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**Two Mainstreams, One School System:  
The Complexities of Immigrant Integration in Barcelona**

By

Willow Maria Sussex Mata

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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## Abstract

### Two Mainstreams, One School System: The Complexities of Immigrant Integration in Barcelona

By

Willow Maria Sussex Mata

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Cynthia E. Coburn, Chair

Growing immigrant populations in the United States and Europe have transformed communities in recent years. Immigration brings important changes to everyday life, especially for schools. The integration of immigrants in schools prompts debates about assimilation and multicultural education. It spurs policymakers to respond to language and cultural diversity. And it alters the work of teachers, who are often on the front lines of community responses to immigration. Spain is a newcomer to these issues. Formerly an immigrant-sending country, Spain now has comparable rates of immigration to more traditional immigration countries like the United States, Germany, France and England. Study of the social change these new immigrant populations set in motion is just beginning in Spain. To date, studies mainly focus on policy models or the experiences of immigrants in schools (Agrela et al. 2008; Carrasco, Pàmies, and Ponferrada 2011; Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007). Researchers on both sides of the Atlantic have called for more studies of how the *host society* shapes immigrant integration (Alba 2005; Thomson and Crul 2007). This dissertation study therefore takes up the question of schools as a context shaping immigrant incorporation in Barcelona, Spain. Specifically, I focus on the role of schools in defining what it means for integrate into the cultural mainstream of society.

Three broad questions guide this study of the symbolic and social ways schools matter for immigrant integration. How do education policies define what it means to integrate immigrants in schools? What does it mean to integrate immigrants at the school level, and how do policies matter? What are teacher beliefs about the meaning of immigrant integration? I investigate these questions in depth in this dissertation study, looking into what it means to belong in schools, the role of language in marking belonging, and assumptions of immigrant change. I also look into why immigrant integration comes to mean what it does at each level of the education system.

I study these issues in Barcelona, Spain, where official bilingualism in Spanish and Catalan, and a large Spanish-speaking immigrant population, complicate questions of immigrant integration. The study employs in-depth case study research methods

including open-ended interviews, ethnographic observations, and document analysis. At the policy level, I interviewed 37 policy officials and collected and analyzed policy formation and implementation documents. To understand implementation at the school level, I compared two high schools with similar immigrant populations. I interviewed school leaders, new immigrant classroom teachers, and district coaches. I also did over 160 hours of observations in the two schools, and collected numerous documents. Finally, I interviewed 24 regular subject teachers to understand their beliefs about immigrant integration, belonging, and the mainstream in Barcelona.

The study findings show how history – in this case earlier experiences with immigration, integration, and language issues – influences what integration comes to mean in schools. Specifically, I found that the meaning of integration in Barcelona schools depended on past experiences with diversity and difference. At the policy level, it depended on past versions of integration policies focused on integrating Spanish-speaking people from other parts of Spain. In schools it depended on school history and historical norms for how schools attended to differences in learning needs. And at the individual teacher level, beyond the reach of many policies, the meaning of immigrant integration depended on teachers' own family and professional backgrounds with being different or seeking a unified Catalan identity in Barcelona, Spain. I also found that district coaches played an important intermediary role in shaping policy implementation.

For *My Parents*, who taught me to work hard and love learning.

For *Debbie*, who believed in her barefoot, ambitious babysitter all those years ago.

For *Juanjo*, who has cheered me on every step of the way.

And for *Mateo*, whose birth showed me what I was capable of.

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# Chapter 1

## Schools and The Meaning of Immigrant Integration

The integration of immigrants is one of the most pressing social issues of our time. An estimated 214 million people now live outside their country of birth, more than ever before in recent human history.<sup>1</sup> “Migration is a fact of life in our globalizing world” stated UN secretary Ban Ki-moon at a recent meeting of the United Nations population division.<sup>2</sup> The settlement of international migrants alters established ways of life, and governments often find themselves scrambling to respond to the increasing diversity. At a local level, growing immigration can mean changes in daily life, from what language you hear on the street, to who sits next to your child at school. As Ban himself noted in his address, “migration is a hot-button issue,” precisely because of the social change it sets in motion.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes worries about assimilation surface in response to the growth of one immigrant group, such as Latinos in the United States. Other times a tragedy like the Boston Marathon bombing by two Chechen brothers raises questions of what it means for immigrant children to come to belong in their adopted homeland. Whatever the source of anxieties about growing immigration, calls to integrate immigrants regularly fill policy discussions. In 2012, for example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development published the first international comparison of economic and social integration in OECD countries. *Settling In* opens with an editorial that urges countries to take up the vital issue of immigrant integration:

The integration of immigrants and their children is high on the policy agenda of the OECD. The active participation of immigrants and their children in the labour market and, more generally, in public life is vital for ensuring social cohesion in the host country and migrants’ ability to function as autonomous and productive citizens, and also for facilitating the acceptance of immigrants by the host country population (OECD 2012: p. 6).

What does it mean to have a policy agenda focused on the integration of immigrants? Assimilation is about structural and practical concerns, like housing, jobs, and health. At the same time, assimilation is about social change. Immigration brings new

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<sup>1</sup> (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2009).

<sup>2</sup> (United Nations News Centre 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

cultures, languages, and ways of being that alter the host society and raise questions of belonging, especially when migrants come with children. Integration is thus also a social, symbolic process of redefining the mainstream, of remaking the boundaries of membership in society – of who “we” are, who “they” are, and what it means to become a new “us”.

At the heart of all debates about incorporation are the twin questions: how different can we afford to be, and how alike must we be? Negotiations about these matters in turn center on identity issues: who can become a member of society, and what are the conditions of membership? (Zolberg and Long 1999: p. 8).

Schools are a key institution in the host society where questions of belonging and identity are negotiated on a daily basis (Delpino 2007; Faas 2010; Olsen 1997). Policies influence incorporation through choices such as allowing bilingual education or not (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Asato 2000; Parrish et al. 2006). And teachers play an important role in defining the mainstream and helping young immigrants adapt and learn about their adopted country (Gibson 1988; Olsen 1997; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). But within immigration studies, research focuses almost exclusively on the role of schools in preparing immigrants to integrate into the labor market. There is an abundance of knowledge about how different immigrant groups do in school compared to their native-born peers (e.g., Boyd 2002; Crul et al. 2012; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Across America and Europe, immigrant children face “persistent disadvantage” in education systems, often due to poverty and the fact that they attend the most challenged public schools (OECD 2012). In-depth ethnographic research illuminates how immigrant students experience schooling, and makes great strides in understanding the challenges and opportunities immigrant youth face in schools as a result of this disadvantage (Carrasco, Pàmies, and Ponferrada 2011; Gibson 1988; Rios-Rojas 2011; Valenzuela 1999). But the predominant focus on the immigrants themselves within migration studies leaves unanswered many sociological questions about how different parts of the education system function and contribute to the social process of integration into the mainstream. What about the policies, schools, and teachers themselves – how do they understand and implement their part in the symbolic process of immigrant integration?

Spain is an intriguing place to study schools and the symbolic aspects of immigrant integration. Formerly an immigrant-sending country, Spain has jumped to the ranks of long-time immigrant countries in the last 15 years. With its estimated 14% foreign-born, Spain now has proportionally more migrants than Germany (13%), France (12%), and the Netherlands (11%) (OECD 2011). Indeed, Spain now sits in the top ten countries worldwide with the largest number of migrants, according to United Nations population studies (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2009). The children of these immigrants to Spain have landed in a context where schools play a central role in constructing national identity (Balsera 2005). The autonomous community of Catalonia is an especially compelling case. Under the Franco Dictatorship, the Catalan language was repressed for decades. Then, following the transition to democracy, the

Catalan education system became instrumental in reviving the Catalan language (Pujolar 2010; Woolard 1989, 2008). How is the education system responding to the estimated one million children of immigrants now living in Catalonia?<sup>4</sup> Studies of the immigrant experience in Catalonian schools indicate complicated expectations and conditions of belonging, as well as prejudice on the part of teachers (Carrasco, Pàmies, and Ponferrada 2011; Delpino 2007; Rios-Rojas 2011). But many questions remain. How do schools matter as institutions in the host society that shape incorporation into the mainstream? How do teachers view their immigrant students?

This study advances the conversation about integration and the role of schools by focusing on the case of Barcelona, Spain. I use in-depth case study methods to understand how policy, schools, and teachers conceive of the integration process. Fundamentally, this study concerns the role of education as a host society institution that defines the mainstream that immigrants negotiate as they make their way in their adopted country. I apply concepts from sociological theories of symbolic boundary negotiation and tools from policy implementation to investigate the meaning of integration in symbolic and practical terms. I find that understandings of immigrant integration at each level of the education system are very much rooted in institutional and personal experiences with difference and belonging. At the policy level, the meaning of integration centers on promoting the Catalan language, and stems from fear about the growing influence of Spanish due to new Latin American immigration. At the school level, policy implementation choices define the meaning of integrating immigrants via new immigrant classrooms, and appear to have consequences for how immigrants respond to Catalan. Finally, I find that mainstream classroom teachers view immigrants in terms of three symbolic boundaries – language, academic performance, and cultural difference – and draw on their own personal experiences with Catalan integration to reason about these boundaries and their impact on integration processes.

## Literature Review

To conceptualize how schools serve as a context of reception for the symbolic aspects of immigrant integration<sup>5</sup>, I draw on literature from the sociology of immigration, as well as education studies of immigrants. First, I define immigrant integration as a theory within scholarly literature, and argue for its utility as a conceptual tool for understanding the social process of change beset by immigration. I pay particular attention to the idea of assimilation as a process of remaking and negotiating the mainstream, and the recent empirical work showing that integration is an interaction

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<sup>4</sup> Source: Departament d'Educació, Generalitat de Catalunya. Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social. Educació i convivència intercultural. Novembre 2009.

<sup>5</sup> I use the words integration and assimilation interchangeably in this dissertation. American social scientists have traditionally used the word assimilation and Europeans have talked in terms of integration. Within the immigrant incorporation literature, both are referring to similar processes. For more, see Brubaker (2001).

between immigrants and the context that receives them in the host community. I also review previous research on immigrant education, as well as research on immigrants and education in Spain, noting the absence of attention to education policy and teachers. Throughout, I highlight similarities and differences between scholarship in the United States and Europe, and make the case for how my study of policy, schools and teachers addresses important unanswered questions about schools as a context of reception for immigrant integration into the cultural mainstream.

### ***The New Assimilation Model***

What does it mean to “assimilate” immigrants? Is assimilation a useful concept at all, or an outmoded vision rooted in old ideas about culture and immigration? For many people, assimilation can be a demeaning word associated with assimilationist policies that try to erase immigrants’ pasts. For a taste of the assimilationist vision, one has only to visit the website of any conservative organization during national immigration debates (e.g., The Manhattan Institute), or pick up the flashpoint article “*The Hispanic Challenge*” where Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington argues that Mexican and other Latino immigrants “fail to assimilate” to American values (2004). On the opposite side of the political spectrum, multicultural policies that work to incorporate immigrant cultures in school curricula, or provide bilingual education, advance a vision of cultural integration that is more tolerant of diversity. For instance, a recent book on education and immigration chronicles the experience of Dominicans in a bilingual New York City high school, and advocates for “additive schooling” that treats immigrant experiences as an asset in the learning process (Bartlett and García 2011). In the political and public realm, debates about assimilation can quickly turn vitriolic, as the comment section on any online news article about immigration shows.<sup>6</sup> Lost in the political and advocacy discussions is the practical and theoretical meaning of assimilation. Does research show that assimilation happens, and if so, how? Is it a useful way of conceptualizing the cultural and social changes that immigration sets in motion?

Until recently, American and European scholars would have addressed these questions differently. Traditional notions of assimilation in the United States have focused on culture (Alba and Nee 2003; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Zhou and Bankston 1998), while Europe has tended to focus more on citizenship (Brubaker 1992; Joppke 2007; Koopmans et al. 2005). The first to define assimilation as a theoretical process within American sociology described assimilation as “the name given to the process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence” (Park 1930: p. 281). European scholarship on the other hand has only recently moved beyond the assumption that guest workers would return to their homeland

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<sup>6</sup> For example, see National Public Radio’s *The World*’s discussion about assimilation with anthropologist Marcelo Suarez-Orozco following the Boston Marathon bombing. <http://www.theworld.org/2013/04/assimilating-to-american-culture-as-a-young-immigrant/>



and begun understanding questions of incorporation as a more permanent part of their national process. European scholars therefore draw from the American scholarship to discuss assimilation, while debating about whether the American emphasis on race applies in Europe (Thomson and Crul 2007; Simon 2003).

The early theoretical work in the United States that forms the canon of immigration studies was problematic for its ethnocentrism and lack of empirical basis, but laid a foundation that immigration scholars on both sides of the Atlantic still contend with in present-day debates about immigrant integration (e.g., Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Thomson and Crul 2007). The classical Chicago School assimilation theorists (Gordon 1964; Park 1930; Shibutani and Kwan 1965; Warner and Srole 1945) argued that assimilation was a straight-line process whereby newcomers shed their old customs and took on American ways, becoming entirely assimilated into the mainstream by the third generation. This notion relied on the assumption that society was made up of “[ethnic] groups clustered around an Anglo-American core” (Kazal 1995: p. 437), an idea that lost favor in the social change of the 1960s as the persistence of ethnic ties seemed to matter more than assimilation into mainstream culture. Scholars thus turned to studies of ethnicity, and argued that ties to ethnic groups continued to define immigrant life within enclaves (Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Yancey, Ericksen, and Juliani 1976).

After all but disappearing as a topic of investigation, the concept of assimilation has seen a revival in the last 20 years as a conceptual tool to describe the process by which immigrants become a part of their new country (Alba and Nee 2003; Brubaker 2001; Kazal 1995; Portes and Zhou 1993; Glazer 1993). Extensive research on the children of immigrants<sup>7</sup> has helped shape this revival of assimilation as an organizing concept for immigration studies (Alba and Nee 2003; Crul et al. 2012; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). American and European researchers have thus begun to develop shared understandings of integration as a social and theoretical process. While previous notions of assimilation focused too much on the normative desire to erase immigrants’ pasts (Alba and Nee 2003; Glazer 1993; Kazal 1995), there is a new consensus that we need a concept to refer to the social change engendered by immigration. Whether we call it assimilation, incorporation, or integration, immigration appears to set in motion *some* process of “increasing similarity or likeness” (Brubaker 2001), or “decline of an ethnic distinction” (Alba and Nee 2003). This process involves immigrants *and* the host society, scholars argue (Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Marrow 2005), though immigration studies still tend to focus mostly on the immigrant side of the experience. In this study I take up the idea of integration as a useful conceptual tool for describing the process of social change that happens in response to immigration. I focus particular attention on the host society side of the experience.

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<sup>7</sup> Including first generation immigrants (arrived as children or young adults) the so-called 1.5 generation (arrived as young children before the age of 7 and mostly socialized in the destination country) and the second generation (born in the host country to at least 1 immigrant parent). For more, see Portes and Rumbaut (2001), Kasinitz et al (2008), or Crul et al (2012).

In Europe, researchers draw on American and European studies to theorize about immigrant integration (Aparicio 2007; Kurthen and Schmitter Heisler 2009; Simon 2003). A European review of the transatlantic scholarship pulls together ideas from both sides of the Atlantic, and characterizes integration as involving structural factors like status attained through education and the labor market, as well as “fuzzier” ideas of culture, ethnic identity, religion, and citizenship (Thomson and Crul 2007). The “fuzzier” aspects of the incorporation process are more difficult to quantify and have therefore been studied less (*ibid.*). Many immigration researchers have thus called for more study and theorization of these cultural and social dimensions of assimilation in recent years (Marrow 2005; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Favell 2005; Thomson and Crul 2007). This dissertation study takes up this call, with its focus on symbolic boundaries towards immigrants in the education system of Barcelona, Spain.

Two conceptual advances from the new assimilation model are especially promising and useful for studying the host society’s role in integration. These include the idea of an expanding and changing mainstream (Alba and Nee 1997; Alba and Nee 2003), and the notion that integration looks different depending on contexts of reception (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001). I discuss each of these in turn, highlighting gaps in the research and questions raised.

### Integration as Remaking the Mainstream

Immigrants raise questions of belonging by their very presence (Brubaker 1992; Bauböck 1998). In the United States, scholars have put forth a vision of integration that attends to the central question of belonging, arguing that immigrants blur boundaries of identity and belonging as they interact with their host society in a process that can remake mainstream culture (Alba and Nee 1997; Alba and Nee 2003; Waters 1990). Put differently, what it means to be part of an ethnic group, and to be part of the mainstream, gets reshaped through the process of immigrant integration. Thus, the shape and meaning of the possibilities for membership that immigrants encounter in mainstream culture is consequential for whether and how they can integrate, since the host society generally has more power (Alba 2005; Bauböck 1998; Zolberg and Long 1999). In their influential book conceptualizing assimilation as a process of remaking the mainstream, Alba and Nee (2003) argue that assimilation is about myriad factors, including intermarriage, spatial mobility, economic outcomes (especially as related to education), language adoption (English), and lack of discrimination experiences. They provide evidence from Census data that some assimilation has always occurred through a process of remaking the American mainstream.

[A]ssimilation has been the master trend among the descendents of prior waves of immigration, which originated predominantly in Europe but also in East Asia. Groups once regarded as racial and religious outsiders, such as Jews and Italians, have joined the American institutional mainstream and social majority. Among whites, ethnic boundaries have not entirely disappeared, but they have become so faint as to pale beside other racial/ethnic boundaries (Alba and Nee 2003, p. 273).

Attention to the mainstream is important for conceptualizing the meaning of assimilation because immigrant integration has to do with *belonging* to the modern nation state. As Brubaker (1992) argues, the modern nation state is not only a territorial organization, but a *membership* organization as well. Citizenship is “a form of membership in a political and geographic community”, which includes legal status, individual rights, political participation in society, and *a sense of belonging* (Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul 2008, p.154, emphasis added). Integration involves a negotiation of membership boundaries, with ethnic groups adopting the social and cultural practices of their new country, or the country of settlement expanding its notions of belonging (Alba 2005; Thomson and Crul 2007). In other words, coming to have a sense of belonging, of being a member, involves interacting with and potentially changing mainstream culture.

The idea of integration as a remaking of the mainstream draws on new institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 1991), and sees a crucial aspect of incorporation as “the interplay between the purposive action of immigrants and their descendents and the *context* – that is, institutional structures, cultural beliefs, and social networks – that shape it” (Alba and Nee 2003, p.14, emphasis added). The assumption is that mainstream culture is redefined through an interaction between contextual conditions and institutional structures in the environment through “the cumulative effect of individual choices and collective action in close-knit groups” (Alba and Nee 2003: p. 65). Put in terms of assimilation, immigrants bump up against ways of organizing social life in the mainstream, which allow them either to be members of both their ethnic group and the mainstream, or make a choice between the two. That is, the character of membership boundaries in mainstream culture dictate the choices and possibilities immigrants have to assimilate (Alba 2005). Immigrants take action “according to mental models shaped by cultural beliefs – customs, social norms, law, ideology and religion – that mold perceptions of self-interest” (Alba and Nee 2003 p.37). This action then feeds back into the shape of the mainstream, potentially shifting it little by little over time.

Alba and Nee (2003) theorize that in the United States, the mainstream has *expanded* over time, and can now accommodate immigrant cultures more than in the past. In the language of institutional theory, the social facts that make up the social organization (DiMaggio and Powell 1991) of the mainstream have broadened to allow elements of immigrant cultures. While earlier straightline assimilation theory assumes immigrants were integrating into one homogeneous mainstream, this new assimilation model conceives of a multicultural mainstream that grows and changes in response to immigration (Alba and Nee 2003). While early assimilation theory was characterized by a lack of evidence, this new notion of integration has more empirical backing. In addition to the census research Alba and Nee present in their book, researchers have found evidence for at least the perception of an expanded mainstream remade by interactions between immigrants and their hosts in New York (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2008). The New York Second Generation Study found that youth perceived a multicultural mainstream in New York, and had little doubt of their own place in it. Although this study did not attempt to measure what “the mainstream”

was, the authors' evidence of immigrant and native attitudes toward the mainstream suggest that at least in New York, a broader, more multicultural conception of the mainstream has grown (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2008). That is, immigrants perceive a less rigid boundary around the mainstream (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999), and see themselves as not having to give up their home culture to be part of mainstream New York.

The recent focus on the reshaping of mainstream culture lends important insight to the bigger picture of how immigrant integration works. However, most scholars work in the American context, and assume one American mainstream defined by the English language. What sort of mainstream might we find in a place with less history of immigration, and strong regional nationalism, like Spain? What notions of membership might schools have, and especially teachers, when they talk about incorporating immigrants? Previous research in Catalonian schools focusing on immigrant experiences shows conflicted notions of what it means to belong in Catalonia, particularly for immigrants from Latin America (Mercado 2008; Rios-Rojas 2011). This research suggests that immigrants experience the mainstream as more complicated, the boundaries more changeable, than what we find in the United States. My research explores these issues more deeply on the host society side. I attend to policies, schools and teachers in this study, investigating how they understand *their* role in remaking the mainstream in a context, Barcelona, where two national identities compete and put pressure on people in different ways.

### Context of Reception

In contrast to earlier conceptions of assimilation that saw incorporation as a uniform process affecting all groups in similar ways (Gordon 1964; Park 1930), immigration research in recent years has begun to recognize that the fates of migrants and their children can vary greatly in response to contextual conditions. It has therefore started to attend to incorporation processes across distinct *contexts of reception* (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Marrow 2005). There has been a general overemphasis within immigration studies on the immigrant groups themselves, and a lack of attention to the ways in which the host society changes as well (Alba and Nee 2003; Marrow 2005). This is especially true in Europe where research has tended to focus on a search for national integration models, rather than empirical investigations of immigrant adaptation within local contexts (Favell 2005; Joppke 2007). Recent research and theorization thus attends to ways that host society factors can matter for integration outcomes.

Until recently, a majority of the research that forms the basis for dominant theories of assimilation had taken place in Chicago, New York, and a handful of other typical U.S. immigrant destinations. In the last 15 years, immigration researchers have begun studying other destinations, particularly in response to growing immigration to new destinations in the American South and Midwest (Marrow 2005, 2007), the growing importance of Latinos in the US immigration story (Telles and Ortiz 2008), and increased study of the second generation in Europe (Crul et al. 2012). A growing body of work in other contexts outside the traditional gateway cities provides new evidence for the

importance of considering how the context of reception shapes immigrant incorporation (e.g., Marrow 2005, 2007; Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001). Some of these studies focus on education outcomes (Zhou and Bankston 1998), some focus on citizenship (Bloemraad 2006; Koopmans et al. 2005), and others focus on race relations (Marrow 2007). All ask the question: how does the context of reception shape immigrant incorporation? Most answer the question by examining immigrant experiences and outcomes.

In their first book describing results from the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study* (CILS), Portes and Rumbaut (1996) argued that policies of the receiving country's government, conditions of the host labor market, and characteristics of the ethnic communities where immigrants land, were the most relevant dimensions of contexts of reception shaping immigrant adaptation. The CILS study focused on incorporation into postsecondary schooling or the labor market, and the findings helped spur development of the idea of segmented assimilation, or the notion that immigrants can incorporate into different segments of society, including downward assimilation into oppositional cultures (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001). Because the CILS study took place in two cities, San Diego and Miami, Portes and Rumbaut were able to compare outcomes for immigrant youth from the same ethnic groups in the two places. They found that otherwise similar second generation youth had different outcomes in the two cities, with second generation youth in Miami having higher levels of education than those in San Diego, and more likelihood of having full time work, white collar jobs, or self-employment (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). This finding helped propel theorization about how different contexts of reception can shape immigrant outcomes in distinct ways.

The idea of incorporation being different depending upon contexts of reception has been investigated in Europe as well with attention to how national context matters for immigrant outcomes (Crul and Vermeulen 2003). Most recently, *The Integration of the European Second Generation Study* (TIES) compared second-generation immigrants from Turkey, Morocco and the former Yugoslavia across 8 countries (Crul et al. 2012). Early results of the study show that immigrants from these places fare quite differently in different countries' education systems and labor markets. For example, immigrants from Turkey appear to go further in France's education system than in Germany's, suggesting that some education systems do a better job of supporting immigrants educationally. The TIES study provides important insights into how the structure of education systems (e.g., academic promotion from one level to the next) matters as a context of reception for the mobility of immigrant youth. In this study, I interrogate other aspects of schools as a context of reception for integration into the mainstream, focusing on symbolic meanings of integration in education policy, implementation, and teacher beliefs in Barcelona, Spain.

