrunde, de unge kommer med, mindsker læreren samtidig risikoen for at komme til at rammesætte majoritetskulturen som den mest eller eneste "rigtige" kultur.

Foruden at arbejde fokuseret med medborgerskab og demokrati, har flere institutioner indført særlige mentor- og vejledningsordninger, som går ud over de normale studie- og læsevejledningstilbud, som kan forefindes på langt de fleste ungdomsuddannelser. Her har mentoren særlige socialpædagogiske opgaver, som skal medvirke til at fremme den generelle elevtrivsel på skolen, og som skal sikre, at eleverne har et trygt sted at henvende sig, hvis de oplever mistrivsel, fx i relation til negativ social kontrol.

Nogle institutioner fortæller endvidere om samarbejder med eksterne aktører, fx organisationer som Etnisk Ung og lokale ressourcepersoner, som de kan tage kontakt til, hvis de oplever problemer med elever, som går ud over deres normale beføjelser – fx i forbindelse med negativ social kontrol og/eller grov mistrivsel på baggrund af kultur eller religion. Her oplever institutionerne det som nødvendigt at trække på eksperter, der har stort indblik i og forståelse for elevens situation. Eksterne aktører anvendes også af nogle institutioner i kommunikationen med forældre som en form for brobygger mellem skole og forældre, til at gå i dialog med forældrene for at informere dem om almen dansk ungdoms- og skolekultur. Dette arbejder én skole eksplicit med for at sikre lige deltagelsesmuligheder for deres elever. Skolen har i forlængelse heraf indført obligatorisk deltagelse i alle studieture for alle skolens elever. Hvis skolen oplever problemer med at få samtykke fra forældrene, trækker de på en lokal ressourceperson, som kan forklare forældrene – måske på deres modersmål – om karakteren af en studietur som en vigtig faglig aktivitet, hvor deres børn ikke overlades på egen hånd.

5.2 Tiltag til styrkelse af relationen mellem lærer og elev

Flere institutioner påpeger, at en vigtig faktor i arbejdet med at sikre elevernes generelle og sociale trivsel er et trygt og tillidsfuldt forhold mellem lærer og elev. Denne relation er det tætteste

institutionerne kan komme på eleverne i forhold til at få en fornemmelse af, hvad der rør sig i forskellige fællesskaber, men også i forhold til at skabe et trygt miljø, hvor eleven har mulighed for at række ud efter hjælp, og hvor læreren samtidig har mulighed for at spotte, hvem der har brug for hjælp. I forlængelse af de analytiske fund i spor 1 er det ligeledes vigtigt at være opmærksom på de forforståelser, lærerne møder eleverne med, for at skabe det bedste grundlag for at møde hver enkelt elev åbent og uden forudindtagede forståelser af elevens kulturelle og/eller religiøse baggrund.

En af de måder, hvorpå institutionerne arbejder med lærer-elev-relationen, sker gennem kompetenceopbyggende forløb for lærerne. Forløbene har til hensigt at give lærerne redskaber til at møde eleven uden fordomme, gennem refleksioner over kropssprog og metoder til at håndtere konflikter. Flere interviewpersoner giver udtryk for, at det som lærer kan være vanskeligt at indtræde i et klasserum med elever med mange forskellige etniske og/eller sociale baggrunde, fordi der kan være en generel berøringsangst i forhold til fx negativ social kontrol, som kan hænge sammen med en angst for at blive opfattet som racist – eller ubevidst komme til at diskriminere. Lærere skal derfor i denne sammenhæng være opmærksomme på det blik, de møder eleverne med, og skal gøre sig selv bekendte med egne forforståelser af fx elever med minoritetsbaggrund.

I forlængelse heraf ligger også et arbejde med den generelle kultur på skolen i forhold til at møde alle elever med respekt og tillid, således at eleverne føler sig mødt og forstået i den specifikke situation, de enkeltvis eller i fællesskab står i.

På lærersiden har vi kompetenceudvikling; det mangfoldige klasserum, som 20 lærere deltager i. Man bliver klogere på, hvad man selv gør, hvordan kan man træde ud af en konflikt eller ikke at se den som en konflikt. Lærerne lærer at styre kropssprog. Voksne skal kunne agere i klasserummet og kunne håndtere konflikter. For mit vedkommende er det en proces, man går aldrig ud fra en given sammenhæng, man skal møde nye mennesker på ny. Jeg prøver at tjekke mig selv igennem. Tager beslutninger, hvor jeg er sikker på, de ikke tages på baggrund af en antagelse. Det er det, kompetenceudviklingen med lærerne skal kunne.

Leder, Gymnasium

Selve kulturen på skolen er vigtig, og sprogbruget om eleverne. Vi skal anerkende dem for det, de vil og kan. Vi har ved skolestart gruppearbejde og workshop om godt og anerkendende sprogbrug [...] Pedellerne, rengøringspersonalet, alle medarbejdere her er en del af kulturen, og jeg har da også en dialog med pedellerne om eleverne – alle skal vide, at eleverne er deres opgave. Det er deres opgave at hjælpe dem.

Leder, Gymnasium

Det bliver ydermere pointeret, at når man som lærer indtræder i det mangfoldige klasserum, kan det være fordelagtigt at overveje, om det pensum, man præsenterer eleverne for, afspejler elevsammensætningen. I et klasselokale med elever med etnisk minoritetsbaggrund kan dette konkret udmøntes i at inkludere undervisningsmateriale og forfattere, der har samme eller lignende baggrund som eleverne.

Arbejdet med den gode lærer-elevrelation rækker i denne sammenhæng også udover det faglige. Denne del af arbejdet italesættes af flere lærere og ledere som relationsarbejde, som skal skabe og/eller styrke et forhold mellem lærere og elever. Dette indbefatter, at lærerne deltager og interagerer med eleverne uden for klasseværelset og den faglige kontekst. Helt konkret betyder det i praksis, at lærerne:

- Arrangerer sociale aktiviteter med klassen
- Deltager i større skolearrangementer, fx til skolefester og fællessamlinger
- Interagerer med eleverne og er synlige i pauserne
- Er tilgængelige på lærerværelset
- Optræder som mere end blot den faglige autoritet.

Indsatserne kan medføre, at eleverne i højere grad får en fornemmelse for, hvem lærerne er, og hermed hvilke lærere de kan tilgå og betro sig til.

Vi har et stort fokus på, at alle lærere minimum 2-3 gange om året skal lave aktiviteter med eleverne uden for skoletid. Lærerne bestemmer selv, hvad det drejer sig om. Det er altså ud fra egen interesse. Vi pumper timer i, at lærerne investerer noget personligt med eleverne. Og det virker. De laver alt muligt, danser tango, står på rulleskøjter, spiller FIFA. Det kan også være, at de laver en volleyball-turnering og drikker sodavand og spiser chips bagefter. Bare det at være sammen. Det er relationen. Den helt afgørende forskel er læreren. Det er vigtigt for mig, at de er her. Det er den relationelle del, der er vigtigt. Men det kan være meget svært, fordi de ikke ligner hinanden.

Leder, Gymnasium

Vi skal prøve at møde dem, hvor de unge er, altså i kantinen, lounge, vi lærere og vejledere skal opholde os mere der, hvor de unge er, have flere hyggesamtaler med eleverne. Mere fokus på trivsel, vi skal have mere fingeren på pulsen.

Lærer, Gymnasium

Ovenstående arbejde med at opbygge en tættere relation mellem lærer og elev har på nogle institutioner medført, at de har (gen)indført en permanent klasselærer eller kontaktlærer. Formålet hermed er at styrke relationen mellem klasselæreren og klassen eller den enkelte elev. Konkret handler dette arbejde om, at en lærer permanent tilknyttes klassen, hvor der afholdes klassens time med klasselæreren, og hvor både elever og forældre gøres opmærksomme på lærers rolle i klassen.

Flere interviewpersoner peger i forlængelse af dette på, at en stærk klasseledelse er vigtig, fordi det er essentielt, at læreren ikke er bange for at tale om det, der for nogle kan være følsomt. Læreren skal her arbejde aktivt med at få disse emner italesat på en god og inkluderende måde, hvor der åbnes op for den demokratiske samtale.

Vi har klasselærere på alle klasser. Der er hver uge afsat én time med læreren, hvor de har klassens time. Den er god, fordi den kan vise, hvem er "mor" og "far", altså hvem er det eleverne kan henvende sig til. Nu har jeg været leder i fem år, og jeg kan bare se, det fungerer med en klasselærer [...] Det er super vigtigt arbejde, at en lærer bemærker, hvem der mangler, og siger godmorgen til alle eleverne. Relationen til eleven er vigtig. [...] Jeg har et krav til lærerne om, at man skal kunne være klasselærer for at være her. En god klasselærer betyder mindre frafald.

Leder, Merkantil

Vi skal have forståelse for eleverne, og hvis vi skal kunne give dem fællesskaber, så skal vi tættere på dem, derfor kører vi det her med at have en klasselærer, men også for at kunne forstå, hvad der er af socialt uden for klassen, fordi det jo ikke kun i klassen, der sker ting, det er også i gruppearbejde og frikvartererne.

Lærer, Gymnasium

Styrkelse af elevernes forhold til deres lærere kræver en vis prioritering fra et ledelsesmæssigt perspektiv. Mange af de interviewede lærere og vejledere påpeger, at det kan være vanskeligt at finde tid og ressourcer til at dyrke klasserumskulturen og deres forhold til eleverne mere, end de allerede gør. Endvidere er det ikke alle lærere, der ser det som deres opgave at skabe grundlaget for de gode relationer på tværs af elever og lærere. Flere af de interviewpersoner, som selv oplever at lykkes med relationsarbejdet, understreger, at det succesfulde arbejde kræver, at man som lærer, ikke kun skal være faglig læringsformidler, men ligeledes bruge tid og ressourcer på at møde eleverne, hvor de er, både i og uden for den faglige kontekst. Dette kan også være en afgørende faktor i at skabe et trygt rum, hvor det bliver muligt for eleverne at række ud eller åbne op, hvis de oplever problemer med fx negativ social kontrol eller anden form for mistroivsel.

Vi har nogle fantastiske undervisere. Det kan godt være, du er dansklærer, men du skal have en menneskelig tilgang. Der skal være en balance mellem menneskelig tilgang og faglighed, det er en indgroet kultur her. Har man en elev, som er svær at tilpasse, så kommer UU-lærerne og spørger, om eleven må være her. Som lærer skal man forstå eleven, og vi bruger tid på moder på at snakke om eleverne. Vi giver dem lang snor – for hvor havner de, hvis de ikke er her? Der er ikke så mange andre steder at gå. Eleverne ved godt, de får lang snor.

Leder, Merkantil

Man kan godt mærke, om folk kan lide en, eller hvor fordomsfuld man er. Der tror jeg, det er lidt et valg at være ude hos os, hvis man bare vil være gymnasielærer, så er det ikke her, så det er et tilvalg gerne at ville noget lidt andet.

Lærer, Gymnasium

Jeg tror, man er nødt til at løfte blikket lidt fra lærerplanen og det eksamensorienterede og se på, hvad er det faktisk, man får brug for at kunne i samfundet? Det kan godt være meget praktisk; at skrive en mail til en politiker, at man har de og de rettigheder, vi har valgdebat i morgen, man skal huske at stemme, lav for fanden de der kandidattests, mange ved jo ikke, hvad de skal stemme og går ikke hjem selv og tager den der test. Og så lav noget, som du selv synes er sjovt. Det er den bedste måde at give noget godt videre på.

Lærer, Gymnasium

5.3 Tiltag til socialisering i og på tværs af klasser

Flere institutioner beskriver, hvordan de arbejder med tiltag, der skal medvirke til at skabe sammenhold og fællesskab i og på tværs af klasser og årgange. Dette gøres med udgangspunkt i en grundlæggende ide om, at det er godt og sundt for eleverne at orientere sig mod andre og indgå i flere forskellige fællesskaber på tværs af historik samt social, kulturel og/eller religiøs baggrund. Tiltagene er på denne måde rettet mod at få eleverne til at 'opdage' og bruge hinanden og at skabe gode, trygge læringsfællesskaber, også uden for klassen. Som beskrevet i afsnittet om selv-segregering kan netop dette være afgørende faktorer i forhold til at højne den generelle trivsel blandt eleverne.

Som tidligere beskrevet er der i denne sammenhæng forskel på institutionernes muligheder og begrænsninger. På merkantile uddannelser og SOSU-skoler er der grundet de vekslende forløb mellem skole og praktik ikke samme mulighed for at skabe sammenhængende sociale forløb for eleverne som i den gymnasiale kontekst, hvor eleverne som oftest har de samme klasse- og skolekammerater i næsten tre år. Endvidere er der på SOSU-skolerne ofte en meget blandet elevsammensætning, både i forhold til alder, erfaring og baggrund, hvilket kan være en barriere i forhold til at etablere gode sociale fællesskaber i og på tværs af hold og klasser.

Eksempler på tiltag til socialisering er fx 'bogstavmiddag', 'søjlemiddag' og speed dating mellem årgange, som alle er initiativer, hvor stamklasser med samme studieretning laver sociale aktiviteter og speed dating på tværs af årgange. Endvidere arbejder én skole med såkaldte 'familieklasser', hvor klasser med forskellige studieretninger, fx en B-klasse og en X-klasse, sættes sammen som en 'familie' og laver sociale aktiviteter uden for skoletiden.

En skole har et større samarbejde med forskellige højskoler, hvor alle 1.g-elever kommer på højskoleophold to uger om året. Her er der intet fagligt program, snarere stiller dette initiativ mod at skabe en fællesskabsfølelse og et solidt sammenhold mellem de unge – og deres lærere. Derudover integreres elementer af højskolelivet i skoledagen, som fx morgensang og fællesspisning.

Noget særligt for højskolerne er jo, at det ikke handler om eksaminer og karakterer. Det handler ikke om at præstere. Det handler om at lære i fællesskab. Det er det, vi har svært ved og ikke kan få til at fungere [...] Eleverne skal deltage i højskolens aktiviteter, spise med højskoleeleverne og sådan. Højskoleeleverne laver også aktiviteter, som er rettet mod vores elever og omvendt. Det handler om, at vores elever skal opleve kulturen. De skal kunne spejle sig i den adfærd, der er på højskolerne [...] På skolen laver vi fællessang og fællesspisning. Meget af det handler jo om at blande sig kulturelt – mere end i fagene.

Leder, Gymnasium

Endvidere arbejder flere skoler med at skabe en god klasserumskultur gennem konkrete øvelser til lærere og elever. Disse har til formål at få eleverne til at lære hinanden bedre at kende og på denne måde danne grundlag for et godt og trygt læringsmiljø. Flere skoler anvender også såkaldte 'buddy-ordninger', så eleverne på forhånd er inddelt i par og grupper i både faglige og i nogle tilfælde også sociale aktiviteter. Det, understreger en leder, er en effektiv måde at få især de mere tilbageholdende elever integreret i det faglige og sociale fællesskab.

5.4 Tiltag til nedbrydelse af fordomme og grupperinger

I undersøgelsen spor 2 er endvidere identificeret tiltag, der stiler mod at opbygge tolerance eleverne imellem samt at nedbryde de fordomme, eleverne måtte have om hinanden på baggrund af fx etnicitet eller religion. Dette opleves af interviewpersonerne som et middel til at løsne op i ellers meget fasttømrede grupperinger og til generelt at åbne elevernes blik for hinanden og for andre måder at leve eller agere på. Som tidligere beskrevet i rapporten, vælger de unge netop ofte at indgå i grupper og fællesskaber på baggrund af, hvor de intuitivt føler sig hjemme, kan spejle sig i de andre i fællesskabet/gruppen og har et fælles tredje. I forlængelse af analysen kan det derfor anskues som fordelagtigt at arbejde aktivt med at hjælpe elever til at skabe større forståelse for hinanden og "opdage" hinanden for på denne måde at åbne op for deres muligheder for at orientere sig mod flere og andre fællesskaber.

Et af disse tiltag går under navnet "Kender du typen", som konkret går ud på, at eleverne besøger hinanden hjemme hos dem hver især. Formålet med tiltaget er at nedbryde fordomme om kulturelle forskelle og dermed skabe et stærkere fællesskab i klassen og give eleverne mulighed for at få større forståelse for hinanden og for bestemte måder at leve på. En skole arbejder med samtalesaloner, hvor elever krydses på tværs af klasser for at skabe en dialog omkring mangfoldighed, demokrati og medborgerskab. Eleverne modtager et kort, hvorpå et emne er påtrykt, det kan fx være *mod*, eller *hvad vil det sige at tage ansvar*. Derefter skal de drøfte og diskutere det givne emne med andre elever, som de ikke kender på forhånd. På denne måde rammesættes den demokratiske samtale for eleverne, som samtidig får mulighed for at få nye perspektiver på det givne emne ved at drøfte det med nogle, de ikke nødvendigvis på eget initiativ ville have talt med.

En anden institution har tidligere arbejdet med et koncept, hvor en gruppe af elever udvælges til at planlægge og gennemføre et event for resten af skolen. Gruppen blev udpeget af den socialpædagogiske medarbejder og fik tildelt timer i skoletiden til at planlægge eventet, herunder indkøb, markedsføring og selve afholdelsen. Dette beskrives af medarbejderen som en mulighed for at give elever, som ellers er blevet 'stemplet' som et problem, fx elever med diagnoser eller udadretterende piger, mulighed for at indtræde i et andet narrativ. De oplever sig selv i en ny rolle, hvor nogle kompetencer, de ikke før har anvendt, kommer i spil, men det bliver også muligt for de andre elever at møde dem med et nyt og andet blik. Eventet skaber ifølge medarbejderen et bånd mellem de deltagende elever, uanset hvor forskellige de måtte være.

Det, som eventet kan, er, at man bliver del af et praksisfællesskab, hvor man er med til at skabe dagsordenen i et fælles projekt, et fælles tredje. At sætte dem [eleverne] ind i et rum og sige, nu er vi sammen, gøre det værd at være med. Det blev italesat som et projektstyringskursus, hvor de fik et bevis, det var det, der var guleroden, at de fik en personlig udtalelse med en klar definition af, at det er det, de har lært. En del af dem har fået muligheder for at deltage på en anden måde, fordi de har kunnet sætte nogle andre kompetencer i spil, som deres klassekammerater ikke har set.

Vejleder, Merkantil

Det fælles tredje, som læreren i ovenstående citat beskriver, påpeges også af andre interviewpersoner. Dette fælles tredje, som eleverne samles om, kan være et middel til at få eleverne til at "opdage" hinanden, fordi det giver eleverne mulighed for at vise andre sider af sig selv. Dette kan fx være et interessefællesskab i form af sportsaktiviteter, som af flere italesættes som et sted, hvor elever, der normalt ikke deltager i sociale arrangementer, kan deltage. Sports- og idrætsaktiviteter beskrives som et 'frirum', hvor eleverne kan mødes på tværs af baggrunde og studieretninger.

5.5 Tiltag, der understøtter eleverne i mestring af eget liv

Endelig er der i denne del af undersøgelsen blevet identificeret tiltag, der har til formål at give eleverne muligheder for og værktøjer til at hjælpe hinanden med problemer, som har betydning for deres levede hverdagsliv. Disse initiativer kan på denne måde håndtere og berøre mange forskellige problemstillinger, fordi det er de unge selv, der bidrager med indholdet til dem. Som tidligere beskrevet i analysen kan det i nogle tilfælde være vanskeligt for lærere og ledere på uddannelsesinstitutionerne at få indsigt i, om og hvordan problematikker til negativ social kontrol udspiller sig på deres skoler. Dette kan bunde i en generel mistillid til de voksne fagpersoner eller en norm om, at man ikke sladrer. Denne problematik vil derfor måske kunne imødekommes ved at arbejde med tiltag, der giver de unge mulighed for sammen at diskutere og finde på løsninger på de problemer, de oplever i deres daglige liv.

En skoleleder fortæller, hvordan de har haft succes med at lave dilemmaspil inspireret af Mads & Monopolet. Elever skriver i anonymiseret form personlige dilemmaer ned på et stykke papir, hvorefter tre elever diskuterer de forskellige dilemmaer foran klassen. Dette er et greb til at håndtere og italesætte problemer, der kan være svære at tale om i fællesskabet for de enkelte elever.

En anden skole arbejder med at lave workshops på Ungdommens Folkemøde rettet mod andre unge. Workshopforløbet har taget udgangspunkt i et samarbejde med en teaterfagkyndig, som har hjulpet eleverne med at afdække forskellige problemstillinger i de unges liv, hvor de har været eller er i tvivl om, hvordan de burde eller skulle have reageret. Eksempelvis hvis de overhører racistiske eller sexistiske bemærkninger i det offentlige rum, eller hvis en ven er beruset og vil køre bil. Elevernes egne hverdagsnære oplevelser blev derefter iscenesat som teaterstykker, som eleverne opførte for andre unge på Folkemødet. Efterfølgende diskuterede de unge i plenum, hvad man kan gøre, hvis man selv står i lignende situation, hvis man oplever et vist gruppepres og føler behov for at reagere eller sige fra. Ligesom ved dilemmaspiillet giver dette initiativ eleverne mulighed for at sætte ord på de svære problematikker i deres egne liv.

At italesætte svære problematikker fra de unges egne liv, er også ét af hovedelementerne i arbejdet med en institutions pigenetværk. Hvert år udvælger skolens socialpædagogiske mentor unge piger på skolen, som har udfordringer, og som efter mentorens bedømmelse ville have gavn af at arbejde med forskellige tematikker sammen med andre piger, som står i en lignende situation. Ét år bestod netværket af piger med minoritetsbaggrund, som viste sig alle at være underlagt negativ social kontrol i varierende grad, men netværket kan også bestå af piger, som oplever skoletræthed, er meget udadreagerende eller har præstationsangst. Pigenetværket beskrives af mentoren som et frirum for pigerne, hvor de deler erfaringer og opdager, at der er andre, der har det ligesom dem. Det giver dem mulighed for at spejle sig i hinanden og se deres egne problematikker udefra og gennem nogen, der minder om dem selv. Endvidere opleves pigenetværket også som et selvtillidsboost for pigerne, fordi de bliver sat ind i en kontekst, hvor de er eksperter og kan give de andre piger gode råd. På baggrund af rapportens fund, hvor også drenge udsættes for negativ social kontrol, ville det i denne sammenhæng være relevant at overveje, hvorvidt netværksaktiviteter målrettet unge kunne være en godt greb i forhold til at håndtere undersøgelsens problemfelter.

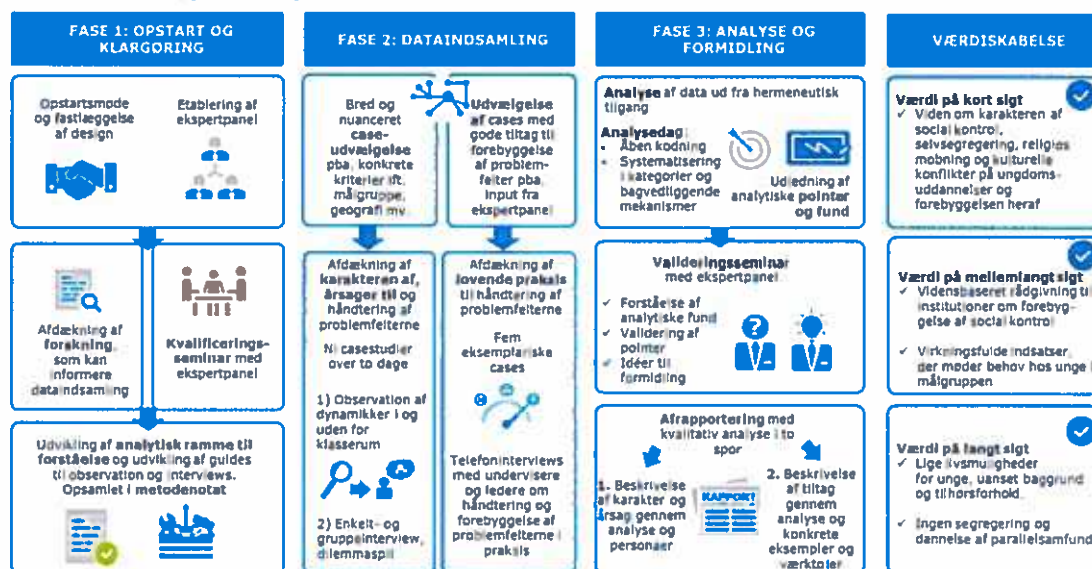
BILAG 1: METODEBILAG

Dette bilag beskriver den dybdegående kvalitative tilgang, som nærværende undersøgelse er baseret på. Først præsenteres det samlede undersøgelsesdesign, herefter introduceres det kvalitative datagrundlag for undersøgelsen, og til sidst følger en vurdering af data, herunder en række særlige opmærksomhedspunkter.

Undersøgelsesdesign

Undersøgelsesdesignet bygger på tre faser, henholdsvis en opstartsphase, en dataindsamlingsfase samt en afsluttende fase med analyse og afrapportering. Som det fremgår af nedenstående figur, er dataindsamling, analyse og afrapportering foregået i to spor. Spor 1 afdækker karakteren af og årsager til problemfelterne, mens spor 2 afdækker gode tiltag og initiativer fra praksis i forhold til forebyggelse og håndtering af problemfelterne. Undersøgelsen er blevet gennemført over tre måneder.

Figur B1: Undersøgelsesdesign



Undersøgelsesdesignets tilgang har taget udgangspunkt i en eksplorativ og åben tilgang i forhold til de fire problemfelter. Dette betyder, at dataindsamlingen er gennemført med fokus på såvel ikke-religiøse, etnisk-danske grupperinger som religiøse, ikke-vestlige grupperinger og dermed haft fokus på det levede hverdagsliv blandt alle unge.

Følgegruppe

I den indledende fase er der etableret en følgegruppe, som har haft til formål at kvalificere undersøgelsens metodiske tilgang samt validere og perspektivere forståelsen af problemfelterne og resultaterne. Følgegruppen har bestået af forskere og praktikere, der hver især besidder viden om og/eller praksiserfaringer med problemfelterne. Følgegruppens medlemmer er oplistet nedenfor.

Boks B1: Følgegruppe

Anne Katrine Heide-Jørgensen, fuldmægtig i Kontoret for Forebyggelse og Medborgerskab, SIRI
Christina Elle, konsulent i etnisk konsulentteam, Københavns Kommune
Crilles Bacher, rektor på Høje Taastrup Private Gymnasium
Helle Olesen, udviklingschef på SOPU København
Iram Khawaja, lektor, DPU, Aarhus Universitet
Maya Müller, vicerektor på Københavns Åbne Gymnasium
Mikkel Kejser, leder af Bostedet "DuKaSku"
Roula Akkari, speciale i social kontrol, radikaliserings og medborgerskab
Susanne Willaume Fabricius, selvstændig konsulent og specialist i æresrelaterede konflikter

I gennemførelsen af undersøgelsen har følgegruppen konsulteret og bidraget med deres viden ad tre omgange. I første omgang har følgegruppen kvalificeret forståelsen af problemfelterne og den metodiske tilgang, dernæst har følgegruppen valideret de analytiske fund samt bidraget med egne oplevelser/perspektiver, og slutteligt har følgegruppen valideret selve rapporten gennem skriftlige og mundtlige kommentarer.

Litteraturgennemgang

I den indledende fase er der udover etableringen af følgegruppen foretaget en litteraturgennemgang med afsæt i *Litteraturstudiet om forebyggelse af negativ social kontrol i dagtilbud, fritidstilbud, grundskole og ungdomsuddannelser*, som Rambøll Management Consulting udarbejdede for STUK i 2018. I forlængelse heraf har følgegruppen suppleret med relevant forskning, ligesom yderligere litteratur er identificeret gennem referencers referencer. Den identificerede litteratur er screenet med udgangspunkt i tre kriterier:

- Indeholder studiet viden om undersøgelsens fire problemfelter?
- Er studiet relevant i forhold til undersøgelsens målgruppe eller kontekst (ungdomsuddannelsesområdet)?
- Indeholder studiet metodisk inspiration til eller kvalificering af undersøgelsens dataindsamlingsværktøjer?

På baggrund af screeningen er litteraturen gennemlæst og genbeskrevet ud fra formål, uddannelseskontekst, metodisk tilgang og forståelse af problemfelterne. Litteraturgennemgangen har samlet set bidraget til en skærpelse og præcisering af de fire problemfelter samt en kvalificering af undersøgelsens metodiske tilgang.

Caseudvælgelse

I forbindelse med undersøgelsens anden fase - dataindsamlingsfasen - er der foretaget caseudvælgelse og rekruttering inden for begge spor. For spor 1 er der udført casebesøg på to gymnasiale uddannelser, fire SOSU-skoler og to merkantile uddannelsesinstitutioner. For at sikre en vis diversitet er institutionerne ydermere udvalgt på baggrund af følgende kriterier; geografi, kommunistørrelse, socioøkonomisk indeks og elevfordeling, dvs. procentandelen af elever med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk. I forhold til sidstnævnte er der i forbindelse med den eksplorative og åbne tilgang inkluderet både institutioner med en forholdsvis høj andel af elever med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk såvel som institutioner med en lav andel af elever med anden etnisk baggrund end dansk. Dette hænger ligeledes sammen med fund fra tidligere undersøgelser, hvor social kontrol også viser sig blandt etnisk danske elever. Udvalget og rekrutteringen har givet forskellige perspektiver på samt erfaringer og oplevelser med de fire problemfelter, herunder både i forhold til karakteren af og årsagerne dertil.

Hvor spor 1 har haft fokus på at indsamle erfaringer fra et repræsentativt udsnit af danske ungdomsuddannelser, har der i spor 2 været anvendt en best practice-tilgang. Ved spor 2 er institutionerne således valgt med udgangspunkt i, at de arbejder (mere eller mindre) aktivt med forebyggende eller indgribende indsatser i forhold til de fire problemfelter. Institutionerne har

dermed haft til formål at bidrage med gode eksempler på initiativer og tiltag til forebyggelse og håndtering af problematikker, der relaterer sig til genstandsfeltet. Institutioner med lovende praksis er udpeget af STUKs fag- og læringskonsulenter, hvorfra seks institutioner er udvalgt til undersøgelsen. Dette gælder fem gymnasiale uddannelser og én merkantil. Det er vigtigt at påpege, at denne udvælgelse har fundet sted på baggrund af institutionens indsatser/initiativer og at disse institutioner således ikke er udvalgt efter de kriterier, som har gjort sig glædende på spor 1. Nedenstående tabel oplister de forskellige uddannelsesinstitutioner, som har indgået i undersøgelsen.

Tabel B1: Oversigt over institutioner på spor 1 og spor 2

	Institution	Geografi	Kommune-størrelse*	Socioøkonomisk indeks**	Elevfordeling
Spor 1	Gymnasial	Jylland	Stor	Lavt	Mellem 10-40 pct.
	Gymnasial	Fyn	Stor	Højt	Mellem 10-40 pct.
	SOSU	Jylland	Stor	Lavt	Mellem 10-40 pct.
	SOSU	Jylland	Stor	Lavt	Mellem 10-40 pct.
	SOSU	Fyn	Stor	Højt	Mellem 10-40 pct.
	SOSU	Sjælland	Stor	Højt	Over 40 pct.
	Merkantil/Gymnasial	Jylland	Stor	Lavt	Under 10 pct.
	Merkantil/Gymnasial	Jylland	Mellem	Lavt	Under 10 pct.
Spor 2	Gymnasial	Sjælland	Mellem	Højt	-
	Gymnasial	Sjælland	Stor	Højt	Over 40 pct.
	Gymnasial	Fyn	Stor	Højt	Mellem 10-40 pct.
	Gymnasial	Sjælland	Stor	Lavt	Over 40 pct.
	Gymnasial	Sjælland	Mellem	Højt	-
	Merkantil	Sjælland	Mellem	Lavt	Mellem 10-40 pct.

*Udregnet efter indbyggerantal 1. januar 2019. Lille kommune <29895,5; stor kommune >60738,75

**Lavt socioøkonomisk indeks <0,973; højt socioøkonomisk indeks >1,416

I forlængelse af caseudvælgelsen er det relevant at påpege, at data er indsamlet i to spor, men at data i forbindelse med analysearbejdet er anvendt på tværs af de to spor. Der er således flere interviewpersoner i spor 1, som har udtalt sig om lovende praksis i forhold til forebyggelse eller håndtering af problemfelterne, ligesom flere interviewpersoner under spor 2 har beskrevet deres oplevelser med eller forståelse af negativ social kontrol.

Endelig skal det i forbindelse med rekrutteringen af institutioner og interviewpersoner fremhæves, at flere uddannelsesinstitutioner har frabedt sig at deltage i undersøgelsen. Dette skyldes først og fremmest mangel på ressourcer i forhold til at trække undervisere og elever ud af undervisningen, men også, at nogle institutioner deltager i lignende undersøgelser. Endelig har enkelte institutioner afholdt sig fra at deltage, idet de har været bange for, at nogle elever ville føle sig overvåget eller stigmatiseret gennem en undersøgelse som denne. Dette har medført, at på spor 1 er diversiteten blevet mindre i forhold til undersøgelsens udgangspunkt, som var af sikre spredning på institutionstype, geografi, kommunestørrelse, socioøkonomisk indeks og elevfordeling.

Elevudvælgelse – spor 1

De elever, som har deltaget i dilemmaspil og interviews, er udvalgt i samarbejde med institutionerne. I planlægningen af casebesøgene har institutionerne på baggrund af deres viden om eleverne udvalgt unge, som de har ment har haft tid, lyst og ressourcer til at deltage i undersøgelsen. Dog er uddannelsesinstitutionerne blevet bedt om at udvælge en gruppe af elever med forskellige baggrunde, fx i forhold til køn, anden etnisk baggrund og/eller religiøs baggrund. Dette skyldes, at det i undersøgelsen har været vigtigt med en differentieret gruppe, da fokus for undersøgelsen er det levede hverdagsliv blandt alle unge. Eleverne, der har deltaget i undersøgelsen, har varieret i forhold til køn og baggrund, herunder om de har været etnisk danske og/eller troende eller ikke-etnisk danske og/eller ikke-troende.

Datakilder – spor 1

I undersøgelsens spor 1 afdækkes karakteren af og årsager til negativ social kontrol, religiøs mobning, selvsegregering og kulturkonflikter. I dette spor er der udført **otte casebesøg**. I nedenstående tabel fremgår en oversigt over de datakilder og antal interviewpersoner, der har bidraget til at skabe et solidt og bredt datagrundlag.

Table B2: Dataindsamlingsmetode og antal

Indsamlingsmetode	Antal interviewpersoner
Individuelle interviews med ledere	10
Fokusgruppeinterviews eller individuelle interviews med undervisere/vejledere	10
Dilemmaspil med unge	24
Individuelle interviews med unge	9
Observation	7

I forlængelse af de udfordringer, som også er påpeget i forbindelse med rekrutteringen, har det i dataindsamlingen ikke været muligt at gennemføre alle typer af indsamlingsmetoder på alle institutioner. Institutionerne har generelt givet udtryk for, at de har været pressede på ressourcer, særligt op til de kommende eksaminer. Flere institutioner har således ikke ønsket, at der både er afholdt dilemmaspil med elever og individuelle interviews med elever. Samtidig har enkelte uddannelser ikke kunnet skaffe lærerressourcer. Ovenstående skal ses i sammenhæng med den relativt korte tidsramme for undersøgelsen. Formål og tilgang til dataindsamling præsenteres nedenfor.

Interviews med ledelse: Formålet med ledelsesinterviews har været at få et ledelsesmæssigt perspektiv på problemfelternes karakter og årsag på den specifikke uddannelsesinstitution. Ledelsesperspektivet rummer det brede institutionelle perspektiv og har således været vigtigt at få med. Fokus har dermed været på, hvorvidt undersøgelsens problemfelter er tilstede på den givne institution, og hvilken karakter de i så fald har. Dertil har fokus været på bagvedliggende årsager samt forebyggende tiltag og/eller håndtering af problemfelterne.

Temaer i interviewguide

- 1) Præsentation af skolen
- 2) Tilhørsforhold og fællesskaber
- 3) Skoleliv og deltagelse
- 4) Konflikter og mistrivsel

Interviews med undervisere/vejledere: Formålet har været at få indblik i karakteren af og årsagerne til problemfelterne fra et underviser-/vejlederperspektiv. Dette har været vigtigt, fordi undervisere og vejledere er de fagprofessionelle på institutionerne, som har den tætteste kontakt med eleverne.

Temaer i interviewguide

- 1) Præsentation af skolen
- 2) Tilhørsforhold og fællesskaber
- 3) Skoleliv og deltagelse
- 4) Konflikter og mistrivsel

Dilemmaspil med unge: Formålet med dilemmaspiilet har været at få eleverne til at drøfte problemstillinger, som vedrører problemfelterne, på en sådan måde, at eleverne har kunnet trække på og inkludere egne erfaringer eller oplevelser. Modsat har dilemmaspiilet også fungeret som en måde at eksternalisere problematikken knyttet til de fire problemfelter, som har kunnet være svære for de unge at tale om. Eleverne er inden dilemmaspiilet ikke blevet præsenteret for de fire problemfelter, da det er undersøgelsens sigte at have fokus på det levede hverdagsliv, og dermed ikke at styre dialogen direkte mod problemfelterne. Eleverne er derfor blevet fortalt, at

dilemmaerne handler om det sociale liv på uddannelsesinstitutioner, herunder hvordan og hvorfor sociale fællesskaber opstår eller ikke gør, samt hvilke bagvedliggende betingelser der kan være hæmmende eller fremmende for deltagelse.

På de forskellige ungdomsinstitutioner har 3-5 elever deltaget i dilemmaspillet. Dilemmaerne har kredset om de fire problemfelter, uden at disse er blevet nævnt direkte. Som beskrevet tidligere, er problemfelterne overlappende og ikke gensidigt udelukkende, hvorfor flere problemfelterne har kunnet være genstand for samtale samtidigt. Nedenstående er et udpluk af nogle af de dilemmaer, eleverne er blevet præsenteret for:

Problemfelt	Eksempel på dilemma
Social kontrol	<i>Der går rygter på skolen om, at Selma og Jakob er begyndt at hænge meget ud sammen uden for skolen. Rygterne gør dem begge kede af det, men især Selma er bange for, at hendes religiøse forældre finder ud af det. Hvad skal Selma og Jakob gøre?</i>
Religiøs mobning	<i>På jeres skole har en mindre gruppe elever bedt elevrådet diskutere, om de må få et af de ubrugte lokaler til bede-/refleksionsrum. Hvad synes I, elevrådet skal svare?</i>
Selvsegregering	<i>I jeres klasse går der tre drenge, som alle er opvokset i Danmark med arabisktalende forældre. Nogle gange i pauserne slår de over i arabisk. I tror ikke, at de bagtaler nogen, men I ved ikke helt, hvad I skal sige eller gøre, når de slår over i et andet sprog. Hvorfor tror I, at drengene snakker arabisk sammen?</i>
Kulturkonflikter	<i>I skal forberede et klassearrangement, hvor alle skal kunne være med til spisning. Da I tager emnet op i klassen, finder I ud af, at nogle ikke spiser gris, andre spiser ikke skaldyr og nogle drikker ikke alkohol. Hvordan forholder I jer til diskussionen?</i>

Interviews med unge: Formålet med enkeltinterviewene har været at give de elever, der har deltaget i dilemmaspillet, mulighed for at uddybe pointer eller oplevelser fra dilemmaspillet samt oplevelser eller erfaringer fra deres hverdag på institutionen, som ikke er blevet italesat under dilemmaspillet. Fokus har således været rettet mod den enkelte elevs udsagn og fortællinger om sig selv uden påvirkning fra andre elever.

Temaer i interviewguiden

- 1) Hverdagsliv
- 2) Tilhørsforhold og fællesskaber
- 3) Skoleliv

Observation: Formålet med observationsstudierne har været at få viden om den strukturelle og institutionelle kontekst og de fysiske forhold på institutionen. Derudover har formålet været at se de observerbare sociale gruppedynamikker de unge imellem, for bedre at have forståelse for de unges daglige liv. Fokus har således været rettet mod, hvad eleverne gør og siger i forbindelse med handlinger på forskellige institutioner, og ikke mod, hvad de mener eller siger i en specifik undersøgelseskontekst. Ydermere har observationen kvalificeret en praksisnær forståelse i forbindelse med de interviews, som der er foretaget efterfølgende med elever, undervisere og vejledere.

Et opmærksomhedspunkt i denne undersøgelse har været, at de handlinger og den adfærd, som foregår relateret til undersøgelsens problemfelter, ofte sker på subtil vis og kan være svært observerbare. Observationerne har dog været centrale i forhold til den åbne og fordomsfri tilgang, idet de har givet anledning til overordnet at undersøge *det levede ungdomsliv* på institutionerne og på denne måde har identificeret "skjult viden" og opmærksomhedspunkter, der ikke ville være fremkommet i interviews alene. Dette har således mindsket risikoen for at "finde det, man leder efter", og på denne måde reproducere bestemte antagelser og forforståelser af genstandsfeltet.

Observationen har inkluderet både iagttagelser af sociale dynamikker, som har udspillet sig mellem eleverne i timerne og i pauserne i henholdsvis klasserum og storrums, fx kantine eller andre fællesrum. Selve gennemførelsen af observationen har varieret mellem institutionerne både i

forhold til tidspunkt, længde og aktiviteter. Observationen er foregået med udgangspunkt i nedenstående temaer og opmærksomhedspunkter.

Observationsguide – temaer

- 1) Rummet, objekter og subjekter
- 2) Aktører (hvem er involveret?)
- 3) Begivenheder (hvad foregår der over den observerede tid?)
- 4) Aktiviteter (handling, som flere mennesker udfører?)
- 5) Handlinger (hvad gør den enkelte elev?)
- 6) Interaktioner (hvad er der på spil imellem eleverne?)

Observationsguide – opmærksomhedspunkter

- 1) Polarisering og gruppedynamikker: Hvordan grupperer de unge sig? Er der umiddelbart tale om åbne/lukkede fællesskaber? Hvad karakteriserer grupperingerne?
- 2) Identitetsmarkører: Hvad har gruppe-medlemmer til fælles? Adfærd, kropssprog, udseende, interesser, sprog, (holdninger/værdier)? Hvordan bliver man en del af et fællesskab? Hvad samler de unge?
- 3) Hierarkier og fastholdelse i fællesskaber: Signalerer de unge med ord og/eller handling, at nogle hører mere til ét sted/fællesskab frem for andre? Kommer de unge med "lidt for gode råd" til hinanden (fx om, hvordan andre unge bør opføre sig/gå klædt/lign.)?
- 4) Blikke og kropssprog: Hvilke signaler/blikke sendes før/under/efter bevægelser i og imellem forskellige grupper?
- 5) Sprog-crossing: Hvilke sprog tales der i undervisningen/uden for undervisningen? Hvad medfører dette? Skifter nogle elever/grupperinger fra ét sprog til det andet, og hvad medfører disse skift; socialt og fagligt?
- 6) Struktur og læringsmiljøer: Hvordan udspilles lærer-elev-dynamikker og elev-elev-dynamikker? Hvordan er undervisningen struktureret? Hvad sker der i lærerstyret undervisning i forhold til mere selvstændigt gruppearbejde? Hvordan udspiller gruppedannelse i undervisningen sig – både lærerstyret og selvstændig? Hvilke muligheder/begrænsninger for deltagelse skabes i undervisningen?

Datakilde – spor 2

Undersøgelsens spor 2 har haft til formål at afdække tiltag og indsatser, der har haft til hensigt at forebygge og/eller håndtere negativ social kontrol, selvsegregering, kulturelle konflikter og religiøs mobning på ungdomsuddannelser. I dette spor er gennemført **15 dybdegående telefoninterviews** på seks institutioner med indsigter fra både ledere, undervisere og vejledere. I det følgende præsenteres interviewguiden og institutionsudvælgelsen.

Telefoninterviewene har været af 1-1,5 times varighed ud fra semistrukturerede interviewguides. Som tidligere nævnt arbejder institutionerne ikke alle direkte med problemfelterne, men sætter i højere grad fokus på det brede sociale fællesskab gennem emner som medborgerskab, demokrati og kritisk tænkning. For institutionerne har karakteren af og arbejdet med det brede sociale fællesskab forskellige betydninger, det kan fx være på klasse- eller lærerniveau, både i forhold til det faglige og sociale, eller på skoleniveau, både i forhold til fællesskaber på tværs af klasser eller årgange. Dette har medført, at afdækningen af lovende tiltag og initiativer i denne undersøgelse kan placeres inden for det brede sociale fællesskab i stedet for på de fire problemfelter. Følgende temaer i interviewguiden afspejler dette forbehold:

- Beskrivelse af praksisnære indsatser enten med fokus på problemfelterne og/eller det brede fællesskab
- Barrierer og drivere i det forbyggende arbejde med problemfelterne og/eller det brede fællesskab
- Erfaringer og resultater af indsatser
- Gode råd til andre ungdomsuddannelser samt gode greb til understøttelse af indsatser.

Analysemetode

Analysen af materialet er sket gennem en videns- og datadrevet metode, der har sikret den eksplorative og åbne tilgang, som præsenteret i undersøgelsesdesignet. Dette har betydet, at der før selve analysen har været udpeget tematikker fra andre studier eller af følgegruppen, som har været relevante at have for øje i kodningen og systematiseringen af datamaterialet. Dog er der også opstået nye tematikker fra data, som er blevet trukket frem og inddraget i afrapporteringen. De analytiske fund i undersøgelsen er således kategoriseret gennem forudgående viden på området og gennem nye indsigter fra data om karakteren af og årsager til problemfelterne samt viden om håndtering af problemfelterne. Kategoriseringerne har været med til at nuancere bagvedliggende mekanismer og sammenhænge.

Endvidere har den offentlige debat om undersøgelsens problemfelter og de forforståelser og antagelser, denne kan medføre, været et opmærksomhedspunkt i det analytiske arbejde med data. I undersøgelsen er der således i analysen arbejdet aktivt med undersøgelsens kontekstuelle forhold med særlig opmærksomhed på politisk og offentlig diskurs om genstandsfeltet. I praksis har ovenstående betydet, at alt interview- og observationsmateriale er blevet kodet i et Excel-ark under kategorier, som er opstået fra data og underkategorier, som vi var bekendt med i forvejen.

Kvaliteten af data

Undersøgelsens formål har ikke været at afdække omfanget af problemfelterne, men at kaste lys på karakteren af og årsagerne til samt håndteringen af negativ social kontrol, religiøs mobning, selvsegregering og kulturkonflikter på ungdomsuddannelser. Undersøgelsen hviler på et solidt og omfattende kvalitativt datagrundlag, der indbefatter perspektiver og erfaringer fra forskellige individer, herunder ledere, undervisere, vejledere, elever og eksperter.

Der gøres imidlertid opmærksom på, at de analytiske fund i denne undersøgelse skal tolkes og bruges i den kontekst, de er indsamlet i. Derfor er det vigtigt at have for øje, at det ikke er muligt at sikre repræsentativitet og generaliserbarhed i en kvalitativ undersøgelse, om end dette heller ikke er hensigten. I den forbindelse skal det påpeges, at nogle institutioner har frabedt sig at deltage eller har deltaget i det omfang, som det har været muligt. Derudover er de unge, som har deltaget i undersøgelsen, blevet udvalgt på den baggrund, at institutionen har anset dem for værende elever med ressourcer til at deltage og/eller værende elever med en specifik baggrund, der har kunnet bidrage specifikt til denne undersøgelse.

Denne undersøgelse beskriver derfor ikke et heldækkende billede af, hvad der foregår på ungdomsuddannelser, men afspejler de oplevelser og erfaringer, som gør sig gældende på de deltagende institutioner.

Nyhed, 15. maj 2020

Det kniber med venskaber mellem etniske minoritets- og majoritetsbørn i skolen

Der bliver ikke knyttet venskaber mellem etniske minoritets- og majoritets elever i skolen på trods af, at eleverne hyppigt arbejder sammen i undervisningen og leger sammen i frikvartererne og i SFO'en. Det viser nye forskningsresultater om skolebørns sociale liv, der bidrager til at belyse de sociale konsekvenser af Aarhus Kommunes forsøg med at fordele tosprogede børn med behov for sprogstøtte.

Børn og unge, Folkeskole, Indvandrere, Integration, Kommune





Modelfoto: Ricky John Molloy/VIVE

Venskaber opstår ikke umiddelbart mellem børn med forskellig etnisk status, når de bliver sat sammen i en skoleklasse. Det viser et forskningsprojekt om skolebørns sociale liv, der undersøger, hvordan børn med forskellig baggrund udvikler sociale relationer med hinanden i løbet af 0. klasse.

Konsekvenser af fordelingspolitik

Undersøgelsen af skolebørns sociale liv er en del af et forskningssamarbejde, der ser bredere på de faglige, trivselsmæssige og sociale konsekvenser af den skolepolitik, som Aarhus Kommune har iværksat for tosprogede skolestartere. Aarhus Kommune fordeler tosprogede børn med behov for sprogstøtte, således at de ikke udgør mere end 20 procent af en årgang på hver skole i kommunen. De børn, der ikke er plads til på deres lokale distriktsskole, får et skoletilbud i et andet skoledistrikt, hvor der er færre end 20 procent børn med behov for sprogstøtte.

Konsekvenserne af denne fordelingspolitik for de berørte elevers faglighed og trivsel er blevet analyseret af forskere fra TrygFondens Børneforskningscenter, og de første resultater er udkommet i et arbejdspapir fra Aarhus Universitet. [Læs mere om politikken og resultaterne her.](#)

De vigtige venskaber dannes hurtigt

I undersøgelsen af, hvordan børn udvikler sociale relationer i deres første skoleår, har forsker Sidsel Vive Jensen blandt andet undersøgt, om der opstår social integration mellem børn med forskellig etnisk baggrund på skoler i Aarhus Kommune, der modtager eller afsender henviste børn. Hun har fulgt børnene i to skoleklasser – en på en modtagerskole og en på en afsenderskole – fra skolestart og et år frem.

Resultaterne af analysen er ikke publiceret endnu, men de viser blandt andet, at børnene i begge skoleklasser danner deres vigtigste sociale relationer i frikvartererne i løbet af det første skoleår.

"Vi ser, at børnene i frikvartererne danner det, vi kalder primære interaktionsgrupper. Det er de grupper af børn, som hyppigst interagerer med hinanden, og som bare



naturligt finder sammen i frikvarterets start uden at skulle forhandle om, hvem der er med, og hvem der ikke er med,” fortæller Sidsel Vive Jensen.

Ingen blandede grupper

Sidsel Vive Jensen observerer en udvikling, der går i samme retning i begge klasser.

”De grupper, som børnene har etableret i starten af første klasse, er så at sige ’helt rene’ i forhold til både køn og etnisk status. De består for eksempel udelukkende af etniske minoritetspiger eller etniske majoritetsdrengene,” fortæller hun og tilføjer, at grupperne til gengæld indeholder børn, der har forskellige etniske baggrunde (fx tyrkisk og somalisk), og at de lokale minoritetsbørn danner grupper med de henviste minoritetsbørn på modtagerskolen. Grupperingerne sker også på trods af, at børnene med etnisk minoritets- og majoritetsstatus er sammen på kryds og tværs.

[Læs mere om undersøgelsens foreløbige resultater her i nyhedsbrevet fra Aarhus Universitet.](#)

Der skal mere til at skabe venskaber og samhørighed

Forskningsprojektet om skolebørns sociale liv viser således, at der ikke opstår social integration mellem etniske minoritets- og majoritetsbørn alene ved, at man sørger for, at de går i klasse sammen.

Det er svært at påvirke det enkelte barns venskabsrelationer direkte, men Sidsel Vive Jensen udleder af sine observationer, at den sociale integration i klassen kan styrkes, hvis skolerne arbejder fokuseret på at skabe flere situationer, hvor børnene oplever en samhørighed med børn uden for deres primære venskabsgrupper. Det kan for eksempel være ved at bruge mere tid på fælleslege eller ved at give klassen fælles oplevelser, der også aktiverer deres følelser. Også i SFO'en, hvor børnene i højere grad grupperer sig efter interesser, er der god mulighed for at understøtte oplevelser af samhørighed mellem børn fra forskellige venskabsgrupper.

FAKTA OM PROJEKTERNE

Om projektet ”Virkninger af Aarhus Kommunes skoleomfordelingspolitik for tospagede skolestartere”

Projektet er finansieret af TrygFonden og er et samarbejde mellem forskere fra TrygFondens Børneforskningscenter og Aarhus Kommune. [Læs om de overordnede resultater i AUs nyhedsbrev](#) . Resultaterne er foreløbig publiceret i følgende arbejdsrapport:



Damm, Anna Piil, E. Mattana, H.S. Nielsen og B. Rouland (2020). "Effects of Busing on Test Scores and the Wellbeing of Bilingual Pupils: Resources matters".

Om projektet "Skolebørns sociale liv"

Dette projekt undersøger skolestarteres sociale relationer mere bredt, men bidrager også til det overordnede projekt med analyser af den sociale integration mellem etniske minoritets- og majoritetsbørn i skoler, der er påvirket af omfordelingspolitikken. Resultaterne er publiceret i to artikler, og der foreligger yderligere resultater i et arbejdspapir, som er under fagfællebedømmelse og derfor endnu ikke er offentliggjort.

Jensen, Sidsel Vive og K. Vitus (2020). "Broken Interaction Rituals, Struggles for Membership, and Violence among Young Children in Two Danish Schools." *Symbolic Interaction* 43(2), s. 284-307.

Jensen, Sidsel Vive (2018). "Difference and Closeness: Young Children's Peer Interactions and Peer Relations in School." *Childhood* 25(4), s. 501-515.

Jensen, Sidsel Vive (arbejdspapir, ikke udgivet). "Contact Theory and Integration Policy. Interethnic Interaction and Social Integration among Young Children in Two Danish Desegregated Schools."

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Effects of Busing on Test Scores and the Wellbeing of Bilingual Pupils: Resources Matter

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Effects of Busing on Test Scores and the Wellbeing of Bilingual Pupils: Resources Matter*

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Abstract: We exploit exogenous variation from a school desegregation policy to evaluate the impact of forced busing on bilingual school starters. The policy moved pupils from schools with many Danish as additional language (DAL) pupils and high per-pupil spending to schools with fewer DAL pupils but lower per-pupil spending. Assignment to busing may be regarded as exogenous conditional on three observed individual characteristics. In contrast to the literature on voluntary busing to promote racial school integration, we find that assignment to forced busing has a negative effect on the academic performance and wellbeing of DAL pupils. Our investigation of potential mechanisms shows that bused pupils attend schools with a lower budget per pupil and a lower overall budget for DAL pupils, have a lower enrollment rate in the after-school program in the assigned school, and are more likely to transfer to another public school (after regaining free school choice). Our results suggest that school resources can more than compensate for potential negative peer effects in schools with moderate levels of segregation.

Keywords: School Segregation; Integration; Immigration; Education; Peer Effects; School Resources

JEL codes: I21; I24; I28; J15; R23; R28

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1. Introduction

The high recent inflows of immigrants and refugees in Western countries have created an urgent need for policies improving integration. School desegregation policies, such as busing, vouchers, or rezoning, have been an integral part of policymakers' strategies to improve the academic achievements of minority children by means of a heterogeneous socio-economic mix in school. This paper presents new empirical evidence on how school desegregation initiatives influence the academic achievement and wellbeing of the minority children directly impacted by the policies. We examine forced busing of Danish as additional language (DAL) pupils to schools with fewer DAL children but lower per-pupil spending and we show that school resources can compensate for potentially adverse peer effects.

There is a large literature investigating the effect of the US racial school desegregation policies that took place from the 1960s in the wake of *Brown vs. Board of Education* and the eventual disbandment of some of these policies, which started in the early 1990s (Cascio et al. 2008). This literature finds that school desegregation leads to higher academic achievement for the black minority students, whereas the effects for whites are mixed (Angrist and Lang 2004, Guryan 2004, Reber 2010, Lutz 2011, Billings et al. 2014, Bergman 2019, Johnson 2019). Recently, Bergman (2019) studies the effects of an ongoing voluntary inter-district school assignment program in Northern California on the academic achievements of black and Hispanic minority school starters. Outside of the US, few studies directly analyze the effects of school segregation (e.g. Rangvid 2010, Böhlmark et al. 2016), whereas many papers examine the effects of immigrant and/or ethnic minority peers in the classroom (Jensen and Würtz 2011, Geay et al. 2013, Ballatore et al. 2018).

We make several contributions to the literature. We are the first to study the effects of *forced* busing and thus avoid the common issue of positive selection into the programs (Cullen et al. 2006; Bergman 2019). Secondly, we are the first to study busing targeted at bilingual pupils. Thirdly, we are the first to be able to follow school entrants over time, which allows us to study a young population thought to be more receptive to school interventions (Cunha and Heckman 2007) and to characterize compliance with the policy over time. Finally, we observe detailed school spending. While US state grants given to school districts with more disadvantaged students reduce the inequality in per-pupil spending between school districts with high and low property values (Reber 2011, Jackson et al. 2016, Johnson 2019, Bergman 2019), in our Scandinavian context the local government school spending formula is such that the per-pupil spending in poor districts by far exceeds that of affluent districts. Therefore, we

study the effects of forced busing in the context of trade-off between exposure to native pupils and per-pupil spending.

We exploit the quasi-random assignment to schools of DAL pupils stemming from an ongoing school desegregation policy in Aarhus, Denmark. Every year, around 550 bilingual school starters (around 18% of all school starters) are exposed to mandatory language screening.¹ Pupils deemed to have limited Danish language proficiency (around two thirds) are assigned to either their local school, also referred to as the district school, or another school. Assignment is conditional on three characteristics which we observe in the administrative registers: special needs, siblings in district school, and distance to district school. We denote pupils assigned to another school as leaving the “sending school district” to attend school in the “receiving school district”. The local authorities provide the pupils with free busing between home and the receiving school. We estimate the effect of busing on academic achievement and wellbeing, comparing bilingual pupils who are assigned to busing to those not assigned to busing while controlling for the determinants of school assignment. These causal estimates should be interpreted as intention-to-treat estimates, because children may delay school start or enroll in private school, and they may gain free school choice in later years.

Forced busing may affect the academic achievement of pupils through multiple channels. First, school resources are allocated in order to secure an even quality of education across school districts. Sending school districts collect more resources per pupil than receiving school districts due to their disadvantaged pupil body. While ample school resources do not necessarily imply better academic performance, they can be an important determinant of academic achievement if stable and used well.² In this case, ample resources combined with high shares of bilingual pupils in the sending schools may imply better teaching for bilingual pupils due to better school inputs combined with gains from specialization (e.g. higher overall budget for DAL support enabling the school to hire a trained DAL teacher). Second, receiving schools have a different peer composition than sending schools, both in terms of demographic characteristics and language proficiency. This has possibly conflicting effects: While bilingual pupils may benefit from having more classmates with native-level language proficiency, they might also be better off socially and academically in a classroom with more bilingual pupils

¹ Danish language screening is mandatory for school starters who speak another language than Danish at home. Such school starters are termed “bilingual” by Aarhus Municipality.

² See Hanushek (2006), Andersen and Mortensen (2010), Holmlund et al. (2010), Hægeland et al. (2012), Fredriksson et al. (2013) and Hyman (2017).

with whom they are more likely to form friendships due to shared common knowledge and everyday lives.³ Third, busing may have almost mechanical detrimental effects on academic achievement due to the longer commute and a subsequent increase in school absence (Aucejo and Romano 2016). Finally, the policy implies the disruption of school life at school start and potentially later due to the possibility of returning to the local school. Hence, the effect of busing on academic achievement and wellbeing is ambiguous.

We find negative effects of forced busing on both academic achievement and wellbeing. First, we find that pupils who are assigned to busing have poorer test scores in math in grades 3 and 6 (0.17–0.18 of a standard deviation) and reading in grades 6 and 8 (0.13–0.25 of a standard deviation), with effects on reading being more pronounced among boys and effects on math being more pronounced among girls. Second, we show that forced busing negatively affects wellbeing in the first years of school; pupils assigned to busing report higher levels of distress in early grades (0.23 of a standard deviation).

Because busing implies moving to a district with lower resources and more language proficient peers, our results imply that school resources matter for the outcomes of bilingual pupils and that the negative effects of a lower per-pupil premium more than outweigh any potential positive peer effects from exposure to a higher share of native pupils. While Billings et al. (2014) argue that higher school resources can mitigate the negative effects of segregation, we show how school resources can more than compensate for them. In addition, forced busing leads to lower attendance in after-school programs in the assigned school. This casts doubts to the positive sign of peer effects: Bused pupils interact less with their class- and schoolmates and these interactions are more likely to be conflictual, as evidenced by higher distress.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the institutional setting and background of the school desegregation policy in Aarhus Municipality. Section 3 presents our data, while Section 4 explains our empirical strategy. We present our results in Section 5. Section 6 discusses possible mechanisms, and Section 7 concludes, suggests avenues for future research and draws policy implications.

³ For models of peer effects, see Sacerdote (2011) and Antecol et al. (2016). For examples of quasi-experimental studies, see Angrist and Lang (2004), Chin et al. (2013), Billings, Deming, and Rockoff (2014). For examples of Danish studies of peer effects of the academic performance of immigrant pupils, see Rangvid (2007, 2010) and Jensen and Rasmussen (2011).

2. Background of the school desegregation policy

2.1. Institutional background

At age four, the vast majority (98% in 2007⁴) of Danish children are enrolled in some form of subsidized public daycare.⁵ For the children in our study, education was compulsory from the calendar year in which they turned six⁶ until completing ninth grade. While pupils' parents can choose freely among public schools, given available slots at non-district schools, most choose the public school located in their school district (i.e. the district school).⁷ Since 2005, municipalities are allowed to revoke free school choice from bilingual pupils requiring Danish language support. A bilingual child is one who does not speak Danish at home.⁸ Aarhus Municipality was the first to implement a policy inspired by this law.

School starts with a one-year kindergarten class, henceforth referred to as grade zero, and ends with a compulsory school exit exam (around age 16). Compulsory education, as well as most post-compulsory education, is free of charge at public schools, whereas private schools charge tuition fees.⁹ Pupils are divided into classes upon entering grade zero and typically remain in the same class until grade nine. While the maximum class size—regulated by national law—is 28 students, the average is 22 students, which is similar to other OECD countries (OECD 2016). In grade zero, pupils are taught by a grade teacher, whereas they are taught by subject-specific teachers from first to ninth grade.

Each public school offers an after-school program and youth clubs with activities guided by professionals and paraprofessionals. These services are available from grade zero to age 18 and usually located in the immediate vicinity of the school facilities. Attendance in after-school programs and youth clubs is high until ages 10–12, when children become more autonomous and opt out. The charges for these services are income-dependent but heavily subsidized.

⁴ Source: statistikbanken.dk/PAS11 and /BRN9.

⁵ A minimum of 67% of the expenses are covered by the local authorities (c.f. the Children's Act).