Overall, arguments for the importance of context of reception point to how the *host society* matters in the incorporation process. Why study immigrant integration by studying the host society? By showing that public servants respond to immigrants in different ways in law enforcement and healthcare (Marrow 2007), or that teachers lower their academic expectations in classes adapted for immigrants (Dabach 2008), researchers are pointing to *mechanisms* within the host society that matter for the day to day choices

that Alba and Nee (2003) argue add up to assimilation. Immigration produces social change that involves people in the host community, brings important changes to how they understand their community, social relations, and work. It's therefore important to learn more about how *they* respond to immigration. Research like the TIES study, and the CILS study, illuminates the experiences of immigrants, but leaves unexplored other questions about schools as a context of reception. As the next section shows, schools play an important social role in incorporating immigrants into the norms and cultures of the host society, inviting theorization about how schools matter for the social aspects of assimilation into mainstream identity and culture.

### Schools as a Context of Reception

Studies of immigrant education typically frame the problem of integration in one of two ways. On the one hand, mostly quantitative, survey-based immigration studies view schools in terms of their role in attaining job skills and achieving upward mobility (e.g., Fernández-Kelly and Portes 2008; Gans 1992; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Zhou 1993). On the other hand, mostly qualitative studies in education view schools through the eyes of immigrants, investigating how newcomers navigate the linguistic, social, and academic demands of schooling in their adopted country (Carrasco, Pàmies, and Ponferrada 2011; Goldenberg, Rueda, and August 2006; Olsen 1997; Valenzuela 1999). Some studies draw from both traditions, and use qualitative and quantitative methods to paint a more broad-ranging picture of the dimensions of immigrant adaptation in schools (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). But missing from the dominant ways of studying schools and immigrant incorporation is a deeper, more nuanced investigation of the host society side of immigrant integration. How does education policy play a role in defining and shaping immigrant belonging in schools? How do teachers understand and adapt to the arrival of immigrants to their classrooms?

Education researchers and policymakers have always grappled with immigration's impact on schools, many contending that schools *should* function in support of the normative vision of assimilation that early sociologists promoted (Cubberly 1909; Sealander 2003; Tyack 1974). Indeed, historians of education argue that the presence of so many immigrant youth in America's cities at the turn of the twentieth century helped push the education system to institutionalize greater standardization, citizenship training, tighter attendance laws, and other aspects of the system still present in the United States today (Sealander 2003; Tyack 1974). Ellwood P. Cubberley, a prominent educator of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, wrote:

The great bulk of these [immigrants] have settled in the cities of the North Atlantic and North Central states, and the problems of proper housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government, and proper education have everywhere been made more difficult by their presence. Everywhere these people tend to settle in groups or settlements, and to set up here their national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our

American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth (Cubberly 1909, p. 15-16).

Similarly, in Europe, post-colonial nationalization efforts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw schools and teachers as critical parts of building a unified national identity around one language (Anderson 1983). The ethnocentric assumption that immigrants would be the only ones changed by assimilation processes has since been discarded. But the role of schools in imparting civic and democratic values is still recognized as important. Schools have always served important democratic and cultural goals (Brint 1998; Labaree 1997). At the same time, we have good evidence that children are adapting to a national and civic identity in school (Gibson 1988; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2008; Olsen 1997; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). Yet despite evidence for the link between symbolic aspects of integration and schools, their role remains underdeveloped in major theories of assimilation.

In recent years, a growing body of research on the second generation in the United States and Europe has turned more attention to schools, and prompted some theorization about how contextual conditions in schools impact later life chances. For example, the CILS study mentioned earlier followed over 5,000 children from 77 nationalities from 1992 to 2001, gathering information on their adaptation to life in the United States, including language preferences, ethnic identity, and educational achievement (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001). Findings suggest immigrant youth change their culture and identity over time, in part due to their experiences in school, coming to prefer English, and American values sometimes in conflict with those of their parents (e.g., new gender expectations for girls). In Europe, the TIES study surveyed over 9,000 young people from 15 cities in 8 countries across Europe, digging into questions of how immigrants compared to natives on measures of education, labor market integration, and social integration issues, including religion (Crul and Schneider 2009; Crul et al. 2012). These and other studies of the immigrant second generation (Zhou and Bankston 1998; Kasinitz et al. 2008) have contributed to the reformulation of assimilation theory and a growing understanding that immigrant children and young adults adapt to school in different ways depending on contexts of reception. This is an important corrective to the focus on adults and the labor market that characterizes much immigration research, but more research is needed into the ways schools matter, especially for the cultural dimensions of immigrant incorporation.

A rich tradition of qualitative work in education illuminates some aspects of schools as host society institutions that shape immigrant incorporation into mainstream culture. Studies find that schools shape experiences of belonging for the children of immigrants through mechanisms such as the curriculum (Gibson 1988; Valdés 2001), teacher language use and perceptions of national identity (Olsen 1997; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2008), and the quality of relationships with teachers and other school personnel (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). Valdes (2001)

found that teachers sent strong messages to immigrant students about the value of their home language in school, asking them again and again to speak in English, and even punishing students when they spoke words of Spanish. Another large study found that school choices to put immigrants in bilingual and newcomer programs helped the students learn English, but gave them little opportunity to interact with mainstream peers or teachers (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). And multiple studies have found that positive relationships with teachers can be consequential for immigrant achievement (Newman 2011; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008).

In general, empirical research suggests that the role of teachers is consequential to immigrant experiences in schools. A large study of first-generation immigrant youth provides evidence that “[i]t is in their interactions with peers, teachers, and school staff that newly arrived immigrant youth experiment with new identities and learn to calibrate their ambitions” (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008, p. 3). Perceptions of discrimination by teachers are often mentioned as a factor in immigrant attitudes toward school (Olsen 1997; e.g., Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), and teachers have been shown to have quite different reactions to changing demographics among their students (Dabach 2009; Stodolsky and Grossman 2000; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). Yet the role of teachers in immigrant incorporation is underdeveloped both theoretically and empirically, even as teacher training to teach diverse students is seen as an answer to improving education for immigrant children on both sides of the Atlantic (Goodwin 2002; Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007). Most studies only hint at the role of teachers, as well as education policy. My study thus complements and extends the literature by looking more closely at teacher beliefs and understandings of immigrant integration, as well as policy and its implementation in schools.

### Spain as a New Destination

Because Spain is a new destination for large-scale immigration, researchers have studied it less, particularly within the transatlantic conversation about immigration. As recently as 2008, a large-scale comparison of second generation education outcomes in 10 European countries excluded Spain, because “their immigration was markedly later and their second generations are only now reaching the numbers that permit systematic research” (Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008: p. 213). The TIES study discussed above does include Spain, but in a limited capacity, looking only at the experiences of the Moroccan second generation (Crul and Schneider 2009; Crul et al. 2012). In general, the children of immigrants in Spain are still quite young, but a recent comparison of OECD countries shows Spain’s immigrants doing worse educationally than the OECD average on PISA reading scores (OECD 2012).

While international research of Spain immigration experiences has been more limited, research within Spain is abundant, spanning social science disciplines and involving not only academic researchers, but also government and non-government institutions as well. For example, the first large-scale national survey of adult immigrants was conducted in 2007, focusing on socio-demographics, experience in Spain upon



arrival, and reasons for migrating (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2008). The survey produced a wealth of findings about the adult immigrant experience in Spain, including the finding that a majority (59%) had a high school education, and another 17% had completed college (Reher et al. 2008). This suggests adult immigrants in Spain were a more educated population than immigrants to other places, such as Turks in Germany (Worbs 2003). However, early studies of education experiences in the Spanish school system show that the children of immigrants face many challenges, from school failure and difficulty entering the labor market, to feeling they don't belong in Spain or their home country (Agrela et al. 2008.; Aparicio 2007; Delpino 2007).

In Barcelona, scholars and analysts from universities to government offices have also turned to the study of immigrants in the last 10 years. Because of its worries about threats to the Catalan language and identity, the Catalan government was a pioneer in integration policy within Spain (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008; Calavita 2005; Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007), and has funded many studies and initiatives aimed at understanding and improving immigrant integration. The crucial issue in Catalonia, as my study investigates, is the confluence of an increasingly diverse immigrant population – nearly half of whom speak Spanish – and worries about the Catalan language. Many Catalans see immigration as a threat to their language and way of life (Mercado 2008). For their part, adult immigrants experience great ambiguity in expectations of their integration, with government discourse promoting Catalan, while people in daily life expect them to know Spanish, whether they are from Ecuador, Senegal, or somewhere else (Gore 2002; Pujolar 2010). These studies tell us about the language dynamics immigrants face in Barcelona, but do not connect policies with implementation and school-level observations, or look in-depth at how teachers understand immigrant integration.

## Research Questions

To address the identified gaps in the literature, and investigate the school's role as a context of reception, I look at three different aspects of the education system: policy, schools, and teachers. In essence, I am asking questions about the meaning of immigrant integration within different parts of the education system in an effort to theorize about how schools matter for incorporation into mainstream culture and national identity. The first set of questions therefore focus on the meaning of integration at the policy level, the second on what policy comes to mean in schools, and why. The third area of inquiry looks into teacher beliefs and understandings of immigrant integration.

1. *The meaning of integration at the policy level:* How does educational policy aimed at incorporating new immigrants in Catalonia explicitly define integration? What does the policy implicitly assume about integration, and what does this reveal about the boundaries of belonging in Catalonia? Where does the policy put its resources, and what does this reveal about the priorities for immigrant integration in schools?

2. *The meaning of integration at the school level:* What are the policy priorities for implementing newcomer classrooms in schools? How does the implementation of newcomer classrooms look similar or different across two Barcelona secondary schools? What *explains* the similarities or differences between newcomer classrooms in the two case study schools?
3. *The meaning of integration at the teacher level:* What are the assumptions about membership and belonging in teachers' beliefs about immigrant integration? How do teachers understand and reason about integrating different immigrant groups in relation to these assumptions? What explains teachers' beliefs and understandings of immigrant integration?

## **Conceptual Framework**

To study the role of schools as a context of reception, I employ theories of symbolic boundaries and policy implementation. These two areas of research and theory enable exploration of both the symbolic aspects of policy and teacher beliefs, and the practical ways policies come to have meaning in schools. This approach is important for a full picture of how schools matter in the social process of incorporating immigrants into mainstream culture and identity; it allows exploration of how people and institutions in the host society frame what it means for immigrants to come to belong, and the structural aspects of school adjustment and change in response to integration policy.

### ***Symbolic Boundaries***

I draw on the idea of symbolic boundaries to provide insight into the host society side of assimilation, and schools as a context of reception. The notion of boundaries is a relational idea; that is, it attends to *relations* between groups of people, for example, “immigrants” and “citizens” (Lamont 2000; Lamont and Molnár 2002). Boundaries are a key piece in the “conceptual tool-kit of social scientists”, from sociology and anthropology to cognition studies and political science (Lamont and Molnár 2002). Lamont and Molnar define boundaries as the “tools by which groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality” (ibid. p. 168). At the most basic level, symbolic boundaries are understandings between people about their world and social reality. We have boundaries all around us, and within us, all the time; they are the symbolic social categories with which we understand each other as human beings. For example, gender, national identity, and race all constitute symbolic boundaries, as do language, professions, and ethnic identity. We use these boundaries to organize our social world; the boundaries generate feelings of similarity and group membership, as well as feelings of difference and group exclusion (Lamont 2000; Lamont and Molnár 2002; Bail 2008; Bauböck 1998).

The idea of symbolic boundaries as a tool for studying immigrant integration has

been advocated by researchers theorizing about integration as a matter of collective identity and membership in society (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999). In their touchstone article on cultural incorporation in Europe and the United States, Zolberg and Long (1999) defined symbolic boundaries in terms of identity, arguing that European identity is traditionally more rooted in Christianity, while American identity is more rooted in the English language. As a result, they argue, immigrants must navigate different symbolic landscapes in finding their way into the collective identity of the host society. According to this theory, symbolic landscapes within the host society make different demands on immigrants and allow for different kinds of incorporation. Zolberg and Long (ibid.) describe three possible patterns of boundary negotiation between immigrants and hosts: individual boundary crossing, whereby the host society remains the same and immigrants do all the changing, for example, by replacing the mother tongue with the host language; boundary blurring, whereby the host society structures allow for multiple memberships, for example, through public bilingualism and neither side is forced to change; and boundary shifting, whereby a host society's boundaries change in either an inclusive or exclusive direction, for example, by outlawing an immigrant religion.

The notion that symbolic boundaries between immigrants and hosts can be *bright* or *blurred* is further developed in an influential article comparing the possibilities for second generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States (Alba 2005). This argument directs attention to the host society side of immigrant integration, and invites new theorization about how boundaries matter for the incorporation process. On the one hand, Alba argues, *bright boundaries* in the host society are more rigid, forcing immigrants to take on language or other forms of cultural identity to become part of the mainstream. On the other hand, *blurred boundaries* exist when the mainstream identity is more permeable, and allows elements of the immigrant culture to shift or shape it. In other words, the character of the boundaries within the host society set the "terms for assimilation" (ibid.); they define the choices and possibilities immigrants have to come to belong in their new country. This new attention to the character of membership boundaries is important for furthering understanding of how they matter in immigrant incorporation:

That social boundaries separate immigrant minority groups from native majority groups and are typically imposed and maintained by majorities as a way of creating social distance and preserving privileges is hardly news. But what has not been given sufficient attention is that: a) boundaries are not all the same, and their nature may admit of greater or lesser permeability; and b) boundaries are generally constructed from cultural, legal, and institutional materials that are already at hand and thus they depend in a path-dependent way on the prior histories of the societies and groups involved (Alba 2005: p. 27).

In this study of the symbolic boundaries toward immigrants at different levels of the education system, I therefore attend to the nature of boundaries (how much change they expect of immigrants), and their relation to history. In schools, immigrant students

encounter symbolic boundaries on a daily basis, in everything from how integration programs are structured in schools, to teachers' curriculum choices and assumptions about ethnic groups. For example, teachers in Germany appear to track Turkish students into vocational programs due to assumptions about the working-class status of the Turks in the community (Crul et al. 2012). When it comes to integrating the children of immigrants, the shape of current boundaries matters for life chances and opportunities in the mainstream society (Alba 2005). The types of boundaries that show up in schools – and the assumptions made about how immigrants will navigate these boundaries – therefore matter a great deal. Hence, I employ the notion of boundaries to map the symbolic landscape that immigrants must navigate in Catalanian schools. More specifically, I look at boundaries between *us* and *them* in education policy, and study what happens to the policy priorities when policy is implemented on the ground in schools. I also apply the concept of boundaries to understand ordinary public school teachers' beliefs about immigrant integration. In doing so, I examine assumptions made about who *we* are as Catalans, and who *they* are as immigrants. Throughout the analysis, I investigate what influences the shape of the boundaries toward immigrants in these school institutions. Why might some teachers, for example, view immigrants through a *brighter boundary* (have higher expectations of immigrants leaving behind their own cultural characteristics), while other teachers view immigrants through a more *blurred* boundary?

### ***Policy Implementation***

A theory of schools as a context of reception would be incomplete without a consideration of policy. “Governmental policy represents the *first* stage of the process of incorporation because it affects the probability of successful immigration and the framework of economic opportunities and legal options available to migrants once they arrive” (Portes and Rumbaut 1996: p. 93; emphasis added). Though Portes and Rumbaut are referring to citizenship and legal policies, their theorization extends to thinking about schools. Public schools are created, maintained, and reformed by government action, and the education system is a key area of government policy around immigration. Integration policies targeting immigrant schoolchildren are often one of the most important ways governments try and shape immigrant incorporation, for example, civic education to promote national values (Pykett 2009). Studies of government action too often focus exclusively on the policy level, especially in Europe (Favell 2005; Joppke 2007). I therefore consider not only the boundaries within the policy *as written*, but the shape they take once schools implement the policy as well.

Policy implementation research provides practical tools for studying the links between a policy's goals (e.g., integrating immigrants), and what actually takes place inside schools. Understanding more about this link provides insight into the causal mechanisms by which contexts of reception are shaped by policy. It also provides a way to conceptualize the movement between symbolic boundaries at the policy level, and ground-level experiences and processes. I understand policy implementation to be a process of mutual adaptation at every level (Berman and McLaughlin 1974; McLaughlin

1990), and therefore theorize that school implementation of policy will vary in accordance with school conditions. As Matland (1995) and Honig (2006) note, policy implementation research has focused too much on fidelity and the debate between top-down and bottom-up processes (Lipsky 1983; Matland 1995; Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983), instead of taking variation as a given and interrogating when and under what conditions implementation happens (Honig 2006). My approach therefore looks closely at the conditions of implementation, comparing otherwise similar schools to understand how they utilize and implement policy aimed at integrating immigrants.

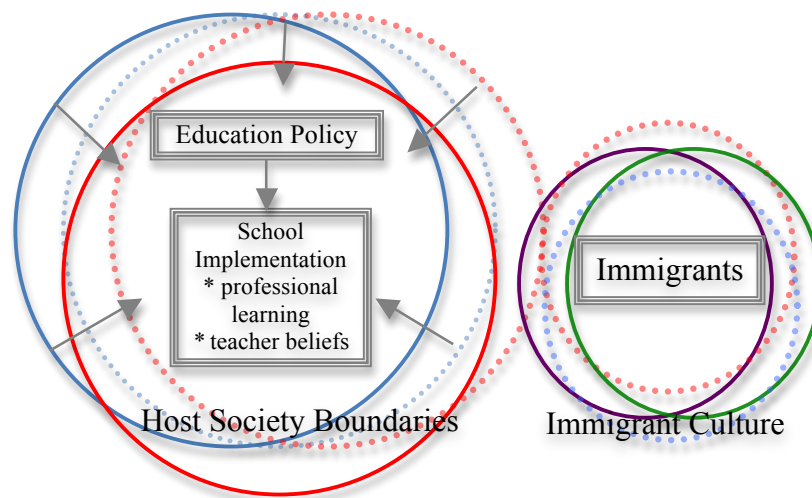
Many researchers have examined the relationship between policy and practice in schools using the tools of policy implementation. Some studies focus on teachers (Cohen and Hill 2001; Knapp 1997; McDonnell 2004), while others focus on the nature of schools as organizations (Coburn 2004, 2005; Elmore and Sykes 1992). This research shows how policymakers' failure to change schools may have more to do with reformers ignoring or downplaying the realities facing teachers in schools as a workplace (Ingersoll 2003; Kennedy 2005). Teachers learn about policies in ways that policy makers may not expect (Knapp 1997), and have preexisting beliefs about teaching and their students that influence how they learn about policy (McDonnell 2004; Knapp 1997; Coburn 2004). Kennedy's (2005) study of teachers' instructional decision making provides evidence for this argument. In her study, Kennedy looked closely at reform ideals and the realities of teaching, and found support for the hypothesis that the conditions of teaching constrain the potential for policies to change teachers' work in the ways envisioned by reformers. In another study, Coburn (2004) shows how preexisting beliefs mediate teachers' responses to policy, with teachers being more likely to assimilate policy messages that were congruent with preexisting beliefs. I therefore attend to teacher beliefs and opportunities to learn about new integration policies in my analysis of the implementation of integration policy in two Barcelona schools. I also examine teacher beliefs about immigrant students specifically, and the meaning of integrating them in schools.

## **Summary**

A conceptual model illustrates the relationships described (Figure 1.1). The social and symbolic process of boundary negotiation is depicted in the overlapping circles around the education system on the one hand, and immigrants on the other. I conceptualize host society boundaries as larger circles of influence, because the host society is typically bigger, and has more control over the process of boundary negotiation (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999). The education system is embedded within, and influenced by, the symbolic boundaries in the broader society. As Alba (2005) hypothesizes, some boundaries are "brighter", expecting more change on the part of immigrants, while others are more "blurred", allowing immigrants to have multiple memberships. For example, language is typically viewed as more blurred boundary, since immigrants can maintain their home language while learning the host society language. In this study, I leave open-ended the nature of boundaries surrounding the school system, but know from previous research and theory that language will be an important one (Woolard 1989, 2008), and that religion is likely to matter as well (Carrasco, Pàmies, and

Ponferrada 2011; Zolberg and Long 1999). I view the education policy process as taking place within the broader society's boundaries. I conceptualize the policy as moving mainly in one direction, from the policy level to the school. Then, within schools, I study professional learning and teacher beliefs to understand how they shape implementation processes and the meaning of integration at the school level. Throughout the study, I pay close attention to how host society boundaries are shaping understandings of integration in the policy, schools, and teacher beliefs.

**Figure 1.1 Conceptual Model**



## Overview of the Dissertation

In the chapters that follow, I illustrate the ways policies and people in Barcelona conceive of integration, and how implementation of policies defines what it means to integrate at the school level. I begin with the research design and methodology in Chapter 2, highlighting how the choice to use qualitative methods allows for in-depth exploration of the meaning of integration and schools as a context of reception. To set the stage for my study, I provide a brief look at immigration and contextual conditions in Catalonia. I then describe the sampling, data collection, and data analysis procedures in detail.

In Chapter 3, I show how the Catalan policy for immigrant integration in schools follows in the footsteps of earlier policies of the Catalan government that emphasize the importance of Catalan. Though touted as a policy targeting all students in Catalonia, and described by policymakers as focusing on multicultural values of diversity, tolerance, and the promotion of social cohesion, the policy in fact directs most of its attention and resources towards teaching Catalan to new immigrants. Current South American immigrants are seen through the government's historical lens of earlier

immigration from other parts of Spain, and the efforts to integrate the current immigrants are an extension of earlier campaigns to promote immersion of Spanish speakers in the Catalan language in schools.

In Chapter 4, I turn to the school level, comparing implementation of new immigrant classroom policy in two Barcelona schools, Gaudí High and Miró High. I argue that the history of schools, combined with the role of the district coach, drove the shape of implementation of newcomer classrooms. Prior to a major Spanish education reform in 1996, Gaudí High was as an academically rigorous high school that could be selective with its students. After the reform the attendance boundaries changed, the school had to take a more diverse group of students, and immigration began growing rapidly. As a result, the school instituted a complex tracking system that divided all students into academic levels that determined their journey through high school. Immigrants became a part of this tracking system, with the implementation of newcomer classrooms becoming just another piece in the tracking system. Miró High, in contrast, had a history as a more vocational school, and was accustomed to incorporating students from a wider range of backgrounds prior to the reform. Thus, Miró implemented the policy in ways that gave more personal attention and support to newcomer immigrant students. The coaches at the two schools reinforced and supported these models.

The story in Chapter 5 turns outside the sphere of the policy's influence in schools to focus on how the regular classroom teachers of new immigrants understood the process of immigrant incorporation. I find that teachers saw immigrants in terms of three symbolic boundaries, language, academic performance, and cultural difference. Teachers drew upon these boundaries to reason about how easy or hard it was to integrate different immigrant groups, and drew upon their own backgrounds with Catalan and Spanish as well. Teachers' experiences with the Catalan integration project over the years since the transition from Franco, and their own positions on the importance of Catalan, influenced how they saw new immigrants in their schools. Thus, the story is one of the intensely personal nature of the relationship between teachers and immigrant students, and how teachers draw on their own experiences with social integration in understanding the meaning of assimilating new immigrants in their schools.

I conclude the dissertation with a discussion of key findings, implications for immigration and education policy studies, and future directions for research (Chapter 6). I argue that the main implications of the study concern the role of history in defining the meaning of immigrant integration, and the importance of context for defining symbolic boundaries. History matters, I argue, not only for defining the meaning of boundaries at the larger country level (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999), but also at the individual level. In my study of teacher beliefs, I found that teachers' own personal histories with Catalan integration shaped their understandings of immigrant integration.





## Chapter 2

# Research Design and Methodology

### Summary

This dissertation study employs an in-depth case study approach to look at the meaning of immigrant integration in the context of schools. I collected data for the study during a 9 month-long Fulbright research project in Barcelona, Spain in the 2009-2010 school year. During that time I lived in Spain full time and received logistical and intellectual support from professors of immigration studies at two Catalan universities. From August 2009 to May 2010, I made a daily effort to understand how people at different levels of the education system understood immigrant integration, language and other symbolic boundaries, and the mainstream in Barcelona. I immersed myself in academic and cultural activities, and in school life once I had attained access to schools. By the end of data collection, I had 37 policy-level interviews, a suitcase full of policy documents, 40 school-level interviews, and over 160 hours of fieldwork at two secondary schools, Gaudí High and Miró High.<sup>8</sup> This chapter describes the research design, methodology, and steps taken during data collection and analysis. I also provide a brief background and history of immigration and language politics in Catalonia, Spain.