⁶ Pre-2009 cohorts could opt out of pre-school programs, though, which became compulsory for the cohort starting school in 2009. Before 2009, average enrollment in the optional pre-school was 83% (2005 figures; UNI-C 2012).

⁷ Each school district has one public school, referred to as the district school.

⁸ Cf. article 5, Part 8 in the Public School Act, passed as Law no. 594 on the 24th of June 2005.

⁹ The average annual tuition fee across the 18 private schools in Aarhus was USD 2,166 in 2015 (ranging from \$891 to \$3,745). Private schools receive a subsidy corresponding to 75% of public-school costs regardless of the ideological, religious, political, or ethnic motivation for their establishment, see eng.uvm.dk. Throughout the paper, we use the exchange rate 0.1485 DKK/USD (www.statistikbanken.dk/DNVALA for year 2016).

2.2. Aarhus Municipality busing policy

With a population of around 345,000, Aarhus is the second largest city in Denmark.¹⁰ Danish cities in general and Aarhus in particular are characterized by a high residential concentration of immigrants and children of immigrants born in Denmark, hereafter referred to as “descendants,” throughout its neighborhoods¹¹ and school districts. In 2005, the share of immigrants and descendants in Aarhus school districts ranged from 2–90%, the second-largest share being 62%, and has increased steadily since. Figure 1 shows the concentration of immigrants and descendants throughout Aarhus school districts in 2016. School districts with high shares of immigrants and descendants tend to be school districts with high shares of public housing and located around 5–6 kilometers from the city center.

[Figure 1. The share of immigrants and descendants across school districts in Aarhus, 2016]

The Aarhus Municipality policy to desegregate schools is aimed at reducing native flight from immigrant-dense schools to improve the academic performance of all bilingual pupils in public schools. A secondary goal of this policy is to obtain equal academic outcomes of bilingual pupils across school settings by means of compensatory resource allocation to schools with low shares of native pupils (Brøndum and Fliess 2009).

The policy consists of two main components: busing and school resources. Since August 2006, Aarhus has carried out a busing policy that involves bilingual school-starters, school-movers, and newcomers. All bilingual pupils about to enroll in an Aarhus school are required to take a language test and—if they test below a predetermined threshold—they lose their free school choice and the municipality assigns them to a school.

Every year, around 550 school starters (i.e. 18% of all school starters in the municipality) take the language test, which consists of three tasks designed to evaluate different aspects of a child’s language skills. Specifically, the tasks test their vocabulary and level of language comprehension. The language test is administered by a person appointed by the municipality. While parents are allowed to be present while the test is administered, they are not allowed to talk. The test is subsequently scored by a central office in the administration of Aarhus Municipality to avoid manipulation by the adults present. Two thresholds separate three

¹⁰ www.statistikbanken.dk/BY2.

¹¹ Calculating the residential concentration of immigrants and descendants from the ten largest source countries across residential neighborhoods (with on average 291 households) in Denmark over the 1986–2016 period, Damm, Hassani, and Schultz-Nielsen (2019a) find an average dissimilarity index of 45%, i.e. 55% of immigrants and descendants from these source countries should move to a different neighborhood in order to obtain the same distribution as the majority group.

categories of language proficiency. These thresholds have not changed over the years and depend on the age of the child (6-month increments).

Based on the test score, test-takers are assigned to one of three categories: F, S, and B. Pupils whose test scores exceed the threshold for having an adequate level of Danish language proficiency for that age maintain their free school choice (category F) and typically attend the district school. Pupils testing below this threshold get a school assignment (category S). These pupils are deemed to require language support, further broken down into low, medium, and high. They must attend the school they are assigned to¹² but can regain their free school choice by developing age-appropriate Danish language proficiency in later grades (as indicated by a later language assessment).^{13,14} They also have the right to attend DAL classes after school. Finally, pupils whose test scores fall below the threshold for an even more substantial need for language support are referred to a basic DAL class (category B). For all children, private school is also an option. Annually, around 26% of pupils are assigned to category F, and 5% to category B. Around one-third of all category-S pupils are assigned to a school outside their school district, either due to a parental request for a vacant slot outside their district or assignment to forced busing.¹⁵

In particular, if the number of category-S pupils in grade zero in a school district exceeds 20%, the surplus is assigned to a receiving school outside the district and provided with free bus services between home and school.¹⁶ In the remainder of the paper, we refer to pupils assigned to a receiving school district as “assigned to busing” and to the school district of residence as “sending school districts.” The municipality selects the category-S pupils who are assigned to the district school while accounting for the following priority criteria: First priority goes to pupils with special needs or problems in the family. Second priority goes to pupils with siblings in the district school. Finally, the municipality has information about the age of older siblings in the district school and the distance from the district school of the pupils’

¹² Cat-S pupils can only request a slot in another public school if the share of Cat-S pupils in that grade is below 20%.

¹³ The language proficiency of Cat-S pupils is assessed regularly using grade-appropriate assessment material.

¹⁴ We do not use the duration until regaining free school choice as an outcome variable in our analysis, because Cat-S pupils referred to a receiving school have a stronger incentive to have their Danish language proficiency assessed in later grades in order to have the option to transfer to the district school.

¹⁵ Since 2009, school referrals became less likely while the share of pupils granted free school choice increased (see Figure A1 in the Appendix). Possible explanations include compositional effects caused by more restrictive asylum and family-immigration laws in Denmark since 2002 and increased resources for DAL support to bilingual children in pre-school programs in Aarhus during our observation period. Moreover, one school, Ellekær School, has been exempt from the 20% rule since 2015.

¹⁶ The municipality lists which schools outside the school district Cat-S pupils can be referred to, according to the school district they reside in. The school bus runs from the district school to the receiving schools.

residence, which they might take into account. Additionally, when deciding the exact school of assignment, the municipality also considers the assignment of other category-S pupils from the neighborhood of residence in order to gather them at one - or at least few - schools.

In 2006, in addition to the school assignment policy, Aarhus Municipality instituted two new types of schools: full-day schools and magnet schools. Two school districts with more than 40% immigrants and descendants were converted to full-day schools, i.e. public schools requiring pupils to attend school for the entire day (8 am to 4 pm), rather than 8 am to 2 pm, which is the norm in Denmark. Full-day schools do not follow the 20% rule for the busing policy and implement busing only on a voluntary basis, and for this reason we exclude them from our study. Four public schools located in districts with high shares of bilingual pupils were declared magnet schools and were allocated substantially higher funding per pupil with the purpose to attract and retain local pupils and improve school quality.¹⁷

[Figure 2. Map of sending and receiving school districts in Aarhus Municipality, 2007–16]

Figure 2 is a map of the school districts in Aarhus Municipality in 2016 and illustrates the three types of school districts: sending, receiving, and neither sending nor receiving. In 2016, there were 11 sending school districts, 23 receiving districts and 12 districts neither sending nor receiving. Comparison of Figure 2 with Figure 1 reveals that school districts with high concentrations of immigrants and descendants are sending school districts (except for the two school districts with the highest concentrations, which have full-day schools instead and are classified as neither sending nor receiving).

Aarhus Municipality allocates resources to regular classes in public schools on the basis of the number of pupils in each grade. The specific rate per pupil in a regular class depends on the grade because the legal requirements of minimum coursework are different for each grade. Resources target specific tasks, such as regular education, education for pupils with special needs, and physical school facilities. On top of that, schools receive resources for additional educational and pedagogical activities, such as support centers. Of these additional resources, 60% is allocated based on the number of pupils and the remaining 40% is allocated using a statistical model including three indicators of the adult population in each district: income, level of education, and employment status. Magnet schools receive further additional resources that are allocated based on their historical pupil share.

¹⁷ Teaching in magnet schools is planned with special focus on interculturalism, targeted teaching, social skills, school-parent collaboration, music, and other creative subjects (Brøndum and Fliess 2009).

Using the school budgets for 2014 as an example, Figure 3 shows the budget per pupil in regular classes in Aarhus public schools. The average budget per pupil in regular classes increased by grade (1–3, 4–6, and 7–9) and school type (regular schools, regular schools with more than 20% DAL pupils and magnet schools). For example, the per-pupil budget was around \$6,000 in grades 4–6 in regular schools. Magnet schools on average received a budget premium per pupil of 20–23%, depending on the grade.

[Figure 3. Budget per pupil in regular classes and budget premium for DAL pupils. 2014]

Schools receive additional resources to accommodate the needs and requirements of DAL pupils. The specific rule for resource allocation to different DAL activities follows a point system, where a point corresponds to a given rate (e.g. \$779 in 2016). The school receives 0.75 points per DAL pupil plus additional points for language-tested DAL pupils in grades 0–3, according to their category of DAL support need (B, S, or F). Additionally, schools with more than 20% DAL pupils receive “task-specific resources” to facilitate school–parent cooperation. The total annual budget for “task-specific resources” is allocated between these schools based on the school’s overall share of DAL pupils.

The last columns in Figure 3 illustrate the importance of the additional DAL funding. The DAL budget is sizable: It was on average \$832 per pupil in schools with at least 20% DAL pupils and slightly higher in regular schools with fewer than 20% DAL pupils. Moreover, schools with more than 20% DAL pupils on average received an extra per-pupil premium of \$356. Even though the municipality distributes resources to schools for specific purposes, the school principals have the autonomy to spend the budget as they see fit. See Appendix B for further details on the Aarhus Municipality guidelines for the allocation of school resources.

Relatedly, Aarhus Municipality closed the schools in the Frydenlund and Nordgaard school districts in 2008, which had very high shares of bilingual pupils. We drop pupils living in these two districts from the analysis. While pupils who were bused from those two schools in 2007 were unaffected by the ex-post school disruption generated by the closure, pupils who attended those schools were redistributed across other school districts. Specifically, pupils were redistributed to receiving schools or schools with characteristics similar to the receiving schools and an extra per-pupil budget of around \$1,200 was allocated to the schools that took them in. In practice, bused pupils experienced ex-ante school disruption while their non-bused counterparts experienced ex-post school disruption but similar school characteristics. As a consequence, we lack a proper control group for pupils assigned to busing from these districts.

Furthermore, after the year of the test, compliance for pupils from these two districts who were assigned to the district school cannot be correctly defined.

3. Data

3.1. Data sources

Our micro data stems from five sources: national administrative registers, administrative registers and school budget data from Aarhus Municipality, national education data collected by public schools, an online database from the Ministry of Education, Children and Youth, and the neighborhood data set constructed by Damm, Hassani, and Schultz-Nielsen (2019b).¹⁸

The national administrative registers provide detailed information on the school district of residence, daycare attendance and individual demographic characteristics of children and their parents (e.g. age, country of origin, immigrant status, date of immigration, and marital and residence status). For parents, we also have information on education level, income, and employment status.

From the pupil register for Aarhus Municipality (2007–17) and the national administrative education register, we obtain detailed information about which school, grade, and class the pupils attend every year. From the after-school programs register for Aarhus Municipality (2007–15), we obtain information on the school at which the pupil attends after-school programs. The Aarhus language test register contains detailed information on all language tests administered between 2006 and 2017, including the test date, scores in each task, final overall score, and assignment to a school.

National education data collected by public schools includes data on national test scores, absentee rates, and wellbeing. The national test register (2010–19) contains information on the pupils' test scores on the national test in reading, math, English and science.¹⁹ The school absence register (2011–19) has information on the number of days of absence during the school year and the total number of active school days by school year. The Danish wellbeing survey (2015–19) is an annual survey among the population of pupils in public schools and contains answers to a range of questions about their wellbeing in school.

¹⁸ See Table A1 in the Appendix for detailed definitions and the data sources of all variables.

¹⁹ Our data access to the national test register in 2019 for this study excludes access to test scores in English and science.

Our measures of characteristics of public schools in Aarhus stem from an online database maintained by the Ministry of Education, Children and Youth, available from 2012. The database includes the share of lessons with qualified staff by subject (e.g. language taught by a teacher who has specialized in languages) and grade, pupils per teacher, age composition of teachers, annual number of language (math) lessons, and school size (in terms of number of pupils). School budget information (overall and by sub-items) from Aarhus Municipality for 2014–16 allows us to calculate the per-pupil budget for pupils in regular classes across schools and the budget premium for DAL support for bilingual pupils in regular classes by category of language support need.

Finally, we obtain information about the individual's (micro-) neighborhood of residence from the data set constructed by Damm et al. (2019b), available from 1986 until 2016.

3.2. *Sample selection and description*

In Aarhus Municipality, 33,106 children start school between school years 2007/08 and 2016/17. Of these, 5,996 school starters have been screened in Aarhus between 2007 and 2016 and are alive in 2017. We exclude 156 pupils who were considered unfit for busing, as these pupils are all referred to the district school. We drop 17 children who took the language test after age 7.²⁰ Finally, we drop 141 pupils who are assigned to either private or special needs schools.

We focus on the remaining 3,403 category-S pupils. We further restrict the sample to include only school starters living in a school district that (i) does not have a full-day school (2,631 school starters) and (ii) is a sending school in the year of school start. This reduces our sample to 1,431 school starters. We exclude school starters whose parents expressed a school preference before assignment, because expressing a school preference may influence school assignment or compliance. Finally, we exclude school starters who lived in the Nordgaard and Frydenlund school districts in 2007 and a small number of school starters for whom we lack information on the neighborhood of residence at the time of language screening.²¹ In the end, our sample consists of 954 school starters.²²

²⁰ These children are older than the official school-start age and are likely to be either new immigrants or negatively selected.

²¹ The families of these children moved to Aarhus Municipality during 2016 in the calendar year that the child turned 6. Since information about the individual's neighborhood of residence is only available until the beginning of 2016, their neighborhood of destination is unknown.

²² See Table A2 in the Appendix for a description of each step in the sample selection procedure.

In Table 1, we report sample characteristics for the final sample and by school assignment status (assigned vs. not assigned to busing). According to Panel A, the majority of children are either immigrants (8%), or descendants (85%); 86% originate from non-Western countries, and almost half of them are of middle-Eastern origin. These children come from large families (the average number of siblings is over three in the year the child turns 4), and only 70% live in a nuclear family.²³

We measure parental characteristics in the year the child turns 4 and report them in Panel B. Compared to fathers, mothers tend to be 5 years younger, less likely to be employed (26% vs. 50%), and more likely to be out of the labor force (64% vs. 36%). Overall, 44% of pupils have both parents not employed. The real disposable income of each parent is low relative to the school district average (see Table 2, Panel A). When compared to the distribution of disposable income of working-age immigrants in Aarhus Municipality, 16% of mothers and 27% of fathers are in the lowest quartile, while 19% of mothers and 16% of fathers are in the highest quartile. Parental education level, when known, is relatively low; 31% of mothers and 25% of fathers did not complete high school, while 20% of mothers and 18% of fathers have tertiary education.²⁴

[Table 1. Sample characteristics: individuals and parents]

3.3 The school assignment policy

In Table 1, Panel C, we describe how the policy is applied in our sample of category-S pupils. First, according to their test score, school starters are divided into levels of language support need: 13% have strong need, 43% medium need, and 43% low need.

Approximately 50% of the pupils in the sample are assigned to busing. In accordance with the municipality determinants of school assignment, pupils assigned to the district school are more likely than pupils assigned to busing to have a sibling attending the district school (65% vs. 19%) and have a lower age difference to the youngest older sibling at the district school (3 vs. 5 years). We calculate distance to school by computing the distance from the neighborhood of residence to the district school and the school of assignment (both in kilometers). Pupils in our sample on average live 850 meters from the district school. Pupils assigned to busing must travel on average 7 km each way, which can take up to 25 minutes.

²³ In 2012, 84% of children aged 4 in Denmark lived in a nuclear family, defined as a household with two adults who are married, registered partners, or cohabiting (www.statistikbanken.dk/FAM111N).

²⁴ Individuals having no education information in the registers means that either they have not completed an education at all (in Denmark or in the country of origin) or they have not reported it in Statistics Denmark surveys.

Receiving schools distribute category-S school starters across classes. On average, pupils assigned to busing who enroll in grade zero in a public school are in class with two other category-S pupils, whereas category-S school starters assigned to the district school attend a class with four other category-S pupils.

[Table 2. Sample characteristics: school districts of residence and assignment]

The children in our sample reside in 10 school districts and are assigned to 43 different school districts, either the district school or a receiving school. In Table 2, we report average characteristics of the school districts by type across relevant years: sending district with a magnet school (3), sending district without a magnet school (7), and receiving districts (33).²⁵ On average, the share of immigrants and descendants is substantially higher in sending districts with magnet schools (50%) compared to sending districts without a magnet school (24%) and receiving districts (10%). Residents in the sending districts also have lower socio-economic status (SES): The average employment rate of adults is 61% (74%) in sending districts with (without) a magnet school compared to 84% in receiving districts. The average real annual disposable income of adults is \$30,302 (\$32,956) in sending districts with (without) a magnet school, below the national average of \$38,852²⁶ and below the receiving districts average of \$41,702.²⁷

In general, school starters living in sending districts are less likely to enroll in the district school compared to school starters living in receiving school districts. This is even more pronounced for districts with magnet schools (34% compared to 58% in sending districts with non-magnet schools and 78% in receiving districts).

Sending schools have on average higher shares of category-S pupils (29% in magnet schools, 20% in non-magnet schools), whereas receiving schools have much lower shares (14%).²⁸ This is consistent with the 20% rule for school assignment. Across school types, the overall school share of DAL pupils is substantially higher than 20%, as it also includes

²⁵ Sending and receiving districts do not overlap over the years and none of the receiving districts has a magnet school.

²⁶ Average for population aged 25–54 in 2016.

²⁷ School starters in the sample are not evenly distributed across the school district, tending to live in areas with higher shares of immigrants and non-Western residents, lower employment and socio-economic status. An analysis of the micro-neighborhoods obtained from Damm, Hassani, and Schultz-Nielsen (2019b) reveals that children in the sample live in 35% of the neighborhoods contained in the school district. There is a lot of overlap between the neighborhoods where pupils assigned to busing and pupils assigned to the district school live and the characteristics of the residence neighborhoods are very similar across the two groups.

²⁸ These shares refer to the share of Cat-S pupils at the start of grade 0. For magnet schools, the average share exceeds 20%. In fact, it only exceeds 20% for the sending magnet school Ellekærskolen. This is because Ellekærskolen has been exempted from the 20% rule since the school year 2013/2014 and possibly also because of flight of Danish pupils between class formation and school start.

bilingual pupils with free school choice as well as bilingual pupils enrolled before the start of the policy or after grade zero.

Sending schools, in particular magnet schools, have fewer pupils than receiving schools and smaller class sizes: On average, magnet schools have 219 fewer pupils than receiving schools and a class size of 16 compared to 20 in receiving schools. Magnet schools have a substantially higher annual budget per pupil in regular classes. The average in years 2014–16 was \$6,978 compared to \$5,698 in regular sending schools and \$5,514 in receiving schools. The total DAL budget of sending schools was on average about four times that of receiving schools. Furthermore, it implied a per-pupil budget premium for DAL pupils of 18% in magnet schools, 21% in non-magnet sending schools, and 16% in receiving schools. The higher per-pupil budget of magnet schools enables them to have fewer pupils per teacher than other sending schools (10 vs. 13), slightly older teachers (46 vs. 44), and more classes taught by qualified staff (79% vs. 75%). In receiving districts, schools have on average 10 pupils per teacher, teachers are on average 44 years old, and 75% of classes are taught by qualified staff.

Finally, we report class averages of the standardized national test scores (by grade and subject, mean 0, std. dev. 1) for the different types of district schools. Pupils in sending schools perform between one-third and two-thirds of a standard deviation worse than those in receiving schools, with pupils in magnet schools performing substantially worse.

3.4 Outcome variables

The outcomes we use to understand the effects of busing on children are: (i) national tests scores, (ii) answers to a wellbeing survey of all public-school pupils, and (iii) other outcomes, including school absentee rates and enrollment in after-school programs.

[Table 3. Sample characteristics: outcomes]

3.4.1 National tests

We use national test scores as measures of pupil achievement. Each spring since 2010, all public-school pupils are tested in reading, math, English and science. They take a reading test in grades 2, 4, 6, and 8, a math test in grades 3 and 6, an English test in grade 7, and natural science tests in grade 8. These national tests are designed to estimate the student's ability in three cognitive areas of each subject, and the algorithm alternates question testing in each of these three cognitive areas. For reading, the cognitive areas are language comprehension, decoding, and reading comprehension. For mathematics, the cognitive areas are numbers and

algebra, geometry, and applied mathematics. For English, the cognitive areas are reading comprehension, vocabulary, and language and linguistic usages. There are three separate tests in natural sciences: biology, geography, physics and chemistry. For biology, the cognitive areas are the living organism, living organisms' interactions, and applied biology. For geography, the cognitive areas are natural, cultural and applied geography. Finally, for physics and chemistry, the cognitive areas are energy, phenomena, substances and materials, and applications and perspectives.

The tests are IT-based, self-scoring, and adaptive: Instead of giving all pupils the same questions and summing the number of correct answers, an algorithm estimates an ability measure after each question and then finds a next question with a difficulty level that matches the current measure of the student's ability. Thus, the final ability estimates are not a function of the number of correct answers but rather a function of the difficulty level of the questions and the ability of the student.^{29, 30}

While the tests are compulsory for all students enrolled in public schools, principals may exempt some students from the tests. From Table 3, we see that 91–98% of public-school students in our sample take the tests in reading and math in the relevant years, meaning that 2–9% of all students are exempt from the test. The share of test-takers in our sample is close to that for Aarhus public-school pupils, which is 95%. However, the share of test-takers in Aarhus is lower among immigrants (88%), low SES pupils (90%), pupils who did not take the test in past years (79%), and—conditional on taking the test—on achievement in past tests (96% vs. 98% for those who scored at the bottom vs. the top of their school in the past test). Moreover, although the share of pupils taking the test is higher in receiving schools than in sending schools, the opposite is true for bilingual pupils. Hence, we check whether assignment to busing affects whether the pupil takes the test or not.

To calculate the average student ability scores, we first standardize the ability measures in the population within year, grade, subject and cognitive area (mean 0, std. dev. 1); we then sum the standardized measures for the three cognitive areas in each subject; finally, we standardize the final measures in the population (mean 0, std. dev. 1). In Table 3, we see that the average test scores for individuals in our sample are well below the national mean, ranging

²⁹ For details on the national tests, see Beuchert and Nandrup (2018).

³⁰ The national tests are supposed to have a pedagogical purpose rather than an accountability purpose. Thus, the main purpose of the tests is to give feedback to teachers, students and parents regarding the individual child's ability level. The teacher can assist academically weak students or provide them with aids or breaks during tests. Unfortunately, information on assistance, aid or other provisions made for these students is unavailable to researchers.

from an average of -0.654 in the reading test across grades 2, 4, 6 and 8, to -0.344 in science in grade 8.

3.4.2 Wellbeing

To assess the wellbeing of the pupils in our sample, we use the Danish wellbeing survey, administered since 2015 to all public-school students. The survey is administered by a designated teacher during class between January and April of every year.³¹ Pupils in grades 0–3 and 4–9 receive different surveys.³²

Even considering that only public-school pupils take the survey, there is attrition in survey taking. Although questions can be read aloud if the students have difficulties reading them, the designated teachers can decide if students with special needs are able to take the survey or if they will be exempted (see Andersen et al. forthcoming). In Table 3, we see that 86% of our sample take the 0–3 survey and 83% take the 4–9 survey, which is the same as the overall participation rate in Aarhus public schools. Pupils assigned to busing are less likely to take the survey than their non-bused counterparts (83% and 79% vs. 88% and 87%). Hence, we check if assignment to busing affects whether the pupil takes the survey.

We focus on the survey answers by the younger pupils, as they are closer to the date of our treatment. We run an exploratory factor analysis and find that two factors explain most of the variation in the data. We run a confirmatory factor analysis keeping the survey questions with factor loadings above 0.5 and controlling for grade, year of the survey, age and sex of the child. We present the questions associated with the two factors and the corresponding factor loadings from this confirmatory analysis in Table 4. The first factor is associated with questions about happiness with the school/class/lessons and about how nice it is to be in class (both in relation to the physical classroom and the teachers). We call this first factor school satisfaction. The second factor is associated with questions assessing the level of distress or uneasiness of the child: loneliness, somatization through headaches or stomachaches, teasing by other children, and disruption in the classroom. We call this second factor distress. In Table 3, we see that, on average, pupils in grades 0–3 who are not assigned to busing report higher levels of school satisfaction and lower levels of distress than those assigned to busing.³³

³¹ While the teacher tells the students that the purpose of the survey is to improve the wellbeing of everyone at school, he/she stresses that their responses will not be shown to their parents, teachers or anybody else in the school. For details on the wellbeing survey, see Andersen et al. (forthcoming).

³² Younger pupils respond to 20 questions, each with three possible answers, focusing on the happiness of the pupil with the school, teachers and classmates, and eventual social isolation. Older students respond to 40 questions with five possible answers, ranging from happiness in school to the student perception of their academic achievement.

³³ A full list of the survey questions (including an English translation) can be found in Table A3 in the Appendix.

[Table 4. Factor analysis: relevant wellbeing survey questions]

3.4.3 Additional outcomes

We also analyze the effect of busing on school absences and enrollment in after-school programs. Our measure of school absences is the share of days of absence during the school year over the total number of active school days, which on average is 200 days. In Table 3, we show that on average pupils in our sample are absent in 8% of active school days (approx. 15 days) in grade zero, and the average is similar across grades 0–4 (7%). Pupils assigned to busing tend to have more absenteeism than those not assigned to busing, especially in grade zero (around 10% vs. 6%).

Finally, public-school pupils may attend after-school programs either in the school they attend or in the school of their school district of residence (if different). The school buses leave the receiving schools to go back to the school district of residence both after the normal school hours and after the after-school activities, allowing children to choose. In Table 3, we show that 82% of grade-zero pupils enroll in an after-school program, while 77% attend the after-school program in the attended school. The enrollment rates are similar for grades 0–4.

4. Empirical strategy

4.1. Identification

Whether a pupil requiring language support is assigned to busing or not is exogenous, once we account for the three observed determinants: special needs, siblings in district school and distance to district school. We exclude all pupils marked in the registers as having had a special needs assessment because children with special needs are assigned to their district school. To account for the other observed characteristics, we condition on having siblings already enrolled in the district school, age difference with the youngest of those siblings, and distance to the district school. Finally, we condition on year-by-school district of residence because the probability of being assigned to busing depends on the number of category-S pupils and the overall number of grade-0 school starters in the district school in the relevant year.³⁴ Only as many pupils are bused as those who would bring the share of DAL pupils in the district school above 20%.

³⁴ Reduced (increased) native flight from the district school would increase (decrease) the probability of Cat-S pupils being assigned to the district school.

Let y_{igtr} be the outcome of interest in grade g . Let b_{itr} be a dummy that takes value 1 if child i , who resided in school district r at school start and who took the language test in year t , is assigned to busing, and 0 otherwise. Let Z_{itr} be the vector of known determinants of b_{itr} , and η_{tr} the year-by-school district fixed effects, and ε_{igtr} the error term. We include year-by-school district of residence fixed effects to account for within-school-district variation in the probability of treatment due to variation in the share of category-S pupils over time. Thus, we estimate the effect of busing in grade g by comparing outcomes of category-S pupils who are assigned versus not assigned to busing and lived in the same school district and took the language test in the same year.

Since we observe each outcome across several grades, we estimate a panel data model using pooled individual data across grades (years since language test) for each outcome. Our main specifications allow both the level and effects of assignment to busing to differ across grades. We estimate the effects of forced busing on wellbeing, school absentee rates and enrollment in after-school programs using this specification:

$$y_{igtr} = \alpha_g b_{itr} + \gamma_g + \beta Z_{itr} + \eta_{tr} + \varepsilon_{igtr} \quad (1)$$

where γ_g denotes grade fixed effects, and α_g is our parameter of interest, which allows the treatment effect to vary over grades. Given our identifying assumption that treatment is exogenous, conditional on the assignment mechanism, $\hat{\alpha}_g$ gives the intent-to-treat estimate of forced busing on the outcome by grade.

Our panel data model for estimation of the effects of assignment to busing on national test scores allows the level and effects of treatment to differ by grade and subject, extending Eq. (1) to this model:

$$y_{igstr} = \alpha_{gs} b_{istr} + \gamma_g + \sigma_s + \beta Z_{itr} + \eta_{tr} + \varepsilon_{igstr}, \quad (2)$$

where σ_s denotes subject fixed effects, and α_{gs} is our parameter of main interest, which allows the treatment effect to vary over grades and subjects. ε_{igstr} is the error term. We interpret $\hat{\alpha}_{gs}$ as the grade-and-subject-specific intent-to-treat estimate of forced busing.

To increase the efficiency of $\hat{\alpha}_g$ and $\hat{\alpha}_{gs}$, we also report the results of a second specification in which we add a set of individual and parental controls to the main specification. Individual characteristics include the pupil's age on the day of the test and dummies for the assessed level of language support needed, gender, immigrant status (immigrant, descendant of immigrants or descendant of descendants of immigrants), area of origin (Africa, East Asia, Middle East or Europe, America, and Oceania), having ever attended daycare, number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangements (child lives in a two-parent household), and parents

missing from the registers. Parental characteristics are recorded when the child is 4 years old and include dummies for immigration status (immigrant or descendant), highest achieved education (high school dropout, high school graduate, college graduate, or education not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), real disposable income (four quartiles), and age group (below 25, 25–29, 30–34, 35–39, over 40). We cluster standard errors at the family level, since treatment is dependent on having siblings in the district school.³⁵

In order to test the validity of our estimation strategy, we investigate whether the known determinants of the treatment affect school assignment as expected and whether any other individual and family characteristics affect school assignment. The first column in Table 5 shows the results of a regression of being assigned to busing on the known determinants of assignment to busing and a full set of year-by-school district dummies that capture the time-invariant school district-year characteristics that affect the probability of being bused. In columns (2–4), we gradually add individual and parental characteristics. In all specifications, we report standard errors clustered at the family level.

Consistent with the priority criteria, having at least one sibling who attends the district school significantly decreases the probability of assignment to busing, while the age difference to the youngest sibling at the district school and distance to the district school significantly increase the probability of assignment to busing. Importantly, assignment to busing is neither affected by other individual characteristics (e.g. the category of language support need, age on the test day) nor parental characteristics (Table A4 in the Appendix). A joint F-test cannot reject that these additional controls do not predict the treatment; the p-value is 0.86.

[Table 5. Determinants of treatment]

Importantly, Table 5 shows that assignment does not depend on the category of language support need, which derives directly from the language test score.³⁶ Had the test score in the language test influenced the assignment decision, treatment would have been selected on a potential predictor of our main outcome. That could have raised two concerns about identification. First, that pupils in the treatment and control group also differ in terms of unobserved abilities, i.e. that parents of higher ability children could have manipulated the treatment decision. Second, that cat-S pupils who at the time of school assignment have an older sibling attending the district school were selected on ability, assuming that siblings'

³⁵ The standard errors are virtually unaffected by whether we cluster by person ID instead of family ID.

³⁶ This result holds if we use the total points on the language test, both total and split by tasks.

abilities are correlated. However, as shown in Table 5, the coefficients on the categories of language support need are very small and insignificant, confirming that these concerns are unfounded.³⁷ Moreover, in our effect evaluation we control for the potential determinants of treatment including language test year by school district of residence fixed effects (specification 1) and also report the results of a second specification in which we in addition control for the category of language support need and a wide range of parental background characteristics.

4.2. Policy compliance

While in grade zero category-S pupils can only attend the public school they are assigned to, they have other options available. In this section we show that policy compliance is incomplete, which implies that the results presented in Section 5 should be interpreted as intention-to-treat estimates of the effect of assignment to busing. We define compliance as being enrolled in the school to which the municipality assigned the pupil by the end of August of the relevant year.

In Figure 4, we show the raw compliance probabilities by treatment status (assigned to busing or to the district school) and years from the language test. Compliance is substantially higher for the non-treated: Pupils assigned to busing are less likely to attend the school to which they are assigned. In the year of the test, 75% of pupils assigned to busing attend the assigned school against 89% of pupils assigned to the district school. For both treated and non-treated, compliance is high in the year of the test, and decreases progressively over the years. By the sixth year after the test, compliance is down to 32% for pupils assigned to busing and 64% for pupils assigned to the district school. In the test year, non-compliance can be achieved in two main ways: delaying school entry or enrolling in private school.³⁸ In the years after the test, pupils can avoid school assignment by enrolling in a different school than the school of assignment, either private or – in specific cases – public. Category-S pupils can regain their free school choice if a later assessment of their Danish language proficiency shows that they have obtained an age-appropriate level of proficiency and then choose whether to stay in the

³⁷ Table A4 in the Appendix presents coefficients for all the covariates in Table 5. We run sensitivity checks on our identification strategy: (i) adding neighborhood characteristics as controls, (ii) allowing the effect of categories for level of language support to be different between the subgroup of children who do not have an older sibling who has been language tested (including first-borns) and the remaining subgroup of children. Check (i) shows that neighborhood characteristics do not affect assignment to schools. Check (ii) shows that category of language support did not influence assignment to treatment of children who have an older sibling who has been language tested.

³⁸ An additional 31 children in our sample attend a public school other than the assigned school: 20 of them move either outside of Aarhus (8 of them) or within Aarhus before school start (12), and attend a school in the district of destination.

assigned school or to transfer to another. Pupils moving to another school district or municipality can also transfer to a school in the new district. Treated pupils are more likely to transfer than pupils assigned to the district school. By year 6 after the language test, 15% of treated pupils have returned to the district school of residence in the year of the test, 17% are enrolled in a private school, and an additional 27% have transferred to another school than the district school. This includes pupils who moved to a new school district or municipality subsequent to the language test.³⁹ By year 6 after the language test, 43% of the treated pupils have regained free school choice and, of those, one third moved back to the district school, one third moved to another school, and another third stayed in the school of assignment.

[Figure 4. Compliance with the policy]

Figure 5 illustrates the extent to which assignment to busing causes non-compliance. In all six panels of Figure 5, we show the coefficient estimates from regressing the outcome on a dummy for assignment to busing for each school year since the year of the test until 6 years after the test, the known determinants of assignment to busing, and a full set of year-by-school district dummies to account for the different composition of students and availability of school choices between districts.

[Figure 5. Effect of assignment on compliance]

Figure 5.a shows the effect of assignment to busing on compliance. While the effect is zero in the year of the test, the effect becomes negative, significant, and increases numerically over time in the years after the test. This result suggests that pupils assigned to busing fight the policy by not attending the school of assignment.

In the rest of Figure 5, we present the results of our empirical specification on the different ways to achieve non-compliance. Figure 5.b shows the effect of assignment to busing on being enrolled in school by the end of August of the relevant year. We find that the children who are assigned to busing are 5 percentage points less likely to enroll in school in the year of the test.⁴⁰ This effect disappears the year after the test, indicating that these children delay school start.

³⁹ We analyze the characteristics of compliers by regressing a dummy for attending the assigned school over year-by-school district fixed effects and the covariates described in Section 4.1, separately by treatment and control status and year since the language test. The results (presented in Tables A5.a and A5.b in the Appendix) do not show any clear pattern other than around 20 percentage points higher compliance for control children with at least one sibling attending the district school in the year of the test.

⁴⁰ These children would either retake the test or have their test reassessed the year after, as discussed in Section 3.4.1.

Figures 5.c, 5.d, and 5.e show the effect of being assigned to busing on enrollment in private school, the district school, and another school, respectively, by the end of August conditional on enrollment in school. We find that being assigned to busing does not affect the decision to enroll in private school in the test year, conditional on school enrollment in that year. This is likely due to the fact that applications to private school are usually submitted before the language test and therefore would not depend on the test result. In order to control for this, we have excluded all children from our sample who are admitted to a private school before the language assessment, thereby signaling their pre-determined intention to not enroll in public school.⁴¹ Moreover, Figure 5.c shows that, conditional on school enrollment in the year of the language test, assignment to busing does not affect the decision to attend private school in the years after the test.

Figure 5.d shows that, in the year of the test, being assigned to busing reduces the probability of attending the district school by more than 80 percentage points, although the percentage-point drop in the probability falls as the years pass. Six years after the test, the percentage-point drop in the probability of attending the district school due to an initial assignment to busing declines to 45. This indicates that a significant share of parents of children assigned to busing prefers the district school to the receiving school and, at some point after regaining free school choice, exercises their option to enroll their children in the district school.

Finally, Figure 5.e shows that being assigned to busing reduces the probability of attending another school that is neither the receiving nor the district school in the test year by 5 percentage points. Figure 5.f confirms this: being assigned to busing decreases the probability of transferring to a new school district or moving to another municipality in the test year by 7 percentage points. Moreover, Figure 5.e shows that being assigned to busing reduces the probability of attending another school that is neither the receiving nor the district school 3–5 years after the test.

Overall, Figure 5 confirms that being assigned to busing reduces compliance with the policy over time, both by increasing school delays and by increasing the probability that pupils return to the district school after regaining their free school choice.

⁴¹ Because our outcomes are not collected for pupils in private schools, we restrict our analysis in Section 5 to public-school pupils. Figure 5.c confirms that this restriction does not bias our analysis.

5. Results

5.1. Academic achievement

In Table 6, we report the estimated effects of assignment to forced busing on the national test scores in reading, math, English and natural sciences by grade and conditional on taking the test (columns 3 and 4). Since the estimated effects on national test scores can only be given a causal interpretation if treatment does not affect the test taking probability, we report the effect of assignment to busing on taking the test in columns 1 and 2. The results of the main specification presented in Section 4.1 are shown in odd columns and the results with additional controls for individual and parental characteristics in even columns.

[Table 6: National test by grade and subject]

Overall, assignment to busing has a negative effect on test scores in reading and math between grades 2 and 8 with effects ranging between 0.02 and 0.25 of a standard deviation. Specifically, it significantly reduces test scores in math in grade 3 by around 0.17–0.18 of a standard deviation and reading in grade 8 by around 0.23–0.25 of a standard deviation. The remaining effects are of the same magnitude but imprecisely estimated.

While assignment to busing reduces the probability of taking the reading test in grades 2 and 4 by 5 and 3 percentage points, it does not affect test-taking in reading in grades 6 and 8, math, English and science. The effect on test-taking in reading in grades 2 and 4 could reduce the estimated effect on grade 2 and grade 4 test scores; we test this in Section 5.3.

[Table 7: National test by grade and subject. By gender, socioeconomic status and category of language level support]

It is often found that the impact of school resources is more important for certain groups, e.g. pupils low-SES backgrounds or boys. Therefore, we study if the effects of assignment to busing are different by sex, socio-economic status (SES), and language support need assessed before school start (see Table 7). We find that the overall picture described above holds: assignment to busing lowers math test scores in grade 3 and reading scores in grade 8 across gender, SES and language support need, although coefficients are estimated less precisely for some subgroups. In addition, some gender differences appear: In grade 6, assignment to busing significantly reduces the test score in reading for boys (only) and the test score in math for girls (only). In grade 7, assignment to busing significantly lowers the test score in English for girls (only). Finally, in grade 8, assignment to busing significantly reduces the test score in reading of girls. Table 7 also reveals some differences by parents' employment

status (SES): Although effects on test scores are never significantly different across SES, the point estimates are generally larger for pupils with low SES background. Furthermore, the detrimental effects of assignment to busing on taking the reading test in grades 2 and 4 are entirely driven by pupils with low SES background.

5.2 Wellbeing

Table 8 shows the effect of assignment to busing on school satisfaction and distress in school for pupils in grades 0 to 3, both overall (Panel A) and by grade (Panel B). In columns (1) and (2), we show the effect of assignment to busing on survey take-up without and with controls for individual and parental background characteristics.

While assignment to busing does not significantly reduce school satisfaction, it increases distress. The effects on distress are particularly strong in grades 0 and 3. This result implies that pupils assigned to busing are more likely to report feeling alone and upset, and to experience headaches and stomachaches while in school, so that their overall distress level is one quarter of a standard deviation lower than that of the pupils assigned to the district school. Increased distress may indicate social isolation in school and consequently affect academic achievement. When we turn to survey take-up, we find a negative effect on take-up in grade 1 but not overall.

In Table A6 in the Appendix, we show the effects of busing on wellbeing in school by sex, SES background and the level of language support need before school start. We find that assignment to busing increases distress, irrespective of gender, SES background, and the level of language support need. Moreover, we confirm that assignment to busing does not significantly affect school satisfaction, irrespective of gender and background.⁴²

[Table 8. School Satisfaction and Distress]

5.3 Sensitivity checks

In this section, we discuss some robustness checks on our estimates. First, as we discuss in Section 5.1, while assignment to busing has a negative effect on test-taking in reading in grades 2 and 4, it has a negative effect on test scores in reading in later grades and on math (tested in grades 3 and 6). School principals have the option of exempting pupils for whom the test is not considered beneficial for their academic development. Consequently, there is persistent lower

⁴² We report the estimated effects of assignment to busing on school satisfaction and distress in grades 4–9 in Table A7 in the Appendix. The effects are not significant at conventional significance levels.

test take-up among public-school pupils from low-SES families as well as immigrant pupils and special needs pupils (Andersen and Nielsen, forthcoming). Among those taking the test, pupils who scored at the bottom of the school in earlier grades are less likely to take it. Consistent with this pattern, our results in Table 7 show that assignment to busing only reduces test-taking in reading among pupils with low SES background. Hence, we believe that the most likely outcome for the non-takers would have been a below-average test score. In Table A8 in the Appendix, we show what the results of our main specification (Eq. 2) would have been if the non-takers had scored the fifth percentile of the distribution of test scores among the sample (columns 5 and 6). We also show the opposite case in which non-takers are assigned the 95th percentile instead (columns 7 and 8). We find that our main conclusions would not change if any of these two extreme cases were true. Similarly, as discussed in Section 5.2 assignment to busing increases distress but also has a negative effect on survey take-up in grade 1. As above, we compute bounds on our estimates and show them in Table A9 in the Appendix. We conclude that the effect on distress is robust to this test. Moreover, the overall effect of busing on school satisfaction, while non-significant, would still have a negative sign.

Because of the young age of the pupils in our sample, we do not observe test scores for all pupils in all grades. In Table A10 in the Appendix, we show the results of our main specification (Eq. 2) using a restricted sample of only the cohorts for which we observe all the national test results (language test in years 2007–10). The effects are at least as strong as for the full sample.⁴³

6. Potential mechanisms

Bused pupils attend schools that are different in two main dimensions: peer composition and school resources. In Figure 6, we present the results of our empirical specification on a set of characteristics of the attended school over time. The four panels in Figure 6 show the impact of assignment to busing on the share of DAL pupils, the share of high-SES pupils, the per pupil budget, and the total DAL budget in the attended school over grades 0–6. These results tell us the extent to which forced busing affects the characteristics of the school that the pupils attend over time, which is useful knowledge for interpretation of the intention-to-treat estimates.

In grade zero, pupils assigned to busing attend schools with better majority language role models: The average share of DAL pupils is about 36 percentage points lower. On top of

⁴³ Our baseline results on the effects of assignment to busing on national test scores are also robust to excluding children who have an older sibling who has also been language tested. Results are available upon request.

that, the average share of employed parents of pupils in the attended school is 26 percentage points higher. School resources go in the opposite direction: On average, the per-pupil budget is \$542 (around 14%) lower, and the total DAL budget is around \$187,000 lower. Because of the incomplete compliance described above, by grade 6 these differences are about halved but still substantial. The higher resources are reflected in fewer pupils per teacher and better qualified and more experienced teachers (Table 2), which most likely has positive effects on academic achievement (Hanushek 2006, Hægeland et al. 2012, Holmlund et al. 2010, Fredriksson et al. 2013, Jackson et al. 2016, Hyman 2017). Overall, two potentially opposing effects of busing are at play: Lower school resources have a negative effect on academic achievement, whereas peers with a better command of the Danish language may counteract or reinforce this effect.

[Figure 6. The effect of busing on peer composition and resources of the attended school]

Our main results show negative effects of assignment to busing on test scores, which suggests that, in our context, the negative effect of lower resources is stronger than any potential positive effect of better language role models. Moreover, we find that assignment to busing increases distress and lowers enrollment in the after-school program in the assigned school, which casts doubt on the positive nature of peer effects for this population.

Recall that our investigation of possible heterogeneous effects of assignment to busing on academic achievement (Table 7) shows that children of parents who are not employed (low SES) are significantly more (negatively) affected than children with at least one employed parent (high SES). This result is in line with the literature on the importance of school resources for academic achievement, in particular for pupils from low-SES background (e.g. Holmlund et al. 2010, Jackson et al. 2016).

In the remainder of this section, we investigate and discuss the potential channels through which busing affects academic achievement and wellbeing in more detail.

6.1 School resources and gains from specialization

In order to further investigate the effect of school resources, we exploit the difference between magnet and non-magnet schools. As seen in Section 3.3, magnet schools have more DAL pupils and higher per-pupil premium. Figure 7 describes how pupil composition and per-pupil budget differ between pupils assigned versus not assigned to busing by type of sending school: magnet or non-magnet. Pupils living in a school district with a magnet school can either attend a school with higher resources per pupil and more DAL peers (the magnet school) or a school with

lower resources and fewer DAL peers if they are bused. For pupils living in a district without a magnet school, the difference between the sending and receiving schools is smaller, both in terms of resources and peers.

[Figure 7. The Impact of Busing on Peers and Resources of the Attended School. By Sending School District Type: Magnet versus Non-Magnet School.]

Table 9 shows the effects of assignment to busing on academic achievement, allowing for separate effects for pupils with different counterfactual (district school type): magnet school versus regular school. While the coefficients across school district types are not statistically different, we see that the detrimental impact on math test scores in grade 3 is driven by non-magnet schools, while the detrimental effect on reading scores in grade 8 is driven by magnet schools. However, the negative effects on test taking in the early grades are entirely driven by pupils assigned to busing from magnet school districts. Across grades 6-8, in absolute terms the point estimates of assignment to busing on reading, math and English for pupils living in a magnet-school district systematically exceed the point estimates for pupils living in a non-magnet school district by 0.1–0.3 of a standard deviation.

[Table 9. Effect of Assignment to Busing on National Test Score. By Grade, Subject and Type of Sending School District]

In a similar vein, Table 10 shows the effect of busing on school satisfaction and distress, allowing for separate effects for pupils with different counterfactual (district school type): magnet school versus regular school. The effect on distress persists for both types of schools; the coefficient estimate is higher for pupils who live in a regular school district than for pupils who live in a magnet school district but not significantly different. This result indicates that busing increases distress across school types, e.g. due to social isolation. It also suggests that the compensatory resources to magnet schools are insufficient to obtain the same level of wellbeing as at non-magnet schools. By contrast, for pupils assigned to busing from a magnet school district school satisfaction is one-fifth of a standard deviation lower, but imprecisely estimated. Rather than a sign of less happiness with teachers and classmates, the result may be due to the physical school facilities. For pupils living in magnet school districts, assignment to busing also reduces the probability of survey participation. Only if the most satisfied among the pupils assigned to busing are overrepresented among the non-respondents, can selection explain the lower school satisfaction among pupils bused from a magnet school district. For pupils living in a regular school district assignment to busing does not affect school satisfaction.

These results bolster our conclusion that school resources are important for the overall performance and indicate that school resources also influence school satisfaction.

[Table 10. Effect of Assignment to Busing on Wellbeing. By Grade, Subject and Type of Sending School District]

Having higher numbers of children with a specific need, such as DAL children, can lead to specialized teaching and economies of scale. Higher resources might amplify this effect: A survey experiment shows that teachers are less willing to accommodate pupils with non-Western origins if budgets are tight (Andersen and Guul, 2019). While sending schools have a higher total DAL budget than receiving schools because they have more DAL pupils, DAL budgets are generally considered well balanced by the school principals. Having more DAL pupils makes any intervention more cost effective, whereas having higher total DAL budgets allows for the implementation of multiple interventions, thereby achieving gains from specialization. For instance, just the average yearly salary of an extra teacher responsible for DAL teaching is \$79,448, which would eat up the entire DAL budget of an average receiving school.⁴⁴

More generally, receiving schools are mismatched to the needs and abilities of bilingual pupils. Furthermore, pupils assigned to busing are relatively lower in the test score distribution of their school (see Tables 2 and 3). An inferior rank position in the class may affect academic achievements by reducing the degree to which teachers teach to their level (Duflo et al. 2011) or by detrimental peer effects going through the individual's self-confidence, self-image, and academic aspirations (Sacerdote 2011; Antecol et al. 2016; Elsner and Isphording 2017). Consistent with the latter mechanism, we find that pupils assigned to busing experience higher distress.

6.2 *Other potential mechanisms: social isolation and disruption*

Another key channel through which busing changes the lives of children is through available social links. What really matters for peer effects to operate is the extent to which pupils interact socially with each other. It is well established that peers tend to sort according to the homophily principle; that is, social networks form within groups with similar abilities and demographic backgrounds (Carrell et al. 2012, Damm and Dustmann 2014). In particular, Gulløv (2010) and Jensen (2020) suggest that common language skills, common knowledge, and common everyday lives of children matter significantly when they choose friends. In other words,

⁴⁴ For details on budgets and priorities, see Aarhus Municipality (2019).

minority and majority children often self-segregate. Jensen and Vitus (forthcoming) report that children assigned to busing think of themselves as “guests” or “outsiders.” Thus, bilingual pupils attending receiving schools seem to form social networks with the other bused children and will be socially isolated from the other classmates. We find that assignment to busing increases pupil’s distress in school.

Another test of social isolation is attendance in after-school programs. If pupils attend the after-school program together with classmates, they are more likely to be integrated in the class. Bused pupils can decide to attend the after-school program of the school they attend or at their district school. We show the effect of assignment to busing on whether the pupils attend an after-school program (Figure 8a) and on attending an after-school program in the attended school (Figure 8b). While assignment to busing does not affect the probability of attending any after-school program, children assigned to busing are 13 and 10 percentage points less likely to attend the after-school program in the attended school in grades 0 and 1. This suggests that bused pupils interact less with their class- and schoolmates after school. Figures 8c and 8d show the effect of assignment to busing on whether pupils who attend an after-school program do so in the school to which they are assigned or the one in their district school, respectively. In grade zero, they are 13 percentage points less likely to attend the after-school program in the attended school. This negative pattern attenuates over the grades, and at the same time attendance in the after-school program in the district school increases. This suggests that a substantial share of bused children who attend after-school programs in early grades (Figure 8a) do so by going to their district school after-school program and, at some point, also switch to the district school for regular classes. The main take-away from Figure 8 is that we find that children assigned to busing are substantially less likely to attend the after-school program in the attended school in early grades, when after-school programs are more important in a child’s social life. These results, together with the increase in non-compliance with the policy over the grades, suggest detachment with the school of assignment. Bused pupils interact less with their class- and schoolmates and their interactions are more likely to be conflictual.

[Figure 8. Effect of Assignment to Busing on Enrollment in After-School Programs]

Moreover, busing can affect academic achievement through the act of having to take the bus every morning and evening. For example, pupils might miss the bus and consequently miss school, or they might suffer from extended time spent on the school bus. Figure 9 shows the effect of busing on the share of absent days over active school days by grade. Assignment to busing causes a small increase in school absences in grade zero, corresponding to about 2–

3 days of school. This is consistent with bused pupils missing the bus a few mornings in grade zero.⁴⁵ Clearly, such a small effect does not explain our main findings.

[Figure 9. The Effect of Assignment to Busing on School Absentee Rates: Share of Days of Absence over Active Days.]

Finally, bused children experience a higher level of disruption of their school lives than other children. Initially, they start school life with a set of peers who are completely different from their peers in daycare, who would otherwise be their natural primary interaction group. Another channel of disruption comes from the policy design: Category-S children can obtain free school choice by taking another language test. This can cause disruption in two ways: First, children who move back need to integrate in a new peer group in the district school (Beuchert et al. 2018; Chetty et al. 2016). Second, those who do not move back might lose their primary interaction groups if close peers obtain free school choice and move back to their district school (Jensen 2020). To rule out the effects being driven by disruption, we exclude non-compliers from the analysis. This analysis is only suggestive because returners are likely to be more resourceful, because regain of free school choice requires a level of age-appropriate Danish language proficiency. However, effects seem to be driven by compliers and not by returners (see Table A11). This suggests that the effect of social isolation at the receiving school dominates the disruption costs of transferring to the district school.

Summing up, our results suggest that busing increases distress across school types, at least in part due to social isolation and costs of disruption⁴⁶ and, though not statistically different, the impact of assignment to busing on academic achievement seems to be

⁴⁵ In an alternative specification, we add distance to the assigned school and an interaction term to the regressions reported in Tables 6 and 8. Because of our specification, we rely on variation in distance within district, which is limited due to the fact that pupils from one school district are bused to the same receiving schools. This addition strengthens the negative effect of assignment to busing on test scores. However, there is no additional effect of traveling longer distances to the assigned school. Time on the bus could affect wellbeing through social interaction with the other children on the bus. As long as children are more likely to interact with bilingual pupils with similar ethnic origins, the negative effect should be stronger if the pupil is part of the minority among the children on the bus. We find this not to be the case.

⁴⁶ An additional channel through which busing could affect academic performance and wellbeing of bused pupils is through effects on school-parent collaboration. We have tried to investigate this channel using parental school satisfaction surveys. However, in view of the low take-up rates (44% across grades 0–6) and a significantly lower take-up rate among parents of children assigned to busing from a magnet school (40%) than among parents of children assigned to a magnet school (56%), the answers of respondents are unlikely to be representative for parents of cat-S pupils in our sample. For cat-S pupils in our sample from a non-magnet school district, parents have similar survey take up rates across school assignment (49% among bused vs. 42 % among non-bused). Estimation of the effects of assignment to busing on parental satisfaction survey take-up across grades 0–6 yields a negative, but insignificant overall effect. Heterogeneity analyses show a significant and negative effect for parents of children living in a magnet school district and low-SES households. Results are available upon request.

systematically more detrimental along a range of dimensions, e.g. for pupils assigned to a school with substantially lower school resources and pupils with low SES background.

7. Conclusion

We use quasi-experimental variation from a school desegregation policy to evaluate the effects of the busing of bilingual school starters to a school outside of the school district. In particular, we examine how busing to schools with fewer children with Danish as additional language but lower school resources affect bilingual school starters requiring language support. We find that busing has negative effects on test scores and wellbeing. We discuss the importance of four different channels: school resources and gains from specialization, peer effects, the bus ride, and school disruption. We conclude that fewer resources outweigh the potential positive peer effects from better Danish-speaking peers; effects of commuting and disruption are of minor importance.

Our findings indicate that the current policy does not reach the stated goal of obtaining equal academic outcomes of bilingual pupils across school settings using a combination of a change in peer composition and compensatory school resource allocation to schools with a low share of native pupils. The policy assumes that there are positive peer effects from exposure to more native pupils, in which case it does not strike the right balance between school resources and peer composition. However, this assumption is questionable. In line with previous research, our results suggest that this relationship is complex. More research is required to shed light on this issue.

Previous research found positive effects of comparable programs in the US. Post-Brown versus Board of Education within-district desegregation plans led to increases in the resources of schools attended by black students, and disproportionately so, for school districts with larger black population shares (Cascio et al. 2008, Reber 2010, 2011). Reber (2010) shows how these districts experienced the highest increases in educational attainment while experiencing the lowest increases in exposure to whites. She concludes that the increase in school resources was more important than exposure to whites in the success of these school desegregation policies. Billings et al. (2014) also conclude that school resources can mitigate the racial and socio-economic inequalities caused by segregated schools. In comparison, we show that higher resources can more than compensate for the potential negative effects of segregation. Bergman (2019) finds positive effects on test scores in a context where Hispanic and black pupils can apply to attend a school in a more affluent school district, such as Palo

Alto and Menlo Park. Because peers and resources go hand in hand, this study is not informative about the potential trade-off between peers and resources.

More generally, our results indicate that policies that disproportionately allocate resources to disadvantaged groups might be more effective than policies aimed only at changing the peer groups in the classroom. However, the exact trade-off between input factors in the educational production function in the context of bilingual and/or minority pupils is unknown. Future research should investigate whether higher school budgets per se have a positive effect or whether returns on some school inputs are higher than others for this particular population.

A related question is whether bilingual pupils with weak native-language proficiency perform better under forced busing than in the absence of the policy. Our results do not lend themselves to answering this question. This is because, in the absence of forced busing, native flight from predominantly immigrant school districts may change the peer composition and other school inputs substantially. Thus, the answer would rely on out-of-sample prediction. One might compare the outcomes of cohorts of bilingual school starters pre- and post-forced busing policy. Due to severe data limitations (e.g. no information on host-country language proficiency of bilingual pupils prior to the policy) and simultaneous changes of policy instruments (e.g. school budgets and peer composition), however, this proves impossible.

While our results do not allow for such radical policy recommendations, they do indeed suggest that if the policy is retained in the future, receiving schools should be held accountable for their use of budgets for DAL pupils in order to improve the school outcomes of bilingual pupils. Furthermore, although an explicit cost-benefit analysis is not possible, it is worth noting that the annual transport cost paid by the municipality (i.e. cost of the free bus service) amounted to \$3 million, which in the Danish context would be more than sufficient to double the total DAL budgets at all of the sending schools or hiring another 37 full-time full-year teachers and thus keeping the roughly 480 pupils with substantial need for DAL support at their eight district schools.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Using 2015 numbers. The 480 pupils with a substantial need for DAL support include 181 pupils who moved to the municipality after school start. Since 2015, the number of pupils with a substantial need for language support has steadily declined, decreasing the annual transport cost to around \$2 million by 2019.

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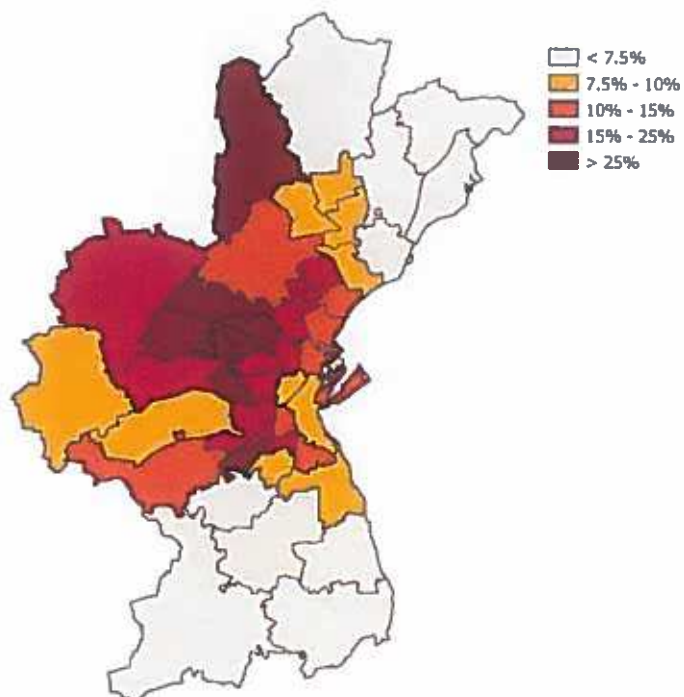
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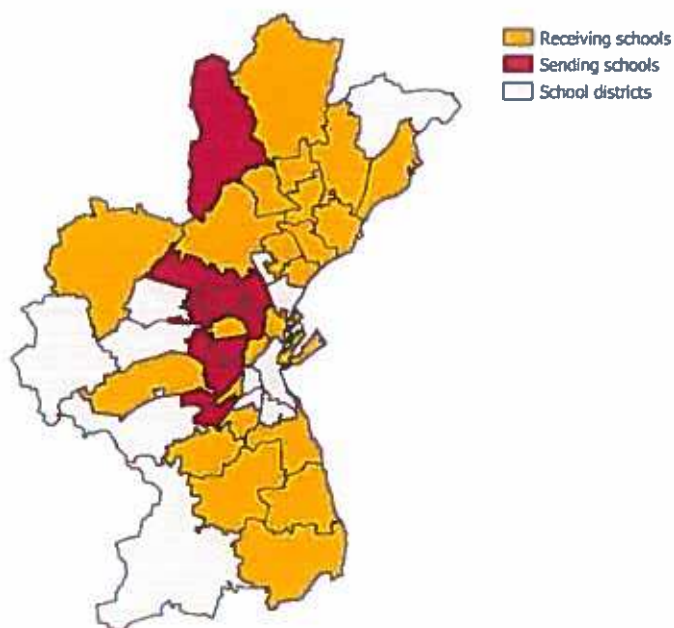
Figure 1. Share of Immigrants and Descendants across School Districts in Aarhus Municipality. 2016.



Source: Authors' own calculations using administrative register data from Statistics Denmark for 2016 and the shape file of school districts in Aarhus Municipality in 2016 (<https://webkort.aarhuskommune.dk/spatialmap>).

Note: Statistics Denmark's definition of immigrants and descendants.

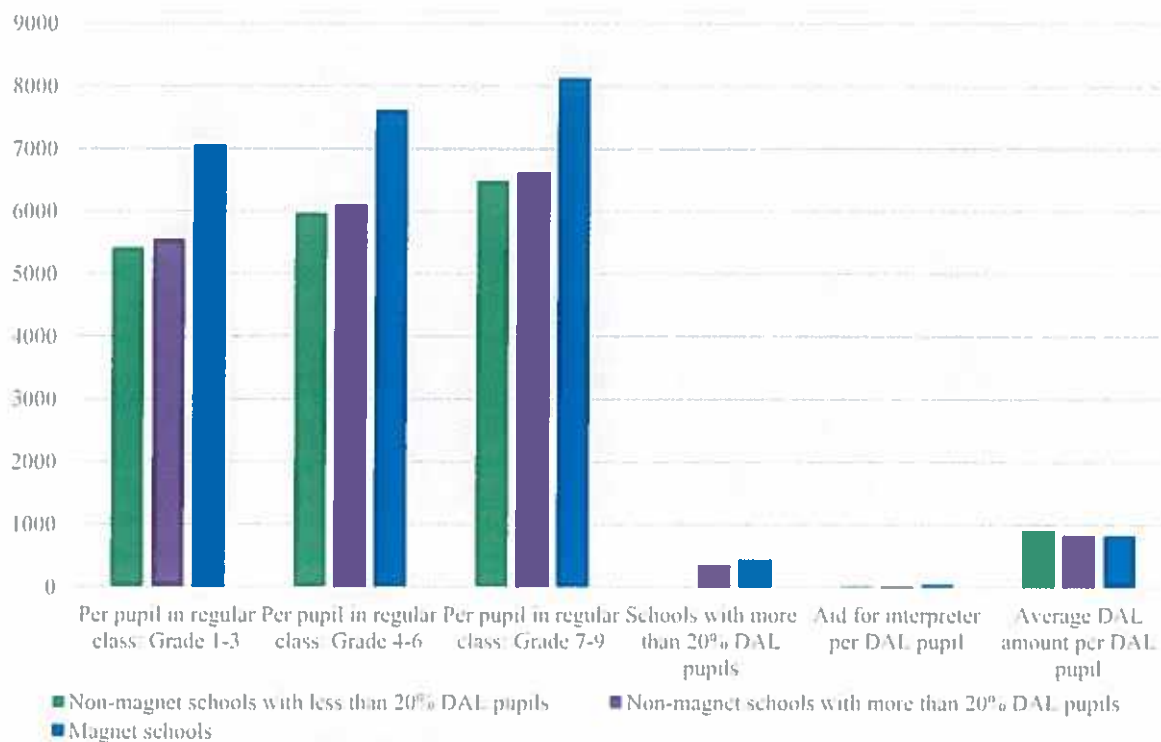
Figure 2. Sending and Receiving School Districts in Aarhus Municipality, 2007-2016.