### Motivation for the Study Design

A burning question and a fascination with the idea of using qualitative research to build theory drove the design of this study. Caught up in the scholarly debates in the United States and Europe about what assimilation really *means*, I wanted to use in-depth interviews and observation to study how real people in the host society thought about it. At the same time, I sought to understand and theorize more about the role of education in the symbolic aspects of immigrant integration, in particular how integration comes to have meaning at different levels of the system (policy, schools, and teachers). As preparation for this dissertation, I read study after study in immigration studies, and found that the vast majority of research on immigrant integration in schools used survey data to look at achievement outcomes, graduation rates, and other quantitative indicators ((Aparicio 2007; Crul and Doornik 2003; Kasinitz et al. 2008; e.g., Portes and

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<sup>8</sup> All names are pseudonyms. In some cases, other descriptive information about the individuals interviewed has been changed, in order to protect their identity to other Catalans.

Rumbaut 2001). To the extent these studies talked about teachers, it was through survey methods, or as anecdotal explanations for achievement results. I yearned to know more about how different levels of the education system, and especially teachers, mattered in the process of immigrant integration and incorporation into mainstream culture. Qualitative methods, including open-ended interviews, extensive fieldwork, and document analysis, therefore formed the core of my study design. These sorts of methods that allow for concepts to emerge are ideally suited for a study aimed at building theory (Ragin, Nagel, and White 2004; Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Qualitative research is especially valuable for generating and evaluating theory in the social sciences, revealing the workings of micro and macro processes, illuminating the mechanism underlying quantitative empirical findings, and critically examining social facts (Ragin, Nagel, and White 2004: p. 7).

Qualitative methods are also appropriate to use in newer areas of social research. As a relative newcomer to international discussions of immigrant integration, Spain has been studied less than more traditional immigrant destinations in Europe like Belgium (Phalet, Deboosere, and Bastiaenssen 2007), France (Simon 2003), and Germany (Worbs 2003). Researchers working in the Spanish and specifically Catalan context who do study immigration issues using qualitative methods (.e.g, anthropologists of education), do not focus on policy, teachers, or the connections between the two (Carrasco, Pàmies, and Ponferrada 2011; Mercado 2008; Rios-Rojas 2011). Hence, this study contributes to growing knowledge and theory about Spain as a new immigrant destination by employing qualitative methods to study schools as a host society institution for immigrant integration.

## **The Context of Barcelona, Spain**

Spain became an immigrant-receiving country in the early 1990s, after many years as an immigrant-sending country. An estimated 3.5 million migrants reached Spanish shores between the years of 2000 and 2005 (Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat 2006). Immigrants now make up 14% of Spain's population (OECD 2011). The largest migrant groups in Spain are Moroccans, Ecuadorians, Romanians, and Colombians (Reher et al. 2008). Like England, Spain's experience with migration has been defined and shaped in part by colonial ties (Hooghe et al. 2008). Latin Americans make up 35% of the immigrant population in all of Spain, and are the biggest immigrant group in secondary schools (Delpino 2007). In Catalonia, Spanish-speaking Latin American immigrants make up an even larger portion of the immigrant population, at 47% (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2008).

Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia, a prosperous region of Spain bordering France and the Mediterranean. Barcelona is the second largest city in Spain. In 2012, Barcelona had a total population of 1.6 million, an estimated 18 percent of whom were

immigrants.<sup>9</sup> Locked between mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, Barcelona can only grow up, and most people in the city live in apartment buildings of 6 to 8 stories. As a comparison, the population density of Barcelona is almost twice that of Manhattan, the city with the highest population density in the US.

“Language and ethnicity are highly ideologized and controversial in Barcelona” wrote a researcher in her ethnography of the use of Catalan and Spanish in Barcelona after Spain’s transition to democracy in the late 1970s (Woolard 1989: p. 1). Under the Spanish dictatorship, which lasted from 1936 until Francisco Franco’s death in 1975, Catalan was heavily repressed; it was not allowed in schools, and people could be punished for speaking Catalan in public. During this time, due to the economic strength of Barcelona, large numbers of “immigrants” from other parts of Spain moved there for work.<sup>10</sup> As a result, Barcelona, as well as other parts of Catalonia, has large numbers of Spanish speakers as well as families whose roots are “Catalan Catalan” (Woolard, 1989).<sup>11</sup>



*View of Barcelona from Montjuic City Park*

In Catalonia, two laws passed after Spain’s transition to democracy provided autonomy and the freedom to create Catalan-medium schooling. In 1979, Spain passed the Statute of Autonomies, which divided power across the country and gave Catalonia legal charge of its schools. Then, in 1983 the Linguistic Normalization Law gave state resources and preference to the maintenance and revival of historic languages of Spain, namely Catalan, Basque and Galician (Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007). The reasoning behind the “normalization” law was to provide state resources to help support the revival of languages that had been repressed during the dictatorship.

Catalan language schooling has formed a centerpiece of efforts to unify Catalonians and build a national identity following the transition to democracy. With the exception of 3 hours a week of Spanish and English, all schooling in Catalonia is in

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<sup>9</sup> [www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera](http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera)

<sup>10</sup> As I discuss in Chapter 3, the Catalans think of Spaniards who come to Catalonia from other parts of Spain as the first big migration that preceded the present international migration.

<sup>11</sup> People in Catalonia often refer to those who are from Catalan families and have been in Catalonia for generations as *Catalan Catalans*. I heard this frequently during my fieldwork. For more, see Woolard (1989).

Catalan, a Romance language with Latin roots. Other languages spoken by students or taught in Catalonian schools include French, German, Italian, and Galician. In addition, depending on immigrant background in schools, home languages include Arab, Chinese, Quechua, Ukrainian, and others, and some of these languages are reinforced in afterschool or Saturday classes. But the official language is Catalan, and immigrants quickly learn to see Catalan as the formal language to be learned for school (Mercado 2008).



*"We defend the language and culture, no matter where we come from"*

Defending the Catalan language is very important to many Catalans, as the above photo I took on a street on the outskirts of Barcelona shows. Though the dictatorship ended in the 1970s, many Catalans still perceive their language and identity to be under threat from Spanish (Gore 2002; Woolard 2008). Political conflicts between the *Generalitat* and Spain's central government regularly erupt, most recently in fall, 2012 when the Spanish minister of education talked about the need to "*españolizar a los niños Catalanes*"<sup>12</sup> or "make Catalan children more Spanish". "This is a direct attack on Catalan," said the Catalonian education minister in response. On September 11, 2012, the National Day of Catalonia, people marched waving flags calling for independence from Spain. These larger political struggles have consequence in peoples' daily lives. During my fieldwork, I saw the layers of politics around Catalan national holidays in particular, when some people put out flags representing the Catalan cause, while others put out Spanish flags. In Barcelona, you're constantly negotiating which language to use. The simple act of buying a loaf of bread, or sitting down for a coffee in a bar owned by Andalusians from the South of Spain, can feel like supporting one cause or another.

In schools, the amount of Catalan spoken can vary widely, depending upon student home language, and teachers' choices about whether to teach in Catalan or

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<sup>12</sup> El Mundo: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2012/10/10/espana/1349858437.html>



Spanish. On paper, teachers are required to teach in Catalan, and all curriculum materials are in Catalan (including all state-issued textbooks). But in schools where a majority of the students are from Spanish-speaking households, some teachers may choose to teach in Spanish, as this study shows. In the hallways and other student spaces of many schools one hears mostly Spanish. Students speak Catalan when prompted by their teachers, but Spanish amongst themselves, especially in majority Spanish-speaking neighborhoods like the one where Gaudí and Miró were located. This is true not only of Spanish-speaking immigrant students, but also of *other* immigrants, who learn Catalan as a formal language for school, and Spanish to communicate with peers (Mercado 2008; Newman 2011).



Clockwise from top: a) View of the Barcelona Port; b) Chinese market in a downtown neighborhood; c) Advertisement in the metro for phone plans to major immigrant-origin countries.

The larger language and identity politics of Catalonia coexist with Barcelona's position as a major international city, cemented when it hosted the 1992 Summer Olympics and became one of Europe's major immigration destinations. Walk down any street in Barcelona, and you are likely to see signs of changing demographics and the cultural change the nearly half a million immigrants are ushering into daily life. Whether picking up milk from a Pakistani corner store on a Sunday (when the majority of supermarkets are closed), or taking the metro with a crowd of Ecuadorians on their way home from work, I saw the transformation immigration is bringing to Barcelona on a daily basis. This context is important to consider when digging into the findings

presented in this dissertation, which show schools and teachers responding to immigration policy by focusing mainly on Catalan and Spanish language issues.

## **Sampling**

The analytical goal of this study was to build theory about the mechanisms by which schools mattered in immigrant integration into the mainstream in Barcelona. I therefore employed the method of theoretical sampling, defined by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as:

[S]ampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory (p.177).

The concepts that had “proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory” in this study included symbolic boundaries, context of reception, and variation in policy implementation. I used these concepts to sample cases at three levels of the Catalan education system for this study. First, I identified the Language and Social Cohesion Policy as the major government effort aiming to integrate immigrants in schools in Catalonia. Second, with the help of policy actors, including the Barcelona coordinator of the policy and one of the policy’s district coaches, I gained access to two secondary schools in a majority immigrant neighborhood that were implementing the policy’s main integration initiative: new immigrant classrooms. I interviewed administrators and teachers working in the newcomer classrooms, and did fieldwork to study the implementation of the policy at the school level. Finally, I identified regular classroom teachers who had new immigrants in their classrooms by looking at the schedules of all students in newcomer classes the year of the study. This section talks about each of these sampling choices in turn.

### ***The Language and Social Cohesion Policy***

The *Pla per a la Llengua i Cohesió Social* is the main government initiative shaping programs to integrate new immigrants in schools in Catalonia, Spain. It was passed in 2004, and implemented for the first time in the 2004-05 school year; the year of the study was the sixth year of implementation. Because immigration had been growing in the previous five years, the policy continued to expand its implementation across Catalonia, only beginning to cut back slightly the year of the study due to the global economic crisis. I chose to study the Language and Social Cohesion (LSC) Policy because it targeted new immigrants, and billed itself as being specifically about integrating immigrants in schools. I reasoned that studying a policy aimed specifically at integrating new immigrants in schools would be the best way of seeing how policy officials in Catalonia understood integration and the role of schools in incorporating immigrants.

I sought out people in different government offices during my first months in

Barcelona to understand different aspects of the LSC Policy, and how it fit with broader Catalan government initiatives to integrate immigrants. I made contact with people at the central Catalan government level (*Generalitat de Catalunya*), as well as individuals at Barcelona city and district education offices. I knocked on doors and showed up in district and city education offices, explaining my study again and again using a brochure I prepared with the help of my Catalan language teacher. I called district education offices, preparing a Catalan script ahead of time, and set up appointments with district coaches as well as other policy officials. I found that people were friendly and willing to talk with me most of the time; also, the longer I spent, and the more I could go through previous contacts, the easier it became to access key policy officials.

Overall, I interviewed 37 different policy officials, including those working with the policy in Catalan government education offices, and all of the district coaches who worked implementing the policy in the 10 school districts across Barcelona. The *Generalitat* Department of Education officials I interviewed worked directly with the coordination and direction of the policy. They were extremely generous with their time, and allowed me to come talk with them more than once in some cases. These interviews formed the basis of the study inquiry into the meaning of immigrating immigrants in schools in Catalonia. Interviews with the district coaches provided essential additional context as I conducted the study, making me smarter about the policy and its reach throughout Barcelona schools. They also provided important perspective on the history of the policy, which helped me gain an overall picture of how the LSC Policy fit with the larger trajectory of education reform in Spain. I conducted the majority of the policy interviews in the early part of the school year, which taught me about the policy level before entering schools. This allowed me to have a more nuanced picture of policy expectations once I was spending time in newcomer classrooms and comparing implementation at the two case study schools.

### ***School Selection and Recruitment***

I drew on purposeful sampling to choose schools (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). I worked to minimize variation along dimensions that would cloud the cross-case comparison (controls), and maximize variation along the dimension of interest (implementation of integration programs). Implementation of new immigrant classrooms (*aules d'acollida*) was the “conceptual case of comparison” (Ragin 1992) at the school level. According to evaluation research on new immigrant classrooms in Catalonia (Vila 2009; Vila et al. 2009, 2010), schools have implemented the program in widely varying ways, including how they organize student transition to regular classes, and how many hours per week students spend in the new immigrant programs. Because I sought to understand the school-level factors that shaped implementation of the new immigrant classrooms (and thus, the meaning of integration at the school level), I sampled two contrasting cases that organized their new immigrant language programs in different ways. The main considerations were how many hours immigrant students spent in the newcomer classes, and how they were grouped for lessons (grade level vs. cross-grade level).

To minimize variation that would cloud the cross-case comparison, I sought to select schools with similar characteristics. I knew from previous education and immigration research that class matters in the provision of schooling, and therefore chose schools whose students had a similar socioeconomic level. I also knew that the composition of the student body can shape interactions and relations in important ways that might matter for implementation of new immigrant programs, and therefore selected two schools with similar ethnic backgrounds of student populations. I further selected only public schools because they are the ones affected most by government policies, and the ones serving the majority of new immigrants in Spain. Finally, I focused on secondary school (*Educación Secundaria Obligatoria*), which begins at age 12 in Spain, and goes through age 16. The integration issues immigrants face in secondary school are especially consequential because of the high academic expectations and lack of time to “catch up” to native-born peers. Also, although I did not have data from Spain, I knew from US research that there tend to be proportionally more foreign-born children in high school than in primary school (Capps et al. 2007).

I had no school-level contacts when I began the study in September, 2009. My university Fulbright mentors provided important context and asked probing questions that helped me refine my study design in my first months in Barcelona. However, they did not have contacts in schools, which meant I had to find those on my own. Recruiting schools took months of small steps to build connections and gain peoples’ trust. My lucky break finally came when the Barcelona policy coordinator for the policy presented my project to a meeting of Barcelona district newcomer coaches, and a couple coaches volunteered to help me connect with schools in their districts.<sup>13</sup> One coach, Nadina, volunteered Gaudí High and introduced me to the principal, Carles. Once I had gotten to know him and gained his trust, Carles then introduced me to the principal at Miró, who provided me access to that school. These two high schools were one mile apart, in a mostly Latin American neighborhood of Barcelona, and fit the criteria of having students from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. They were interested in my study in part because they were not typically studied to learn about immigration in schools in Barcelona, Nadina told me. Carles, the principal of Gaudí, saw it as an opportunity to learn more about the integration of immigrants in his school. Most importantly for the conceptual comparison in the study, the two schools implemented their new immigrant programs quite differently, and therefore provided an opportunity to investigate what factors influenced implementation.

Once I gained access to schools, and had a reason to be there every day (observing newcomer classrooms), I found it was relatively easy to access teachers. By simply being in the in schools every day, I became a familiar figure in the halls and classes. Small talk, pleasantries over lunch, coffee breaks in the teacher room – these all added up to my becoming a familiar fixture in the schools, and made it so people were mostly comfortable with me once it came time to ask them for an interview. I spent a

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<sup>13</sup> Barcelona’s school governance is divided into 10 administrative districts across the city. The district offices oversee professional development and student support services, and serve as an intermediary between schools and policy initiatives.



more concentrated period in the first 6 weeks at Gaudí, and then turned my attention to Miró once I gained access there.

Table 2.1 provides background information about the case study schools. Gaudí was almost twice as big as Miró, and had more immigrant students (58% compared to 51% at Miró). Both schools had mainly Latin American immigrants, with a handful of students from other groups including Chinese, Pakistanis, and Moroccans. Gaudí had slightly more *new* immigrants in the newcomer classrooms (students who arrived to Catalonia within the last two years) at 9% of the school's population, compared to Miró's 7%. Students at Gaudí spent more time on average in newcomer classes each week than students at Miró. Because the schools were so close to each other (within reasonable walking distance and connected by a bus line) it was relatively easy to go back and forth between the schools in the same day, which I did often. The slightly different schedules at the schools helped this as well (Gaudí started a half hour earlier than Miró). I often left a classroom observation at Gaudí and jumped on the bus to make the next class at Miró.

**Table 2.1 Case Study School Information**

	<b>Gaudí High School</b>	<b>Miró High School</b>
Total Number of Students	396	203
Portion Immigrant Students	58%	51%
Student Composition	42% Native born 47% Latin American 2% Chinese 2% Pakistani 3% Moroccan 4% Other	49% Native born 42% Latin American 1% Chinese 3% Pakistani 2% Moroccan 3% Other
Number of immigrants in newcomer classrooms	42 (9% of school population)	28 (7% of school population)
Hours per week in newcomer classrooms	14 (43% of weekly class hours)	9 (28% of weekly class hours)
Organization of newcomer classrooms	Single grade level groups	Mixed grade level groups

*Note: Source for statistics at Gaudí is the Projecte Linguistic, a school document provided to me by the district coach. Source for statistics at Miró is a family languages survey provided to me by the school newcomer coordinator.*

### **Teacher Selection and Characteristics**

I selected two different groups of teachers to interview, new immigrant classroom teachers, and regular classroom teachers. In general, teachers were willing to talk with

me, both formally for the interview, and informally when I saw them around the school or observed their classes. I focused most of my observation time on newcomer classes, because those teachers allowed me access sooner; by the end of the study, I had gained many regular classroom teachers' trust as well, but did not have enough time to visit more than a handful of their classes.

Interviews with newcomer teachers informed the study of the LSC Policy implementation. The principals of both schools introduced me to head newcomer teachers, and the district LSC coaches helped explain the purpose of my study. With their introduction and blessing, I was able to interview all newcomer teachers at both schools. During the period of fieldwork, Gaudí had 6 teachers working in the newcomer classes (3 assigned teachers, and 3 long-term substitutes), and Miró had 2. Gaudí had more newcomer teachers than Miró because of how new immigrant classes were structured as a separate group in the larger tracking system of the school, and because of a teacher with a reduced schedule part of the year due to maternity leave. All 8 of the newcomer teachers allowed me to visit their classes as often as I needed, and were generous and open about their work with new immigrant students.

The newcomer classroom teachers taught Catalan as a second language, and adapted social studies and science. They were all experienced teachers, but most were relatively new to their schools. Gaudí's newcomer classroom teachers had an average of 22 years teaching experience (min 10, max 39), but 4 of the 6 were in their first year at the school. At Miró, the 2 newcomer teachers had an average of 18 years teaching experience, but were also relatively new to their school; Jordi, the more "veteran" teacher had been at Miró 3 years, and Nicolau was in his first year. All newcomer teachers I interviewed except Dalia at Gaudí were either temporary hires (they could be reassigned to another school in Catalonia every 2 years), or they were long-term substitutes. For more about the newcomer teacher sample, see Appendix 1: Newcomer Teacher Background Information.

To investigate teacher beliefs about immigrant integration, I interviewed a sample of 24 regular classroom teachers: 12 at Gaudí, and 12 at Miró. I selected these teachers using the schedules of new immigrants, aiming to talk to as many of the regular classroom teachers who interacted with the new immigrants at both schools the year of the study. I recruited teachers most often in person, explaining my study and asking for an interview during breaks in the teacher room, or standing outside during recess. In some cases I did not meet or overlap with teachers, so I left a handwritten note in their box along with my study brochure. Almost all teachers consented to an interview, and many allowed me to visit their classes as well. Only a music teacher, and two Physical Education teachers declined to give me time or hear about my study. One other mainstream teacher I tried to interview, a civic education teacher at Gaudí, consented to the interview but then did not show up and was noncommittal about setting up a new time. Since the study was drawing to a close at that point, I gave up trying to interview her. These teachers were the exception; in general the teachers were open and friendly, and many even said they had really enjoyed being interviewed and invited me to come visit their class anytime.

The regular classroom teachers were experienced overall at both schools, but

differed in how long they had been at their school. On average, Gaudí’s teachers had 15 years teaching experience (min 3, max 32); 25% had more than 21 years of teaching experience, and 33% had 11 to 20 years. However, teachers had not been at the school very long; 50% of Gaudí’s teachers were in their first year at the school, and another 33% had been there less than five years. On the other hand, Miró’s regular classroom teachers had been at their school for longer. Miró’s teachers had an average of 17 years teaching experience (min 5, max 33); 42% had been in the school 21 years or more, and another 17% had been there 11 to 20 years. Just 3 teachers at Miró (25%) were in their first year at the school. For detailed information about teacher backgrounds, see Appendix 2: Mainstream Teacher Background Information.

Previous research has shown that subject matter can matter in how teachers view diverse students (Stodolsky and Grossman 2000; Dabach 2009). I therefore took subject matter into account in sampling teachers, sampling mainstream teachers from as many subjects as possible. As Table 2.2 shows, my study had more teachers from the core academic subjects of Catalan, Spanish, English and Math. The largest number of teachers interviewed in any subject were Spanish and Math at Gaudí; this was likely because Gaudí was a bigger school, and had a more varied tracking system, which meant that new immigrant students spread out across a greater number of teachers for these subjects.

**Table 2.2 Subjects Taught by Mainstream Teachers**

	Catalan	Spanish	English	Math	Civic Education	Science	Social Studies	Art
<b>Gaudí</b>	-*	3	2	4	1	1	-*	1
<b>Miró</b>	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1

*\*New immigrants at Gaudí did not participate in mainstream Catalan or Social Studies classes.*

One final characteristic of the regular classroom teacher sample deserves mention: their administrative status (Table 2.3). The LSC Policy placed a lot of emphasis on the idea that immigrants shouldn’t be taught only by the newest, least experienced, teachers, but rather, those with more permanent status in the school. Teachers in Catalonia are employees not of their school or governing education district, but rather, the Catalan Department of Education, and can therefore be sent anywhere in Catalonia depending on staffing needs. Many teachers chose to accept temporary job assignments of 2 years at schools in Barcelona in order to be closer to their homes and not have a commute. This job assignment was separate from their status as tenured employees, a status gained by passing the public examinations in their subject. At both Gaudí and Miró, the vast majority of teachers had permanent, tenured status; those with tenured status who were in their first year at the school chose to accept less job stability rather than take permanent jobs in far-flung towns.

**Table 2.3. Administrative Status of Mainstream Teachers**

	<b>Gaudí High School</b>	<b>Miró High School</b>
Permanent (tenured)	67% (8)	75% (9)
Provisional (temporary)	8% (1)	0% (0)
Substitute (short-term)	8% (1)	10% (1)
Unknown	17% (2)	17% (2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>100% (12)</b>	<b>100% (12)</b>

*Source: Interviews with case study teachers.*

There was no important difference by school in the administrative status of teachers. At Gaudí, 8 (67%) of the 12 teachers of immigrant students had tenured status as employees of the Catalan Government. Miró had a similar portion of their tenured teachers teaching new immigrant students at 75%, or 9 of 12. There were two teachers at each school for whom I did not attain administrative status. The remaining teachers at each school had either provisional or short-term substitute status.

## **Data Collection**

One of the strengths of qualitative research is that it allows for more in-depth looks at the concepts of study, and allows constructs to emerge through the research process, rather than assuming they are known from the beginning as is done in survey research (Lin 1998; Ragin 1992; Vaughan 1992). This study is characterized by qualitative data collection procedures, including in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis. Before undertaking the data collection activities, I submitted my research project to the University of California, Berkeley Committee for Human Subjects. All research activities were approved to be in compliance, and I followed established protocols to obtain informed consent from interviewees and follow ethical data collection procedures. I recorded all interviews except a handful with policy officials, and transcribed the interviews verbatim. I conducted interviews in the language preferred by the people I talked with; in most cases we spoke in Catalan or Spanish.

## **Policy Level Data**

I interviewed actors at three different levels of educational policy: the Catalan department of education (4 interviews), the Barcelona education office (4 interviews), and LSC coaches at the 10 Barcelona district offices (29 interviews). Policy interviews lasted 56 minutes on average (min 33, max 80). Policy actors were extremely generous

with their time, especially the district coaches. The coach interviews provided invaluable context and history about the LSC policy, Catalan integration, and the history of the Spanish educational reform that so transformed schools. The most important coach interviews for the analysis presented in this dissertation study were Nadina who worked with Gaudí, and Nacho who worked at Miró.

Policy interviews focused on the formation and implementation of the LSC Policy, the problem of growing immigration as policy officials perceived it, and implementation of the policy in schools. Interviews with officials from the Department of Education focused more on policy formation, while Barcelona education office interviews focused more on policy implementation. I also asked each person to tell me about their background and how they had arrived at their current job. We talked at length about how they defined and understood immigrant integration as well. I used the interview questions as a guide, and directed the interviews in an open-ended way so that policy officials could explain the issues from their perspective, rather than answer a checklist of my questions. This got easier as time went by as I understood the broader context better and my Catalan improved. For a complete list of policy interview questions, see Appendix 3: Policy Interview Protocol.