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and the shape file of school districts in Aarhus Municipality in 2016 (<https://webkort.aarhuskommune.dk/spatialmap>).

Notes: Receiving schools (in at least one year between 2007 and 2016) Bavnehøj skole, Beder skole, Elev skole, Ellevangskolen, Elsted skole, Gammelgårdskolen, Hårup skole, Højvangskolen, Hølme skole, Kolt skole (merged with Bavnehøj skole), Lisbjergskolen, Lystrup skole, Mårslet skole, Malling skole, N. J. Fjordsgades skole (Frederiksbjerg skole), Risskov skole, Sabro-Korsvejskolen, Samsogades skole, Skåde skole, Skæring skole, Solystskolen, Strandskolen, Tranbjerg skole, Viby skole, Virupskolen. Sending schools (in at least one year between 2007 and 2016) (M for magnet schools): Åby skole, Bakkegårdskolen, Ellekærskolen (M), Frydelundskolen (closed), Hasle skole (M), Katrinebjergskolen, Møllevangskolen, Nordgårdskolen (closed), Sodalskolen (M), Tilst skole, Vejby skole (merged with Ellevangskolen), Vestergårdskolen.

Figure 3. Average Budgets per Pupil in Regular Classes (in USD) by Grade and Average Additional School Budgets for Danish-as-Additional-Language Pupils, 2014. By School Type.



Source: Authors' own calculations from allocated school budgets to public schools in Aarhus Municipality in 2014.

Note: The average budget per pupil in regular classes is calculated as the sum of the grade-specific rate per pupil in a regular class, the additional budget to guarantee minimum required budget for regular classes per pupil in regular classes in grade 0-10, the budget for social pedagogical support per pupil in regular classes in grades 1-10 and the budget for lunch scheme per pupil in grades 0-10. The average amount per pupil in regular classes in grades 1-3 in addition includes the budget for two teacher arrangement in grades 0-3 per pupil in grades 0-3. Schools with more than 20% DAL pupils receive an additional budget for "task-specific resources"; the amount per DAL pupil is shown in the column titled "Schools with more than 20% DAL pupils". All schools with DAL pupils receive a budget for "aid from interpreters"; the aid for interpreter per DAL pupil is shown in the column "Aid for interpreter". The average DAL amount per DAL pupil in regular classes is calculated by dividing the budget for DAL support to DAL pupils in regular classes by the number of DAL pupils in regular classes. Exchange rate DKK/USD 0.1485 (base year 2016).

Figure 4.a. Fraction of Pupils Assigned to Busing (Treatment Group) Attending Different Types of School. By Years Since the Language Test.

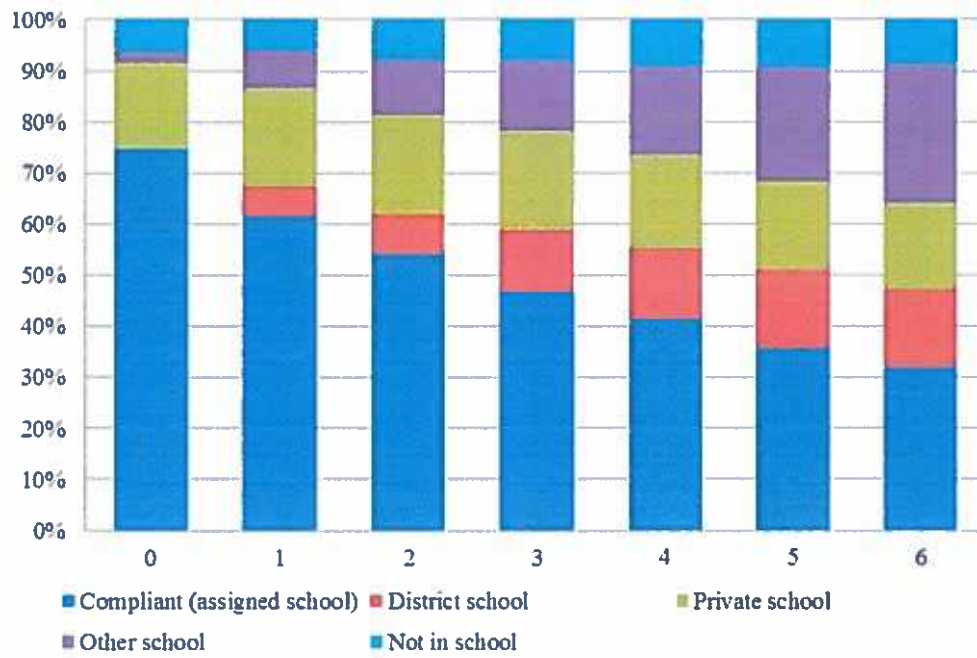
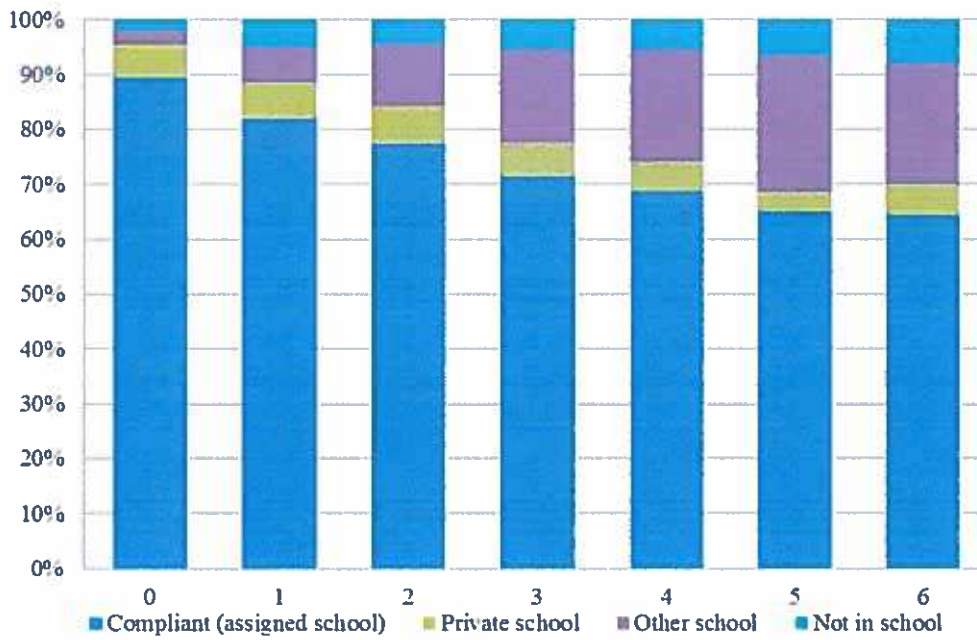


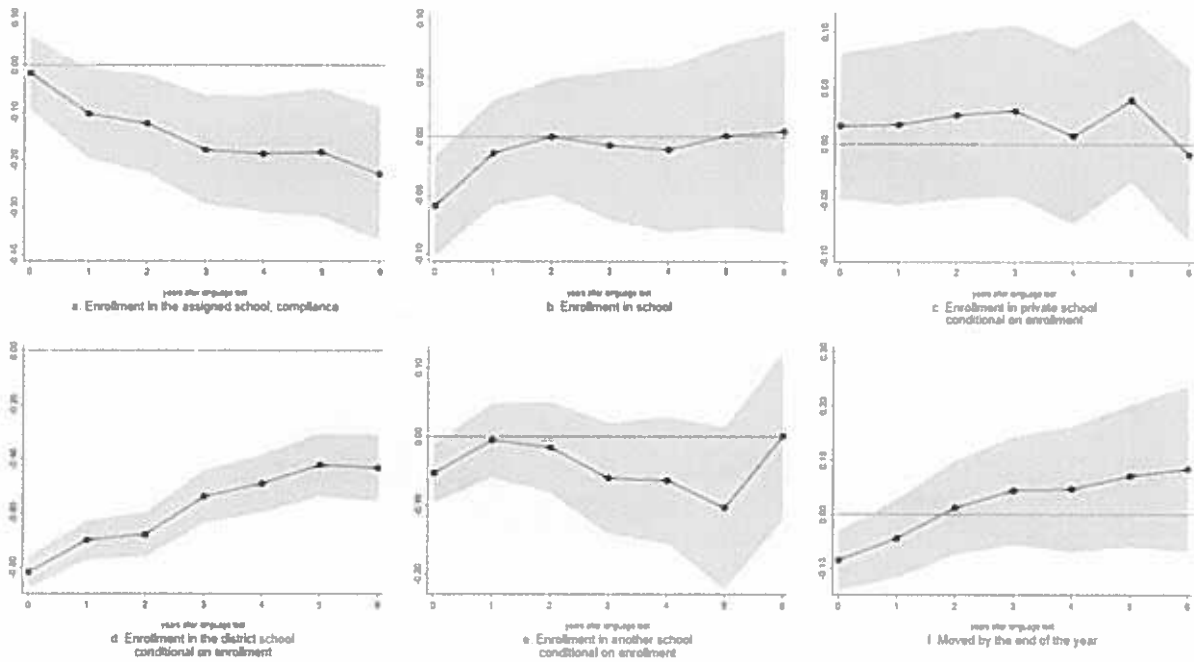
Figure 4.b. Fraction of Pupils Assigned to the District School (Control Group) Attending Different Types of School. By Years Since the Language Test.



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damin et al. (2019a).

Note: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Enrollment in school in the end of August of the relevant year, for the year of the language test (year 0) until 6 years after.

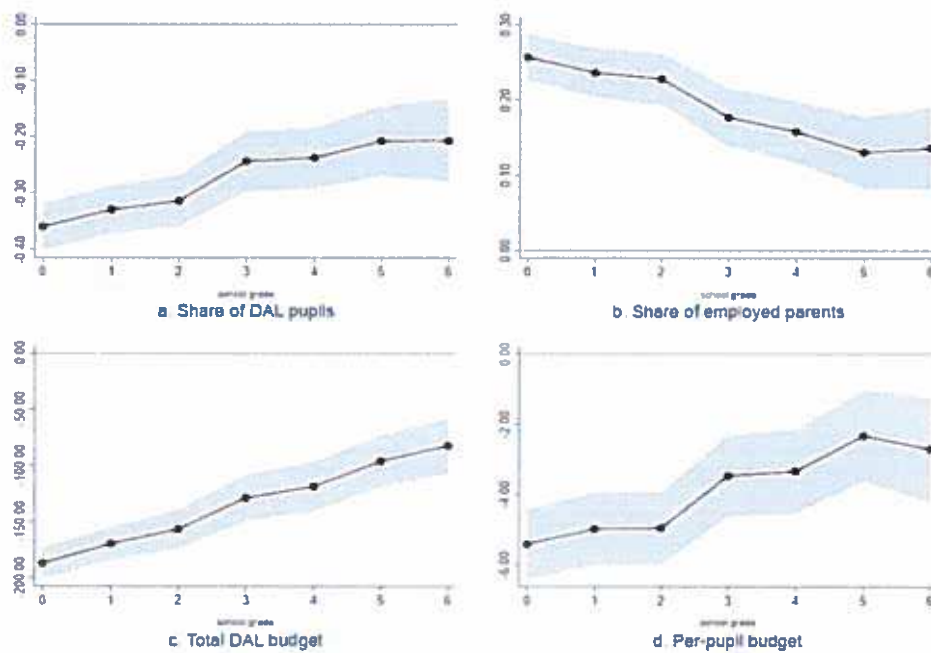
Figure 5. Test of Compliance with the Policy



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Danun et al. (2019a).

Note: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of OLS regression of outcome on a dummy for being assigned to busing by year since the language test. Controls for the determinants of assignment to busing interacted with year since the language test and language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the family level. Outcomes: a. enrollment in the assigned school, b. enrollment in school, c. enrollment in private school conditional on any enrollment, d. enrollment in the district school of residence in the year of the test conditional on any enrollment, e. enrollment in a school other than the assigned school and the district school of residence in the year of the test conditional on any enrollment, f. having moved school district and/or municipality by the end of the year.

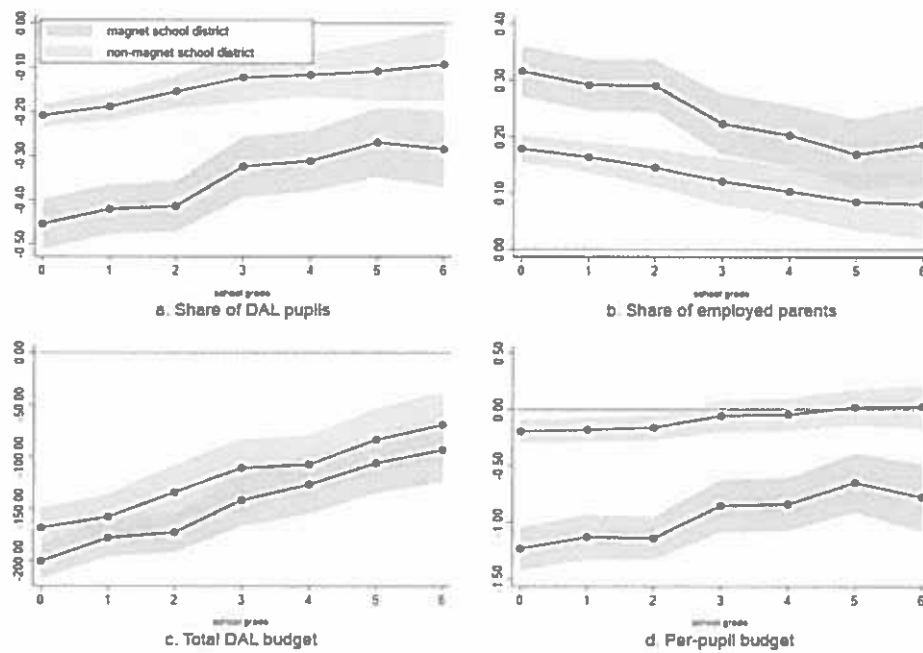
Figure 6. The Impact of Assignment to Busing on Peer Composition and Resources of the Attended School



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a)

Note: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of OLS regression of outcome on a dummy for being assigned to busing by year since the language test. Controls for the determinants of assignment to busing interacted with year since the language test and language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the family level. Outcomes: a. share of Danish as Additional Language pupils in the assigned school, b. share of employed parents of pupils in the assigned school, c. total DAL budget in the assigned school in thousands of USD, d. per-pupil budget in the assigned school in thousands of USD.

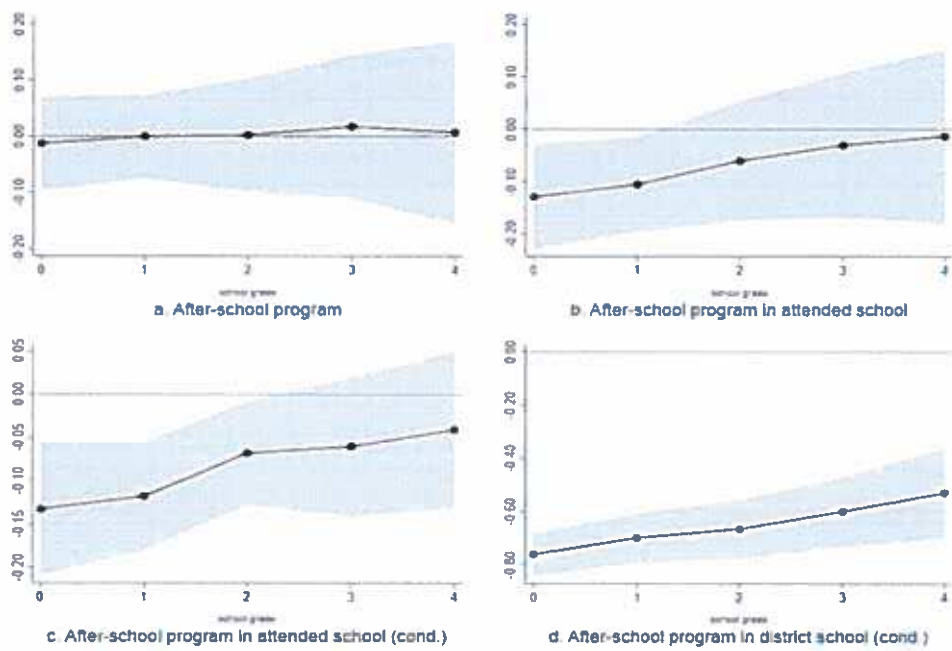
Figure 7. The Impact of Busing on Peers and Resources of the Attended School. By Sending School District Type: Magnet versus Non-Magnet School.



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Note: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table A4). Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of OLS regression of outcome on a dummy for being assigned to busing from a magnet school district (blue) and from a non-magnet school district (pink) by year since the language test. Controls for the determinants of busing interacted with year since the language test and language test-year by school district of residence fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the family level. Outcomes: a. share of Danish as Additional Language pupils in the assigned school, b. share of employed parents of pupils in the assigned school, c. total DAL budget in the assigned school in thousands of USD, d. per-pupil budget in the assigned school in thousands of USD.

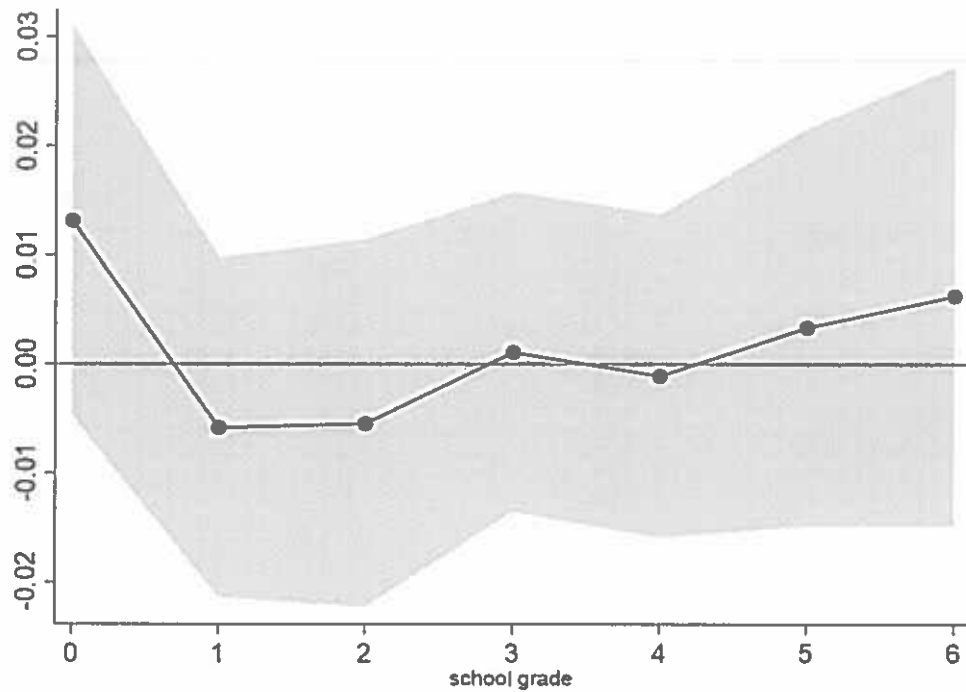
Figure 8. Effect of Assignment to Busing on Enrollment in After-School Programs



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighbourhood of residence register constructed by Damun et al. (2019a).

Note: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of OLS regression of outcome on a dummy for being assigned to busing by year since the language test. Controls for the determinants of assignment to busing interacted with year since the language test and language test-year by school district of residence fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the family level. Outcomes: a. enrollment in any after-school program, b. enrollment in the after-school program of the attended school, c. enrollment in the after school program of the attended school conditional on enrollment in any after school program, d. enrollment in the after-school program of the district school conditional on enrollment in any after-school program.

Figure 9. The Effect of Assignment to Busing on School Absentee Rates: Share of Days of Absence over Active Days.



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Note: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of OLS regression of the share of absences over the number of active days on a dummy for being assigned to busing by year since the language test. Robust standard errors clustered at the family level. Controls for the determinants of assignment to busing interacted with year since the language test and language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects.

Table 1. Description of Sample of School Starters

	All		Assigned to busing		Assigned to district school	
	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.
Panel A - Individual characteristics						
Boy	0.526	0.500	0.540	0.499	0.512	0.500
Age on August 1st	6.163	0.363	6.176	0.372	6.149	0.354
Immigrant	0.078	0.268	0.055	0.228	0.100	0.300
Descendant	0.845	0.362	0.886	0.318	0.804	0.397
Non-Western origin or descent ²	0.861	0.347	0.884	0.321	0.837	0.369
Africa	0.306	0.461	0.289	0.454	0.323	0.468
Middle East	0.447	0.497	0.515	0.500	0.379	0.486
East Asia	0.108	0.311	0.080	0.272	0.135	0.343
Number of siblings	3.280	2.077	3.310	1.997	3.250	2.155
Attended daycare	0.977	0.150	0.977	0.151	0.977	0.150
Living in two-parent household	0.705	0.456	0.675	0.469	0.735	0.442
Parents not employed (low SES) ¹	0.436	0.496	0.470	0.500	0.402	0.491
Observations	954		474		480	
Panel B - Parental characteristics¹						
<i>Mothers</i>						
Age	32.294	6.004	31.527	6.072	33.066	5.841
Immigrant	0.925	0.263	0.946	0.226	0.905	0.294
Married	0.734	0.442	0.768	0.423	0.701	0.458
High school dropout	0.311	0.463	0.329	0.470	0.292	0.455
High school graduate	0.235	0.424	0.230	0.421	0.239	0.427
College graduate	0.195	0.397	0.191	0.394	0.199	0.400
No education reported	0.259	0.439	0.249	0.433	0.269	0.444
Employed (includes self-employed)	0.257	0.437	0.232	0.423	0.282	0.450
Unemployed	0.072	0.258	0.092	0.290	0.051	0.220
Out of the labor force	0.639	0.480	0.649	0.478	0.629	0.484
Real disposable income ³	25,020	10,261	24,756	9,764	25,281	10,731
Real disposable income in first quartile ⁴	0.160	0.367	0.168	0.374	0.153	0.360
Real disposable income in second quartile ⁴	0.272	0.445	0.297	0.457	0.248	0.432
Real disposable income in third quartile ⁴	0.353	0.478	0.335	0.473	0.371	0.484
Real disposable income in fourth quartile ⁴	0.191	0.393	0.187	0.390	0.195	0.397
Observations	937		465		472	
<i>Fathers</i>						
Age	37.280	7.071	36.483	6.893	38.060	7.163
Immigrant	0.932	0.252	0.949	0.220	0.916	0.278
Married	0.760	0.427	0.774	0.419	0.747	0.435
High school dropout	0.248	0.432	0.277	0.448	0.219	0.414
High school graduate	0.294	0.456	0.304	0.460	0.284	0.451
College graduate	0.182	0.386	0.155	0.363	0.208	0.406
No education reported	0.277	0.448	0.264	0.441	0.290	0.454
Employed (includes self-employed)	0.504	0.500	0.472	0.500	0.535	0.499
Unemployed	0.090	0.286	0.106	0.309	0.074	0.261
Out of the labour force	0.360	0.480	0.375	0.485	0.346	0.476
Real disposable income ³	23,229	12,423	22,057	12,890	24,373	11,851
Real disposable income in first quartile ⁴	0.269	0.444	0.310	0.463	0.229	0.421
Real disposable income in second quartile ⁴	0.327	0.470	0.330	0.471	0.325	0.469
Real disposable income in third quartile ⁴	0.216	0.412	0.200	0.400	0.232	0.422
Real disposable income in fourth quartile ⁴	0.159	0.366	0.133	0.340	0.184	0.388
Observations	913		451		462	

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Panel C: School assignment policy⁵						
Strong language support need	0.128	0.334	0.131	0.338	0.125	0.331
Medium language support need	0.436	0.496	0.456	0.499	0.417	0.494
Low language support need	0.436	0.496	0.414	0.493	0.458	0.499
Bused	0.497	0.500	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Sibling attending the district school	0.422	0.494	0.192	0.394	0.650	0.477
Age difference with youngest sibling in district school	3.835	2.547	4.862	2.964	3.353	2.333
Sibling bused	0.202	0.402	0.213	0.410	0.192	0.394
Distance to district school (km)	0.853	0.654	0.852	0.518	0.855	0.766
Distance to assigned school (km)	3.835	3.716	6.859	3.011	0.855	0.766
Number of category-S pupils in class	4.106	2.109	3.437	1.981	4.677	2.049
Observations	954		474		480	

Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing, are less than seven years old when taking the language screening test, are referred to a regular public school, have a total test score "S", live in a regular school district (without a full-day school) with a sending school, who have not expressed desire for another school than the district school, who do not reside in Norgaards and Frydelund school districts in 2007, and who do not move to Aarhus between January and school start in 2016.

¹ Characteristics in the year the child turns 4.

² Origin or descent: not from Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA.

³ Real USD (base year 2016, exchange rate DKK/USD 0.1485).

⁴ Distribution of real disposable income of the adult immigrant population (age 25 to 54) in Aarhus Municipality

⁵ Year of the language screening test.

Table 2. Characteristics of School Districts of Residence and Assignment

	Sending districts (magnet schools)		Sending districts (non-magnet schools)		Receiving districts (non-magnet schools)	
	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.	Mean	Std. dev.
<i>Districts</i>						
Share of residents who are immigrants or descendants	0.496	0.089	0.240	0.067	0.103	0.144
Employment rate ¹	0.607	0.066	0.740	0.033	0.842	0.109
Share of residents with a tertiary education ¹	0.171	0.022	0.150	0.024	0.139	0.038
Avg. real disposable income ^{1,2}	30,302	1,512	32,956	2,542	41,701	8,711
Share of school starters who enroll in the district school	0.344	0.129	0.583	0.155	0.777	0.160
<i>District Schools</i>						
School size ³	371	115	562	168	590	220
Class size ⁴	16.213	3.125	18.773	2.670	20.484	2.958
Grade 0 class size ⁴	14.805	6.363	18.542	4.122	21.553	9.103
Share of employed parents	0.401	0.139	0.601	0.083	0.751	0.156
Share of DAL pupils ⁵	0.665	0.144	0.363	0.064	0.172	0.211
Share of category-S pupils in grade 0 ^{3,6}	0.294	0.199	0.196	0.059	0.138	0.119
Average age of teachers ⁷	46.194	1.982	43.899	1.334	43.683	2.289
Pupils per teacher ⁷	9.531	1.846	12.641	1.695	9.447	1.933
Share of lessons with qualified staff ⁷	0.792	0.106	0.754	0.115	0.751	0.130
Share of Danish lessons with qualified staff ⁷	0.817	0.208	0.863	0.137	0.843	0.132
Share of math lessons with qualified staff ⁷	0.863	0.177	0.770	0.223	0.766	0.196
Per-pupil budget ^{2,3,8,9}	6,978	851	5,698	318	5,514	335
Real total DAL budget (thousands) ^{2,9}	282.294	25.583	256.393	69.926	80.071	60.234
DAL per-pupil premium (%) ⁹	18.055	1.340	20.959	1.873	16.413	2.181
Average class DNT score in the school, reading grade 2 ¹⁰	-0.509	0.940	-0.288	0.996	-0.113	0.989
Average class DNT score in the school, math grade 3 ¹⁰	-0.275	0.894	-0.254	0.985	-0.036	0.968
Average class DNT score in the school, reading grade 4 ¹⁰	-0.552	0.940	-0.295	0.987	-0.029	0.952
Average class DNT score in the school, reading grade 6 ¹⁰	-0.736	1.044	-0.393	0.988	-0.011	0.924
Average class DNT score in the school, math grade 6 ¹⁰	-0.548	0.882	-0.320	0.899	0.071	0.906
Average class DNT score in the school, English grade 7 ¹⁰	-0.263	0.955	-0.079	0.963	0.144	0.966
Average class DNT score in the school, reading grade 8 ¹⁰	-0.718	0.947	-0.141	0.929	0.075	0.878
Average class DNT score in the school, natural sciences grade 8 ^{10,11}	-0.624	0.900	-0.149	0.848	0.093	0.854
Number of schools	3		7		33	

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Danm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Sample: School districts of residence and assignment of our sample of language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Averages across the relevant years and school districts.

¹ Adult population (age 25 to 54) in the school district.

² Real USD (base year 2016, exchange rate DKK/USD 0.1485).

³ At the beginning of the school year (Aug 31), from the Municipality pupil's register.

⁴ Years 2007-2015.

⁵ Number of Danish-as-Additional Language (DAL) pupils reported by the Municipality.

⁶ The share of S-pupils in grade 0 is above the policy threshold of 20% for sending magnet school Ellekærskolen, because Ellekærskolen has been exempted from the 20% rule since around 2016 and possibly also because of flight of Danish pupils between class formation and school start.

⁷ Source: <https://www.uddannelsesstatistik.dk>. Average age of teachers in years 2007-2016, pupils per teachers in years 2010-2016, lessons with qualified staff in years 2012-2016.

⁸ Per pupil budget for grades 1 to 3.

⁹ Danish National Test score, Average of available years (2014-2016), conditional on the school being open in those years.

¹⁰ Mean and standard deviation of the class-average DNT score, available for school years from 2009/2010 to 2018/2019.

¹¹ Science includes: biology, geography, physics and chemistry.

Table 3. Sample Characteristics: Outcomes.

	All		Assigned to busing		Assigned to district school	
	Mean (Std. dev.)	Obs.	Mean (Std. dev.)	Obs.	Mean (Std. dev.)	Obs.
<i>National Tests¹</i>						
Reading, grades 2,4,6,8 (taker)	0.947	2080	0.930	1099	0.966	981
Reading, grade 2,4,6,8 (score)	-0.654 (0.945)	1970	-0.703 (0.944)	1022	-0.601 (0.944)	948
Math, grades 3,6 (taker)	0.956	1097	0.948	578	0.965	519
Math, grades 3,6 (score)	-0.559 (0.879)	1049	-0.651 (0.862)	548	-0.459 (0.887)	501
English, grade 7 (taker)	0.739	375	0.744	238	0.730	137
English, grade 7 (score)	-0.347 (0.860)	277	-0.398 (0.851)	177	-0.258 (0.873)	100
Natural sciences, grade 8 (taker) ²	0.893	458	0.889	325	0.902	133
Natural sciences, grade 8 (score)	-0.344 (1.007)	409	-0.354 (1.024)	289	-0.319 (0.967)	120
<i>Wellbeing³</i>						
Survey taker (grades 0–3)	0.864 (0.343)	1,227	0.831 (0.376)	313	0.875 (0.331)	914
School satisfaction (grades 0–3)	0.122 (0.992)	1,060	0.041 (1.025)	260	0.148 (0.980)	800
Distress (grades 0–3)	0.070 (1.054)	1,060	0.192 (1.049)	260	0.030 (1.053)	800
Survey taker (grades 4–9)	0.825 (0.380)	2,064	0.793 (0.405)	1,171	0.867 (0.340)	893
School satisfaction (grades 4–9)	-0.028 (1.057)	1,703	0.016 (1.057)	929	-0.080 (1.055)	774
Distress (grades 4–9)	0.066 (1.003)	1,703	0.041 (1.034)	929	0.097 (0.097)	774
<i>School Absentee rates⁴</i>						
Share of absences over school days in grade 0	0.077 (0.068)	519	0.102 (0.084)	183	0.064 (0.052)	336
Share of absences over school days, grades 0–4	0.069 (0.064)	3,003	0.079 (0.077)	1,299	0.061 (0.052)	1,704
<i>Enrollment in after-school programs⁵</i>						
After-school in grade 0	0.823	679	0.801	351	0.848	328
After-school in the attended school in grade 0	0.766	679	0.695	351	0.841	328
After-school in the district school in grade 0	0.464	679	0.120	351	0.832	328
After-school in grades 0–4	0.822	2,386	0.813	1,365	0.833	1,021
After-school in the attended school in grades 0–4	0.777	2,386	0.740	1,365	0.828	1,021
After-school in the district school, grades 0–4	0.427	2,386	0.158	1,365	0.787	1,021

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007–2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Outcomes pooled across grades.

¹ Public school pupils enrolled in the relevant grade between 2010 and 2017, and who take the Danish National Test (score).

² Natural sciences cover biology, geography, physics and chemistry.

³ Public school pupils enrolled in the relevant grade between 2014 and 2018.

⁴ Public school pupils enrolled in the relevant grade between 2007 and 2015.

⁵ Public school pupils enrolled in the relevant grade between 2011 and 2017.

Table 4. Factor Loadings on School Satisfaction and Distress

School Satisfaction	
Survey Question	Factor loading
Do you learn anything exciting in school?	1
Are your classrooms nice to be in?	0.948
Are lessons boring?	0.936
Are you happy with your school?	0.917
Are teachers good at helping you in school?	0.817
Are you happy with your class?	0.800
Are you happy with your teachers?	0.761

Distress	
Survey Question	Factor loading
Is there someone who teases you, so that you get upset?	1
Do you have stomachache, when you are in school?	0.935
Do you have headache, when you are in school?	0.925
Are you afraid that the other kids laugh at you in school?	0.883
Do you feel alone in school?	0.874
Is it difficult to hear what the teacher says during lessons?	0.739

Source: Danish Wellbeing Survey of all public school pupils in grades 0-3, waves 2015-2019.

Notes: Factor loadings from confirmatory factor analysis on the two most important factors in a exploratory factor analysis. We run the exploratory factor analysis using all 20 items in the questionnaire. We find 4 factors with eigenvalue above 1, of which only two explaining above 10% of the variance in the data. We run the confirmatory factor analysis of these two factors using only the items with factor loadings of .5 and above, and controls for year of the survey, grade, age, and sex.

Table 5. Test of the Identification Strategy

	Dependent variable: Assigned to busing			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>				
Sibling in the district school	-0.484*** (0.036)	-0.476*** (0.038)	-0.482*** (0.039)	-0.485*** (0.039)
Age difference with youngest sibling in the district school	0.024*** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.023*** (0.007)	0.023*** (0.007)
Distance from neighborhood of residence to the district school	0.050*** (0.019)	0.050*** (0.019)	0.048** (0.019)	0.048** (0.020)
Sibling bused		0.028 (0.032)	0.025 (0.032)	0.024 (0.032)
Medium language support need		-0.004 (0.033)	-0.002 (0.034)	-0.002 (0.034)
Low language support need		-0.007 (0.033)	-0.004 (0.034)	-0.004 (0.034)
Age on language test day		0.021 (0.029)	0.021 (0.029)	0.023 (0.029)
R ²	0.638	0.645	0.647	0.651
Observations	954	954	954	954
<i>Controls:</i>				
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	YES	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	NO	YES	YES
Father characteristics	NO	NO	NO	YES
F-test joint insignificance for additional controls		0.765	0.701	0.779
P-value F-test		0.764	0.900	0.858

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests (iCores) linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). OLS of dummy for assignment to busing (sample avg 0.504) over the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school and language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects. Further specifications in addition control for individual characteristics including dummies for having an older sibling bused, the assessed level of language support need, and the continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test (columns 2-4), mother (columns 3-4) and father characteristics (column 5). Fixed effects for 10 school districts of residence for each year in the period from 2007-2016. F-test on individual, mother and father characteristics, age, level of language support, and sibling bused. Individual characteristics of the child include gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39).

Table 6. Effect of Assignment to Busing on National Test Scores. By Grade and Subject.

	Dependent variable:			
	Test taker	Test taker	Standardized test score	Standardized test score
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>				
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.057** (0.023)	-0.055** (0.023)	-0.089 (0.099)	-0.092 (0.096)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.015 (0.021)	-0.013 (0.021)	-0.170* (0.101)	-0.184* (0.097)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.033* (0.020)	-0.031 (0.021)	-0.019 (0.106)	-0.037 (0.102)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	-0.001 (0.021)	-0.002 (0.021)	-0.114 (0.108)	-0.132 (0.105)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	-0.011 (0.020)	-0.011 (0.020)	-0.152 (0.113)	-0.172 (0.109)
Assigned to busing, English test grade 7	0.032 (0.045)	0.031 (0.045)	-0.077 (0.133)	-0.082 (0.125)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	-0.006 (0.027)	-0.008 (0.028)	-0.234* (0.133)	-0.250* (0.131)
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.016 (0.035)	0.012 (0.036)	-0.008 (0.160)	0.027 (0.154)
R ²	0.108	0.127	0.093	0.170
Observations	4,010	4,010	3,705	3,705
<i>Controls:</i>				
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Subject fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a)

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the individual level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Pooled dataset. Outcomes: Dummies for taking the test conditional on attending the relevant grade in a public school in a year where the test took place. Standardized test scores conditional on having taken the test. National tests in math (grades 3 and 6), reading (grades 2, 4, 6, 8), English (grade 7) and natural science (grade 8). The natural science tests cover geography, biology, physics and chemistry. OLS of the outcome on a dummy for assignment to busing interacted with grade and test subject. We control for the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. Other controls include: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 controls for additional individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the

Table 7. Effect on Assignment to Busing on National Test Scores. By Grade, Subject and subgroups: Gender, Socio-E

	Subgroup			Subgroup		
	Boys	Girls	Difference	High SES	Low SES	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Dep. Var.: Test taker						
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>						
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.033 (0.027)	-0.083** (0.032)	0.050 [0.169]	-0.027 (0.026)	-0.086*** (0.032)	0.059* [0.096]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.006 (0.025)	-0.022 (0.027)	0.016 [0.608]	0.008 (0.023)	-0.037 (0.028)	0.045 [0.138]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.031 (0.024)	-0.033 (0.029)	0.002 [0.935]	0.007 (0.021)	-0.073** (0.031)	0.080** [0.017]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	0.020 (0.023)	-0.029 (0.029)	0.010 [0.105]	-0.011 (0.026)	0.008 (0.024)	0.019 [0.463]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	0.001 (0.023)	-0.026 (0.027)	0.027 [0.359]	-0.003 (0.023)	-0.022 (0.026)	0.019 [0.513]
Assigned to busing, English test, grade 7	0.072 (0.050)	-0.022 (0.057)	0.094* [0.096]	0.019 (0.053)	0.045 (0.053)	-0.026 [0.628]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	-0.004 (0.032)	-0.010 (0.032)	0.006 [0.864]	-0.018 (0.033)	0.004 (0.030)	-0.022 [0.487]
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.013 (0.043)	0.012 (0.043)	0.001 [0.979]	0.060 (0.039)	-0.040 (0.047)	0.100** [0.039]
R ²	0.129			0.132		
Observations	4,010			4,010		
Panel B: Dep. Var.: Standardized test score						
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>						
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.138 (0.112)	-0.025 (0.119)	-0.103 [0.373]	-0.032 (0.112)	-0.157 (0.120)	0.125 [0.325]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.163 (0.115)	-0.208* (0.119)	0.045 [0.725]	-0.132 (0.115)	-0.242** (0.122)	0.110 [0.409]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.101 (0.121)	0.040 (0.120)	-0.141 [0.277]	0.039 (0.117)	-0.123 (0.125)	0.162 [0.204]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	-0.205* (0.122)	-0.031 (0.124)	-0.174 [0.173]	-0.091 (0.127)	-0.175 (0.117)	0.084 [0.497]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	-0.072 (0.124)	-0.295** (0.129)	0.223* [0.090]	-0.112 (0.123)	-0.238* (0.130)	0.126 [0.330]
Assigned to busing, English test, grade 7	0.042 (0.140)	-0.261* (0.145)	0.301** [0.029]	-0.002 (0.143)	-0.169 (0.141)	0.167 [0.216]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	-0.177 (0.154)	-0.357** (0.153)	0.180 [0.271]	-0.250* (0.144)	-0.245 (0.168)	-0.005 [0.976]
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.184 (0.152)	-0.217 (0.212)	0.401** [0.036]	-0.070 (0.165)	0.137 (0.186)	-0.207 [0.213]
R ²	0.177			0.173		
Observations	3,705			3,705		
Controls:						
Determinants of assignment	YES			YES		
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES			YES		
Grade fixed effects	YES			YES		
Subject fixed effects	YES			YES		
Individual characteristics	YES			YES		
Mother characteristics	YES			YES		
Father characteristics	YES			YES		

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood (Damm et al. 2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. P-value of test of equality between Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Outcomes: attending the relevant grade in a public school in a year where the test took place. Standardized test scores conditional on having taken the test. Na (grades 2, 4, 6, 8), English (grade 7) and natural science (grade 8). The natural science tests cover geography, biology, physics and chemistry. OLS c busing interacted with grade, test subject, and sex of the child (columns 1-3), socio-economic status of the child (high if at least one parent is employed, the child has low language support need or medium to high (columns 4-6)). We control for the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings in a two-parent household, dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration (school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real income in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016.

Table 8. Effect of Assignment to Busing on Wellbeing Survey Factors: School Satisfaction and Distress. Grades 0–3.

	Survey taker		Dependent variable:			
	(1)	(2)	School satisfaction (3)	School satisfaction (4)	Distress (5)	Distress (6)
Panel A						
<i>Explanatory variable:</i>						
Assigned to busing	-0.062* (0.036)	-0.065* (0.034)	-0.090 (0.116)	-0.084 (0.122)	0.244* (0.139)	0.233* (0.134)
R ²	0.064	0.105	0.086	0.123	0.110	0.169
Observations	1,227	1,227	1,060	1,060	1,060	1,060
Panel B						
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>						
Assigned to busing, grade 0	-0.019 (0.062)	-0.023 (0.061)	-0.085 (0.176)	-0.076 (0.184)	0.424* (0.233)	0.404* (0.243)
Assigned to busing, grade 1	-0.219*** (0.062)	-0.217*** (0.063)	-0.095 (0.159)	-0.112 (0.171)	0.085 (0.183)	0.088 (0.174)
Assigned to busing, grade 2	-0.006 (0.051)	-0.012 (0.048)	-0.007 (0.170)	0.005 (0.174)	-0.065 (0.170)	-0.068 (0.168)
Assigned to busing, grade 3	-0.015 (0.050)	-0.019 (0.050)	-0.170 (0.165)	-0.154 (0.168)	0.537*** (0.175)	0.503*** (0.171)
R ²	0.075	0.115	0.087	0.124	0.120	0.178
Observations	1,227	1,227	1,060	1,060	1,060	1,060
Controls:						
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES

Source: Micro data from Danish Wellbeing Surveys linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a)

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Outcomes: a dummy for having taken the well-being survey (1, 2) and standardized factors for school satisfaction (3, 4) and distress (5, 6). OLS of the outcome on a dummy for assignment to busing (Panel A), a dummy for assignment to busing interacted with the grade (Panel B) and the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. We further control for: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 controls for additional individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016.

Table 9. Effect of Assignment to Busing on National Test Score. By Grade, Subject and Type of Sending School District.

	Subgroup			Subgroup		
	Magnet school district (1)	Non-magnet school district (2)	Difference (3)	Magnet school district (4)	Non-magnet school district (5)	Difference (6)
Panel A: Dep. Var.: Test taker						
<i>Explanatory variables</i>						
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.085*** (0.029)	0.016 (0.028)	-0.101*** [0.004]	-0.079*** (0.029)	0.012 (0.029)	-0.091*** [0.011]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.033 (0.025)	0.027 (0.027)	-0.060* [0.060]	-0.026 (0.026)	0.022 (0.028)	-0.048* [0.139]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.041* (0.024)	-0.027 (0.035)	-0.014 [0.740]	-0.034 (0.024)	-0.032 (0.036)	-0.002 [0.965]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	-0.011 (0.026)	0.012 (0.027)	-0.023 [0.462]	-0.006 (0.026)	0.007 (0.028)	-0.013 [0.684]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	-0.026 (0.025)	0.022 (0.023)	-0.048* [0.093]	-0.022 (0.026)	0.017 (0.024)	-0.039 [0.211]
Assigned to busing, English test, grade 7	0.058 (0.049)	-0.068 (0.068)	0.116* [0.059]	0.062 (0.049)	-0.071 (0.068)	0.133* [0.050]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	-0.003 (0.030)	-0.034 (0.046)	0.031 [0.514]	0.001 (0.030)	-0.042 (0.047)	0.043 [0.375]
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.013 (0.042)	0.014 (0.041)	-0.001 [0.986]	0.016 (0.042)	0.000 (0.042)	0.016 [0.740]
R ²	0.114			0.132		
Observations	4,010			4,010		
Panel B: Dep. Var.: Standardized test score						
<i>Explanatory variables</i>						
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.097 (0.128)	-0.096 (0.135)	-0.001 [0.995]	-0.054 (0.125)	-0.162 (0.125)	0.108 [0.490]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.147 (0.132)	-0.273** (0.137)	0.126 [0.463]	-0.116 (0.127)	-0.345*** (0.130)	0.229 [0.160]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.013 (0.137)	-0.079 (0.135)	0.066 [0.695]	0.016 (0.130)	-0.158 (0.130)	0.174 [0.278]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	-0.158 (0.141)	-0.024 (0.131)	-0.134 [0.421]	-0.130 (0.136)	-0.090 (0.128)	-0.040 [0.797]
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	-0.212 (0.148)	-0.012 (0.141)	-0.200 [0.262]	-0.189 (0.142)	-0.075 (0.138)	-0.114 [0.509]
Assigned to busing, English test, grade 7	-0.157 (0.163)	0.170 (0.170)	-0.327* [0.092]	-0.113 (0.153)	0.096 (0.162)	-0.209 [0.256]
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	-0.296* (0.164)	-0.059 (0.173)	-0.237 [0.247]	-0.269* (0.163)	-0.121 (0.165)	-0.148 [0.458]
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.003 (0.189)	-0.101 (0.206)	0.104 [0.640]	0.083 (0.181)	-0.103 (0.198)	0.186 [0.384]
R ²	0.095			0.173		
Observations	3,705			3,705		
Controls						
Determinants of assignment	YES			YES		
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES			YES		
Grade fixed effects	YES			YES		
Subject fixed effects	YES			YES		
Individual characteristics	NO			YES		
Mother characteristics	NO			YES		
Father characteristics	NO			YES		

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Outcomes: Dummies for taking the test conditional on attending the relevant grade in a public school in a year where the test took place. Standardized test scores conditional on having taken the test. National tests in math (grades 3 and 6), reading (grades 2, 4, 6, 8), English (grade 7) and natural science (grade 8). The natural science tests cover geography, biology, physics and chemistry. OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused interacted with grade, test subject, and a dummy for whether the child resides in a district with a magnet school. We control for the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. We further control for: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 controls for additional individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include: for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016.

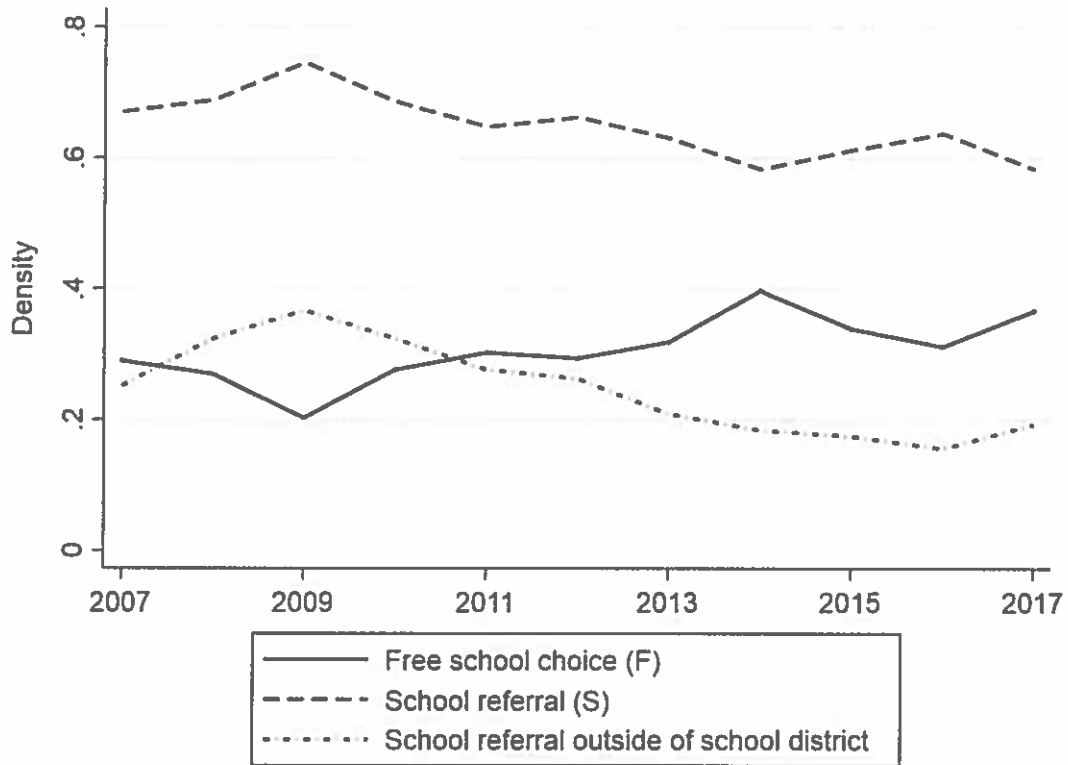
Table 10. Effect of Assignment to Busing on Wellbeing in Grades 0–3. Two Survey Factors: School Satisfaction and Distress. By Type of Sending School District.

	Dep. var.:					
	Survey taker (1)	Survey taker (2)	School satisfaction (3)	School satisfaction (4)	Distress (5)	Distress (6)
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>						
Assigned to busing, from a magnet school	-0.101** (0.045)	-0.091** (0.040)	-0.153 (0.139)	-0.192 (0.142)	0.174 (0.154)	0.170 (0.158)
Assigned to busing, from a non-magnet school	0.016 (0.044)	-0.014 (0.049)	0.022 (0.181)	0.087 (0.195)	0.369 (0.226)	0.358* (0.208)
Difference: magnet - non-magnet	-0.117*	-0.077*	-0.175	-0.279	-0.195	-0.188
R ²	0.067	0.106	0.087	0.128	0.111	0.171
Observations	1,224	1,224	1,059	1,059	1,059	1,059
<i>Controls:</i>						
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES

Source: Micro data from Danish Wellbeing Surveys linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a)

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Outcomes: a dummy for having taken the well-being survey (1, 2) and standardized factors for school satisfaction (3, 4) and distress (5, 6). OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused interacted with an indicator for residence in a magnet school district, and the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. We further control for: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 additionally controls for individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016.

Figure A1. Aarhus Municipality's Busing Policy during the Period 2007-2017



Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al (2019a).

Note: Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2017. Sample size: 5,664 school starters.

Table A1. Definitions and Data Sources of Variables

Variable	Definition	Data source
Panel A: Individual characteristics		
<i>School starters</i>		
Boy	Dummy for the child being a boy	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Age on August 1*	Continuous age on August 1st of the year of test	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
Age on language test day	Continuous age on test date. Author's calculation: $(\text{screening date} - \text{birthdate}) / 365.25$	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
Immigrant	Dummy for the child being born abroad from non-Danish parents.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Descendant	Dummies for the child being born in Denmark of immigrant parents.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Descent	Dummies for geographical descent of the child. Western countries are Europe, including former Soviet block, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA. Non-western countries are all the rest. When both parents are known, geographical descent is the mother's country of birth or of citizenship (if different). When the mother is not known, geographical descent is the country of birth or of citizenship (if different) of the child.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Daycare	Dummy for having attended daycare at least once between ages 0 and 5	Population register and daycare register (1995-2014), Statistics Denmark (DST)
Number of siblings	Number of siblings (capped at 7)	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Living status	Dummies if the child lives in a household with a single parent or two parents. From family id.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)

Table A1. Definitions and data sources of variables

Variable	Definition	Data source
Panel B: Mother and father characteristics		
Parents missing	Dummies for missing mother or father information in the population registers.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Age (continuous, class)	Age when the child is 4 years old. Dummy variables for whether the parent is in the following age slots: <25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, and >39	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Immigrant	Dummy for being a first generation immigrant	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Civil status	Dummies for civil status being unmarried, married, divorced, single (unmarried or divorced)	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Highest acquired education	Dummies for being a high school dropout, having graduated high school, having graduated from tertiary education, not having any education reported. Calculated when the tested child is 4 years old.	Education register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Employment status	Dummies for being employed, unemployed, out of the labor force	Employment register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Annual disposable income	Annual real disposable income, in USD	Income register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Annual disposable income, quartiles	Dummies for whether annual real disposable income is in the first to fourth quartiles of the income distribution of the Aarhus adult population of immigrant residents (age 25-54)	Income register, Statistics Denmark (DST)

Table A1. Definitions and data sources of variables

Variable	Definition	Data source
Panel C: School Assignment Policy (year of the test)		
Total score on language test	Dummies for total score category in the language test: need for reception class (category 0, M), strong language support need (category 1, S), medium language support need (category 2, S), low language support need (category 3, S), no significant language support need (category 4, F)	Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
Assignment to busing	Dummy for child being assigned to busing (treatment)	Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
Sibling in the district school	Dummy for having at least one older sibling attending the district school in the year of the test.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Age difference with sibling in the district school	Age difference with the youngest older sibling attending the district school in the year of the test.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Distance to district school	Distance in km from the centroid of the micro-neighborhood of residence to the hectare cell position of the main entrance of the district school	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Language test register, Aarhus Municipality Micro-neighborhoods data from Danm. Hassani and Schultz-Nielsen (2019b)
Distance to assigned school	Distance in km from the centroid of the micro-neighborhood of residence to the hectare cell position of the main entrance of the assigned school	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Language test register, Aarhus Municipality Micro-neighborhoods data from Danm. Hassani and Schultz-Nielsen (2019b)
Sibling bused	Dummy for having at least one bused sibling at the time of the test	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
<i>Attended school year of the test</i>		
Enrolled	Dummy for being enrolled in school on August 31st of the year of the test	Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Private school	Dummy for being enrolled in private school on August 31st of the year of the test	Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Attend the district school	Dummy for attending the district school in the t year after the test.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Number of category-S pupils in class	Number of other category-S pupils attending the same class	Pupil register, Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
School desire	Dummy for expressing a desire for a school different than the district school	Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
Re-take or reassess the language test	Dummy for re-taking (or re-assessing) the language test the year after the first attempt.	Language test register, Aarhus Municipality
First-born child	Dummy for being the first-born child in the family.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST)
Majority among tested children	Dummy for whether the child is the same ethnic descent (Africa, Middle East, East Asia) as the other children tested in her school/district	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST) Pupil and language test registers, Aarhus Municipality
Socio-economic status	Own calculation: Low if both parents not employed, high if either parent is employed	Population register, Employment register, Statistics Denmark (DST)

Table A1. Definitions and data sources of variables

Variable	Definition	Data source
Panel D: Outcome Variables		
National test taker	Dummies for taking the test in grades 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8. Conditional on attending public school.	DNT register (2010-2019), Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
National test score	Standardized test score in reading (language comprehension, decoding, reading comprehension, grades 1, 4, 6, 8), math (numbers and algebra, geometry, applied mathematics, grades 3, 6, 8), English (grade 7), or science (biology, geology, physics and chemistry, grade 8). We first standardize the ability measures in the population within year, grade, subject, and cognitive area (mean 0, st. dev. 1); then we sum the standardized measures for the three cognitive areas in each subject and we standardize the final measures in the population (mean 0, st. dev. 1). See Beuchert and Nandrup (2018) for details.	DNT register (2010-2019), Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Wellbeing survey take up	Dummy for filling up the well-being survey conditional on being enrolled in a public school.	Danish Wellbeing Survey (DWS), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
School satisfaction	School satisfaction measure from an exploratory+confirmatory factor analysis of the Danish Wellbeing Survey.	DWS, own calculations.
Distress	Distress measure from an exploratory+confirmatory factor analysis of the Danish Wellbeing Survey.	DWS, own calculations.
School absences	Share of absences over total active school days per grade in grades 0-4. Conditional on attending public school and on absence data having been recorded.	School absence register (academic years 2011-2019), Aarhus Municipality.
After-school attendance	Dummies for attending an after-school program per grade at any institution, at the attended school, or at the district school.	SFO register (2007-2015 Feb) and pupil register, Aarhus Municipality

Table A1. Definitions and data sources of variables

Variable	Definition	Data source
Panel E: School district of residence and school characteristics		
Share of residents who are immigrants or descendants	Share of the population living in the school district with non-Danish origin or descent.	Population register and income register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality.
Employment rate	Share of the adult population (age 25-54) living in the school district who is employed	Population register and employment register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality.
Share of residents with a tertiary education	Share of the adult population (age 25-54) living in the school district who has a tertiary degree.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Avg. real disposable income	Average annual real disposable income in USD, of the adult population (age 25-54) living in the school district.	Population register and employment register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality.

Table A1. Definitions and data sources of variables

Variable	Definition	Data source
Panel F: School district of residence and school characteristics (cont.)		
Share of school starters who enroll in the district school	Share of all school starters living in the district who enrolls in the district school. School starters are defined as all children enrolling in school in the relevant year.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
School size	Number of pupils enrolled in all grades in the district school	Aarhus Municipality records
Class size	Average class size in the school (overall and only in grade 0) on August 1st of the relevant year.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Share of employed parents	Share of employed parents of pupils starting in the district school on August 1st of the relevant year.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Share of DAL pupils	Share of Danish as Additional Language pupils: share of tested pupils over all pupils enrolled in school on September 5 of the relevant year. It includes pupils who started school before the policy was introduced and as a consequence were not tested.	Aarhus Municipality records
Share of category-S pupils	Number of category-S pupils enrolled in all grades in the district school on August 1st of the relevant year.	Population register, Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register and language test register, Aarhus Municipality.
Average age of teachers	Average age of teachers calculated from the age composition of teachers.	"Uddannelsesstatistik" (academic years 2007-2016), the Danish Ministry of Education. Own calculations.
Pupils per teacher	Calculated as number of pupil per full-time teacher (full-time equivalents are calculated for part-time teachers)	"Uddannelsesstatistik" (academic years 2010-2017), the Danish Ministry of Education
Qualified staff	The share of lessons with qualified staff by subject (overall, danish, math) and grade (overall, 0-3).	"Uddannelsesstatistik" (academic years 2012-2017), the Danish Ministry of Education.
Number of Danish lessons	The annual number of math lessons across grades	"Uddannelsesstatistik" (academic years 2010-2017), the Danish Ministry of Education.
Number of math lessons	The annual number of math lessons across grades	"Uddannelsesstatistik" (academic years 2010-2017), the Danish Ministry of Education
Per-pupil budget	Per pupil budget in real USD 2016	2014-2016 school budgets, Aarhus Municipality
DAL per-pupil premium	Additional per pupil budget for DAL pupils, as percentage of the school per-pupil budget.	2014-2016 school budgets, Aarhus Municipality
Total DAL budget	Share of total school budget earmarked for development of bilingual pupils, in thousands of real USD 2016.	2014-2016 school budgets, Aarhus Municipality
Average class test score	Average class score in the National Test, by task and grade. Calculated as the average of per class averages.	DNT register (2010-2017), Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality
Std. dev. of class test score	Average class standard deviation of the score in the National Test, by task and grade. Calculated as the average of per class averages.	DNT register (2010-2017), Statistics Denmark (DST), Pupil register, Aarhus Municipality

Table A2. Sample Selection

	Sample selection criteria	N
1	School starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007/8-2016/17	33,106
2	Language screened school starters (remain alive in 2017)	5,506
3	who are considered fit for busing, i.e. no special needs	5,350
4	who are less than seven years old when taking the language screening test	5,333
5	who are referred to a regular public school [not private, special needs, or missing assignment]	5,192
6	who have a total test score "S"	3,403
7	whose district schools are not full-day schools since they follow another policy rule	2,631
8	whose district school is a sending school	1,431
9	who have no expressed preference for a school other than the district school	1,062
10	who do not live in Nordgaard or Frydenlund school districts in 2007	-
11	who do not move to Aarhus between January and school start in 2016	954

Table A3. Wellbeing Survey Questions for Pupils in Grades 0–3

Original Question	English translation	:(:-	-)
1 Er du glad for din skole?	Are you happy with your school?	1 No	2 Yes, a little	3 Yes, a lot
2 Er du glad for din klasse?	Are you happy with your class?	1 No	2 Yes, a little	3 Yes, a lot
3 Føler du dig alene i skolen?	Do you feel alone in school?	1 Yes, often	2 Yes, sometimes	3 No
4 Kan du lide pauserne i skolen?	Do you like the breaks at school?	1 No	2 Yes, a little	3 Yes, a lot
5 Er du glad for dine lærere?	Are you happy with your teachers?	1 No	2 Yes, a little	3 Yes, a lot
6 Har du ondt i maven, når du er i skole?	Do you have stomachache, when you are in school?	1 Yes, often	2 Yes, sometimes	3 No
7 Har du ondt i hovedet, når du er i skole?	Do you have headache, when you are in school?	1 Yes, often	2 Yes, sometimes	3 No
8 Er du god til at løse dine problemer?	Are you good at solving your problems?	1 No	2 Yes, sometimes	3 Yes, most of the times
9 Kan du koncentrere dig i timerne?	Can you concentrate during lessons?	1 No	2 Yes, sometimes	3 Yes, most of the times
10 Er I gode til at hjælpe hinanden i klassen?	Are you good at helping each other in class?	1 No	2 Yes, a little	3 Yes, a lot
11 Tror du, at de andre børn i klassen kan lide dig?	Do you think that the other kids in class like you?	1 No	2 Yes, a few	3 Yes, most of them
12 Er lærerne gode til at hjælpe dig i skolen?	Are teachers good at helping you in school?	1 No	2 Yes, a little	3 Yes, a lot
13 Er der nogen, der driller dig, så du bliver ked af det?	Is there someone who teases you, so that you get upset?	1 Yes, often	2 Yes, sometimes	3 No
14 Er du bange for, at de andre børn griner ad dig i skolen?	Are you afraid that the other kids laugh at you in school?	1 Yes, a lot	2 Yes, a little	3 No
15 Er du med til at bestemme, hvad I skal lave i timerne?	Do you help decide what you do during lessons?	1 No	2 Yes, sometimes	3 Yes, often
16 Er timerne kedelige?	Are lessons boring?	1 Yes, often	2 Yes, sometimes	3 No
17 Lærer du noget spændende i skolen?	Do you learn anything exciting in school?	1 No	2 Yes, a little	3 Yes, a lot
18 Er det svært at høre, hvad læreren siger i timerne?	Is it difficult to hear what the teacher says during lessons?	1 Yes, often	2 Yes, sometimes	3 No
19 Er jeres klasselokale rart at være i?	Are your classrooms nice to be in?	1 Yes, a lot	2 Yes, a little	3 No
20 Er toiletterne på skolen rene?	Are toilets in school clean?	1 Yes, most of the times	2 Yes, sometimes	3 No

Source: Danish Wellbeing Survey questionnaire to public school pupils in grades 0–3, 2015–2018.