I also collected numerous documents, both in interviews, in visits to various education offices around Barcelona, on Department of Education websites, and from schools. The documents collected included various versions of the Language and Social Cohesion Policy, implementation “annex” documents, curriculum materials, and locally-produced research reports examining the policy. In addition, I received 9 reports from an official government evaluation during my fieldwork, one from the government coordinator for the LSC Policy, and another 8 from one of the main researchers working on the evaluation at a Catalan university. For a complete list of documents, see Appendix 5: List of Documents Used in the Analysis.

### ***School Level Data***

At the two case study schools, Gaudí High and Miró High, I interviewed administrators, new immigrant teachers, and regular classroom teachers. Interviews with teachers ranged in length from 29 to 73 minutes; on average I talked to teachers for 45 minutes. Administrator interviews averaged 43 minutes in length (min 35, max 53). I interviewed the principal of both schools, as well as the head of studies, and curriculum coordinators. The amount of time for teacher interviews was dictated by school schedules (free periods, lunch hours), though a few teachers met with me after school when they had more time. We talked either in school offices, or most often at a café nearby the school. Administrators were more flexible with their time, and our interviews typically took place during school hours in their offices. Table 2.4 provides an overview of school interviews and observations. I conducted a total of 22 interviews at Gaudí and 18 at Miró; (Gaudí had more interviews because they had more newcomer teachers.) In addition to interviews, I also observed an estimated 86 hours at Gaudí, and 80 hours at Miró. Observations focused on various aspects of school life, including classes, teacher meetings, professional development, and informal life in student and teacher spaces.

**Table 2.4 School Interviews and Observations**

	<i>Gaudí High</i>	<i>Miró High</i>
<i>Number of Interviews</i>		
New Immigrant Teachers	6	2
Regular Subject Teachers	12	12
Administrators	4	4
<i>Total</i>	<i>22 interviews</i>	<i>18 interviews</i>
<i>Hours of Observation</i>		
New Immigrant Classrooms	44	38
Regular Classrooms	9	8
Around School	22	25
Teacher Meetings	9	7
Professional Development	2	2
<i>Total</i>	<i>86 hours</i>	<i>80 hours</i>

Administrator interviews covered similar topics as interviews with district coaches, with an added emphasis on implementation at the school site. I asked administrators about their professional background and experience, both at their current school and previous jobs. I also asked them about the problem of immigrant integration at their school as they perceived it, and the policy responses they had seen in the previous 5 years. Finally, we talked at length about the implementation of newcomer classes in their school. They explained their understanding of the goals of newcomer classrooms, the issues with implementation, and their assessment of whether the policy was achieving its goals.

Teacher interviews covered a range of topics related to the arrival of immigrants to their schools, and the LSC Policy. I also asked each teacher about their professional experience, where else they had worked, and their training. To understand how teachers thought about the meaning of integration, I asked two open-ended questions: 1) What does it mean to integrate immigrants? 2) What does it mean to belong here?. We spent an important part of each interview discussing the issues teachers raised in response to these two questions. To gain insight into the implementation of the LSC Policy in schools, I asked about contact with the district LSC coach, use of individual plans, and other priorities of the policy. For the complete list of interview questions, see Appendix 4: Teacher Interview Protocol.

Finally, I spent many hours observing at both schools, as shown in Table 2.4. These school-level observations were informal and open-ended; I did not use a structured observation protocol. Mostly, I was looking to get a feel for the climate at each school, understand how newcomer classrooms as well as immigrant students fit with the school as a whole, and observe language use. Outside my time in schools, I took copious fieldnotes at all times of day, about everything related to immigration or language that I

observed in Barcelona, or indeed anywhere in Spain during the year I was there. I did daily writing about the themes I was seeing, questions raised about immigration and policy, and the ups and downs of field research.

### ***A Note about Language Use During Data Collection***

As I talked about above, language is very political in Catalonia. Even as a researcher, it felt like I was making constant choices, and shaping perceptions of myself based on those choices. I was fluent in Spanish before the project, and began learning Catalan as soon as I got to Barcelona. I knew it was important to know the Catalan language, but didn't realize just *how* important it would turn out to be. Studying Catalan and gaining fluency helped me gain peoples' trust. I got complimented on my Catalan, and heard again and again, "lots of people who have been here much longer than you don't make the effort to learn Catalan". The fact that I was very comfortable in Catalan by the time I was conducting most of my interviews meant that I had access to a greater level of trust with those who preferred Catalan. Particularly at the policy level, the daily business of education in Barcelona takes place in Catalan, so without it I would have remained more of an outsider as I talked with and learned about people in the education system.

Interviews were conducted in the language of choice of the interviewee, with a handful of exceptions early on when I didn't yet know enough Catalan. Everyone I talked with was bilingual in Spanish and Catalan, but they had different preferences of which language they preferred to use. Sometimes it seemed like habit; they were used to speaking mostly in Spanish or Catalan. Other times it felt like a political choice – they refused to speak one language or the other. I made every effort to have them choose the language of the interview once I was comfortable with both, and found that for some people Catalan was so important that even before I was truly comfortable they preferred Catalan, while others stated from the first moment we sat down that they would speak Spanish. When early interviewees preferred Catalan, we spoke in Catalan. It helped greatly that I could always fall back on Spanish for asking my questions or clarifying something they said when my Catalan skills were not yet sufficient. I was able to have the majority of interviews be in the language they chose, including a small number of interviews that I did in English.

### **Data Analysis**

Qualitative research requires a continuous dialog with the theory one is trying to develop (Ragin, Nagel, and White 2004: p. 11). I therefore attempted to be in dialog with the theory at all different stages of the study. I wrote daily during my fieldwork, often puzzling over connections between what I was seeing, and theories of integration and policy implementation. Then, I transcribed all interviews myself, keeping tracking of categories for analysis, and alternating with reviewing important articles. Finally, I built the categories for analysis in dialog with theories of integration and policy

implementation, then refined them in conversation with the data. For the actual analysis, I used a combination of tables in Microsoft Word, Excel, and Atlas.ti software to analyze the data. I built a focal teacher table with all descriptive information gleaned from analysis of teacher interviews in order to get a global picture of the newcomer and mainstream teacher samples and be able to create charts to investigate differences between schools. I did all coding without translating interviews, only translating once I was writing up the findings. For a summary of selected coding dimensions, see Appendix 6: Definitions and Evidence for Key Dimensions.

### ***Analysis of the Policy***

The study of the boundaries in the LSC Policy (Chapter 3) includes analysis of interviews with policy officials at both the Barcelona and Catalonia government levels, and document analysis. I used a hybrid approach to coding (Miles and Huberman 1994). That is, I began with categories from theories of integration and symbolic boundaries (*who's* being integrated, *how*, and *into what?*), and then refined and supplemented these categories in conversation with the data, adding categories for history and social cohesion.

A core of the analysis came from the written policy documents themselves. I analyzed the LSC Policy document, a series of annex documents produced to provide more details for policy implementation, and images and documents provided to me as part of the policy interviews (for a complete list of documents, see Appendix 5: List of Documents Used in the Analysis). The majority of documents were in Catalan; some had Spanish and a few had English translations. I worked mainly from the Catalan version, referring to the Spanish or English translation when I needed additional clarification, because in most cases the Catalan versions were the most up-to-date. For example, the original policy document was passed in 2004, and a Spanish and English one were created as well. In fall 2009, the year of the study, the Catalan version was updated with new statistics, while the translations were not.

In addition to the broad codes related to integration, I also analyzed the policy document for specific references to language. For this analysis, I first identified all mentions of language, including Catalan, Spanish, family language, or foreign language. I then created a chart and counted the frequency of each language, and also looked at the context of each language mention to see how the policy talked about different languages.

Next, for the policy chapter, I also did an analysis based simply on the word “integration”, and the ways policy officials as well as policy documents referred to it. This led to further analysis of “social cohesion”, since policy officials in this study often talked about integration in terms of social cohesion. It also led to additional analysis of how policy officials talked about different groups being easier or harder to integrate, which I interpreted as a measure of how “bright” the boundary was (Alba 2005), or how much immigrants were expected to change and give up their culture to come to belong in Catalonia. I created a chart with all these categories, and used them to summarize the definition of integration in the policy.

Finally, I also examined the policy resources for insight into policy priorities. The



LSC Policy document itself had charts detailing the resources provided to schools and districts. I also had a series of curriculum materials, including books given to me by Department of Education officials, and a PowerPoint presentation summarizing the materials created by the policy. I analyzed all of these documents to generate a summary of where the policy resources were being directed.

### ***Analysis of School Implementation***

For the analysis of newcomer classroom implementation at Gaudí and Miró (Chapter 4), I began by writing a school implementation portrait. I used fieldnotes, interviews with newcomer teachers and administrators, interviews with coaches, and school documents to describe the school context and newcomer classroom implementation. I then turned to the policy documents themselves to build a list of implementation priorities. I divided the implementation priorities into 4 areas of emphasis, organization of newcomer classrooms, content, teacher qualifications and student characteristics. This generated a list of 18 dimensions, which I then used to assess implementation at the two schools. I used the notion of congruence, a measure of implementation developed in Coburn (2004) and Coburn and Russel (2008) and used to assess the match between what teachers and schools do, and what a policy or curriculum expects. In this study, I used the set of implementation priorities to analyze the *congruence* between case study schools' implementation of newcomer classrooms and the policy priorities for implementation. I used school documents, fieldnotes, and interviews to assess congruence.

The school descriptions and congruence analysis revealed that coaching and school history were the most important factors differentiating the two schools' implementations of new immigrant classrooms. I then analyzed district coaching and history in more depth. I did a round of analysis to go deeper into how new immigrant teachers talked about coaching, and also how coaches talked about their work with teachers. I also gleaned observations of coaching from fieldnotes. Finally, I gathered all mentions of coaching and created a matrix comparing the two schools.

To analyze history, I examined administrator and teacher interviews, as well as fieldnotes, and created a data summary chart with all mentions of school history. I then wrote this up in a descriptive summary of school history, focusing on differences between the schools, and the relationship between history and implementation.

### ***Analysis of Teacher Beliefs about Integration***

The analysis of teacher beliefs about integration (Chapter 5) was the most extensive of the three analyses. I began with the same a priori categories used to code boundaries in the policy analysis, *who*, *how*, and *into what*. I used these categories to create data charts of teachers' answers to the two open-ended questions about the meaning of integration (What does it mean to integrate immigrants? What does it mean to belong here?). Understanding teachers' assumptions about who was integrating, how

integration happened, and into what, formed the initial structure for analysis. Once I had whittled the often lengthy, rambling answers to these two questions down into the three categories, I could look more closely within each one.

To code for the *symbolic boundaries* in teachers' talk about immigrants, I created a chart from the *who analysis* with all instances where teachers were talking about a specific immigrant group, such as Colombians, Chinese, or Moroccans. This generated a chart with 197 descriptive statements across the 24 mainstream teacher interviews (average of 8 statements per teacher, minimum 2, maximum 14). Next I categorized these mentions as either about Spanish-speaking immigrants, or non-Spanish speaking immigrants, since this emerged as an important distinction in teachers' talk. I then began to examine how teachers talked about the different groups, and three distinct categories emerged: language, academic performance, and cultural difference. When it became clear these categories were the most salient, I coded all mentions of immigrant groups for whether they were about *language*, *academic performance*, or *cultural difference*, and created a graph summarizing the results. For examples of these and other key dimensions, see Appendix 6: Definitions and Evidence for Key Dimensions.

When it became clear that teachers were often talking about immigrant groups in clearly positive and negative ways, I generated three additional value codes, positive, negative and neutral. I coded all 197 descriptive statements about immigrant groups for how they were valuing different immigrant groups. An important number were not clearly positive or negative, and I coded those as neutral. But in many instances teachers said things that were clearly positive, praising the virtues and efforts of an immigrant group, or negative, talking about how immigrants didn't try hard enough, for example. I coded all instances that were clearly negative or positive, and then looked within them for whether they were about Latin American groups, or other immigrant groups.

To understand the role of Catalan as a tool for school and a symbol of identity, I further analyzed the *into what* category. I separated out teachers' talk about Catalan, Catalonia, Spanish, and Spain. Three categories emerged from this analysis, language (585 mentions), national identity (98 mentions), and place (74 mentions of country or region). I then looked within the categories to see which issues teachers referenced most often. This analysis answered questions about how language mattered in comparison to national identity and place.

To assess teachers' stance toward Catalan integration, I used a combination of measures, including how teachers talked about their own identity and background, their reasons provided for learning Catalan (or not), and how they referenced Catalonia or Spain as a place. This analysis emerged wholly from the data; I did not set out to study how teachers' backgrounds mattered, but found that while answering questions about the meaning of integration of immigrants, teachers often drew on their own backgrounds. This led to a deeper analysis of how they brought up their backgrounds. I created an index to code teachers in one of four categories, "Very Catalan", "Mixed Catalan", "Mixed Conflicted" and "Very Spanish". For more, see Appendix 6: Definitions and Evidence for Key Dimensions.

## **Possibilities and Limitations of the Approach**

This is not a study of the best model of education for integrating immigrants, nor is it a study of how teachers do things best. It is not a study of student experiences. It is a study of how three levels of the education system, policy, schools and teachers, define and reason about immigrant integration, and the aspects of their experiences that matter for this process. All research studies make choices that allow a closer focus on one set of phenomena, while paying less attention to others. The in-depth case study approach used in this dissertation allowed for a deep study of the circumstances and contextualized details of a site, and contributed to building theory by showing the relationships between the concepts that emerged (Lin 2003). However, the case study approach did not allow me to test whether the relationships found generalized across the broader population.

This study should therefore be seen as an effort contributing to theory about the role of schools as a context of reception for incorporation into the mainstream. The relationships that emerged in the analysis would need to be tested in a larger sample, and in other contexts, to determine their strength, or their impact on immigrants. For example, the finding that teachers viewed their immigrant students mainly in terms of language, academic performance and cultural difference raises intriguing questions about how these beliefs might shape immigrant experiences. How do immigrants perceive that teachers view them? What boundaries, or expectations of change, do they feel? How do they manage the conflicting memberships in the two mainstream identities of Barcelona? On the other hand, the finding also raises questions about what sorts of boundaries might define teachers' beliefs about immigrants in other contexts, such as a majority Moroccan or African school.

More research would be needed to answer these sorts of questions. The power of the in-depth case study work in this dissertation is to reveal and describe the mechanisms, such as teacher beliefs about immigrant integration, that matter in larger processes (Ragin 1992; Strauss and Corbin 1990; Vaughan 1992). The findings of the study can then be used as building blocks in future studies to test the relationships found or build additional theory about how schools shape immigrant incorporation into the cultural mainstream.



## Chapter 3

# Language as the Backbone of Immigrant Integration Policy

### Introduction

What does it mean to “integrate” immigrants? Calls for immigrant integration generally assume shared definitions, particularly top-down civic integration policies in Europe (Favell 2005; Goodman 2010; Joppke 2012). In reality, the concept of immigrant integration has had a turbulent, often ethnocentric history, and definitions have varied over time and across contexts. Earlier conceptions of assimilation within American sociology saw it as a uniform process affecting all individuals or groups in similar ways (Gordon 1964; Park 1930), and as a result the concept fell out of favor for many years. Recent research argues for the continued relevance of the concept to describe and study the process of increasing similarity or likeness between immigrants and their host societies (Alba and Nee 2003; Brubaker 2001; Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993). This more recent literature urges researchers to do more to understand what integration means under different contextual conditions, rather than assuming that individual characteristics of immigrants are the main factor driving integration outcomes (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001; Marrow 2005). Recent research on immigrant incorporation outcomes thus investigates how aspects of the context of reception shape incorporation, for example, by promoting students differently through education systems (Crul et al. 2012), or providing different possibilities for citizenship (Bloemraad 2006; Koopmans et al. 2005).

This newer work studying contexts of reception has yielded important insights on how host society institutions can be associated with different integration outcomes. However, researchers have only recently begun to look at policy as a context of reception, and studies look at structural features of school systems (Crul et al. 2012), and national civic integration models (Goodman 2010), rather than the symbolic material within education policy. In general, research into the meaning and process of immigrant integration mentions policy, but does not investigate its inner workings to gain insight into how it might shape immigrant experiences, particularly around the “fuzzier” and more difficult to study issues of cultural boundaries such as national identity (Thomson and Crul 2007; Zolberg and Long 1999). Researchers at the forefront of the field are calling for more investigation of the host society contexts that influence incorporation. For example, Marrow, in a 2005 article looking at the theoretical possibilities of studying immigrants in new destinations like the American South, points to existing cultural boundaries and educational structures as contexts that need more study:

Immigrants' individual characteristics do influence their incorporation into the hierarchies and identities of U.S. society. But we must develop more clearly the *social and contextual determinants of this incorporation*, including such things as the size of and demographic compositions of destination locale, the relative power of groups and their migration status, class interests, *existing cultural boundaries and identities*, and local housing markets and *educational and opportunity structures* (Marrow 2005, p.785, emphasis added).

In this chapter, I take up the broader call for more research into contextual determinants of incorporation, and look closely at one education policy aimed at integrating immigrants in Catalonia, Spain. By digging into the assumptions about integration and belonging embedded in this policy, I contribute to the larger conversation about the factors within the host society, or contexts of reception, that interact with and influence immigrant integration.

Schools and education policy are a crucial place to begin in understanding contextual determinants of integration and the society within which immigrants are supposed to be integrating. Migration studies have looked at policy in only limited ways, and have not investigated school policy as a site of symbolic boundary negotiation. Instead, research on the role of policy in integration tends to compare national integration models (Joppke 2007), or examine civic integration tests for adult immigrants (Goodman 2010). School policy can provide important insights about the process of incorporation. We know from decades of sociological research that schools are key institutions for transmitting the norms and values of society, and central to accessing the opportunity structure of further education and jobs within the host society (e.g., Bourdieu and Passeron 1979; Meyer 1977; Oakes 1985). At the same time, schools, and the policies shaping and overseeing them, embody messages about national culture and identity (Crul et al. 2012; Faas 2010; Gibson 1988; Olsen 1997; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). School policies are therefore potentially a very important factor influencing the integration of young immigrants into the symbolic identities of the host society. A deeper analysis of a policy's implicit assumptions about integration can thus show the shape of symbolic boundaries immigrants are expected to navigate. In this study, I find that Catalonia's Language and Social Cohesion Policy put forth a vision of integration that has the Catalan language at its center. For the Catalans, the arrival of new immigrants in recent years has become part of a larger narrative to consolidate resources around strengthening the Catalan language.

Education policies create, define, and accentuate symbolic social boundaries around who can be a member of society, and the choices made within education policy (and subsequently implemented) are critical to the boundary negotiation process that drives the cultural incorporation of immigrants (Alba 2005; Lamont and Molnár 2002; Zolberg and Long 1999). For instance, schools require choices about language of instruction (the language teachers use, as well as the language of curriculum materials), which in turn signal issues of membership and belonging. As Zolberg and Long (1999) argue, new immigrants raise questions of who "we" are, who "they" are, and what is

needed to become a new “us”. The host societies in contemporary immigration countries expect “massive boundary crossing by newcomers” when it comes to language (ibid. p.23). Language over the last few centuries has become the paramount symbol of national identity, as the “the single most important element in the construction of national identity” (ibid, p. 22). The analysis in this chapter thus looks closely at the symbolic role of language as a boundary between immigrants and the host society. I find that immigrants’ home language (in this case, Spanish) can be perceived both to ease and hinder integration.

Policy is a manifestation of priorities, and thus provides a critical place to begin looking at schools as a context of reception for immigrant integration. Using the lens of membership and symbolic boundaries further allows for close examination of definitions of integration, of *who* is being integrated, and *into what*. Most of the sociological literature examining education and immigration focuses entirely on outcomes (e.g., GPA or level of language learned) and does not discuss actual policies, treating the school as a black box. In this chapter, I argue that choices in education embody very specific expectations about who is being assimilated in schools, and how. The findings have implications for understanding the opportunities and constraints schools face in responding to new immigrant students, as well as the ways in which government intentions become action in policy implementation. Most importantly, the findings underscore the importance of historical experiences with diversity in the formation of integration policy. Put in terms of symbolic boundaries, the analysis provides evidence for the path-dependent nature of boundaries (Alba 2005) in immigrant integration processes.

## **Chapter Overview**

This chapter analyzes the definitions of integration embedded in the Language and Social Cohesion Policy, the main policy guiding new immigrant integration in schools in Catalonia. Questions guiding the analysis include:

1. How does the educational policy aimed at incorporating new immigrants in Catalonia explicitly define integration?
2. What does the policy implicitly assume about integration, and what does this reveal about the boundaries of identity in Catalonia?
3. Where does the policy put its resources, and what does this reveal about the priorities for immigrant integration in schools?

In this chapter, I first look closely at Catalonia’s Language and Social Cohesion Policy, analyzing the policy document itself as well as interviews with policy officials in the Barcelona and Catalonia Departments of Education. Abstract ideas about the meaning of integration become concrete actions when education and immigration intersect. Identity and language are closely intertwined in Catalonia, and the arrival of new

immigrants, and especially the growth in immigrants from South America who speak Spanish, prompted a new emphasis on the Catalan language as a centerpiece of Catalan identity. Put in terms of boundaries, the arrival of immigrants caused a redefinition of the boundaries around who Catalans are, and the role of the school in transmitting that identity. The meaning of integration was defined by the symbolic boundaries within the policy, the resources provided, and the influence of historical framings of immigrant integration. The explicit definition of integration was broad within the LSC Policy, and involved not only immigrants, but the host society as well. But the implicit assumptions about integration, and allocation of resources in the policy, reveal language to be a more important keystone of school integration efforts than explicitly stated. Government officials and official policy echoed a broader emphasis in Catalonia on the role of Catalan as a crucial unifying element binding the identity of a newly diverse society. As a result, the Catalan language emerged as the key defining boundary immigrants were expected to cross in order to become part of their host society, a finding that challenges Zolberg and Long's (1999) assertion that religion is a more important boundary than language in Europe.

## Goals of the Policy

Prior to the passage of the LSC Policy, Catalonia's answer to immigrant integration in schools was to create classrooms in select schools where immigrant students spent most of their time learning the Catalan language. These "Education Adaptation Workshops" were implemented in secondary schools for the first time in the 1998-99 school year, and many of the current teachers and others working with new immigrant students began their career working in them. However, in the early 2000s, the Catalan government found that these Education Adaptation Workshops did not meet the growing demand as more and more immigrants arrived and brought their children into the education system. At the same time, policymakers interviewed described a growing perception that the Education Adaptation Workshops isolated new immigrants with other immigrant students for the majority of the school day, making it hard for them to participate in normal school activities. Creating a new system for responding to immigration in schools thus became part of the platform of the new coalition government of leftist parties that took power in 2003.

The LSC Policy was one of the first laws passed by the new coalition government and was implemented for the first time in the 2004-05 school year. The year of this study (2009-10), the policy was in its sixth year, serving as the main policy guiding incorporation of new immigrants in Catalonian schools. The LSC Policy is an education law, put forth and overseen by the Catalonian Department of Education and implemented mainly in public schools, where the vast majority (78%) of immigrants in Catalonia are concentrated.<sup>14</sup>

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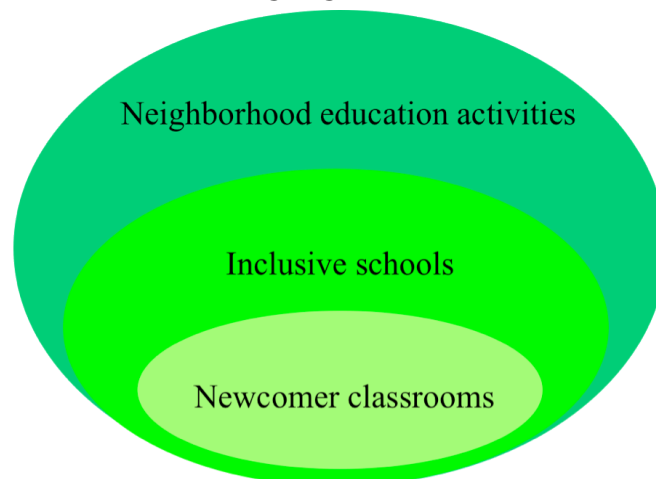
<sup>14</sup> The remaining 22% of immigrants are in private schools. Most private schools in Spain are religious schools subsidized by the government, called 'concertadas'. In contrast,



In contrast to the earlier approach that put new immigrants in a select number of schools away from their peers for the majority of the school day, the LSC Policy focused on creating spaces where integration took place in and around neighborhood schools. That is, the policy created spaces in schools that *mixed* immigrant students with their mainstream peers as much as possible. At a high level, the vision of integration centered on language, social incorporation within and outside the school, and alleviating economic inequality through educational interventions. Specifically, the policy laid out three target areas for integration: neighborhoods, the school as a whole, and special classrooms for new immigrants within neighborhood schools. Esperança, a Department of Education coordinator for the LSC Policy, told me more about the policy's target areas, and provided me with the picture shown in Figure 3.1.

The Language and Social Cohesion Policy has three legs, ok? It has three basic parts. One is the inclusive school, which, well, the name says it, right? It tries, in the school, you know, be an inclusive school, where everyone gets help, and everyone can work. Another is the neighborhood education activities, which comes from the philosophy that the school by itself can't, it can't do everything, that is, it can't shape multilingual citizens and it can't integrate new immigrants alone, right? ... And another leg, shall we say, of these three legs that it, that the Language and Social Cohesion Policy has, is the newcomer classroom, ok? The newcomer classroom, which we'll talk about in more detail in a moment (ET interview, 2/19/2010).

**Figure 3.1 Target Areas of the Language and Social Cohesion Policy**



*Source: Catalanian Department of Education official provided in interview as part of PowerPoint presentation explaining the Policy (L'acollida de l'alumnat nouvingut, Department of Education Presentation, February 2010).*

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39% of the *overall* population of students were in public schools in the 2009-10 school year, and 61% were in private schools (Informe Escolaritzacio 09-10).

As Esperança described, neighborhood education activities were the policy's broadest target area that reached out beyond schools. These neighborhood activities focused on encouraging collaboration between schools and community organizations so that new immigrant students and their families had spaces where they could interact with the broader population in the neighborhood. "Integration is not only the school's job," underscored Montserrat, the Barcelona coordinator of the Neighborhood Education Activities program, "for integration and for social cohesion, it's important, the [broader] social network." Similarly, another Catalonia (Generalitat) government official described the neighborhood activities program as intended to "compensate the weaknesses, to compensate, in a way, to use Catalan as the language of work, of relations, and to, to give opportunities, for example, study help, and [to] do recreational activities." These policy leaders emphasized neighborhood education activities as an educational space extending beyond the school walls to promote interaction between new immigrants and established residents through activities such as sports, cooking classes, basic literacy, and Catalan classes for adults.

The second area targeted by the Language and Social Cohesion Policy was the school itself. The idea of "inclusive schools," similar to the neighborhood activities program, was to involve the non-immigrant population in the incorporation of new immigrants and mobilize everyone around ideals of equality and promoting respect for diversity through initiatives such as multicultural education, immigrant language classes during afterschool hours, and more attention to the needs of Gypsy students, a historic minority in Catalan schools. The inclusive schools idea was key to the notion of integration as social cohesion espoused by the policy. This idea of inclusive schools, while promoting ideals of tolerance and respect for diversity, envisioned the Catalan language as the central unifying factor that everyone had in common.

While the policy talked about promoting intercultural education for all students, and creating and distributing materials that promoted intercultural education, it was expected that the majority of schooling would take place in Catalan and that little by little, over time, immigrants and native students would interact in Catalan. That is, the vision of intercultural and inclusive education involved recognizing and respecting immigrant languages and cultures, while instilling an understanding of the Catalan language and culture as a foundation for all students. Government officials talked primarily about the creation of materials for teaching Catalan as a second language. Other common approaches to multicultural education, such as talking about literature from other countries, or learning about Islam in mainstream classes, was not mentioned. Esperança, the Department of Education coordinator, talked through (and gave me a copy of) a PowerPoint presentation describing materials created under the policy, and the materials intended for immigrant students included Catalan grammar, vocabulary and adapted reading materials, as well as online dictionaries with immigrant languages such as Chinese (Recursos i materials per a l'atenció a l'alumnat nouvingut in edat escolar, Department of Education Presentation, February 2010).

Finally, the third area the policy targeted was the creation of newcomer classrooms to teach Catalan in all schools with significant populations of immigrant

students. “Significant populations” were defined as at least 9 immigrants in the school who had been in Catalonia less than two years (or a school immigrant population of 9% or more). The policy defined newcomer classrooms as spaces in schools to teach the Catalan language and help new immigrants adapt to the school system. Newcomer classrooms were expected to be small, with 12 students or less, and to be available from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade through the final years of secondary school. The policy expected students to stay in newcomer classrooms a maximum of two years, with the idea being that after two years they should be fully integrated into the regular school day. The process of adapting to the school was seen as intensive, with the newcomer classroom being a “point of reference” for help and support in the school, rather than a place where immigrant students would spend their whole day.

Because what we want is that the [immigrant] student integrates in the school, you know? The newcomer classroom is a support that can do this. So it’s a point, a point of reference, so that when the [immigrant] student arrives to the school they don’t feel, well, out of place. But, it’s always, they always go to the regular classroom, and they always have contact with the rest of the school (ET interview, 2/19/10).

An implementation document accompanying the policy itself, similarly described newcomer classrooms as a resource within schools:

The newcomer classroom is a resource, an organizational strategy and methodology to attend to new students who have recently arrived to Catalonia. It has two goals: in the first place, to make these students feel good, feel valued and emotionally welcomed, and in the second place, to make sure these students have the basic tools to start, as soon as possible and under the best conditions, their process of learning within the Catalanian education system... The mainstream classroom is the main place for these students, while the newcomer classroom aims to make sure their emotional needs are met when they arrive, and speed up the process of learning Catalan, the language of schooling (Annex 1 to the LSC Policy, Newcomer Classrooms, Nov. 2009, p.7).

The policy as a whole targeted not only new immigrants, but also the broader school and community. At a high level, the vision of integration involved change on the part of immigrants as well as natives, and action by not only schools and teachers of new immigrants, but broader community organizations as well. The three overlapping foci described above appeared at first glance to have equal weight within the policy document itself. The rhetoric of the policy involved building a new Catalonia that was tolerant of diversity and where immigrants had ties with natives such that there would be greater social cohesion. Thus, as one policy official described it, a new immigrant from China, might land in a school where they would begin getting their bearings and learning Catalan in the newcomer classrooms, sign up for Saturday courses to maintain their Chinese, and perhaps participate in a sports activity where they would interact with native

peers from the neighborhood. The idea was that immigrant students would connect with the broader community and make friends with native and immigrant peers who were respectful of diversity thanks to the intercultural education also provided for in the policy. This was the broad idea laid out in the legislation itself, as well as the high level vision detailed in interviews with government officials.

Of course, as with any ambitious policy, it's important to look beyond the broad vision to specific definitions, assumptions, and allocations of resources to see what it means in practice. What does a closer look reveal about the assumptions and boundaries embedded within the policy? Did the three target areas have equal weight when it came to direction for putting the policy in practice? Six years into implementation, what did the allocation of resources reveal about the "true" goals of the policy? On paper, the Language and Social Cohesion Policy aimed for a broad and inclusive definition of integration, as described in this section. It targeted all students, not just immigrants, and envisioned an integration process in schools supported by activities in the broader neighborhood. In reality, my analysis shows that the policy's main emphasis to date has been promoting and teaching the Catalan language to immigrants. In the remainder of the chapter, I argue that on the ground, the policy focused on the Catalan language as the first priority for immigrant integration, and deemphasized the other stated goals. As a result, language stood out as the main symbolic boundary policy officials expected immigrants to cross to join Catalonian society, and immigrants the main symbolic boundary crossers.

## **Immigrants Viewed as a Threat to Catalan**

Integration researchers emphasize the importance of digging more deeply into the assumptions people hold about integration. This is important because "the question of whether a person or a group is integrated often amounts to a normative judgment which varies between national contexts and over time" (Thomson and Crul 2007, 1027). One tool for defining integration involves asking the questions: Who is being integrated? How? Into what? These questions get at the assumptions or implicit definitions about just what it means to "integrate" immigrants. Thus, investigating the assumptions within the Language and Social Cohesion Policy began with doing an analysis of the definition of integration in terms of these key questions. I found three main issues defined the LSC Policy's definition of integration: the potential threat to Catalan that new immigrants represented, the importance of reinforcing the Catalan language as a result, and the importance of historical experiences with migration for defining the current integration policy.

First and foremost the policy focused on immigrants and their families as the primary target of a new integration effort focused on consolidating Catalan as the "backbone" of integration. Many people saw the new population of immigrants who spoke Spanish as tipping the balance of power back towards Spanish, just when they were starting to make some progress with the populations of Spanish-speakers who had come to Catalonia in the 60s, 70s, and 80s. The arrival of new immigrants from all over

the world from 2000 on created a new need to build up the Catalan language. The introduction to the policy states:

The number of students with immigrant origins, the appearance of new kinds of social exclusion, and the insufficient normalization of the Catalan language in social life are three areas that require special attention. Thus, it's necessary to sensitize, promote, strengthen and consolidate our language as the backbone of a multilingual education project and a model of intercultural education, with the goal of increasing social cohesion (LSC Policy, p. 4, Catalan version, my translation).

The immigration of the last 10 years was seen by many Catalans I spoke with as simply the latest influx of immigrants; from policymakers to academics, I heard people refer to earlier waves of people moving to Catalonia from other parts of Spain in the 1960s-1980s as 'immigrants.' Further, the model of integrating immigrants in Catalan schools appears to be based partly on models from the earlier efforts to integrate these Andalusians, Extremadurans, and Galicians (all regions of Spain) into Catalan-medium schooling. For example, in our first meeting, the Barcelona coordinator for the policy, Montserrat, sat across from me in a conference room next to her office in downtown Barcelona, and described the process of integrating Andalusians into the school system in the 1980s.

At the beginning there were two models, one with 3 hours a week of Spanish and the rest in Catalan, and the other with 3 hours a week of Catalan, and the rest of school in Spanish. It didn't last very long. We found that mostly Andalusian kids with learning difficulties were ending up in the Spanish-dominant program. So [we eliminated it] and moved to mostly Catalan for everyone. Catalan is easy for Spanish speakers, speakers of other romance languages (MQ negotiating access meeting, 11/23/2009).

She added, "I understand very well when I go to Italy", suggesting that learning Catalan should be easy for Spanish speakers in Catalonia. The only challenge, she said, was that not as many people spoke Catalan in Barcelona, so the context did not support learning Catalan as well as other cities and towns in Catalonia. "In Girona [a city about an hour from Barcelona] they integrate right away, it's a question of language, of the more Catalan environment." In our second meeting on a chilly day in December, we talked in the same small, windowless conference room, and she brought up the immersion program again, and how new Spanish-speaking immigration had prompted a renewal of the old Catalan integration model for Spanish speakers.

We have this language immersion program, for Spanish speakers from Spain, like Andalusians, or Galicians, in primary school. And we have found that Spanish-speaking immigrants from Latin America fall under this same model, so we have used it in planning for them (MQ second meeting, 12/14/2009).

In Catalonia, the LSC Policy was an effort explicitly focused on the incorporation of new immigrants into the school system; yet at the same time it was wrapped up with other integration concerns, namely, the consolidation of the Catalan language for all people in Catalonia. The arrival of new immigrants from all over the world, and particularly a new population of Spanish speakers made the Catalan government even more worried about the decline of Catalan and the importance of reinforcing it in schools.

This point about the perceived threat of Spanish-speaking immigrants is important. The fact that many immigrants to Catalonia spoke Spanish created a commonality between current immigrant integration and earlier integration efforts. While the policy document itself did not explicitly make this point, policy actors brought up Spanish speakers more than other immigrant groups overall, and talked about them as being similar to earlier Spanish-speaking ‘immigrants’ from other regions of Spain, as Montserrat said above. And many parts of the policy talked about immigrants as a growing population, prompting an urgent need to act to integrate them in schools. Interestingly, the policy assumed immigrants to be those not born in Spain; people from other European Union countries were considered immigrants, as were those from other countries who had Spanish passports. Thus, while policy officials referred to people from other parts of Spain as “immigrants” in interviews, Spanish people did not appear in the policy document itself as immigrants. Instead, the policy defined immigrants as those born outside Spain.

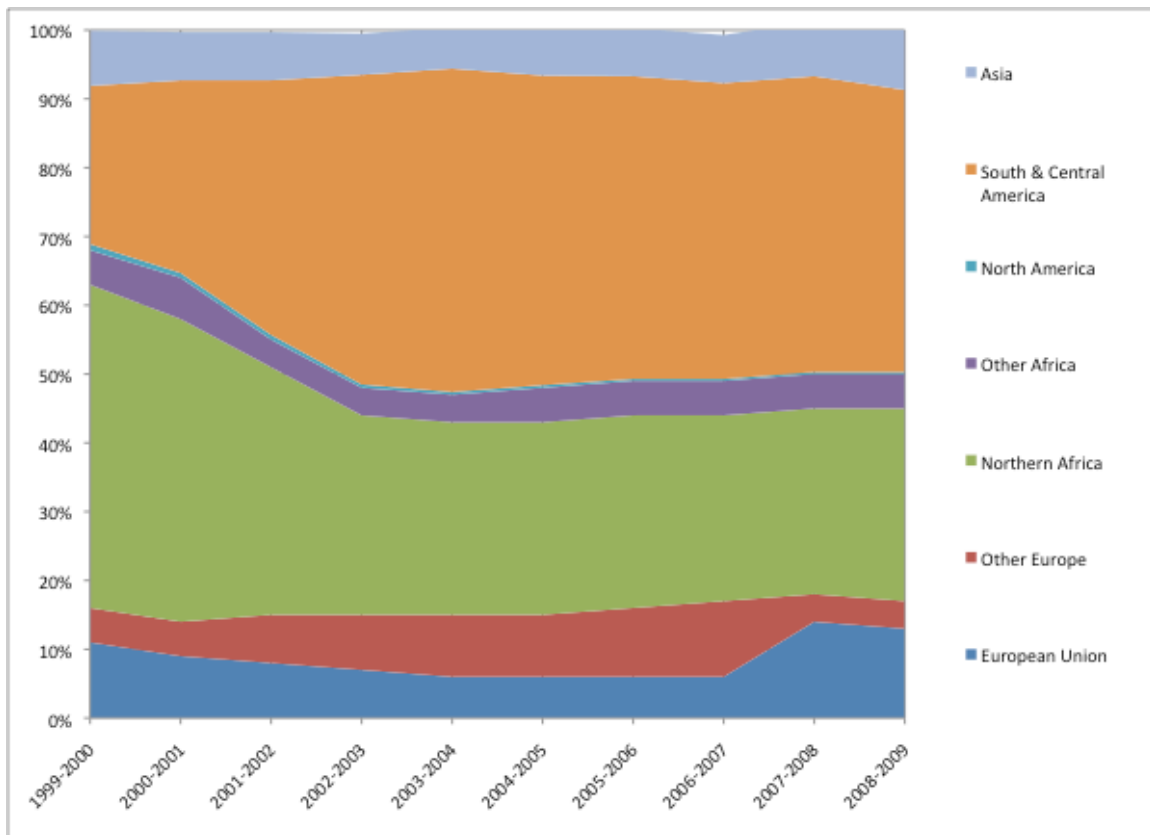
Perhaps even more revealing than the interviews were the statistical portraits provided of the different immigrant groups, which took up three pages of the 28-page policy document to describe the phenomenon of growing immigration, with detailed tables for each school year from 1999-2000 through 2008-09 (the year prior to the study). Data provided included the number of immigrant students at each level of the education system, totals for each immigrant group, and the portion of the overall student population that immigrants represented. The tables showed that during this 10-year period, the immigrant student population grew from 18,032 in 1999 (2% of the student population in Catalonia) to 134,007 in 2009 (13% of the student population). In secondary schools, the growth was even greater, from 2% in 1999-2000, to 18% in 2008-09 (Pla per a la llengua i cohesió social Novembre 2009).

More importantly, the composition of the immigrant student population changed significantly during the years provided, from 47% North Africans in the 1999-2000 school year to 47% Central and South Americans in 2003-04, the year the LSC Policy was passed (Figure 3.2). By 2008-09, the school year prior to the study, North Africans made up 28% of the immigrant student population, and Central and South Americans made up 41%. These Central and South Americans almost all spoke Spanish, increasing worries of Catalan policy officials over the power of Spanish in Catalonia. Figure 3.2 compiles the data provided in separate tables in the LSC Policy document in order to visually show this pattern of change over time in immigrant student origins in Catalonian schools.

It’s worth noting that the data on the immigrant student population provided in the LSC Policy was for *all* immigrants in public schools, not only newcomer immigrants who

had arrived in the previous two years. The policy mainly targeted *new* immigrants and their families (recall that the newcomer classrooms were for immigrant students who have been in Catalonia less than two years). Yet what stood out clearly from the statistical portrait provided in the policy document was that in terms of imagining the problem of “who is being integrated,” the Catalan government focused on *all* immigrant students. This likely had its roots in the perception of immigrants as a threat to Catalan. As noted previously, the data show that the LSC Policy was passed just as the portion of immigrants from Central and South America was swelling – most of whom spoke Spanish. Further, notice how the immigrants were grouped by region of origin, rather than citizenship status or language background, for example. During my fieldwork, I often heard immigrants grouped by region of origin, but do not have evidence as to why this category mattered more than others. This analysis suggests that Catalan policy makers thought of the category “immigrant” in different ways at different times, but that when it came time to define integration within the LSC Policy, the focus was on foreign-born immigrants who spoke Spanish or other languages.

**Figure 3.2 Immigrant Origins in Catalan Schools, 1999-2009**



Source: *Compilation of data from LSC Policy document, pages 10-12.*

While not emphasized to nearly the same degree, analysis of the policy document does show a second target for integration: the broader student population. *All students*, no matter where they came from, were seen as the target of the more general vision of integration that involved adhering to democratic values, including respect for diversity and the rights of minorities. However, given that the implicit focus for integration was to teach the Catalan language to immigrants, the inclusion of all students seems more symbolic, rather than an actual target of the policy. Interviews with policy officials support this conclusion, since they talked about social cohesion as an ideal, but in terms of *who* they talked about, they focused on the challenges or ease of integrating particular groups. For instance, their vision of social cohesion became more specific as they talked about the difficulty of integrating the Chinese. The head of the policy in the Catalan Department of Education saw Chinese students as “the big problem for us, [because] the cultural distance is very big” (JV, 2/19/10), and asked me whether we had the same problem of cultural distance with the Chinese in the United States. Similarly, the assistant coordinator for the policy talked about integration as being harder for Chinese, Arabs and Pakistanis because there was more distance between their languages and cultures and Catalan. These policy actors assumed language background was the key element determining the distance of immigrant cultures from Catalan culture, showing that they worried more about language than other common cultural elements, such as food or religion. Neither these nor other interviews talked about targeting all students in interviews about the policy, instead focusing entirely on immigrant students.

I did one additional analysis that shows that immigrants and Spanish speakers were the main targets of the LSC Policy, despite the allusion to broad ideals of social cohesion and intercultural education for all students. In addition to the LSC Policy document, I obtained 5 different “annex” implementation documents produced in the years since the policy was passed. These documents expanded upon parts of the policy and provided more details intended to facilitate implementation. They covered topics from how to implement the newcomer classrooms, to home language classes for immigrants, and implementing the community education activities. As Table 3.1 shows, immigrant students dominated as the targeted population for integration in these subsequent implementation documents. None of the documents targeted the “inclusive schools” goal of the policy, or all students.

**Table 3.1 Targets for Integration in the LSC Policy Implementation Documents**

<i>Area of Intervention</i>	<i>Target for Integration</i>
(1) Newcomer classrooms	ALL new immigrant students in Catalonia for less than 2 years
(2) Home language classes	SOME immigrant groups who organize to apply for funding and create programs
(3) Neighborhood education activities	SOME immigrant and other children in some neighborhoods
(4) Community education plan	ALL Gypsy students – raise awareness and consolidate services
(5) Language immersion plans	ALL immigrants and Spanish speakers in schools

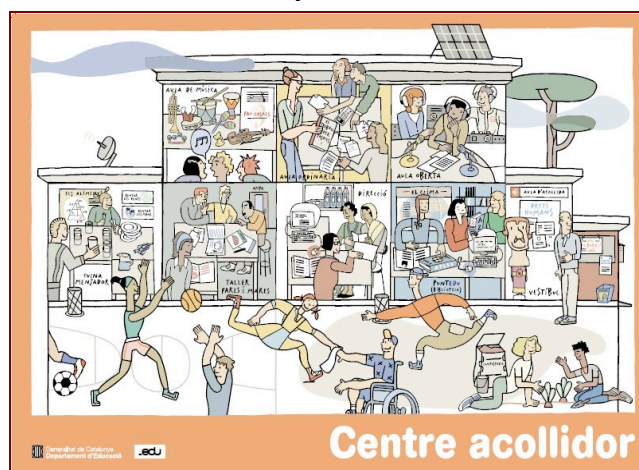
*Source: LSC Policy Implementation (Annex) documents.*



Because of the perceived threat to Catalan and worries about segregation, the LSC Policy document and policy officials underscored a vision of integration that involved *mixing* immigrants with native students. Policy interviews in particular, as well as accompanying documents to the policy, showed a strong assumption that integration happened by mixing immigrants and natives in an ideal of social cohesion with Catalan as the lingua franca. In our first conversation, the Barcelona coordinator of the policy described integration as being about mixing students, not having them segregated into ghettos, or all be concentrated in one school. “The model tries to mix the children”, she said, “not have ghettos” (MQ, 11/23/09). The ideal integration was imagined as one where immigrants communicated with, learned from, and learned alongside native students.

The ideal of mixing was clearly visible in a series of posters created by the government to represent the three foci of the policy described earlier in this chapter. In addition to seeing these posters in the policy interviews, I also saw the newcomer classroom version of the poster hanging in both schools in the study. All three posters have pictures of children who look physically different from each other smiling and doing things together. Figure 3.3 shows the poster for the inclusive school goal of the policy. Notice how the clusters of children in the poster show a kind of visible mixing of diversity, for example the blond girl gardening in the bottom right corner with the brown boy, or the brown girl playing basketball with the white boy. A smiling boy in a wheelchair grabs a paper from a red-haired girl in braids, suggesting ‘diversity’ makes students from other countries equivalent to handicapped students. These pictures illustrate the ideal I heard expressed in interviews with policy officials: that immigrant children mix with native children, rather than being segregated, or segregating themselves, into “ghettos”. For policy officials, concentrations of immigrants meant more social problems, and more difficulty integrating them into the Catalan language.

**Figure 3.3 Department of Education-produced Poster of the Inclusive School**



*Source: Poster provided by a government official as part of an interview explaining the Policy. “Centre acollidor” translates to “Inclusive school.”*

Perhaps the reason for this observed emphasis on mixing immigrants with native-born students came from the fact that schools in Catalonia were very segregated, particularly in Barcelona. Most immigrants attended public schools, and 37% of Barcelona's 228 primary and secondary public schools had a student population of 30% or more immigrant-origin (Informe Escolaritzacio 0910). The concern with mixing likely also came from the concentration of majority Spanish-speaking students as well (both from other parts of Spain, and from Central and South America). In Barcelona, immigrants mainly attended schools where very few of their peers spoke Catalan at home. Though I do not have data for all of Barcelona, I know from conversations with district coaches that there was also segregation in terms of language of origin of the student body across the city, and this added to worries about threats to Catalan.

## **Language as the “Backbone” of Integration**

Catalonian education policy for new immigrants defined integration broadly in principle, including concerns about equity and the need for all students to increase their understanding of diversity through intercultural education. However, a closer look at the policy, its allocation of resources, and more in-depth descriptions by key policy officials paint a slightly different picture—one where the Catalan language was the most important aspect of integration, framed as the primary unifying element tying together new immigrants with natives. There are three ways to show this emphasis on language as the critical focus for immigrant integration. First, analysis of the policy document itself, as well as interviews with policy officials, further underlines a picture of integration as synonymous with social cohesion, in which the Catalan language was the glue binding together a new Catalan citizenry. Second, a deeper analysis of the Language and Social Cohesion Policy document itself using the lens of symbolic boundaries reveals that beneath the broader definition of integration described above, lay a series of strong assumptions about who “we” were as Catalans, who “they” were as immigrants, and what “they” needed to do to become part of a new “us.” Finally, a look at key resources of the policy (allocations of teachers, monies provided to schools, and guidance materials) demonstrates that newcomer classrooms and the teaching of Catalan were a primary goal. From the personnel changes made, to the materials created with monies from the policy, Catalan language and identity stand out as primary goals for integration.