Table A4. Test of the Identification Strategy. Full Set of Covariates.

	Dependent variable: Assignment to busing							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>								
Sibling in the district school	-0.484*** (0.036)	-0.483*** (0.036)	-0.476*** (0.038)	-0.482*** (0.039)	-0.485*** (0.039)	-0.487*** (0.040)	-0.478*** (0.042)	-0.461*** (0.047)
Age difference with youngest sibling in the district school	0.024*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.023*** (0.007)	0.023*** (0.007)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.023*** (0.007)	0.020*** (0.008)
Distance from the district school	0.050*** (0.019)	0.050*** (0.019)	0.050*** (0.019)	0.048** (0.019)	0.048** (0.020)	0.053** (0.021)	0.048** (0.019)	0.046** (0.020)
Medium language support need		0.004 (0.032)	-0.004 (0.033)	-0.002 (0.034)	-0.002 (0.034)	-0.005 (0.034)	0.041 (0.052)	0.040 (0.054)
Low language support need		-0.000 (0.032)	-0.007 (0.033)	-0.004 (0.034)	-0.004 (0.034)	-0.008 (0.034)	0.091* (0.049)	0.091* (0.052)
Strong language support need, first tested in the family							0.098 (0.060)	0.135* (0.069)
Medium language support need, first tested in the family							0.042 (0.037)	0.069 (0.043)
Low language support need, first tested in the family							-0.059* (0.035)	-0.030 (0.042)
Age on language test day			0.021 (0.029)	0.021 (0.029)	0.023 (0.029)	0.024 (0.029)		0.019 (0.029)
Sibling assigned to busing			0.028 (0.032)	0.025 (0.032)	0.024 (0.032)	0.021 (0.032)		0.048 (0.039)
Male			0.019 (0.022)	0.019 (0.022)	0.016 (0.022)	0.015 (0.022)		0.018 (0.022)
Neither immigrant nor descendant			-0.154** (0.061)	-0.126* (0.073)	-0.103 (0.085)	-0.101 (0.085)		-0.110 (0.086)
Immigrant			-0.089** (0.043)	-0.091* (0.048)	-0.084* (0.048)	-0.093* (0.049)		-0.092* (0.049)
Origin or descent: Africa			-0.038 (0.028)	-0.042 (0.029)	-0.039 (0.030)	-0.042 (0.030)		-0.036 (0.030)
Origin or descent: Western countries ¹			0.056 (0.050)	0.047 (0.051)	0.053 (0.052)	0.047 (0.052)		0.053 (0.052)
Origin or descent: East Asia ²			-0.031 (0.037)	-0.043 (0.038)	-0.043 (0.039)	-0.047 (0.039)		-0.041 (0.039)
Attended daycare			0.041 (0.050)	0.038 (0.052)	0.044 (0.052)	0.039 (0.053)		0.053 (0.051)
Number of siblings: 1			-0.034 (0.066)	-0.032 (0.066)	-0.036 (0.066)	-0.040 (0.066)		-0.037 (0.067)
Number of siblings: 2			-0.022 (0.066)	-0.025 (0.066)	-0.021 (0.067)	-0.028 (0.066)		-0.020 (0.067)
Number of siblings: 3			-0.025 (0.068)	-0.029 (0.068)	-0.029 (0.069)	-0.036 (0.068)		-0.031 (0.070)
Number of siblings: 4			-0.018 (0.072)	-0.018 (0.074)	-0.017 (0.074)	-0.022 (0.074)		-0.019 (0.075)
Number of siblings: 5			-0.028 (0.075)	-0.030 (0.077)	-0.027 (0.078)	-0.034 (0.078)		-0.024 (0.078)
Number of siblings: 6			-0.071 (0.075)	-0.069 (0.077)	-0.073 (0.079)	-0.075 (0.079)		-0.074 (0.078)
Number of siblings: 7 or more			-0.033 (0.075)	-0.040 (0.078)	-0.047 (0.079)	-0.052 (0.081)		-0.050 (0.080)
No mother recorded in register datasets			0.049 (0.084)	0.050 (0.097)	0.039 (0.096)	0.028 (0.097)		0.030 (0.096)
No father recorded in register datasets			0.009 (0.053)	0.002 (0.053)	0.023 (0.071)	0.025 (0.072)		0.017 (0.070)
Living in two-parent household			-0.004 (0.025)	0.005 (0.028)	0.005 (0.029)	0.008 (0.029)		0.009 (0.029)
Mother's age: under 25				0.036 (0.053)	0.053 (0.058)	0.056 (0.058)		0.049 (0.057)
Mother's age: 25 to 29				0.026 (0.044)	0.035 (0.049)	0.038 (0.050)		0.028 (0.049)

(continued)

Table A4. (continued)

Mother's age: 30 to 34	0.009 (0.042)	0.012 (0.044)	0.010 (0.044)	0.007 (0.043)
Mother's age: 35 to 39	0.005 (0.041)	0.007 (0.041)	0.008 (0.042)	-0.000 (0.041)
Mother: immigrant	0.023 (0.060)	0.037 (0.060)	0.033 (0.060)	0.026 (0.062)
Mother: high school dropout	-0.004 (0.030)	-0.007 (0.031)	-0.009 (0.031)	-0.009 (0.030)
Mother: education not reported	-0.034 (0.034)	-0.033 (0.034)	-0.027 (0.035)	-0.035 (0.035)
Mother: completed university	-0.036 (0.033)	-0.038 (0.034)	-0.034 (0.033)	-0.037 (0.033)
Mother: employed (includes self-employed)	0.005 (0.027)	0.017 (0.028)	0.021 (0.028)	0.013 (0.028)
Mother: unemployed	0.030 (0.043)	0.036 (0.043)	0.037 (0.043)	0.036 (0.042)
Mother's disposable income: second quartile	-0.048 (0.038)	-0.058 (0.039)	-0.058 (0.039)	-0.056 (0.039)
Mother's disposable income: third quartile	-0.018 (0.037)	-0.029 (0.038)	-0.026 (0.038)	-0.018 (0.038)
Mother's disposable income: fourth quartile	0.018 (0.042)	0.011 (0.045)	0.011 (0.045)	0.020 (0.045)
Father's age: under 25		-0.021 (0.075)	-0.028 (0.074)	-0.019 (0.076)
Father's age: 25 to 29		-0.025 (0.047)	-0.028 (0.047)	-0.023 (0.047)
Father's age: 30 to 34		-0.011 (0.038)	-0.013 (0.038)	-0.009 (0.038)
Father's age: 35 to 39		0.001 (0.031)	-0.003 (0.031)	0.005 (0.031)
Father: immigrant		0.014 (0.070)	0.015 (0.071)	0.013 (0.070)
Father: high school dropout		0.026 (0.030)	0.025 (0.030)	0.028 (0.030)
Father: education not reported		-0.001 (0.033)	0.001 (0.032)	0.002 (0.032)
Father: completed university		-0.012 (0.032)	-0.010 (0.033)	-0.007 (0.032)
Father: employed (includes self-employed)		-0.034 (0.027)	-0.030 (0.028)	-0.033 (0.027)
Father: unemployed		-0.051 (0.039)	-0.050 (0.040)	-0.049 (0.039)
Father's disposable income: second quartile		0.021 (0.030)	0.027 (0.030)	0.020 (0.030)
Father's disposable income: third quartile		0.036 (0.035)	0.037 (0.035)	0.034 (0.035)
Father's disposable income: fourth quartile		-0.003 (0.040)	-0.000 (0.041)	0.000 (0.040)
Neighborhood: share of immigrants			0.843* (0.493)	
Neighborhood: share of employed adults			0.223 (0.287)	
Neighborhood: share of adults with tertiary education			-0.139 (0.478)	
Neighborhood: average real disposable income			-0.131 (7.217)	

(continued)

Table A4. (continued)

R ²	0.643	0.643	0.650	0.653	0.655	0.657	0.647	0.659
Observations	954	954	954	954	954	954	954	954
Controls:								
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES
Neighborhood characteristics	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
additional controls			0.765	0.701	0.779	0.791		0.914
P-value F-test			0.764	0.900	0.858	0.855		0.644

Source: Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing, are less than seven years old when taking the language screening test, are referred to a regular public school, have a total test score "S", live in a regular school district (without a full-day school) with a sending school, who have not expressed desire for another school than the district school, who do not reside in Nargaards and Frydelund school districts in 2007, and who do not move to Aarhus between January and school start in 2016. OLS of dummy for being bused (sample avg 0.504) over the municipality assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school and language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects. Other controls include: individual characteristics including the assessed level of language support need (2-6,8), dummies for having an older sibling bused, and the continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test (3-6,8), mother (4-6,8) and father characteristics (5-6,8). We also add characteristics of neighborhoods of residence (6). In columns 7 and 8 the assessed level of language support need is separated for pupils who are the first in their family to be language tested. Fixed effects for 12 school districts of residence in each year of the period 2007-2016. F-test on individual, mother and father characteristics, age, level of language support, and sibling bused. Individual characteristics of the child include gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Neighborhood characteristics include: share of immigrants, share of employed adults (age 25-54), share of adults with tertiary education, average real disposable income (million USD).

¹ Western Europe (incl. former Soviet block), Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA

² Excl. MiddleEast and former Soviet block

Table A5.a Determinants of Compliance with the Policy. Treatment Group (Assigned to Busing).

	Dependent variable: Enrollment in the assigned school						
	Grade						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>							
Sibling in the district school	0.008 (0.100)	0.126 (0.113)	0.162 (0.117)	-0.048 (0.114)	-0.011 (0.112)	-0.023 (0.114)	-0.003 (0.112)
Age difference with youngest sibling in the district school	0.031* (0.017)	-0.024 (0.019)	-0.011 (0.020)	0.008 (0.019)	0.008 (0.019)	0.015 (0.019)	0.011 (0.019)
Distance from the district school	-0.041 (0.056)	0.025 (0.063)	0.043 (0.065)	0.119* (0.063)	0.099 (0.063)	0.127** (0.063)	0.133** (0.062)
Age on language test day	-0.037 (0.055)	0.049 (0.062)	-0.021 (0.064)	-0.039 (0.062)	-0.002 (0.062)	0.008 (0.062)	-0.044 (0.061)
Medium language support need	-0.055 (0.069)	-0.073 (0.078)	-0.064 (0.080)	-0.074 (0.079)	0.002 (0.080)	-0.004 (0.081)	0.067 (0.080)
Low language support need	-0.015 (0.071)	-0.037 (0.080)	-0.036 (0.082)	-0.060 (0.081)	-0.006 (0.083)	0.005 (0.085)	0.047 (0.085)
Male	0.081* (0.045)	0.092* (0.051)	0.079 (0.052)	0.034 (0.051)	0.015 (0.051)	0.083 (0.052)	0.064 (0.052)
Immigrant	-0.220 (0.200)	-0.111 (0.226)	-0.029 (0.233)	0.040 (0.227)	0.073 (0.231)	0.169 (0.233)	0.160 (0.230)
Neither immigrant nor descendant	0.178 (0.114)	0.104 (0.129)	0.164 (0.132)	0.119 (0.131)	0.082 (0.130)	0.087 (0.132)	0.162 (0.135)
Origin or descent: Africa	0.064 (0.055)	-0.069 (0.062)	-0.088 (0.064)	-0.105* (0.063)	-0.121* (0.064)	-0.064 (0.065)	-0.077 (0.064)
Origin or descent: Western countries ¹	0.130 (0.111)	0.012 (0.125)	-0.121 (0.128)	-0.248* (0.128)	-0.211 (0.130)	-0.221 (0.135)	-0.264* (0.135)
Origin or descent: East Asia ²	0.193** (0.092)	0.102 (0.104)	-0.032 (0.107)	-0.057 (0.104)	-0.110 (0.103)	-0.083 (0.103)	-0.042 (0.103)
Attended daycare	-0.028 (0.151)	0.008 (0.170)	0.200 (0.175)	0.156 (0.179)	0.109 (0.178)	0.053 (0.176)	-0.011 (0.172)
Number of siblings: 1	0.156 (0.148)	0.038 (0.167)	0.063 (0.171)	0.127 (0.171)	0.132 (0.169)	0.011 (0.176)	-0.083 (0.191)
Number of siblings: 2	0.206 (0.149)	0.131 (0.168)	0.122 (0.173)	0.204 (0.172)	0.148 (0.171)	0.005 (0.176)	-0.078 (0.192)
Number of siblings: 3	0.233 (0.149)	0.191 (0.168)	0.162 (0.173)	0.221 (0.172)	0.191 (0.170)	0.084 (0.175)	-0.006 (0.190)
Number of siblings: 4	0.255 (0.157)	0.086 (0.177)	0.094 (0.182)	0.200 (0.183)	0.155 (0.183)	0.065 (0.189)	-0.022 (0.203)
Number of siblings: 5	0.163 (0.163)	0.113 (0.184)	0.078 (0.189)	0.153 (0.187)	0.118 (0.186)	0.016 (0.191)	-0.090 (0.206)
Number of siblings: 6	0.160 (0.181)	0.160 (0.204)	0.143 (0.210)	0.166 (0.208)	-0.019 (0.206)	-0.140 (0.211)	-0.231 (0.222)
Number of siblings: 7 or more	0.225 (0.170)	0.035 (0.192)	0.132 (0.198)	0.174 (0.197)	0.134 (0.197)	0.021 (0.202)	-0.077 (0.217)
No mother recorded in register datasets	-0.016 (0.224)	0.379 (0.253)	0.311 (0.260)	0.206 (0.263)	0.197 (0.269)	0.168 (0.267)	0.365 (0.270)
No father recorded in register datasets	0.037 (0.150)	0.087 (0.169)	0.159 (0.174)	0.188 (0.170)	0.345* (0.176)	0.171 (0.183)	0.100 (0.182)
Living in two-parent household	-0.084 (0.058)	-0.028 (0.065)	-0.042 (0.067)	0.038 (0.066)	0.015 (0.067)	0.029 (0.067)	0.038 (0.067)
Mother's age: under 25	-0.124 (0.113)	0.008 (0.128)	-0.001 (0.131)	-0.103 (0.129)	-0.126 (0.129)	-0.148 (0.130)	-0.227* (0.131)
Mother's age: 25 to 29	-0.119 (0.094)	0.007 (0.106)	0.035 (0.109)	-0.140 (0.107)	-0.195* (0.107)	-0.220** (0.107)	-0.250** (0.107)
Mother's age: 30 to 34	-0.065 (0.087)	0.021 (0.098)	-0.009 (0.101)	-0.183* (0.099)	-0.203** (0.099)	-0.246** (0.100)	-0.300*** (0.102)
Mother's age: 35 to 39	-0.070 (0.087)	0.081 (0.098)	0.074 (0.101)	-0.029 (0.098)	-0.084 (0.100)	-0.129 (0.100)	-0.170* (0.101)
Mother: immigrant	-0.152 (0.173)	-0.121 (0.195)	-0.071 (0.200)	-0.054 (0.195)	-0.042 (0.204)	-0.022 (0.205)	-0.049 (0.202)
Mother: high school dropout	0.054 (0.061)	0.048 (0.069)	0.039 (0.071)	-0.036 (0.069)	-0.028 (0.069)	-0.029 (0.070)	-0.029 (0.069)
Mother: education not reported	0.053 (0.075)	-0.013 (0.085)	0.014 (0.087)	0.041 (0.086)	0.039 (0.087)	0.049 (0.087)	-0.003 (0.087)
Mother: completed university	0.011 (0.070)	-0.000 (0.080)	-0.016 (0.082)	-0.077 (0.080)	-0.048 (0.081)	-0.057 (0.082)	-0.098 (0.082)
Mother: employed (includes self-employed)	0.055 (0.060)	0.040 (0.068)	0.060 (0.070)	0.025 (0.069)	-0.020 (0.069)	0.046 (0.069)	0.005 (0.070)

(continued)

Table A5.a. (continued)

Mother: unemployed	0.131*	0.262***	0.160*	0.185**	0.097	0.156*	0.066
	(0.079)	(0.089)	(0.091)	(0.089)	(0.093)	(0.094)	(0.093)
Mother's disposable income: second quartile	-0.008	-0.036	-0.010	-0.026	0.023	-0.034	0.034
	(0.073)	(0.082)	(0.085)	(0.082)	(0.084)	(0.085)	(0.087)
Mother's disposable income: third quartile	-0.042	0.013	0.033	-0.018	-0.033	-0.024	0.018
	(0.076)	(0.086)	(0.088)	(0.086)	(0.089)	(0.090)	(0.093)
Mother's disposable income: fourth quartile	-0.038	0.058	-0.039	0.059	0.082	0.054	0.110
	(0.091)	(0.102)	(0.105)	(0.102)	(0.103)	(0.105)	(0.109)
Father's age: under 25	-0.027	0.121	-0.038	-0.034	-0.009	0.095	0.119
	(0.143)	(0.161)	(0.166)	(0.160)	(0.160)	(0.164)	(0.167)
Father's age: 25 to 29	-0.018	0.038	0.029	0.012	0.058	0.032	0.051
	(0.087)	(0.098)	(0.101)	(0.099)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.097)
Father's age: 30 to 34	0.045	0.089	0.043	0.091	0.086	0.053	0.054
	(0.073)	(0.082)	(0.084)	(0.083)	(0.084)	(0.085)	(0.084)
Father's age: 35 to 39	0.028	0.003	0.034	0.100	0.027	0.008	0.054
	(0.062)	(0.070)	(0.072)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.072)	(0.072)
Father: immigrant	-0.054	0.047	0.010	-0.006	0.202	0.164	0.137
	(0.148)	(0.167)	(0.171)	(0.167)	(0.168)	(0.169)	(0.170)
Father: high school dropout	0.005	-0.088	-0.061	-0.084	-0.103	-0.088	-0.104
	(0.059)	(0.067)	(0.069)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.068)
Father: education not reported	0.048	-0.063	-0.056	-0.035	-0.010	-0.083	-0.083
	(0.064)	(0.072)	(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.074)	(0.075)	(0.075)
Father: completed university	0.037	0.090	0.059	0.075	-0.012	-0.048	-0.115
	(0.069)	(0.078)	(0.081)	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.078)
Father: employed (includes self-employed)	-0.058	-0.134**	-0.166**	-0.155**	-0.156**	-0.154**	-0.187***
	(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.066)	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.067)	(0.067)
Father: unemployed	0.026	-0.102	-0.118	-0.014	-0.059	-0.107	-0.055
	(0.081)	(0.091)	(0.094)	(0.091)	(0.091)	(0.093)	(0.092)
Father's disposable income: second quartile	-0.008	-0.009	-0.028	-0.012	-0.015	-0.041	-0.041
	(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.066)	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.066)
Father's disposable income: third quartile	0.034	-0.056	-0.014	-0.100	-0.016	-0.037	-0.066
	(0.073)	(0.082)	(0.085)	(0.083)	(0.083)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Father's disposable income: fourth quartile	-0.033	-0.007	-0.043	-0.057	0.003	0.014	0.039
	(0.087)	(0.098)	(0.101)	(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.101)
R ²	0.244	0.225	0.220	0.273	0.278	0.262	0.287
Observations	474	474	474	458	437	414	389
Controls:							
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mother characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Father characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
F-test joint insignificance for additional controls	1.176	1.009	0.872	1.208	1.039	1.071	1.238
P-value F-test	0.208	0.461	0.712	0.174	0.409	0.357	0.149

Source: Danish National Tests linked with Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table A4). OLS of dummy for being enrolled in the assigned school in the end of August of the relevant year over the municipality assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school and language test year-by-school district of residence fixed effects. Other controls include: individual characteristics, mother and father characteristics. Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016. F-test on individual, mother and father characteristics, age, level of language support, and sibling based.

¹ Western Europe (incl. former Soviet block), Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA

² Excl. Middle East and former Soviet block

Table A5.b Determinants of Compliance with the Policy. Control Group (Assigned to District School)

	Dependent variable: Enrollment in the assigned school						
	Grade						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>							
Sibling in the district school	0.228*** (0.044)	0.205*** (0.057)	0.145** (0.062)	0.174** (0.070)	0.148* (0.079)	0.111 (0.096)	0.063 (0.118)
Age difference with youngest sibling in the district school	-0.014* (0.008)	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.011)	0.002 (0.013)	0.005 (0.015)	0.005 (0.017)	0.008 (0.019)
Distance from the district school	-0.027 (0.021)	-0.002 (0.027)	-0.006 (0.029)	0.004 (0.046)	0.067 (0.049)	0.103* (0.060)	0.097 (0.067)
Age on language test day	0.031 (0.042)	0.112** (0.054)	0.167*** (0.058)	0.084 (0.065)	0.095 (0.072)	-0.014 (0.087)	0.105 (0.102)
Medium language support need	0.131*** (0.047)	0.162*** (0.061)	0.171*** (0.065)	0.186** (0.077)	0.162* (0.085)	0.054 (0.106)	0.047 (0.123)
Low language support need	0.163*** (0.046)	0.201*** (0.060)	0.195*** (0.065)	0.237*** (0.076)	0.202** (0.084)	0.149 (0.101)	0.180 (0.117)
Male	-0.099*** (0.029)	-0.075** (0.038)	-0.052 (0.041)	-0.093** (0.046)	-0.069 (0.053)	-0.060 (0.062)	0.025 (0.071)
Immigrant	0.037 (0.108)	0.224 (0.139)	0.307** (0.150)	0.509*** (0.186)	0.539** (0.208)	0.558** (0.277)	0.364 (0.290)
Neither immigrant nor descendant	0.033 (0.061)	0.019 (0.079)	0.040 (0.085)	0.040 (0.101)	-0.045 (0.115)	-0.095 (0.146)	-0.106 (0.158)
Origin or descent: Africa	-0.063 (0.042)	-0.042 (0.054)	-0.049 (0.058)	-0.036 (0.064)	-0.026 (0.073)	-0.046 (0.089)	0.104 (0.104)
Origin or descent: Western countries ¹	-0.125* (0.071)	-0.127 (0.092)	-0.244** (0.099)	-0.477*** (0.121)	-0.526*** (0.139)	-0.636*** (0.172)	-0.354* (0.190)
Origin or descent: East Asia ²	-0.100* (0.051)	-0.005 (0.066)	0.043 (0.071)	0.032 (0.078)	0.037 (0.084)	-0.025 (0.100)	0.018 (0.115)
Attended daycare	0.023 (0.106)	0.151 (0.137)	0.022 (0.147)	-0.246 (0.178)	+0.214 (0.231)	-0.551 (0.393)	-0.974* (0.559)
Number of siblings: 1	0.166* (0.097)	0.121 (0.126)	0.138 (0.135)	0.119 (0.191)	-0.078 (0.220)	-0.309 (0.366)	0.067 (0.375)
Number of siblings: 2	0.098 (0.097)	-0.014 (0.126)	-0.010 (0.135)	-0.042 (0.188)	-0.186 (0.218)	-0.364 (0.358)	0.023 (0.361)
Number of siblings: 3	0.081 (0.103)	0.008 (0.133)	0.094 (0.143)	0.095 (0.198)	-0.150 (0.230)	-0.378 (0.363)	0.075 (0.369)
Number of siblings: 4	0.084 (0.107)	0.010 (0.138)	0.097 (0.149)	0.063 (0.200)	-0.140 (0.234)	-0.397 (0.370)	0.040 (0.377)
Number of siblings: 5	-0.020 (0.117)	-0.103 (0.151)	-0.027 (0.162)	-0.124 (0.212)	-0.322 (0.244)	-0.533 (0.389)	-0.216 (0.397)
Number of siblings: 6	0.046 (0.115)	-0.017 (0.148)	-0.041 (0.159)	-0.089 (0.208)	-0.448* (0.237)	-0.602 (0.376)	-0.150 (0.384)
Number of siblings: 7 or more	0.066 (0.113)	-0.005 (0.146)	0.060 (0.157)	-0.011 (0.210)	-0.246 (0.245)	-0.338 (0.379)	0.077 (0.398)
No mother recorded in register datasets	-0.186 (0.132)	0.009 (0.170)	0.167 (0.183)	0.250 (0.211)	0.299 (0.231)	0.357 (0.313)	0.676* (0.357)
No father recorded in register datasets	0.070 (0.105)	0.034 (0.136)	-0.011 (0.147)	0.106 (0.162)	0.159 (0.190)	-0.049 (0.259)	0.087 (0.308)
Living in two-parent household	0.008 (0.036)	0.033 (0.046)	0.073 (0.049)	0.046 (0.055)	0.017 (0.062)	-0.021 (0.075)	0.006 (0.086)
Mother's age: under 25	0.056 (0.075)	-0.035 (0.097)	-0.142 (0.104)	-0.033 (0.119)	-0.095 (0.136)	-0.159 (0.176)	-0.205 (0.191)
Mother's age: 25 to 29	-0.013 (0.062)	-0.059 (0.080)	-0.071 (0.086)	-0.036 (0.094)	-0.045 (0.104)	-0.030 (0.124)	-0.026 (0.135)
Mother's age: 30 to 34	-0.042 (0.054)	-0.051 (0.069)	-0.055 (0.074)	-0.019 (0.081)	-0.026 (0.091)	-0.129 (0.110)	-0.139 (0.120)
Mother's age: 35 to 39	-0.003 (0.048)	-0.063 (0.062)	-0.025 (0.067)	-0.028 (0.073)	-0.046 (0.084)	-0.121 (0.102)	-0.105 (0.112)
Mother: immigrant	-0.044 (0.078)	0.044 (0.101)	-0.069 (0.109)	0.061 (0.135)	0.140 (0.151)	0.210 (0.237)	0.378 (0.253)
Mother: high school dropout	-0.049 (0.041)	-0.040 (0.053)	-0.090 (0.057)	-0.078 (0.064)	-0.122* (0.072)	-0.108 (0.083)	-0.073 (0.095)
Mother: education not reported	-0.031 (0.045)	-0.041 (0.058)	-0.114* (0.063)	-0.145** (0.073)	-0.125 (0.082)	-0.057 (0.094)	-0.020 (0.109)
Mother: completed university	0.015 (0.046)	0.002 (0.059)	-0.085 (0.064)	-0.118* (0.071)	-0.161** (0.080)	-0.150 (0.095)	-0.265** (0.110)
Mother: employed (includes self-employed)	0.001 (0.040)	-0.020 (0.051)	0.026 (0.055)	0.012 (0.063)	-0.039 (0.071)	0.027 (0.084)	0.060 (0.100)

(continued)

Table A5.b. (continued)

Mother: unemployed	-0.032 (0.067)	-0.075 (0.087)	-0.020 (0.093)	0.079 (0.112)	0.116 (0.132)	0.077 (0.160)	0.196 (0.188)
Mother's disposable income: second quartile	0.001 (0.049)	0.026 (0.064)	0.039 (0.068)	-0.001 (0.080)	-0.057 (0.090)	-0.137 (0.111)	-0.144 (0.126)
Mother's disposable income: third quartile	0.024 (0.047)	0.070 (0.060)	0.086 (0.065)	0.124 (0.076)	0.059 (0.086)	-0.050 (0.108)	0.003 (0.120)
Mother's disposable income: fourth quartile	0.047 (0.056)	0.095 (0.072)	0.096 (0.077)	0.078 (0.089)	-0.025 (0.098)	-0.185 (0.122)	-0.110 (0.135)
Father's age: under 25	0.075 (0.104)	-0.006 (0.134)	0.239* (0.145)	0.217 (0.163)	0.170 (0.185)	0.229 (0.222)	0.138 (0.240)
Father's age: 25 to 29	-0.134* (0.069)	-0.070 (0.089)	-0.002 (0.096)	-0.027 (0.111)	-0.032 (0.121)	-0.214 (0.141)	-0.061 (0.162)
Father's age: 30 to 34	-0.087* (0.050)	-0.062 (0.065)	0.009 (0.070)	0.058 (0.079)	-0.004 (0.087)	-0.030 (0.104)	0.002 (0.118)
Father's age: 35 to 39	-0.007 (0.042)	0.024 (0.054)	0.003 (0.058)	-0.012 (0.066)	-0.065 (0.073)	-0.058 (0.085)	-0.088 (0.092)
Father: immigrant	-0.066 (0.090)	0.055 (0.116)	0.105 (0.126)	0.111 (0.159)	0.062 (0.174)	-0.058 (0.213)	0.013 (0.236)
Father: high school dropout	0.020 (0.041)	0.063 (0.053)	0.067 (0.057)	0.117* (0.066)	0.199*** (0.076)	0.188** (0.092)	0.138 (0.107)
Father: education not reported	-0.000 (0.045)	0.058 (0.058)	0.012 (0.063)	-0.012 (0.070)	0.012 (0.078)	-0.007 (0.091)	0.046 (0.103)
Father: completed university	0.024 (0.043)	0.079 (0.055)	0.064 (0.060)	0.136** (0.068)	0.179** (0.078)	0.204** (0.093)	0.271** (0.109)
Father: employed (includes self-employed)	-0.019 (0.039)	-0.049 (0.051)	-0.034 (0.054)	-0.011 (0.061)	0.029 (0.067)	-0.072 (0.083)	-0.037 (0.094)
Father: unemployed	0.015 (0.061)	-0.040 (0.078)	0.068 (0.086)	0.143 (0.100)	0.129 (0.120)	0.091 (0.142)	-0.071 (0.170)
Father's disposable income: second quartile	0.032 (0.041)	0.032 (0.053)	0.037 (0.057)	-0.015 (0.064)	0.039 (0.072)	0.114 (0.086)	0.147 (0.096)
Father's disposable income: third quartile	0.102** (0.046)	0.016 (0.060)	0.056 (0.064)	0.017 (0.074)	0.044 (0.082)	0.104 (0.100)	0.066 (0.114)
Father's disposable income: fourth quartile	0.053 (0.052)	0.056 (0.067)	0.088 (0.072)	0.024 (0.081)	-0.036 (0.091)	-0.005 (0.107)	0.045 (0.117)
R ²	0.353	0.310	0.308	0.398	0.433	0.467	0.545
Observations	480	480	478	410	348	275	219
Controls:							
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mother characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Father characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
F-test joint insignificance for	2.565	1.657	1.697	2.201	1.958	1.417	1.385
P-value F-test	0.000	0.006	0.004	0.000	0.001	0.054	0.075

Source: Danish National Tests linked with Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table A4). OLS of dummy for being enrolled in the assigned school in the end of August of the relevant year over the municipality assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school and language test year-by-school district of residence fixed effects. Other controls include: individual characteristics, mother and father characteristics. Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016. F-test on individual, mother and father characteristics, age, level of language support, and sibling bused.

¹ Western Europe (incl. former Soviet block), Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA

² Excl. Middle East and former Soviet block

Table A6. Effects of Assignment to Busing on Wellbeing in Grades 0–3. Two Survey Factors: School Satisfaction and Distress. By Sex, Socio-Economic Status, Origin/Descent, Language Support Need.