The Language and Social Cohesion policy promoted an ideal of social cohesion that had at its core the necessity of learning Catalan. At a high level, policy and government officials talked about the policy as promoting “social cohesion,” a concept loosely defined as integration around democratic values that involved not only immigrants, but the broader society as well. This notion of social cohesion is less common in the United States, but often used as a unifying idea for integration policy in Europe (Bloemraad and de Graauw 2012). Social cohesion thus defined talks about not only civic integration of immigrants, but also socioeconomic integration (eliminating poverty). The Catalonian education policy defined social cohesion in these terms,

underscoring the importance of democratic values and involving the larger society in the integration of immigrants by mixing immigrants and natives.

In the most advanced societies, quality of teaching and the state education system are two of the factors that enable social cohesion. Building a cohesive, open society founded upon democratic values requires an education model that fosters integration and is based on coexistence and respect for diversity, and that is able to create the necessary conditions for equality. Clearly, such a task cannot be taken on by schools alone. The community at large and its institutions must work in close conjunction with the school, either through the specific local plans or on other initiatives that enhance coordination between the various educational services and stakeholders (LSC Policy, English translation, p. 5).

Integration as social cohesion was thus described in the policy as coming about through adherence to democratic values and creating conditions for equality, a job seen as involving not just schools, but the broader community as well. Thus, two of the three target areas for integrating new immigrants (neighborhood and school) included ideals of instilling respect for diversity in *all* students, and making schools more inclusive places. “Social cohesion, if we lose that, we don’t have anything” said the Barcelona coordinator for the policy (MQ, 12/14/2009). Policy officials saw social cohesion as essential for avoiding conflicts in schools, and making an environment of respect for difference so that immigrants didn’t stand out and feel like a “strange bird” in schools.

On paper, the idea of integration as social cohesion therefore seemed to encompass natives as well as immigrants. Rather than expecting immigrants to be the only ones changing to adapt to Catalan society and create a new equilibrium, the high-level definition of integration in the policy attended to everyone, suggesting that making a new “us” involved change on the part of natives as well as immigrants. Both the policy itself and policy officials interviewed further made a connection between the ideal of social cohesion and a broader ideal of integration of immigrants into a new vision of Catalan citizenship that was open and inclusive, respectful of diversity, and rooted in multilingualism. The school system in Catalonia, according to the head of language services in the Department of Education, aimed to build a vision of multilingual Catalan citizenship where all students finish school knowing Catalan, Spanish, English or French, and a home language if applicable. The specific objectives for accomplishing this vision of social cohesion were laid out in the policy:

- Establish Catalan as the backbone of a multilingual project in schools;
  - Promote intercultural and citizenship education, based on values of equality, solidarity, and respect for cultural diversity, through values of dialog and peaceful coexistence;
  - Promote the learning of Spanish and foreign languages;
  - Encourage equal opportunities to avoid any marginalization or exclusion.
- (LSC Policy, Catalan version, p. 14)

Thus social cohesion as a vision for integration appeared to expect involvement from not only immigrants, but natives as well, and emphasized respect for diversity for *all* students. But further investigation showed the Catalan language to be more important. Catalan was seen as the “backbone” of that project, according to both the policy document itself, and policymakers. The question then becomes, what did it mean to have Catalan as the “backbone of a multilingual project”? And why, if the broader definition of social cohesion and integration involved economic equality and democratic values, did the policy ultimately focus mostly on language and immigrant students? My conclusion is that policy makers in Catalonia saw immigrants as a threat, as I have argued above, especially the Spanish-speaking immigrants. Policy officials therefore rallied around the goal of strengthening Catalan, using the arrival of new immigrants as a new opportunity to underscore its central role in Catalan identity. The way government officials talked about it, social cohesion became synonymous with a new citizenship rooted in the Catalan language, and thus became the main goal of the policy in practice. As Montserrat, the Barcelona coordinator for the policy, explained it the first time we talked:

The goal is social cohesion. Language as integration, the common language is Catalan. What we are trying is for social cohesion with Catalan, but it’s very difficult, mixing is very difficult (MQ, 11/23/2009).

In other words, within the vision of multilingualism and respect for diversity there was an emphasis on Catalan as the language everyone had in common. Social cohesion thus meant adherence to democratic values and respect for diversity, with Catalan as a foundation everyone learned and became a part of. With this in mind, the target for the policy began to stand out as those who didn’t speak Catalan, whether new immigrants or those born into families that speak Spanish or other languages. In terms of boundaries, the main boundary the Catalan government expected immigrants to cross appeared to be language; boundaries of religion, gender, and race were not mentioned. More significantly, the boundary of Spain – and the fact that immigrants were potentially joining two languages and identities – came up only in terms of the work still to be done to revive the Catalan language.

The policy document and interviews with Education Department officials made clear the importance of Catalan, but emphasized social cohesion and broader goals of intercultural education and economic equality as well. Catalan was framed as the means by which social cohesion could be achieved; once immigrants crossed the boundary of language and learned Catalan, they could participate in a new vision of Catalanian citizenship. On paper, and in the minds of government officials, immigrants had to cross the boundary and make the effort to learn Catalan, before they could become members of a new, Catalan citizenry. The policy itself as well as government officials interviewed argued that the Catalan language needed *extra attention and resources*, since it was repressed for so many years under the Franco regime and had continued to be threatened ever since. Catalonia was a bilingual place, the policy acknowledged, but in order for the Catalan language to be on par with Spanish, it needed extra resources, especially given the new immigration.

Although the Catalan language has moved forward in leaps and bounds in recent years, we must be unstinting in our effort to extend and consolidate its social use, particularly in the case of pupils whose mother tongue is not Catalan. The arrival of pupils from differing countries means that further attention must be focused upon learning Catalan (LSC Policy document, English translation, p. 6).

Thus, upon closer analysis of interviews with policy officials, the broadly inclusive definition of integration as social cohesion for all students appears to narrow to emphasize Catalan for non-Catalan speakers. There was an inclusive understanding of diversity being promoted, which everyone participated in, *once they learned the Catalan language*. In terms of boundaries, the broad definition of being Catalanian blurred somewhat (Alba 2005) to include the notion that Catalonians were diverse and multilingual, but it quickly became bright in reality because immigrants could only participate in that broader notion of Catalan identity once they made the choice to learn Catalan and thus cross the boundary of language. Similarly, the policy promoted respect and tolerance of multilingualism, but had as its starting point that new immigrants would all take on Catalan as the language everyone had in common, while maintaining their own languages at home or in supplementary classes.

This emphasis on the language boundary suggests that other boundaries, such as religion and race, were not as important in Catalonia. This challenges Zolberg and Long's (1999) hypothesis that language is a more important boundary in the United States, and religion is a more important boundary in Europe. Religion did not come up in policy discussions during my fieldwork, nor was it mentioned in the policy documents. This difference may have to do with the fact that Catalonia lies politically within Spain, and is thus more focused on differentiating itself and strengthening its language as a way of cultivating its identity as distinct from the larger state. This finding suggests the theory of boundaries and immigrant integration needs to take into account not only larger nation-states, but also the identity politics of smaller, semi-autonomous regions within countries. It's possible that one boundary, such as legal status, might dominate at the larger state level, while a different boundary – language, in this case – has consequence for integration at the local level. Such differences would be especially salient in a policy area like education, in places with local control over schools.

The boundary of citizenship did come up in the LSC Policy, but in a way that reinforced the importance of the Catalan language. The head of language services in the Catalan Department of Education described the ideal of a new citizenship built around the Catalan language, calling it “Catalan as social cohesion.” She explained that the vision involved working towards a new society with a common set of rules and system for solving problems using the Catalan language. The policy itself talked in terms of “the goal of constructing a Catalonia that's socially cohesive, welcoming and open, capable of putting the idea of Catalan citizenship above other identities” (p.3). Catalan citizenship was never explicitly defined, but multilingualism, beginning with learning Catalan, was an essential piece of it.

My analysis of the policy's assumptions was striking for its complete emphasis on Catalonia. The policy did not explicitly discuss the fact that immigrants were also in

Spain, and possibly becoming part of a broader Spanish identity as well as a Catalan one (particularly those immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries). The policy mentioned Catalonia as a bilingual place, and alluded to the context of Catalan as a minority language within Spain in the ways it talked about Catalan still being under threat. But the increased diversity new immigration brought was framed as a reason to reinforce the Catalan language even more strongly. The broader context of Catalonia as a bilingual place within Spain faded to the background. This is shown visually in a poster created by the Catalan government, which hung in one of the case study schools (Figure 3.4).

**Figure 3.4 Immigrant Integration Poster Created by Catalan Government**



**KNADJA'S FATHER WAS BORN IN AFRICA  
JULIA'S FATHER WAS BORN IN RIPOLL\***

**WE ARE CATALONIA. COUNTRY OF COEXISTENCE.**

All people that live in Catalonia, men and women, people born here and people who come from elsewhere, want to build a country together with equality of rights and responsibilities for everyone. A country where Catalan is the host language, and at the same time, the thing integrating us. A country that sees diversity as a value. A Catalonia proud to be a country of coexistence.

‘National Pact for Immigration’ (Catalan Government)

\*Ripoll is a village of Catalonia.

Finally, within the LSC Policy document itself, an analysis of mentions of language provides a simple but powerful way of showing that the Catalan language dominated as a marker of the ‘us’ into which immigrants were assumed to be integrating. Of 83 references to language or language speakers in the 28-page document, Catalan was mentioned 60 times, or 72%, while Spanish was mentioned 12 times, or 14%, language of origin or family language 6 times, or 7%, and ‘Foreign Languages’ 5 times, or 6%. The context for the mentions of these languages shows a clear emphasis on the Catalan language as a marker of Catalan identity in schools. In contrast, the policy did not mention Spanish national identity, or the Spanish language as a marker of belonging to

Spain. References to ‘our language’ within the policy document always referred to Catalan, and there were no references to Catalan AND Spanish as ‘our languages’. The mentions of Spanish took place in only two contexts. First, Spanish was talked about in the context of a study showing that it continued to dominate over Catalan among primary school-aged children in Catalonia. Second, Spanish was mentioned alongside Catalan and foreign languages in sentences saying how learning three languages would position students in the Catalan system well for the increasingly multilingual world. Similarly, the mentions of foreign languages all referred to the question of learning English or other foreign languages in schools to keep Catalonia competitive in the global marketplace, and foster respect for multilingualism among its students. Mentions of immigrant languages were in reference to who the policy is targeted at changing, and the need to respect students’ home languages.

These findings paint a picture of just one mainstream identity that immigrants were integrating into in Barcelona schools. Yet there were two mainstream identities in Barcelona, Catalonia and Spain, marked by the two languages. This finding suggests that the symbolic boundaries of membership contained within educational policies may represent a partial picture of the identities in the broader society, especially in places where there is more than one mainstream identity at play, or where local identities are as strong or stronger than national identities. As a result, immigrants navigating these boundaries may encounter mixed or contradictory messages about national identity. Future research might test this idea by analyzing the symbolic boundaries contained in educational policies in other officially bilingual places with high levels of immigration such as Quebec, Canada or Brussels, Belgium.

## **Current Policy Shaped by Past Integration Initiatives**

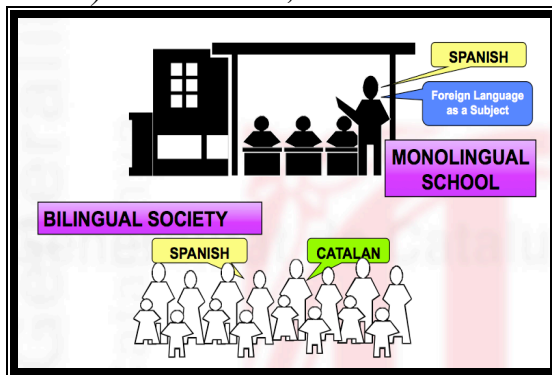
The history of Catalonia may explain why language emerged as the key boundary for immigrants to cross within Catalan schools, and why Spain and the Spanish language were not a focus. Symbolic boundaries of membership are path-dependent, depending upon resources and experiences in the host society (Alba 2005). History plays an important role in this. In Catalonia, the policy itself as well as government officials interviewed argued that the Catalan language needed *extra attention and resources*, since it was repressed for so many years under the Franco Dictatorship and had continued to be threatened ever since. Catalonia was a bilingual place, the policy acknowledged, but in order for the Catalan language to be on par with Spanish, it needed extra resources, especially given the new immigration. Thus, although policy officials recognize Spanish as a co-official language of schools, the policy provided no resources for teaching Spanish to immigrants from non-Spanish speaking countries (China, Russia, etc.).

This underscores the ways in which the vision of integration in the LSC policy was rooted in earlier integration experiences, and the worry about Spanish dominance over Catalan. A description of the history leading up to the policy provided in an interview with Esperança, the Department of Education coordinator, supports this argument. Esperança used this picture to explain the history of the policy to me (Figure

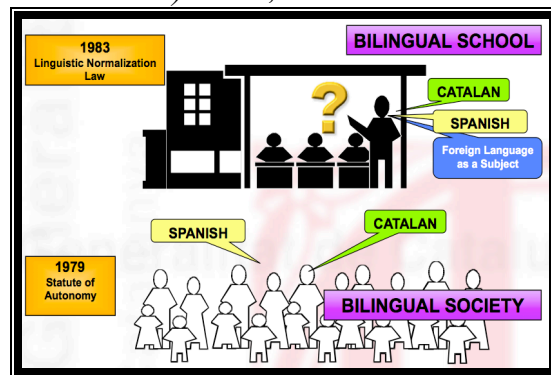
3.5). It shows how Catalan policy officials saw the LSC Policy as continuing the Catalan language revitalization efforts that began with the transition to democracy when Franco died in the 1970s. As *Slide 1* shows, under Franco, Catalan was not present in the school system, but society remained bilingual. Then, after the transition to democracy, Catalonia had bilingual schools and a bilingual society, and the picture shows Catalan and Spanish as having equal weight (the box and the font labeling the two languages in the school are a similar size). Finally, the third picture depicts the present where both society and school are multilingual, with the arrival of new immigration. Catalan and Spanish both still stand out in schools, but there are now many other languages as well. Notice how, in Slide 3, the size of Catalan in the multilingual school grows, highlighting the belief that Catalan needed more resources in the new multilingual context.

**Figure 3.5 Context for the Policy as Described by the Catalan Government**

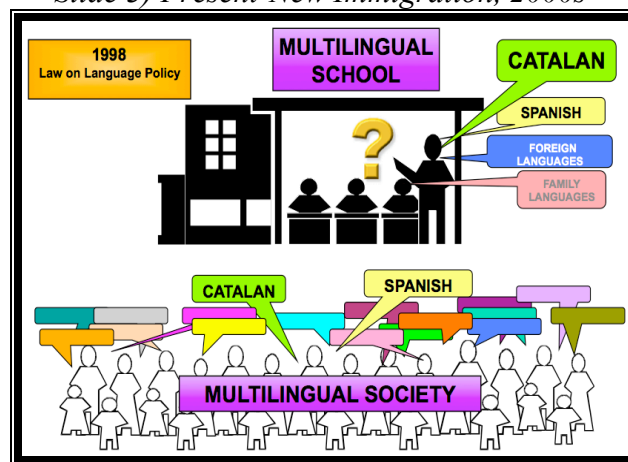
*Slide 1) Franco Years, 1939-1975*



*Slide 2) 1980s, 1990s*



*Slide 3) Present-New Immigration, 2000s*



*Note: Images from presentation provided during interview with Catalonia government official working in Language and Social Cohesion Policy coordination for Department of Education (L'acollida de l'alumnat nouvingut, Department of Education Presentation, February 2010).*



Esperança, the Department of Education coordinator for the policy, talked through this history in the following way:

ET: Anyhow, good, a little, to tell a little history, it's this. Catalonia, well, for many years, during the whole era of Francoism, society was bilingual, because Catalan was always being spoken, it was never stopped being spoken, but at school, ok? The school was completely monolingual, everyone who is my age [about 50], well, school was only done in Spanish, a foreign language was

studied, usually French, and we can say that Catalan wasn't only not spoken but rather, we'd say, it wasn't allowed, it couldn't be used, ok? That doesn't mean that there weren't schools and people that did classes, and that maintained it, but the official system didn't recognize it, right? So, with the democratic change we could say, well, we find ourselves with a school that's bilingual ... it's bilingual, that is to say, Catalan and Spanish, and the society is also bilingual, so we can say society, the school is a reflection of the society in this case, right? So, but, we find [now] that we have a, a society that's *multilingual*, right? That not only has Catalan and Spanish, but also has, many languages. And the school also with more languages, so it tries to be multilingual also. It tries at a minimum to give students the ability to, to be multilingual, right? Evidently we can't attend to all the languages, but we do try to create people who have a multilingual attitude, you know? intercultural, and that understand that society well, is complex, and that value this presence of languages as an asset and don't see it as a problem, you know (ET interview, 2/19/2010)?

As Esperança described, policy makers in Catalonia saw themselves as responding to the new diversity of languages by envisioning schools that were more focused on respect for multilingualism. But at the same time, the repression of the Franco years and need to strengthen Catalan as a result were very much alive at the Catalan policy level. As Esperança explained it, when people her age attended school, Catalan was prohibited and they learned only in Spanish. Since gaining power and creating bilingual schools, the Catalan government has thus seen itself as working to reinforce their language and accord it more resources so it can grow to normal levels of use.

The Catalan language and culture are two of the most important signs of collective identity in Catalonia. Despite having been jeopardized, much progress has been made to standardize the use of Catalan in the last twenty years, which has stemmed from the school environment in particular with the implementation of language immersion programs. Nevertheless, use of our language has yet to become fully standardised and today's society reveals that Catalan is still under latent threat. We must therefore promote and consolidate our language as the language of instruction and communication in our schools, and as a factor contributing to social cohesion (LSC Policy, English translation, p.3).

Finally, the year of the study schools were in the process of renewing their “Language Immersion Plans,” which involved surveying language use in the schools and making plans for how to strengthen and increase Catalan use among students in schools. In 2007 the Department of Education updated the language immersion policy from the 1980s under the umbrella of the LSC Policy, and LSC Policy staff were responsible for helping individual schools renew their Language Immersion Plans. The update of the immersion policy was laid out in a document called Language and Social Cohesion Policy: Plan to Update the Immersion Methodology in the Current Sociolinguistic Context, 2007-2013. The earlier Language Immersion Program was initiated in the 1983-84 school year, according to this document, and was directed at children ‘in areas where students were mostly monolingual in Spanish.’ In a footnote to the name of the program in the updated document the idea of language immersion is described:

The Language Immersion Program is defined as a program that facilitates learning a language that is different from the home language of the student. Its goal is to facilitate, from the first moment, incorporation of students into the education system who do not know or speak Catalan at home (Language and Social Cohesion Policy: Plan to Update the Immersion Methodology in the Current Sociolinguistic Context, 2007-2013, p.3).

The arrival of new immigration to Catalonia was viewed as a new chapter in a narrative of Catalan integration efforts. Zolberg and Long argue that immigrants raise a question of “how different we can afford to be, and how alike we must be”, and nowhere is this more true than where immigrants speak the language—Spanish—that a minority like Catalonia sees as a threat to its survival. The LSC Policy’s definition of integration thus used resources from the past experiences of responding to Spanish immigration, and defining a Catalan identity in the face of competition from Spanish. This renewed emphasis on language in response to the linguistic “threat” of immigrants has happened in other countries as well, including Quebec, Canada with its renewed emphasis on French in the 1990s, and parts of the United States with the passage of English-only laws in areas with growing numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrants (Wiley and Wright 2004).

In effect, the arrival of immigrants to Catalonia prompted an educational policy that *brightened* the boundary around Catalan identity, in the language of Alba (2005), by making clear that to join the Catalonian mainstream, immigrants needed to learn the Catalan language. In terms of integration, this discussion of the policy’s history shows that the integration of new immigrants in Catalonia as a project draws on previous models and resources of integration in the Catalan government, namely, the integration of Spanish speaking students into the newly minted Catalan-only school system in the 1980s. This provides evidence for the idea that approaches to integration do not occur in a vacuum, they draw on models and understandings of difference that come from earlier experiences of symbolic boundaries (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999). As Brubaker’s (1992) study of historical conceptions of citizenship in France and Germany suggests, governments’ treatment of immigrants has roots in their history and national belonging.

## Policy Resources Went to Newcomer Classrooms

This final section briefly describes how the LSC Policy resources were mainly dedicated to new immigrant classrooms for teaching Catalan. It serves to bolster the broader argument of this chapter, and provide a segue into Chapter 4, which focuses on implementation of newcomer classrooms.

The Language and Social Cohesion Policy provided resources to various levels of the education system in Catalonia. Analyzing the interviews and policy documents for specific resources painted a clearer picture of the priorities of the policy in action. First, a look at the resources named within the policy document itself and the numbers provided for the main personnel allocated to implementing the policy shows that newcomer classrooms for new immigrants to learn Catalan and adapt to schools received the bulk of the policy’s money. Second, an analysis of teaching materials created by the policy and made available (or given to) schools shows a vision of immigrant integration focused on learning Catalan to become part of Catalonia.

The main resource provided directly to schools to implement the policy was extra teachers for newcomer classrooms, as well as district-level LSC coaches who supported them. The policy document itself had a section called “Resources” (p. 25, Catalan version), which focused primarily on the personnel dedicated to implementing the policy across Catalonia. Primary schools in Catalonia got 378 newcomer teachers in the first year of the policy, 2004-05, and secondary schools got 225 (Table 3.2). The number of teachers hired or assigned to work specifically with new immigrant students grew each year as the number of new immigrants grew, up to a high of 809 in primary and 556.5 in secondary in 2008-09, when the new immigrant population began tapering off, largely due to the broader global economic crisis precipitating a decline in jobs.

**Table 3.2 Newcomer Teachers and Coaches in Catalanian Public Schools**

	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Primary School Teachers	378	504.5	653.5	770	809	665.5
Secondary School Teachers	225	335.5	422	496.5	556.5	517.5
District Language and Social Cohesion Coaches	159	183	209	221	222	200

*Source: Pla LIC (p.26 of the policy, Catalan version). Note that .5 means a half time person.*

The year of the study, there were a total of 665.5 new immigrant teachers in Catalanian public primary schools and 517.5 in public secondary schools (Table 3.2). These teachers came from a diversity of backgrounds, including Catalan as a second

language, social studies, and religion. Note that some of these new teachers moved from existing jobs into the role of newcomer teacher (e.g., religion teachers whose hours had been cut in recent years due to religion no longer being a required high school course), while other teachers were new hires. I do not have statistics of how many teachers were new to their schools, versus those who moved into a new role within their schools.

The policy also created the newcomer program coach role, called a Language and Social Cohesion Coach, as shown in Table 3.2. These coaches worked at the district level, supporting anywhere from 5-10 schools each. Catalonia's Language and Social Cohesion (LSC) coaches were spread across 10 administrative zones, the largest of which was Barcelona where the study took place. The city of Barcelona had 10 administrative education districts overseeing its nearly 233,000 students the year of the study<sup>15</sup>, and the number of coaches in each district depended upon the number of newcomer classrooms in district schools. This in turn was dictated by the population of new immigrants. The year of the study, 2009-10, there were 200 LSC coaches in Catalonia, 31 of them working in the city of Barcelona. Barcelona is a highly segregated city residentially, so the distribution of newcomer classrooms across schools is segregated as well. As a result, the number of coaches per district ranged from .5 in the wealthiest district to 5 in three of the poorer and more working-class districts. Each coach had a mix of primary and secondary schools, and was responsible for visiting newcomer classroom teachers in each school every two weeks or so. Coaches provided training for the new cadre of teachers in the early years of implementation, and continued to provide ongoing support in schools the year of the study. They also provided language assessment and other materials for new immigrant students, kept track of the numbers of new immigrants in schools to report to the education department, and in some cases worked with individual students.

The Catalan government provided these personnel resources to public schools, where the majority of new immigrants were concentrated. However, they also provided some additional resources to "concertada" schools, a public-private hybrid model of education unique to Spain (and most often religious). The monies to support the integration of new immigrants in these semi-private schools, and support the teaching of Catalan, included money for teaching hours as well as materials in 2004-05 (the second year of the policy's implementation). In subsequent years these semi-private schools continued to receive money specifically for teachers working in newcomer classrooms. I do not have dollar amounts, only information about the fact the moneys were provided.

In addition to these allocations of new personnel to create and sustain the newcomer classrooms, the policy also provided resources to create teaching materials for use in the newcomer classrooms. Indeed, a large effort went into creating materials for teaching Catalan as a second language, and materials for supporting the integration of new immigrants in schools. Interviews mentioned tests for when immigrant students arrived to school to determine their levels of previous schooling (literacy and mathematics, available in more than 20 languages), as well as websites for teachers and students. When I interviewed Esperança, the head coordinators of the policy in the Department of Education, she showed me a slideshow created to describe the materials

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<sup>15</sup> Informe Escolaritzacio 0910. Barcelona Department of Education.

they had made to support the teaching of Catalan to new immigrants (Recursos i materials per a l'atenció a l'alumnat nouvingut in edat escolar, Department of Education Presentation, February 2010). As an introduction to the presentation, she explained how there were few materials to teach Catalan as a second language to children when they first started working with new immigrants.

Well, we, the materials, one problem – no, well not a problem, a reality – is that Catalan is not a language that is economically very, it's not very profitable for publishers to create materials. And when we started working with newcomer immigrant students, we barely had any materials. There were...materials for adults, because the government taught Catalan classes to adults, but not for students, I mean, for children to learn Catalan, as a second language (ET, 2/19/2010).

She then went on to describe some of the materials created with monies from the policy. Materials mentioned in the slideshow included language teaching textbooks (including CDs and workbooks), games, posters and other visual material to teach vocabulary, books of adapted literature, and dictionaries (e.g., Catalan-Urdu, Catalan-Arabic). The materials were standard second language teaching materials, with their focus on Catalan vocabulary learning (Food, Sports, Bars and Restaurants, Daily Routines) and exercise books, speaking games, and dictionaries. Esperança also showed me a wealth of online materials, some for teachers to find activities to support Catalan learning, others for students to do activities on the computer or look up translations of words in online dictionaries. In all, the policy appears to have supported the creation of a wealth of material to teach Catalan to new immigrants, and support their transition to mainstream classes taught in Catalan. These materials represented Catalan as a world language in addition to emphasizing basic vocabulary and grammar, with adapted versions of Ann Frank and H.G. Wells' *The Invisible Man*, for example, translated and simplified for Catalan learners.

Beyond personnel and materials for newcomer classrooms, the government also provided resources to implement the other two foci of the policy, neighborhood education activities and inclusive schools. However, the distribution of resources shows clearly that teaching Catalan to new immigrants was the policy's most important goal in practice, as newcomer classrooms received the lion's share of resources. The year of this study (2009-10), six years into the policy's implementation, there were just 4 neighborhoods (of 10) participating and receiving resources as part of the neighborhood activities plan in Barcelona, the largest city in Catalonia, according to the Barcelona coordinator. Several coaches as well as a university researcher I spoke with who worked in schools in Barcelona described widespread criticism of the neighborhood activities program, saying that it had little money and most of what it did have ended up going to areas with existing strong community outreach.

Other resources mentioned in the policy document included coordinators and staff at higher levels of government, some professional development for newcomer classroom teachers as well as mainstream classroom teachers if they choose to participate, and some

money for schools to create the physical space of the newcomer classroom, 6 new computers, books, and 1000 Euros for other costs. In addition, the policy provided funds for an annual evaluation of students in new immigrant classrooms, focused mainly on student progress learning Catalan, and social adaptation in schools. This evaluation focused on newcomer classrooms specifically. A team of researchers from both the Department of Education and the University of Girona carried out the annual evaluation, which tested new immigrants' acquisition of Catalan, and asked teachers to fill out questionnaires about their social integration in the school. A number of published and unpublished research papers and evaluation reports describe the first 5 years of the new immigrant programs, and their priorities and goals made clear the emphasis of newcomer classrooms as far as the government is concerned was primarily Catalan language learning.

Finally, home language classes also received resources, mostly in the form of funds to open school facilities during afterschool hours, and the time of a handful of coordinators in the Department of Education. Immigrant associations or in some cases the home government itself pays for teachers, the main cost of providing the classes. Languages mentioned by a Department of Education coordinator for the policy as serving more students include Tamazight (a Berber language) with classes in 7 schools, serving 91 students in Catalonia; Arab in 50 schools, serving 1,211 students; and Chinese in 9 schools, serving 171 students. Other languages mentioned included Romanian, Quechua, Urdu, Portuguese, and Ukrainian.

All of this points to the conclusion that newcomer classrooms were the most important part of the LSC Policy, because of the central role of the Catalan language in the definition of integration. To cross the language boundary and become members of Catalan society, new immigrants needed to learn the Catalan language. The policy itself did not provide resources for non-Spanish speaking immigrants (Chinese, Pakistanis) to cross the boundary into a bilingual, Catalan and Spanish identity, but instead focused entirely on Catalan.

## **Conclusion**

Immigrants, different people culturally and linguistically, raise the question of what it means to belong in a place, their different-ness contrasting with the taken-for-granted 'us' (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999). Much research and theory on integration and symbolic boundaries is predicated on the idea that there is one mainstream identity, one "us" that immigrants integrate into, for example American national identity (Alba and Nee 2003; Waters 1990), or French or German national identity (Brubaker 1992). In Catalonia, where national identity is contested, there are arguably two mainstream national identities immigrants are integrating into: Catalonia and Spain. However, this analysis of the LSC Policy shows that at the level of Catalonian governance of education, the Catalan language predominated as a marker of belonging and membership. Spanish was discussed frequently in the context of threats to Catalan. The bilingual nature of Catalonia was acknowledged, but Spanish did not receive

resources in new immigrant classes, despite being the second official language of schooling. This was because of a perception by Catalans that the Catalan language needed more resources, due to its years of oppression.

The findings described here provide evidence for the idea that symbolic boundaries of membership are path-dependent, depending on history and other contextual conditions (Alba 2005). Discussions of integration and consolidation around the Catalan language in schools are well-worn topics in recent Catalan history. The Catalans saw the arrival of Spanish-speaking people from other parts of Spain in the 1960s and 1970s as immigrants, and came up with an integration plan to incorporate their children in schools. As a result, when the number of immigrants from Latin America started growing sharply in the early 2000s, the Catalan government drew on these previous models to create a new integration policy. Because Spanish-speakers predominated among new immigrants, their integration was seen as the latest chapter in a larger narrative of Catalan integration efforts. History is important in defining the meaning of immigrant integration. The next chapter looks deeply at the implementation of newcomer classrooms in the two case study schools. In it, I show how school history also mattered in defining immigrant integration at the school level.





## Chapter 4

# Integration in Practice: School Implementation of Newcomer Classrooms

### Introduction

How does variation in policy implementation matter for the integration of new immigrants in schools? Studies of integration policy tend to remain at the macro level, studying the symbolic meaning of legislation, and assuming that written policy influences behavior. This is particularly true in studies of integration policy in Europe (e.g., Brubaker 1992; Favell 2005; La Porte 2004). Chapter 3 continued this trend, staying at the level of policy. In it, I argued that the Catalan government put forth a vision of integration centered on incorporating new immigrants through the Catalan language. The current chapter goes beyond the written legislation to the school level, looking at how policy takes shape within schools as newcomer classrooms. I examine why the policy is implemented in different ways in two public schools serving similar students, and theorize about what this means for the meaning of integration at the school level.

The public often looks to education as a policy remedy for integrating immigrants. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that education reforms like the Language and Social Cohesion Policy abounded in Spain with the rise of immigration beginning in the late 1990s (Morén-Alegret 2004). Yet education policy as an integration strategy hinges on assumptions about implementation – assumptions that are often left unexamined in studies of integration policy (e.g., Favell 2001, 2005; Goodman 2010). For example, teachers are assumed to jump to action when a policy comes down the pike, but their capacity and willingness to mentor and support immigrants' adaptation may be highly variable depending upon preparation, or subject matter, among other things (Stodolsky and Grossman 2000; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008; Zhou and Bankston 1998).

The LSC Policy joins other Spanish education reforms aimed at changing schools and building capacity in teachers to meet the needs of immigrant students and facilitate their integration (Agrela et al. 2008; Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007). How these policies are or are not changing schools in practice has only recently begun to be investigated. Studies to date have tended to focus either at the policy (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008; Zapata-Barrero and de Witte 2007) or school level (Agrela et al. 2008; Carrasco, Pàmies, and Ponferrada 2011). This study of the implementation of newcomer classrooms looks at the relationship between the two, probing the connection between policy definitions of integration, and the meaning of integration within schools. In this

way, I investigate the new immigrant classrooms created by the LSC Policy as a context of reception, interrogating the ways in which policy implementation shapes the experiences available to new immigrants in schools.

I draw on two areas of policy implementation research to guide my study of newcomer classrooms in Barcelona. First, I use research on policy implementation that points to the importance of *teachers' opportunities to learn*. Scholars have long despaired about policy's failure to penetrate and change classroom teaching (Cohen 1990; Cuban 1990; Rowan and Miskel 1999; Meyer and Rowan 1977). However, research from policy implementation has begun to uncover the conditions under which change does happen (Coburn 2004; Cohen and Hill 2001). A large study of curriculum reform shows evidence that when provided with opportunities to learn about mathematics content, teachers changed their teaching in measurable ways and mathematics scores improved (Cohen and Hill 2001). In other words, teachers' opportunities to learn about the reform curriculum influenced implementation in measurable ways. Much research on the experiences of immigrants in schools calls for policy reform, but focuses exclusively at the classroom level (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008; Valdés 2001; Valenzuela 1999) or on student outcomes (August and Shanahan 2006; Goldenberg, Rueda, and August 2006). Thus, it does not take into account teachers' opportunities to learn about reforms. This study of implementation thus looks closely at teacher opportunities to learn about the LSC Policy, including professional development and work with district LSC coaches.

A second area of research emphasizes the importance of *teachers' beliefs* for the implementation of reforms. This research suggests that teacher beliefs about immigrants and their integration in schools might be another factor likely to influence implementation of the LSC Policy. Coburn (2004) found that teachers' preexisting beliefs mediated their responses to policy changes in elementary reading, with teachers being more likely to assimilate policy messages that were congruent with preexisting beliefs. Another study investigating the relationship between reforms and teachers' classroom activities showed that teachers have specific beliefs about learning and student engagement that shape the way they manage the multiple demands of a classroom (Kennedy 2005). Two studies of intercultural education reforms in Spain similarly found that teachers hold widely varying beliefs about diversity that shape how they respond to and teach the children of immigrants in their schools (Ackert 2008; Agrela et al. 2008). Here, I extend this work by investigating teacher beliefs about integration in two case study schools, analyzing whether variance in beliefs influences differences in implementation of the newcomer classrooms.

In sum, this chapter looks at implementation of the newcomer classrooms, the main initiative of the LSC Policy. Practically speaking, the newcomer classrooms were a time and a place where teachers and new immigrants came together every day to learn Catalan, and adapted science and social studies. I focus on the school-level implementation choices, as well as the teachers in charge of the newcomer classes. The analysis employs a comparative approach to study how implementation factors at the school level, including teachers' opportunities to learn and beliefs about integration,

create varied contexts of reception for new immigrants. Questions guiding this analysis include:

1. What are the LSC Policy's priorities for implementing newcomer classrooms in schools?
2. How does the implementation of newcomer classrooms look similar or different across two Barcelona secondary schools?
3. What *explains* the similarities or differences between newcomer classrooms in the two case study schools?

This chapter tells the story of implementation at the two schools, and why it creates different experiences for immigrant students. I begin the chapter by reviewing the priorities for implementing newcomer classrooms laid out in the LSC Policy. I argue that the priorities for implementation, and government evaluations of newcomer programs, show an emphasis on Catalan integration through language and incorporation into Catalan identity. I then turn to the two case study schools, detailing each school's approach to integrating new immigrants. I show that Catalan was spoken at Miró more frequently than at Gaudí. I argue that this variability was related to Miró's more personal, individualized approach to integrating immigrants, and their efforts to involve immigrants with whole school activities. Why did the schools implement the program differently? I finish the chapter by showing how professional learning opportunities (namely, coaching), and school history, played pivotal roles in defining the shape of implementation at Gaudí and Miró.

## **Priorities for Implementing Newcomer Classrooms**

Interviews with government officials, fieldwork in schools, and analysis of the LSC Policy document point to the newcomer classrooms as being the main initiative of the policy. Newcomer classrooms were the "star" of the policy, as Montserrat, the Barcelona coordinator described them, seen as a tool for strengthening the Catalan language while helping new immigrants adapt to school in Catalonia. The newcomer classrooms received the lion's share of resources, including personnel, as noted in Chapter 3. At the same time, the most prominent definition of integration in the policy involved learning Catalan in order to join a new vision of Catalonian citizenship that respects diversity while strengthening the Catalan language as the rope binding all citizens together. Since newcomer classrooms were primarily intended to teach Catalan, they provided the entry point for integration in schools.

The LSC Policy had four types of priorities for implementing newcomer classrooms: organization, content, teachers, and students. Note that the documents themselves did not use these categories; rather, the categories emerged from my analysis of the implementation priorities as laid out in the documents and interviews. The four

categories therefore represent the policy priorities *on paper*. I then looked at a set of government evaluations of newcomer classrooms, analyzing their focus as a way of assessing the government's priorities *in practice*. These two analyses became the criteria for assessing congruence - a measure of implementation fidelity - between school implementations and the LSC Policy, allowing me to compare case study schools, and assess their alignment with policy priorities. The policy priorities set the stage, and provide analysis criteria for, the detailed discussion of case study school implementation that follows.

### **Organization of Newcomer Classrooms**

The first area of priorities on paper was organization of the newcomer classes. This area included recommendations for how teachers should structure newcomer classrooms (physical organization as well as grouping of students), and specifications for how the newcomer classes fit with the rest of the school. The policy documents and government officials provided a clear vision for how to organize newcomer classrooms. The newcomer classrooms were expected to mix immigrant students with each other, and facilitate their mixing with peers in the school. A poster created to illustrate the vision is provided in Figure 4.1. As Esperança, a Department of Education Policy coordinator described it:

We have this, this poster, this poster which is, I think it's very well done, because it shows very well the image of what a newcomer classroom should be, how it should work. That there should be a presence of the world [map], and of Catalonia, and that there should be collaborative work, and information technology, that the students come and go. Well, I mean, it seems like it gives a very good idea of how they should be (ET, 2/19/2010).

**Figure 4.1. Poster of Newcomer Classroom**



*Source: Provided by a government official as part of an interview explaining the Policy. Aula d'acollida means 'newcomer classroom' in Catalan.*

This poster appeared in many different contexts during my fieldwork, from newcomer classrooms in schools to interviews with government officials about the policy. It illustrates the ideal described in the policy of newcomer classrooms as an *open, flexible* resource for new immigrants. One student waves goodbye as she walks out the door (to a different, mainstream class one assumes), others work independently at the computer, reading a book, or looking at vocabulary cards. Several students are standing, and tables are clustered in different areas, rather than rows (most classrooms, particularly at the secondary level, have students sitting in rows in Spanish schools). It is not entirely clear in the poster who the teacher is, further reinforcing the idea of the newcomer classroom as a flexible space providing individual attention to help new immigrants learn Catalan and adapt to the school. And the students themselves are physically different from each other, with different skin colors, hair, and facial features, attempting to portray the diversity of immigration in Catalonia.

The policy also emphasized the organization of newcomer classrooms as spaces fully integrated within schools, not separated or segregated from the main activities and students of the school. The previous incarnation of new immigrant programs in secondary schools had immigrant students going to special classrooms in a select number of schools, often across town from their neighborhood schools. This created a situation where immigrant students were concentrated in a few secondary schools across the city for most hours of the school day, and were not integrated into the schools in their neighborhoods, according to Esperança. Despite segregation in the neighborhoods themselves, policy officials thought all schools in immigrant neighborhoods should have newcomer classrooms, and that immigrants should be able to go to the school closest to their home.

And so we try, with the municipalities, with the neighborhoods, if a school has a newcomer classroom, that other schools in the area also have one, because if not, it creates a situation where all the new immigrant students go, go to one school. This, in reality happens a lot, in *public* schools. Because there are neighborhoods that have a *lot* of newcomer immigrant students, that is to say, there are neighborhoods that have schools that have 60, 70, 80 percent newcomers. And that is a problem we have. The new immigrants are concentrated more in the public schools than in private ones, and that, we think is a problem, but, well it's very hard to solve. Because we think in one place, in one neighborhood, the students should be able to go to the school they have nearby them, near their home (ET interview, 2/19/2010).

The LSC Policy thus emphasized a vision of integration that saw the home school as playing an instrumental role in incorporating immigrants. Schools were expected to provide a “personal support structure” where immigrants could study the Catalan language while taking part in “less language-intensive” subjects like art and physical education. The policy saw newcomer classrooms as an integral part of the educational offering of the school, included in the larger coordination, teaching and planning activities.

In addition, teachers were expected to organize the classes as flexible spaces within the schools, adapted to the needs of individual immigrant students or groups of immigrants. For example, the policy expected a newcomer classroom in a school serving mostly Latin American students to look different than a program serving mostly Pakistani or Chinese students, because Latin Americans already speak Spanish. This made the process of incorporating Latin Americans into Catalan “quicker”:

When possible well, effort should be made to incorporate immigrant students into the regular classroom. Evidently, that’s not the same with a Chinese student, as with a South American student, right? With South American students we know that, the process is quicker, they [Spanish and Catalan] are languages that are very, very similar, and they have many things in common. On the other hand with a Chinese student, or an Arab student, or a Pakistani student, well we have more [cultural] distance (ET interview, 2/19/2010).

Finally, the policy specified that new immigrant teachers should create an “Intensive Individual Plan” (IIP) to keep track of progress in conjunction with mainstream classroom teacher. The policy intended IIPs to be a protocol for making sure individual immigrant student needs were met, particularly with grading and the transition to the mainstream classroom. Students with IIPs should receive continuous evaluation in all subjects, especially those subjects requiring more language skills. Students should receive this individual attention as a support while adapting to the mainstream classroom, and teachers should provide them extra help with ongoing assignments as well as special consideration when it came time for grades.

### ***Content in Newcomer Classrooms***

Content priorities for the newcomer classrooms focused on what should be taught to new immigrants and how, including oral and academic Catalan language skills, and adapted content for science and social studies. The policy document specified that newcomer classrooms should “provide quality attention to the primary needs of newcomer immigrants, with respect to their emotions, the curriculum, and learning the language of the school” (LSC Policy Annex, p. 4). To attend to their emotional needs, the Annex document emphasized the importance of teachers creating a welcoming environment in schools, valuing home languages and cultures, and having a basic understanding of the characteristics of home languages. In addition, the policy urged teachers to make an effort to determine the previous schooling of new immigrants, using a series of language, literacy and mathematics tests the Department of Education created in 20 different languages.

Once newcomer teachers had determined the previous schooling of new immigrants, the task of teaching them the ‘language of the school’, Catalan, could begin. The policy specified that newcomer classrooms should provide instruction in Catalan, as well as adapted instruction emphasizing the acquisition of academic vocabulary in other subjects such as science and social studies, until immigrant students can attend regular

classes. Newcomer students should attend all other subjects in regular classrooms with their peers. Overall, it was clear from interviews with government officials, as well as the review of policy documents, that beyond attending to the initial emotional needs of new immigrants and some adapted subjects, the vast majority of attention to *content* in newcomer classrooms was focused on aspects of Catalan language learning. For example, the policy's implementation document dedicates 9 of 35 pages (26%) to discussing materials. The first two pages point to the importance of welcoming immigrant students, valuing their home languages, and understanding their language and cultural background. The document lists and describes materials the Department of Education created to help teachers implement these more emotional, welcoming aspects of newcomer classrooms. Then, the materials discussion turns to language, and the remaining 7 pages describe aspects of Catalan language learning.

The second main function of newcomer classrooms is to start new immigrants learning Catalan (the language of teaching and learning in our education system)... In teaching a second language, oral language is a priority. The majority of activities in the newcomer classrooms should have an oral communication focus (LSC Policy Annex 1, p.26-27).

To assess the level of language immigrant students should learn in the classroom, the Department of Education used a European evaluation system. The policy coordinator I spoke with, Esperança, explained that they expect immigrant students to have an A2 level, of six levels going from A1 (student has initial basic knowledge of the language) through C2 (student dominates the language). Further, she drew on the influential schema for language learning created by Jim Cummins (Cummins 1999, 1979), and showed an adaptation of BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive and Academic Language Proficiency) for Catalan, to further explain that students should be able to obtain basic communication skills (BICS) in 1-2 years.

### ***Newcomer Teacher Qualifications***

The LSC Policy underscored the qualifications of teachers as a third area of implementation priorities, including second language teaching knowledge, professional development, and permanent administrative status in schools. The policy coordinator I interviewed in the Department of Education, Esperança, talked at length about the expected qualifications of the newcomer teacher, as did Montserrat, the Barcelona coordinator of the policy. Both emphasized the importance of the newcomer classrooms being run by teachers who had permanent assignments in their schools, not temporary contracts, so that newcomer students wouldn't end up with the newest and least experienced teachers. This was not easy, Esperança said. She gave me a graph showing that the year of the study, 2009-2010, 46% of the newcomer teachers across Catalonia had temporary status in their schools, meaning they could be transferred to a different school by the government, and likely had less power in the school because they weren't full-time permanent hires (L'acollida de l'alumnat nouvingut, Department of Education

Presentation, February 2010). (Teachers are employees of the Catalan government, and in theory, until they are permanently assigned to a school, a process that can take years, they can be sent anywhere in Catalonia every two years.)

Other qualifications deemed essential for the newcomer teachers included experience with second language learning and information technologies, as well as leadership qualities. Previous experience working with immigrant students was not required, nor were teachers required to have a special degree, though all newcomer teachers underwent a training in issues of multiculturalism, language, and technology provided by the Department of Education at the start of the school year; the first years, when the program was beginning, the Department of Education had an especially large training effort because the program was new and there was little material or models for teachers entering newcomer classrooms. In later years, including the year of the study, training became less of a focus and only teachers with no experience in newcomer classrooms, who started at the beginning of the year, received training.

Beyond this initial training, the LSC Policy expected newcomer classroom teachers to receive ongoing training and coaching from a district LSC coach. Professional development was voluntary, except for the initial training at the start of the school year. The exception was coaching: the policy expected coaches to be available to all newcomer teachers in their schools. Coaches had responsibility to help teachers with language immersion and inclusion strategies throughout the school year. They were expected to collaborate with the school in ongoing ways to sensitize teachers to diversity, and help with evaluations of students. In addition, coaches should help the schools keep a series of documents up to date (language immersion plan, welcome plan) and in general serve as a go-between person between newcomer classrooms at the school level, and the district departments of education.

### ***Newcomer Student Characteristics***

The final area of implementation priorities focused on new immigrant students themselves, and the amount of time they spent in newcomer classrooms. Newcomer classrooms were intended for immigrants who had arrived to Catalonia in the previous two years, and entered the school system in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade or above. Schools in Catalonia became eligible to have a newcomer classroom when they had 9 or more immigrant students who had arrived to Catalonia in the previous 24 months, or the student population included 9% or more students of immigrant origin. Consideration was also given to the socioeconomic conditions of the school, and the distribution of public schooling in the area; effort was made not to cluster all new immigrant students in one school, though it was difficult in Barcelona policy officials said, due to the segregation of neighborhoods. As Montserrat, the Barcelona coordinator for the policy told me in our first meeting, the model tries to mix immigrants and native children, but it's hard, because "there is a lot of segregation where they live" (MQ initial meeting, 11/23/09).

Policy officials' descriptions of newcomer classrooms, as well as the policy documents, also stressed the importance of new immigrants not spending too much time in the newcomer classrooms. The policy specified two years as the maximum, but policy



officials said it could be much less, or possibly more, depending on the previous schooling and home language of new immigrants. In general, the amount of time immigrant students should spend in newcomer classrooms depended on how long it took them to learn enough Catalan to follow regular classes. Newcomer teachers were in charge of this decision, in general. The policy expected students from some language or cultural groups to spend more time than others, depending on the distance of home languages from Catalan, as noted above.

### ***Beyond the Written Policy: Government Evaluations***

Written policy can be broad and idealistic, and sometimes the best gauge of true priorities comes from evaluation studies. I therefore turned to government-funded evaluations as an additional source of information about Catalan government priorities for implementing new immigrant classrooms “in practice”. Department of Education evaluators, working with researchers at the University of Girona (a city about 60 miles northeast of Barcelona), have conducted research and evaluation on the newcomer classrooms and other aspects of the LSC Policy since the policy’s inception in the 2004-05 school year. Analysis of the evaluation reports indicates that the most important government priority for implementation was learning Catalan, focusing especially on oral and academic language to prepare for mainstream classes.

Overall, 7 of the 9 evaluation reports focused on the outcome of Catalan language learning within newcomer classrooms. The remaining two reports considered school adaptation in more depth, since it arises as an important variable predicting Catalan language learning. Organizational priorities for implementation (e.g., years in newcomer classroom, hours per week), a priority in the policy documents, appeared mainly as explanatory variables for how much Catalan immigrants had learned. The other content priorities identified in my analysis of the policy documents (emotional support, adapted content, incorporating technology) do not show up in the evaluation reports. A passage from the LSC policy’s implementation “Annex” document summarized the evaluation results, focusing on the level of Catalan obtained by new immigrant students. School adaptation and organizational factors came up only as explanatory variables for how much Catalan immigrant students were learning.