	Dependent variable								
	Survey taker	Survey taker	Survey taker	School satisfaction	School satisfaction	School satisfaction	Distress	Distress	Distress
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
<i>Explanatory variables</i>									
Assigned to busing, boys	-0.091** (0.038)			-0.172 (0.150)			0.300** (0.148)		
Assigned to busing, girls	-0.031 (0.046)			0.029 (0.150)			0.147 (0.168)		
Assigned to busing, high SES		-0.086** (0.041)			-0.185 (0.151)			0.278* (0.156)	
Assigned to busing, low SES		-0.042 (0.043)			0.024 (0.142)			0.185 (0.158)	
Assigned to busing, low LSN			-0.049 (0.042)			-0.230 (0.159)			0.296* (0.159)
Assigned to busing, medium or high LSN			-0.075* (0.041)			0.022 (0.144)			0.188 (0.163)
Difference	-0.059	-0.044	0.026	-0.201	-0.208	-0.252	0.152	0.930	0.108
R ²	0.106	0.106	0.105	0.124	0.125	0.125	0.170	0.170	0.170
Observations	1,227	1,227	1,227	1,060	1,060	1,060	1,060	1,060	1,060
<i>Controls</i>									
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mother characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Father characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Source: Danish Well-being Survey linked with Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table A4). Outcomes: a dummy for having taken the well-being survey (1, 4) and standardized factors for school satisfaction (5, 8) and distress (9, 12). OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused interacted with: a) the sex of the child, b) socio-economic status measured as low if both parents are not employed and high otherwise, c) a dummy for whether the child has low or medium/high language support need. We control for school assignment determinants: dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. Other controls include: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects, individual and family characteristics. Individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016. The presented parameters are not significantly different from each other in any of the regressions.

Table A7. Effects of Assignment to Busing on Wellbeing in Grades 4–9. Two Survey Factors: School Satisfaction and Distress.

	Survey taker		Dependent variable:			
	(1)	(2)	School satisfaction	School satisfaction	Distress	Distress
Panel A						
<i>Explanatory variable:</i>						
Assigned to busing	-0.029 (0.025)	-0.027 (0.025)	-0.039 (0.120)	-0.008 (0.114)	-0.046 (0.104)	-0.038 (0.094)
R ²	0.104	0.126	0.087	0.151	0.081	0.129
Observations	2,064	2,064	1,703	1,703	1,703	1,703
Panel B						
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>						
Assigned to busing, grade 4	-0.052 (0.039)	-0.050 (0.039)	-0.166 (0.151)	-0.119 (0.149)	-0.093 (0.152)	-0.092 (0.146)
Assigned to busing, grade 5	0.010 (0.040)	0.014 (0.039)	0.006 (0.154)	0.049 (0.147)	0.033 (0.132)	0.042 (0.125)
Assigned to busing, grade 6	0.014 (0.038)	0.018 (0.038)	0.037 (0.160)	0.067 (0.153)	-0.010 (0.142)	-0.016 (0.130)
Assigned to busing, grade 7	-0.075* (0.042)	-0.076* (0.043)	0.099 (0.152)	0.118 (0.145)	-0.006 (0.131)	-0.001 (0.123)
Assigned to busing, grade 8	0.001 (0.051)	0.002 (0.050)	-0.113 (0.174)	-0.105 (0.170)	-0.157 (0.153)	-0.126 (0.147)
Assigned to busing, grade 9	-0.112 (0.073)	-0.110 (0.074)	-0.292 (0.212)	-0.246 (0.212)	-0.158 (0.192)	-0.125 (0.190)
R ²	0.107	0.129	0.090	0.154	0.083	0.130
Observations	2,064	2,064	1,703	1,703	1,703	1,703
Controls:						
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES

Source: Danish Wellbeing Survey linked with Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table A4). Outcomes: a dummy for having taken the well-being survey (1, 2) and standardized factors for school satisfaction (3, 4) and distress (5, 6). OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused (Panel A), a dummy for being bused interacted with the grade (Panel B) and the municipality assignment determinants. All specifications include the following individual controls: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. Other controls include: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 controls for additional individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016.

Table A8. Robustness Checks. Bounds on Estimated Effect on National Test Score. By Grade and Subject.

	Dependent variable:							
	Test taker (1)	Test taker (2)	Test score (3)	Test score (4)	Test score (5)	Test score (6)	Test score (7)	Test score (8)
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>								
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.057** (0.023)	-0.055** (0.023)	-0.089 (0.099)	-0.092 (0.096)	-0.182* (0.102)	-0.183* (0.099)	-0.003 (0.095)	-0.009 (0.093)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.015 (0.021)	-0.013 (0.021)	-0.170* (0.101)	-0.184* (0.097)	-0.171* (0.103)	-0.183* (0.099)	-0.130 (0.097)	-0.146 (0.093)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.033* (0.020)	-0.031 (0.021)	-0.019 (0.106)	-0.037 (0.102)	-0.064 (0.108)	-0.079 (0.104)	0.030 (0.101)	0.010 (0.098)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	-0.001 (0.021)	-0.002 (0.021)	-0.114 (0.108)	-0.132 (0.105)	-0.097 (0.110)	-0.119 (0.107)	-0.100 (0.105)	-0.121 (0.103)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	-0.011 (0.020)	-0.011 (0.020)	-0.152 (0.113)	-0.172 (0.109)	-0.147 (0.113)	-0.169 (0.109)	-0.127 (0.109)	-0.147 (0.106)
Assigned to busing, English test, grade 7	0.032 (0.045)	0.031 (0.045)	-0.077 (0.133)	-0.082 (0.125)	0.028 (0.127)	0.012 (0.124)	-0.070 (0.122)	-0.083 (0.117)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	-0.006 (0.027)	-0.008 (0.028)	-0.234* (0.133)	-0.250* (0.131)	-0.212 (0.131)	-0.217* (0.130)	-0.198 (0.131)	-0.199 (0.129)
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.016 (0.035)	0.012 (0.036)	-0.008 (0.160)	0.027 (0.154)	0.030 (0.154)	0.045 (0.148)	-0.023 (0.152)	0.005 (0.148)
R ²	0.108	0.127	0.093	0.170	0.088	0.160	0.101	0.155
Observations	4,010	4,010	3,705	3,705	4,010	4,010	4,010	4,010
Non-takers	-	-	-	-	p5	p5	p95	p95
<i>Controls:</i>								
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Subject fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES

Source: Danish National Tests linked with Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table A4). Outcomes: Dummies for taking the test conditional on attending the relevant grade in a public school in a year where the test took place. Standardized test scores conditional on having taken the test. National tests in math (grades 3 and 6), reading (grades 2, 4, 6, 8), English (grade 7) and natural science (grade 8). The natural science tests cover geography, biology, physics and chemistry. OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused interacted with grade and test subject. We control for the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. Other controls include: language test-year by school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 controls for additional individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016. Columns 5-8 show bounds according to Horowitz and Manski (1998). In columns 5 and 6 non test takers are assigned the 5th percentile of the test score distribution in the sample, in columns 7 and 8 non test takers are assigned the 95th percentile.

Table A9. Robustness Check: Bounds on Estimated Effect on Wellbeing in Grades 0–3.

	Dependent variable:						
	Survey taker	School satisfaction	School satisfaction	School satisfaction	Distress	Distress	Distress
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<i>Explanatory variable:</i>							
Assigned to busing	-0.063*	-0.092	-0.187	-0.012	0.237*	0.096	0.299**
	(0.034)	(0.122)	(0.127)	(0.105)	(0.132)	(0.134)	(0.117)
R ²	0.107	0.126	0.107	0.114	0.170	0.130	0.148
Observations	1,227	1,060	1,227	1,227	1,060	1,227	1,227
Non takers	-	-	p5	p95	-	p5	p95
<i>Controls:</i>							
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Mother characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Father characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Source: Danish Wellbeing Survey linked with Administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table A4). Outcomes: a dummy for having taken the well-being survey, and standardized factors for school satisfaction and distress. OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused, language test year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, and the municipality assignment determinants. These are a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. Other controls include: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects, individual and family characteristics. Individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016. Columns 3-4 and 6-7 show bounds according to Horowitz and Manski (1998). In columns 3 and 6 non survey takers are assigned the 5th percentile of the test score distribution in the sample, in columns 4 and 7 non survey takers are assigned the 95th percentile.

Table A10. Effect of Assignment to Busing on National Test Score. By Grade and Subject. Balanced Sample: Test Cohorts 2007-2010.

	Dependent variable:			
	Test taker (1)	Test taker (2)	Test score (3)	Test score (4)
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>				
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.041 (0.032)	-0.040 (0.032)	-0.001 (0.131)	-0.112 (0.132)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.011 (0.028)	-0.010 (0.028)	-0.240* (0.144)	-0.348** (0.139)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.038 (0.025)	-0.035 (0.026)	-0.075 (0.144)	-0.175 (0.145)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	-0.006 (0.026)	-0.006 (0.026)	-0.115 (0.146)	-0.202 (0.145)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	-0.010 (0.023)	-0.010 (0.024)	-0.114 (0.147)	-0.206 (0.142)
Assigned to busing, English test, grade 7	-0.032 (0.036)	-0.035 (0.036)	-0.075 (0.147)	-0.149 (0.138)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	-0.006 (0.029)	-0.008 (0.030)	-0.232 (0.146)	-0.319** (0.144)
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.018 (0.036)	0.006 (0.038)	-0.005 (0.172)	-0.075 (0.167)
R ²	0.044	0.080	0.088	0.192
Observations	2,609	2,609	2,441	2,441
<i>Controls:</i>				
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Subject fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2010, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1). Pooled dataset. Outcomes: Dummies for taking the test conditional on attending the relevant grade in a public school in a year where the test took place. Standardized test scores conditional on having taken the test. National tests in math (grades 3 and 6), reading (grades 2, 4, 6, 8), English (grade 7) and natural science (grade 8). The natural science tests cover geography, biology, physics and chemistry. The science tests include geography, biology, physics and chemistry. OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused interacted with grade and test subject. We also control for the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. Other controls include: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 controls for additional individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016.

Table A11. Effect of Assignment to Busing on National Test Score. By Grade and Subject. Compliers.

	Dependent variable:			
	Test taker (1)	Test taker (2)	Test score (3)	Test score (4)
<i>Explanatory variables:</i>				
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 2	-0.054** (0.025)	-0.052** (0.025)	-0.193* (0.110)	-0.117 (0.106)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 3	-0.019 (0.024)	-0.016 (0.024)	-0.286** (0.111)	-0.224** (0.108)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 4	-0.037 (0.025)	-0.032 (0.026)	-0.180 (0.122)	-0.105 (0.114)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 6	0.022 (0.023)	0.028 (0.023)	-0.170 (0.127)	-0.103 (0.125)
Assigned to busing, math test, grade 6	-0.001 (0.023)	0.005 (0.024)	-0.107 (0.136)	-0.040 (0.130)
Assigned to busing, English test, grade 7	-0.030 (0.060)	-0.025 (0.061)	0.069 (0.164)	0.131 (0.151)
Assigned to busing, reading test, grade 8	0.061** (0.030)	0.066** (0.031)	-0.092 (0.177)	-0.054 (0.176)
Assigned to busing, natural science tests, grade 8	0.086 (0.053)	0.093* (0.051)	-0.051 (0.198)	0.075 (0.192)
R ²	0.115	0.133	0.131	0.223
Observations	2,590	2,590	2,431	2,431
<i>Controls:</i>				
Determinants of assignment	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year-by-school district fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Grade fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Subject fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES
Individual characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES
Mother characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES
Father characteristics	NO	YES	NO	YES

Source: Micro data from Danish National Tests linked with administrative register data from Statistics Denmark and Aarhus Municipality and neighborhood of residence register constructed by Damm et al. (2019a).

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the family level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Sample: Language screened school starters in Aarhus Municipality 2007-2016, who are eligible for forced busing (described in Notes to Table 1) and who attend the school they are assigned to at the time of the National test. Pooled dataset. Outcomes: Dummies for taking the test conditional on attending the relevant grade in a public school in a year where the test took place. Standardized test scores conditional on having taken the test. National tests in math (grades 3 and 6), reading (grades 2, 4, 6, 8), English (grade 7) and natural science (grade 8). The natural science tests cover geography, biology, physics and chemistry. OLS of the outcome on a dummy for being bused interacted with grade and test subject. We control for the school assignment determinants: a dummy for having at least one sibling attending the district school in the fall of the year of the test, age difference with the youngest sibling attending the district school, distance in km from the main entrance of the district school. Other controls include: language test-year-by-school district of residence fixed effects, grade fixed effects, subject fixed effects. Specification 2 controls for additional individual and family characteristics. The individual characteristics of the child include dummies for having a bused sibling, the assessed level of language support need, continuous age of the pupil on the day of the test, gender, immigration status (immigrant or descendant), area of origin (Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania, East Asia or Middle East), dummy for daycare attendance, dummies for the number of siblings (capped at 7), living arrangement (child lives in a two-parent household), dummies for parents missing from the registers. Family characteristics include, for both mother and father: immigration status, education (high school dropout, high school graduate, tertiary degree or not reported), employment status (employed, unemployed or out of the labor force), dummies for quartiles of real disposable income, dummies for age group in the year of the test (below 25, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, above 39). Fixed effects for 10 school districts in each year from 2007-2016.

Appendix B. Allocation of school resources

The first section briefly describes the main principles and components of the current resource allocation to the public schools in Aarhus Municipality.¹ The model has not seen major changes since January 1, 2009.² The second section presents the formulas used for calculating school budgets per pupil across schools and school budget premiums per Danish-as-additional language (DAL) pupil.

BI. The resource allocation to public schools in Aarhus Municipality

The school budget model includes the following components:

- Regular education
- Grade 0 classes
- Guarantee resources
- Teacher seniority
- Magnet schools
- Full-day schools
- Management and administration
- Physical school facilities
- DAL support³
- Pupils with special needs
- Social pedagogical support
- Other expenditures

Although Aarhus Municipality uses the above-mentioned budget items in their allocation of resources across schools, the school principals have the autonomy to spend the budget as they like. For example, money received as DAL support can be spent on regular education.

The number of pupils is used to distribute some of the budget items. These numbers are calculated each year on September 5. The school budgets follow the calendar year, meaning that the budget allocation for 2014 is based on the number of pupils on September 5, 2013. However, the budget for regular education and Grade 0 is adjusted accordingly when new numbers are available on September 5 of the budget year.

Regular education and grade 0 classes

¹ The school budget model will be reformed in August 2020.

² Disclaimer: The allocation of resources appears to look like formula funding, because it follows some clear rules, but the allocation may very well be subject to several cost reimbursements made by Children & Youth during the budget period. An example could be that some schools are more exposed to vandalism and therefore receive additional resources for building maintenance. Furthermore, some part of the allocation may still follow the historical allocation, e.g. the share of the total annual budget for magnet schools decided by the Municipal Council for each magnet schools.

³ DAL support is required by the Danish Public School Law. Cf. Article 4 in "Bekendtgørelse af Lov om Folkeskolens undervisning i dansk som andetsprog nr. 1053 af 29/06/2016".

Overall, the resource allocation model makes use of two principles: allocation per class and allocation per pupil. While the schools primarily receive resources for grade 0 based on the number of classes, the schools primarily receive resources for grades 1–10 based on the number of pupils. Furthermore, the specific rate per pupil in a regular class depends on the grade, because the legal requirement regarding the minimum number of lessons differs by grade. Before 2014, there were two rates per pupil: one for grades 1–7 and another for grades 8–10. More categories have since been introduced. In 2017, the rates were as shown in Table B1.

Table B1. Rates per pupil in a regular class

Grade	Amount per pupil (USD)
0	4,099
1–3	5,016
4–6	5,616
7–9	6,149
10	5,156

Source: Aarhus Municipality (2017).

Note: For grade 0, the number is approximate because resources are distributed based on the number of classes. Exchange rate used is 0.1485 USD/DKK, www.statistikbanken.dk/DNVALA for year 2016.

The rates vary a bit between the schools to account for the varying seniority of teachers and thereby expenditures on salaries.

Resources to grade 0 are allocated based on the number of classes multiplied by the average salary for a grade 0 teacher (and in cases involving more than 22 pupils in a class, a small compensation per pupil in excess of 22).

Guarantee resources

Allocations based on a rate per pupil do not take into account the fact that having fewer pupils in a class results in a higher expenditure per child. Therefore, based on some rules, a school receives extra resources if the combination of the number of classes and pupils in a grade makes it difficult for a school to fulfill the minimum number of lessons required (or “guaranteed”) by the Ministry of Education.

Magnet schools

While the total annual budget premium for magnet schools is decided each year by the City Council, the allocation across magnet schools is based on a historical allocation key, which has been unchanged since around 2010.

Full-day schools

Pupils in full-day schools have classes from 8am until 4 pm every school day. The financing of the regular education at the full-day schools differs from the other schools by being determined by the number of classes in grades 0–10.

Management and administration

The schools receive resources equivalent to the salaries of one school leader, one pedagogical leader, one administrative leader, and 0.4 administrative employees. They also receive a rate per pupil exceeding a total of 300 pupils.

Physical school facilities

Since 2014, the rules for allocation to physical school facilities have been as follows:

- An amount defined by school/geographical location
- A rate per square meter needing cleaning
- A rate per pupil
- A rate per pupil attending the after-school care program
- Compensation if the school has an indoor swimming pool, the amount depending on the swimming pool being small or large.
- Compensation for electricity costs (exact rules unknown).

DAL support⁴

Schools receive additional resources to accommodate the needs of DAL pupils. These funds are distributed based on the deservingness of the schools. For example, resources to the different activities for DAL pupils are based on the number of DAL pupils at the school.

Resource allocation for DAL activities follows a point system, where all DAL pupils are endowed with 0.75 points. Language-tested DAL pupils receive additional points in grades 0–3, depending on their language support need: Basic (B), Substantial support (S1, S2, S3), Age-appropriate language proficiency (F). The number of additional points are indicated in Table B2.

Table B2. Point system for budget allocation to language tested DAL pupils

DAL support need	Grade 0	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
No (F)	0.75+0.25	0.75	0.75	0.75
Low (S3)	0.75+1.25	0.75+0.25	0.75	0.75
Medium (S2)	0.75+2.25	0.75+1.25	0.75+0.25	0.75
High (S1)	0.75+3.25	0.75+2.25	0.75+1.25	0.75+0.25

Source: E-mail from Lone Nielsen, Aarhus Municipality, Children & Youth, dated Sept. 6, 2019.

Each point corresponds to a given rate, which was USD 789 in 2014, USD 787 in 2015 and USD 779 in 2016 (E-mail from Lone Nielsen, Aarhus Municipality, Children & Youth, dated September 6, 2019).

⁴ Resources for basic DAL classes are based on the number of basic DAL classes at the school. We disregard these costs in this description because pupils in basic DAL classes (category-B pupils) are not part of our impact evaluation.

In addition, schools with more than 20% DAL pupils receive resources to facilitate cooperation between the school and parents. The total annual budget for such activities is allocated between schools on the basis of the school's overall share of DAL pupils.

Special needs pupils

Each school has the financial responsibility for pupils attending special classes and not pupils referred to special schools or more specific treatment schools. Resources to special classes in the public schools are distributed as follows: 50% of the resources are allocated based on the number of pupils attending the school, and 50% are allocated based on characteristics of the school district: (i) income, (ii) education, (iii) employment, (iv) income replacing benefits, and (v) share of DAL pupils. The first four characteristics are computed for the entire adult population in the school district, whereas the fifth is computed for the pupils attending the district school.

Social pedagogical support

The schools receive resources for additional educational and pedagogical support. The resources are allocated as follows: 60% of the resources are allocated based on the number of pupils attending the school, and 40% are allocated based on three variables of the adult population in each district: Income, education, and employment.

Other expenditures

The schools receive some minor compensation for other expenditures, including teacher's aides in grades 0–3, lunch schemes, and IT-related expenses.

B2. School budget per pupil across public schools in Aarhus Municipality

We calculate the budgets per pupil in a regular class from the budget items that primarily vary by the number of pupils (variable costs); that is, ignoring the budget items that are primarily fixed (c.g. management and administration as well as physical school facilities).

School budget per pupil in regular class in grades 1–3 =

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \text{Rate per pupil}_{\text{Grades 1-3}} \\
 + & \frac{\text{Additional budget to guarantee minimum required budget for regular classes}}{\text{Number of pupils in regular classes}_{\text{Grades 0-10}}} \\
 + & \frac{\text{Budget for social pedagogical support}}{\text{Number of pupils in regular classes}_{\text{Grades 1-10}}} \\
 + & \frac{\text{Budget for two teacher arrangement}_{\text{Grades 0-3}}}{\text{Number of pupils in regular classes}_{\text{Grades 0-3}}} \\
 + & \frac{\text{Budget for lunch scheme}}{\text{Number of pupils}_{\text{Grades 0-10}}}
 \end{aligned}$$

School budget per pupil in regular class in grades 4–6 =

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Rate per pupil}_{\text{Grades 4-6}} \\ & + \frac{\text{Additional budget to guarantee minimum required budget for regular classes}}{\text{number of pupils in regular classes}_{\text{Grades 0-10}}} \\ & + \frac{\text{Budget for social pedagogical support}}{\text{Number of pupils in regular classes}_{\text{Grades 1-10}}} \\ & + \frac{\text{Budget for lunch scheme}}{\text{Number of pupils}_{\text{Grades 0-10}}} \end{aligned}$$

School budget per pupil in regular class in grades 7–9 =

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Rate per pupil}_{\text{Grades 7-9}} \\ & + \frac{\text{Additional budget to guarantee minimum required budget for regular classes}}{\text{number of pupils in regular classes}_{\text{Grades 0-10}}} \\ & + \frac{\text{Budget for social pedagogical support}}{\text{Number of pupils in regular classes}_{\text{Grades 1-10}}} \\ & + \frac{\text{Budget for lunch scheme}}{\text{Number of pupils}_{\text{Grades 0-10}}} \end{aligned}$$

Additional school budget for DAL pupils in schools with max. 20% DAL pupils =

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Budget for DAL support to DAL pupils in regular classes} \\ & + \text{Budget for interpreters} \end{aligned}$$

Additional school budget for DAL pupils in schools with at least 20% DAL pupils =

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Budget for DAL support to DAL pupils in regular classes} \\ & + \text{Budget for interpreters} \\ & + \text{Task-specific resources} \end{aligned}$$

[Insert Figures B1.a–B1.c around here]

Using the 2014 allocated school budgets to public schools in Aarhus, Figure B1.a illustrates the budget per DAL pupil in regular classes in grades 1–3 for each category of language support needed for non-magnet schools with at least 20% DAL pupils. The budget per DAL pupil decreases strongly with the DAL support need until grade 3. In grade 3, only DAL pupils with the strongest level of support need receive a higher premium than DAL pupils in regular classes in general, who receive the 0.75-point base rate for “DAL support per DAL pupil in regular classes,” which given the rate per point in 2014 amounts to USD 789, corresponding to a premium of 11%. As shown in

the figure, non-magnet schools with at least 20% DAL pupils receive an average premium of USD 356, whereas magnet schools (that all have more than 20% DAL pupils) receive an average premium of USD 435.

As illustrated in Figures B1.b and B1.c, the budget per DAL pupil in regular classes in grades 4–6 and grades 7–9, respectively, is lower than in grades 1–3 for non-magnet schools with at least 20% DAL pupils and identical for all categories of DAL pupils in regular classes. All DAL pupils in regular classes receive the 0.75-point base rate for “DAL support per DAL pupil in regular classes,” which, given the rate/point in 2014 of USD 789 corresponds to a premium of 10% in grades 4–6 and 9% in grades 7–9.

All schools with DAL pupils receive an additional budget for interpreters; the amount per DAL pupil is modest, on average USD 24 in non-magnet schools and around USD 40 in magnet schools.

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Figure B1.a Average Budget Items for Danish-as-Additional-Language Pupils in Regular Classes (USD). 2014. Grades 1-3. Non-Magnet School with at least 20% DAL Pupils.

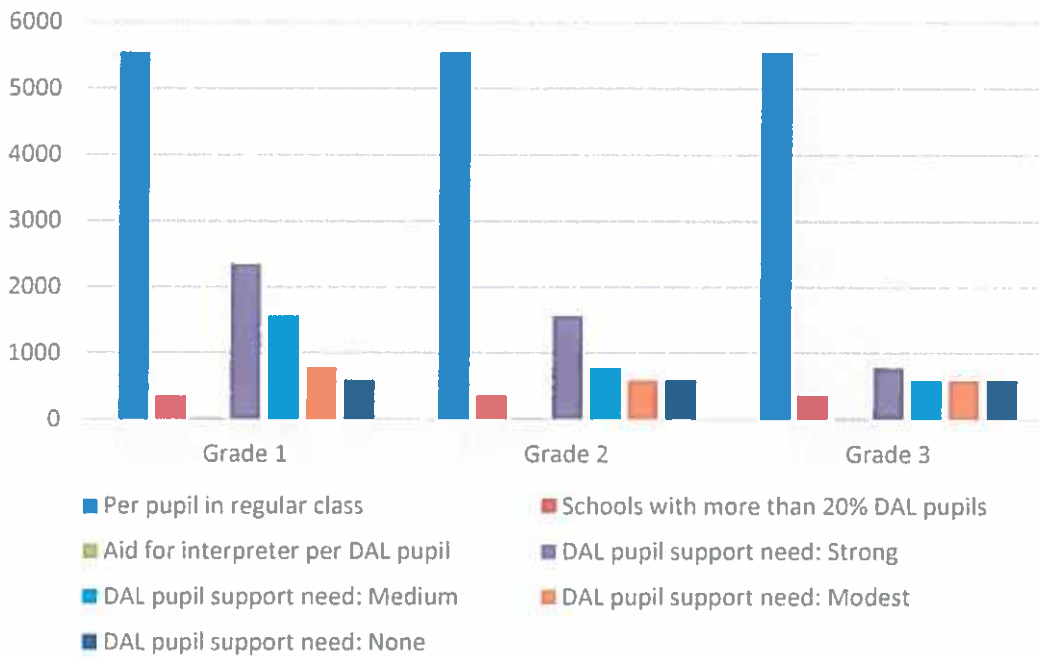


Figure B1.b Average Budget Items for Danish-as-Additional-Language Pupils in Regular Classes (USD). 2014. Grades 4-6. Non-Magnet School with at least 20% DAL Pupils.

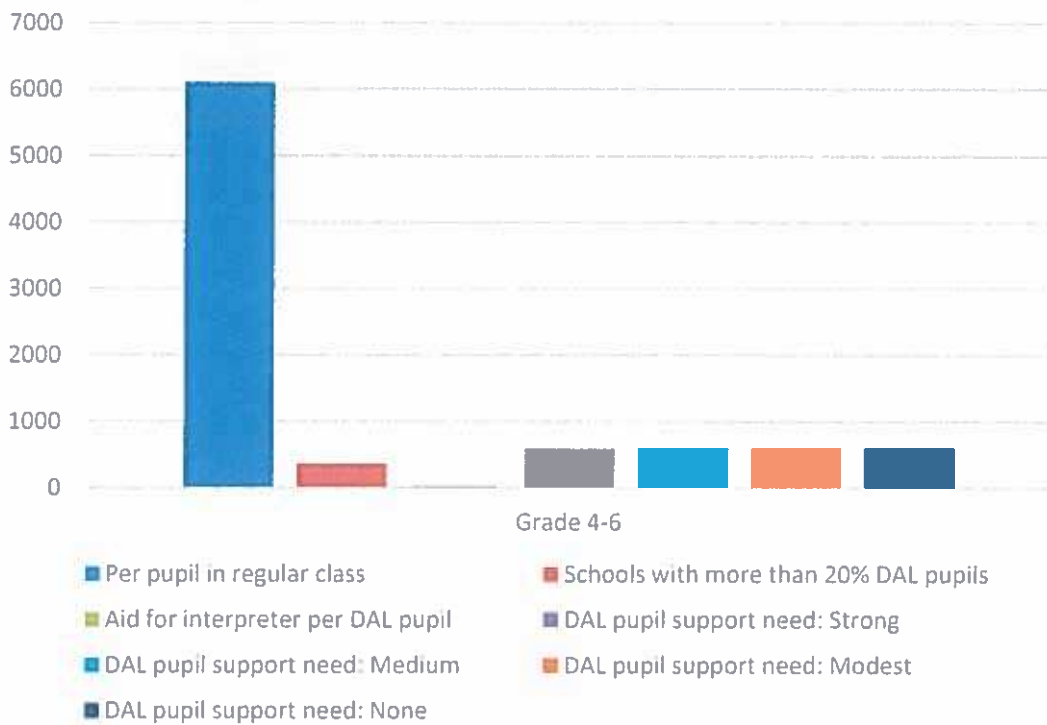
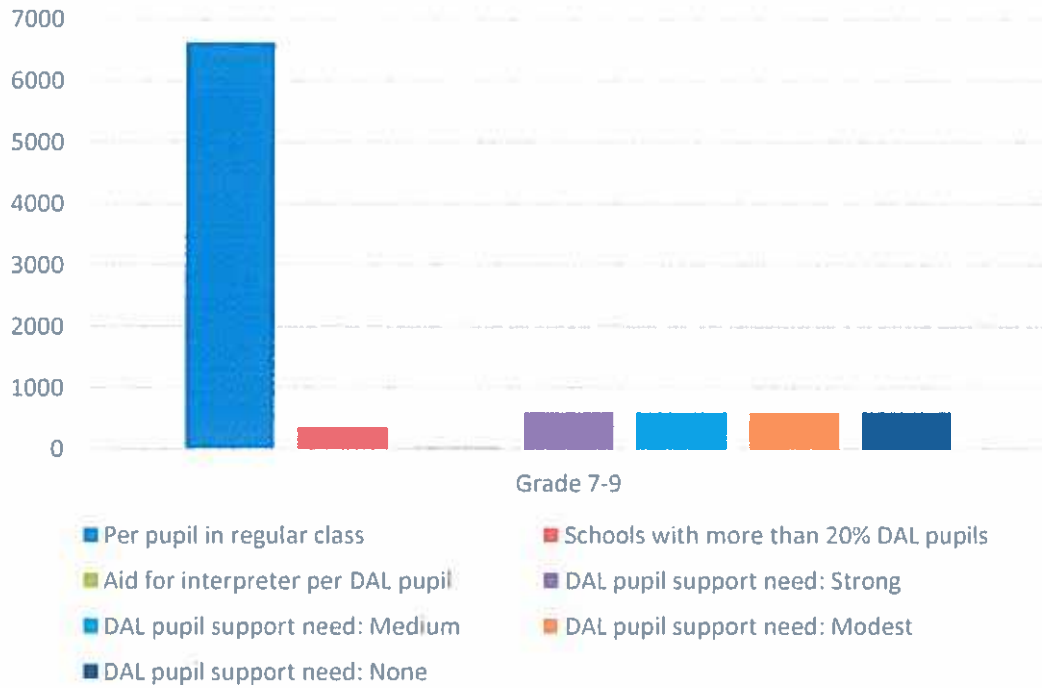


Figure B1.c Average Budget Items for Danish-as-Additional-Language Pupils in Regular Classes (USD). 2014. Grades 4-6. Non-Magnet School with at least 20% DAL Pupils.



Source: Authors' own calculations from allocated school budgets to public schools in Aarhus Municipality in 2014.

Note: The average budget per pupil in regular classes (column 1) is calculated as the sum of the grade-specific rate per pupil in a regular class, the additional budget to guarantee minimum required budget for regular classes per pupil in regular classes in grade 0-10, the budget for social pedagogical support per pupil in regular classes in grades 1-10 and the budget for lunch scheme per pupil in grades 0-10. The additional budget to schools with at least 20% Danish-as-additional-language (DAL) pupils (column 2) is calculated as the budget for "task-specific resources" divided by the number of DAL pupils. The budget for "aid for interpreter" (column 3) is calculated as the budget for "aid from interpreters" divided by the number of DAL pupils. The additional budget for DAL support to each DAL pupil in regular classes for DAL pupils is shown in the last 4 columns for each category of DAL-pupils, depending on their DAL support need (according to the language screening test before school start). Exchange rate DKK/USD 0.1485 (base year: 2016).

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