The influence of integration and adaptation appear to be the factors that most directly influence the results on the [Catalan] language test, ahead of other factors like age, how long students have been in Catalonia, or the number of hours they spend in the newcomer classrooms (LSC Policy Annex 1, Catalan version, p.17, my translation).

### ***Summary: Implementation Priorities for Newcomer Classrooms***

Table 4.1 summarizes the four areas of implementation priorities identified within the written policy, with emphasis added for the “true” government priorities revealed in

evaluation reports. In the remainder of the chapter, I use this summary as a baseline of the policy’s expectations for newcomer classroom implementation.<sup>16</sup> The summary informs the description of case study school implementations that follows, and provides criteria for comparing schools with each other, as described later in the chapter.

**Table 4.1 Implementation Priorities for Newcomer Classrooms**

Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>12 students or fewer per classroom</i>;<sup>*</sup></li> <li>• <i>Flexible classroom, organized to attend to individual student needs</i>;</li> <li>• Included in larger teaching and planning of the school;</li> <li>• School newcomer coach helps coordinate work;</li> <li>• Students can enter and exit any time in the school year;</li> <li>• Adapted individual plan guides instruction, grades.</li> </ul>
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Intensive Catalan, focusing especially on oral and academic language</b>;<sup>**</sup></li> <li>• Emotional support for needs of new immigrant students;</li> <li>• Adapted content for language-intensive subjects (science, studies)</li> <li>• Integration into regular classes for all other subjects;</li> <li>• Incorporate technology into lessons;</li> <li>• Use tests to determine previous schooling of new immigrant students;</li> </ul>
Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experience with second language learning, information technologies, and leadership qualities;</li> <li>• Permanent assignment to school (tenured);</li> <li>• Teachers receive training and coaching in methods of second language learning;</li> </ul>
Students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Arrived to Catalonia in previous two years</i>;</li> <li>• <i>Spend two years or less in newcomer classroom</i>;</li> <li>• <i>Spend less than half total weekly school hours (16 or less)</i>.</li> </ul>

\* Italics indicate inclusion in evaluation reports as explanatory variable for Catalan language learning.

\*\* Bold indicates “true” government priority, as indicated by evaluation reports.

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<sup>16</sup> I have used the phrase “newcomer classroom” in this dissertation because my understanding of the Catalan and Spanish phrases, and what I observed taking place within them in Barcelona, most closely resembles the idea of newcomer classrooms in the US.

## **Implementation Up Close: Newcomer Classes at Gaudí and Miró**

Gaudí High and Miró High lay just over one mile – two metro stops – apart in a traditionally working class neighborhood of Barcelona that filled with immigrants from South America in the 1990s and early 2000s. I selected these two case study schools because they were both implementing newcomer classrooms, in the same neighborhood, with similar student populations. I started fieldwork at Gaudí first, and noticed a lot of tension and resistance to Catalan, particularly by Spanish-speakers. Two months later I started fieldwork at Miró, and on the second day noted in my fieldnotes that I had already heard more attempts to speak Catalan, including by South American newcomers, than I had in most of the time I had been at Gaudí. This distinction only grew stronger as I continued fieldwork: new immigrants at Miró spoke *much more Catalan* than new immigrants at Gaudí. Given that Catalan language learning was the main priority of the newcomer classrooms, this observation raised the obvious question: Why? Evaluating student outcomes was not my focus, but I soon found that the different amounts of Catalan spoken corresponded with other important differences related to implementation of the policy.

How exactly did the schools differ in their implementation? And what caused them to implement newcomer classrooms the way they did? The remainder of the chapter explores these questions. The following section first describes each of the two case study schools and their newcomer classrooms, giving a more detailed picture of what life was like for new immigrants. I then take up the comparison between them, and analyze the congruence with the policy. I argue that the implementation of newcomer classrooms at Gaudí was incongruent with the LSC Policy on key priorities for attending to individual student needs. At the same time, the school was riddled with academic pressure that wound up segregating immigrant students, causing more tension around Catalan. In contrast, Miró's newcomer program was more congruent with certain aspects of the policy that also made it more personal and adapted to immigrant students' needs, while at the same time integrating newcomers more fully with the school as a whole. As a result, Miró's newcomers tried harder and I observed less tension around learning Catalan. The final section of the chapter delves into why the schools had such different implementations, arguing that school history and professional learning opportunities played key roles.

### ***Gaudí High School***

Gaudí High School sat in an urban neighborhood of Barcelona, surrounded by tall apartment buildings and busy, one-way streets. The school itself was on a small side street, with tall, iron gates that were always locked. You had to ring a buzzer and wait for permission to enter the school. A subway stop lay underground a half a block away, near a large produce market, and several small parks and plazas. The area around the school had streets lined with tall apartment buildings whose ground floors had banks, clothing stores, an optometrist, and several cafes. The school itself was three stories high, with the majority of the action taking place on the second (main) floor. The building was on a

small slope, so that the main entrance from the street to the school was on the second floor. The building felt functional; not new, not too old. It was all concrete, and the interior patio where the students had recess was a large block of pavement with basketball hoops and plenty of walls and pillars to lean against in small groups, which it seemed students spent most of their time doing during breaks except for a few boys playing basketball or kicking a soccer ball around.

The school was all in one building, with a U shape that wrapped around the interior patio, and classroom windows that overlooked the playground. (The fourth side was a municipal pool, accessed from the street). The long halls were lined with classrooms on each side, many with 2 doors, that had windows so that as you walked down the hall of the school during class time, you could look in and see rows of student desks, and teachers talking at the front of the room, or perched on the edge of the teacher desk by the blackboard. Classrooms were shared, so teachers did not personalize rooms for the most part, and had to carry their materials from room to room. Teachers had space in the teacher room where they left their belongings during the day, and could keep books and class materials. One newcomer teacher kept books in two roller suitcases, as she only taught two days a week and did not have enough storage space in the school. There was also a library, but it had only a few books in glass-covered cabinets lining the walls. It was locked unless teachers were on duty or a class was taking place there. Downstairs on the first floor, the school had department offices, science labs, a cafeteria, and the exit to the playground. Upstairs on the third floor there was a small computer lab.



*Photos of Gaudi High School hallways, playground, and library with books behind glass.*

Gaudí had 396 students in 2009-10, aged 12-18 years old. The main high school groups were 12-16 year-olds; then there were two years of post-secondary school that

only some students went on to complete. In Catalonia, the size of a school was calculated by how many groups of 30 there were in each grade; in Gaudí, there were three – thus, 90 students per grade, with groups growing smaller in the upper grades. The 90 students were divided into three class groups for some less academic subjects (Physical Education, Art), and then further divided into 5 different ability groups for the more academic subjects (Catalan, Social Studies, Science, English, Mathematics and Spanish). Newcomer classroom subjects (Catalan, Adapted Social Studies, and Adapted Science) were considered to be one of the 5 ability groups.

Gaudí had what staff considered a large group of new immigrant students (42) the year of the study, spread across the four main secondary grades. New immigrant students made up 9% of the student population of the school. These students were mainly from South and Central America, with the largest number of students from Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. There was also a group of Chinese newcomer students (6) the year of the study, considered ‘sizeable’ by the school’s coach because it was the most Chinese newcomers they’d ever had at once. In general, the school had had more Latin American students during the immigration wave of the previous 10 years and only recently began to see more students from countries where the language was not Spanish. These students presented their own series of problems, according to Nadina, the district newcomer coach at Gaudí.

So immigrants started coming, right? started coming, quite a few of them, and you know, a few years back, and we realized that in secondary school, in secondary school especially, well, there were a lot of immigrants, and the teachers weren’t prepared to teach them, to teach the Catalan language, to teach the culture, for these, these kids, so they could integrate. And especially when non-Spanish speaking students, from other languages, started coming. Chinese, from countries like China, from Pakistan, from, from India, there were a lot from Morocco (NT interview, 2/4/10).

Gaudí High used to be an elite school, selecting only the best students for its academic track and leaving others with less academic accomplishment to go elsewhere in the neighborhood. Then, with the major Spanish education reform of the mid-1990s, Gaudí was converted to a general high school, and had to start accepting students as young as 12 (previously, it began at age 14), and could not turn students away due to low academic achievement. According to the principal Carles, as well as the veteran teachers I interviewed, Gaudí used to have ‘good, upwardly mobile kids’, and with the change got a ‘bad attendance area’ and had to take students who were ‘less prepared for a rigorous curriculum’. The second day I was at Gaudí, Carles pulled me into his office and showed me an attendance map of the district. That week was “open door” week, where primary school students toured secondary schools in their area, and parents visited in the evenings. Carles had visited one of the nearby elementary schools that morning, and he explained how Gaudí and two other high schools “competed for the best students” from the 5 primary schools in their area. He ranked the schools, and told me how Gaudí ended up with some of the most challenging students, including a lot of immigrant students

from one school that was 80% immigrants.<sup>17</sup>

According to Carles, people from outside Catalonia had populated the neighborhood around the school since Barcelona expanded into the former farmland in the 1960s, but only recently were those ‘immigrants’ from outside Spain. Twenty years ago, the students were from other parts of Spain (Andalusia, Galicia, Extremadura), and the school also had many students from Catalan backgrounds. Today, the face of the school has completely changed; in the 2009-10 school year, there were still some Spanish students (children of the earlier migrants), but the largest group of students (47%) were from Latin America, and there were very few native Catalan speakers left in the school. According to a document provided to me by the district LSC coach (Projecte Linguistic 2009-10), 58% of the student body was born outside the Spanish state. Teachers interviewed who had been in the school more than 14 years described how they had seen the population of the school shift radically both in terms of student origins, and in terms of student academic background and preparation for high school.

When I came here, for example, to Gaudí High, I started doing classes in 1991, and there weren’t any immigrant students. They were mostly Catalan speakers, and there were Spanish speakers, but, well, since I taught higher classes, I taught higher groups, so in those grade there weren’t Spanish speakers, or immigrants right? So yes, it’s changed a lot (DM, newcomer teacher interview, 2/17/10).

The veteran teachers were frustrated and exhausted with the changes; there was a strong feeling of “this isn’t what I signed up for”, especially for teachers who came into the profession intending to teach upper level, selective students and now found themselves standing in front of groups of South American immigrant children unprepared for the demands of Spanish secondary school, since many had little formal schooling in their home country, or schooling that teachers perceived to be much less rigorous than Spain’s secondary schooling. Luis Alberto, a Spanish teacher with 30 years of experience in Barcelona who used to teach upper level secondary students, talked at length about how the school system had changed. He recalled the problems caused when less academically accomplished students started showing up in his classes, and said his current Latin American students didn’t have strong work habits.

I saw, I saw colleagues leave class crying. Yes, terrible things, you know, kids throwing chairs out the window, new kids when the system changed, you know? Well, here, now, there are, South American kids who do ok, of course there are – very few, but there are a few, and they do ok, but it seems like they don’t have very good work habits, it seems like they don’t come here to work. I don’t think they are clear why they’re here (LQ interview, 4/20/13).

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<sup>17</sup> This change in the student body happened in many Spanish schools in the 1990s. The new secondary system of Spain in the mid-1990s switched to having all kids aged 12-14 go to academic secondary school, and began selecting for the university/academic or vocational track at age 16 instead of 14.

Growing immigration came on the heels of a huge change in the larger student body at Gaudí High. To respond to the radical change in student backgrounds, Gaudí broke students up into leveled groups, creating a complex academic tracking (grouping) system so that the ‘good’ students still had rigorous academic content while the ‘weaker’ students or students with behavior problems were placed in lower groups (CN principal interview, 2/4/10). Teachers who lived through the change at Gaudí were still talking about it 14 years later, since it changed the student body so dramatically, bringing many more students who were younger and had been less academically successful in primary school. Immigration also began growing rapidly shortly after the change, such that just as secondary teachers were adapting to having a broader, often less prepared or more behaviorally challenged student body, they also began having new immigrants show up in their classes in increasing numbers.

The newcomer classroom at Gaudí was implemented right away when the policy was passed in 2004. However, it took some time to take shape beyond having two new teachers pulling immigrants aside for Catalan classes. According to the LSC coach assigned to Gaudí, Nadina, it was “in very bad shape” when she started working as a coach at the school three years before the study. She said it was disorganized, and there was no room dedicated exclusively to newcomer students, so they felt lost in the school. “But we fixed it” she said, explaining that she and school leaders had overhauled implementation of the program by reorganizing student schedules and dedicating physical space to it. Carles, the principal, told the same story when we talked.

Well, the newcomer classroom, it was here and it wasn’t here [when I arrived 4 years ago], because yes we had one in theory but they were, we didn’t have a clear organizational model, people didn’t know very well what they were doing and they were improvising a little, so we decided to do a new model that was, that was, you know because we had a lot of students, so we decided to do a newcomer classroom by level. So the newcomer students didn’t have to switch groups one hour here, one hour there (CN principal interview, 2/4/10).

The principal further explained that they were able to create classroom space for the newcomer classes when an art teacher retired, opening up a classroom they could split in two to create the current smaller classroom spaces used for newcomer students. I spent most of my fieldwork hours at Gaudí in these two rooms. The newcomer classrooms each had a handful of computers along the back wall, and two rows of student desks. The classrooms were small; students in the front row often turned around and leaned directly on the desk of the student behind them, to check answers, chitchat, or pester them. The classrooms did not look like the government-produced poster (Figure 4.1); rather, they were a smaller version of the rest of the school’s classrooms with rows of student desks facing a blackboard, with the addition of a half dozen computers along the back wall.

The fact that the physical space of the newcomer classroom at Gaudí was organized like mainstream classes reflects the larger ways the newcomer classes were another, lower group in the larger tracking system of the school. Gaudí’s newcomer

classes were not an open, flexible space as recommended by the policy, though students did transfer into the regular classes from time to time. Gaudí had a complex, ability-based grouping system that even the principal found hard to understand; when I asked him about it, he said with a laugh, “you’ll have to ask the head of studies, it’s really complicated”. When I interviewed Nataixa, the head of studies, she explained that they called the system “flexible groups”, because the idea was that students could move between groups as they improved, or needed more help in a more adapted group; however, once on track in the first year, students rarely switched she said. I heard this from others as well, including the district LSC coach on the last day we talked. The groups were divided up for academic subjects, including science, social studies, English, and Catalan (literature and writing). There were four different ability groups, plus newcomer students. Newcomers were together for all of these class hours, and received Catalan as a second language instruction; at Gaudí, newcomers did not attend regular Catalan classes with their peers.

In terms of time in newcomer classrooms, immigrant students at Gaudí spent an average of 14 of their 32.5 weekly class hours in the newcomer class group (43% of their school schedule). The school documents say that they spent 9 hours, and indeed, they did spend 9 hours in adapted subjects (Catalan, science and social studies, 3 hours each per week). However, they were also together for an additional two hours of elective credits dedicated to Catalan, and another 3 hours of English class; this was a necessity because of the complexity of schedules with so many different groups in the school. The 14 hours newcomer students were together was less than the maximum 16 hours allowed for by the policy, but more than Miró, where newcomer students were together an average of 9 hours or less. At both schools, students who spoke languages other than Spanish (or another romance language) spent 3-6 additional hours per week. For the most part, these were Chinese and Pakistani students, and the additional classes were mixed-age, so that first year students were in classes with second year students, and sometimes even third or fourth-year students.

The newcomer classroom at Gaudí officially had 2 teachers, the maximum assigned by the Department of Education. However, in practice it had more. The fact that newcomer students were a group within the larger academic grouping structure of the school created a need for more teachers. During the 2009-10 school year, one of the two main teachers was part time (had a reduction in hours for maternity leave), so a third teacher came in on Mondays and Fridays to fill those hours, from September to March. In addition, Gaudí’s principal had assigned two other teachers who were short on their hours to teach in the newcomer classroom, including a religion teacher who taught the first year newcomer students. One of Gaudí’s teachers also went into a coma over winter break, causing a difficult and sudden reshuffling of teachers midyear. The long-term substitute teacher covering for the ill teacher did some hours in the newcomer classroom for the second half of the school year, when it became clear the main classes she was supposed to cover were too much for her to handle (she was inexperienced, and the classes were large). All together, I observed 6 different teachers working in the newcomer classrooms during my time at Gaudí, four in addition to the teachers assigned by the Department of Education. None of these teachers had a permanent assignment to the school. This



approach of pulling teachers from other subjects to fill the hours in the newcomer classroom was “not quite legal” the principal told me with a laugh, but necessary because the government didn’t provide enough resources.

I think that the government doesn’t realize there is a need here. Not everywhere in Catalonia, but in some parts, they don’t do what’s necessary, what’s needed. So we grab resources from other places, like from ‘diversity’, or resources like the religion teachers, which is not quite legal’, it’s not, not the most orthodox thing we could do, but we have to bend over backwards, do a lot of things, to make it work given the administration doesn’t provide us with enough resources, you know? (CN interview, 2/4/2010)

Beyond creating the newcomer teacher role in schools, the LSC Policy also specified that schools should assign one teacher to be the school newcomer coach. This person was to be one of the newcomer classroom teachers, and act as a liaison between the school and the district LSC coach. At Gaudí, a mainstream Catalan teacher in her first year at the school did this job. As a result, the school newcomer coach dedicated all of her time to completing the paperwork mandated by the policy (school welcome plan, language immersion plan), and knew little about the newcomer classroom activities. I tried on multiple occasions to interview her. “I don’t know anything about the newcomer program”, she said, but agreed to talk with me. However, she canceled at the last minute every time, or simply wasn’t around at the agreed-upon time. I never saw the school newcomer coach talking with any of the newcomer classroom teachers. This contrasts sharply with Miró, where the school newcomer coach did additional professional development, planned schoolwide activities, and coordinated with the other newcomer teacher.

Gaudí’s teachers received some coaching in methods of second language learning from Nadina, the district Language and Social Cohesion coach. Nadina was personable, with short, curly brown hair, and a warm smile. She brought many years of experience working with immigrant students to her job as a coach, as a former newcomer teacher in some of the earliest new immigrant classrooms in Barcelona. Like the majority of LSC coaches in Barcelona, Nadina had 9 primary and secondary schools, and she visited each school once every two weeks on average. Depending upon meeting times, sometimes she went to Gaudí more often. In the four months I observed at Gaudí, Nadina’s contact with the school included providing occasional materials for teaching Catalan as a second language, organizing meetings, and coordinating with newcomer teachers regarding the numbers of immigrant students. I also saw her working on administrative documents with the school newcomer coach, and meeting with the principal. I did not see Nadina meet regularly with newcomer teachers, and interviews with them confirmed that they did not receive coaching from her on a regular basis. In contrast, the coach at Miró met with newcomer teachers every other week. Just one teacher at Gaudí, a substitute named Valentina talked about having been observed by Nadina. Valentina spent a good part of our interview time talking about this observation, as it culminated in a conflict between Nadina and Valentina. I describe the conflict in detail later in the chapter; in short,

Valentina's teaching approach placed a high value on literature, in direct conflict with Nadina's strongly didactic, vocabulary-and-grammar-first approach.

### ***Miró High School***

Miró High School sat in the same large, urban part of Barcelona as Gaudí High, just over one mile away. The school was perched on the side of a hill, bordering a large park on one side, and a highway on the other. Most students in the school came from rows of apartment buildings that bordered both sides of the park, as well as an area across the highway. From the top floor classrooms the school had sweeping views of Barcelona and the Mediterranean in the distance. On a clear day, you could see the port. In addition to the large main building, Miró had an annex building that was also several stories high, with more classrooms, the cafeteria, and additional rooms where vocational students in post-secondary programs attended class. The playground was below the annex building, down the hill, a large swath of concrete dotted with basketball hoops and soccer goals.

Most classes at Miró took place in the main school building, a four-story complex of classrooms, with a large central stairway that filled with loud voices and jostling bodies every hour as students and teachers switched classes. The stairwell felt like a central meeting place of the school, since students and teachers had to climb up and down it to get to classrooms, or reach the teacher or student rooms on the first floor. In the time I was there, I often ran into newcomer students on the stairs, or witnessed teachers talking in passing as one went up the stairs and one went down. Each floor had 7 or 8 classrooms, plus small department offices between classrooms. Classroom doors were solid wood, without windows, so that when you walked down the wide hall between classes all you saw were tall, closed doors, or perhaps a tardy student forced to stand outside the door, or wait for the next class on a bench at the top of the stairs. Sometimes I heard teachers yelling through the door, a scraping of chairs, or a cacophony of student voices, but in general the classrooms felt very private once the doors were closed. When the bell rang, the doors opened with a bang and students spilled out in a flood of Spanish chatter and teasing giggles.

Miró had 203 students aged 12-16 the year of study, including small groups of post-secondary students who were working on pre-university coursework. In addition, the school had a number of vocational programs, such as emergency medical technicians and automotive repair, attended by older students, many during afternoon and evening hours when the high school students had gone home for the day. Fifty one percent of Miró's main high school level student body were born outside Spain in 2010, and 68% had Spanish as their home language. Latin American students made up 42% of the student body at Miró. The school also had a small group of students who spoke Catalan at home, 13%, compared to Gaudí where school leaders said few if any students spoke Catalan at home. Like Gaudí, Miró's school population had been largely Spanish-speaking children and grandchildren of the Spanish migration of Andalusians and Galicians to Catalonia in the 1960s until Latin Americans began filling the neighborhood in the late 1990s. One cold, gray morning I ran into Rafael walking out of the metro, and he described this history as we walked to the school together. "Migration from the '60s used to fill this

neighborhood” he said, as we crossed the park and headed up the hill. “It’s new to have immigration from so many places in this school. I’ve been here for a long time, and it used to be almost all Spanish-speaking kids from Andalusia, Galicia, etc. Now we mostly have South Americans”.



*Photos of Miró High School building, hallways, and view of Barcelona.*

In the 2009-10 school year, Miró had 28 new immigrant students in newcomer classrooms, spread across the four main secondary grades, aged 12-16. New immigrant students made up 7% of the student population of the school, and like Gaudí, the newcomer students at Miró were mainly from South and Central America. Sixty eight percent of the newcomer students at Miró were from Latin America (19 of 28), with the largest groups being Ecuadorians (6) and the rest a mix of Dominicans, Colombians, and Hondurans. In addition, there was also a sizable group of Pakistanis the year of the study. Teachers and administrators described that the school had had mostly South American students until recently, like Gaudí, but in the last couple of years had seen more Asian students coming, most from Pakistan and China.

Latin Americans, it’s the group we have the most of – and in fact, they’ve been growing, over time, they’ve been growing, there weren’t as many at the beginning. And after that well, the Moroccans, Pakistanis, and, and Chinese are, well, they are, luckily we haven’t had many, and I say luckily because they are much more difficult to incorporate. Why is it more difficult to incorporate them? In newcomer classrooms, well, because we don’t know how to do it well, you know? And in the regular classroom, that is a *problem*, a problem, to make sure they don’t get marginalized (GS interview, 5/4/2010).

Like Gaudí, the shift in student population that immigration brought happened quickly, and followed on the heels of the earlier change caused by the Spanish high school reform of the mid 1990s. However, Miró had a different experience of the reform, because prior to the change, Miró was an exclusively vocational school. Until 1996, the school took students starting at age 14 who were opting for a vocational track for high school, rather than a college-bound, academic track. In reality, the school had many adult students, people who were already working and came back to school to get a technical or professional degree. Thus, Miró's teachers were used to working with older teens, and adults. Then, with the education reform that extended the required academic schooling through age 16, Miró began taking students as young as 12, and offering a full academic curriculum until age 16. It continued to provide vocational programs as well, but many teachers who had worked in the vocational programs with older students began teaching younger students, many of whom were, according to veteran school staff, "not prepared for high school academics".

Miró therefore instituted a grouping system that tracked students by ability, though with fewer groups than Gaudí (3 instead of 5 ability levels). Because of its history serving a more socioeconomically challenged student population, Miró had a special category with the Department of Education whereby they got extra special needs teachers. As a result, they were a school with 2 groups of 30, or 60 students per grade, but within that created 3 ability groups for each grade, with the lowest group also being smaller (30 students in A, the highest group, 20 students in the middle group, and 10 in C, the lowest group). As Jordi, one of Miró's newcomer teachers explained one day early on in fieldwork, and Gloria explained in her interview:

Group A is good behavior, good students. Group B is bad behavior, but maybe smart, better academically. And group C is neither good behavior, nor good students (JC, fieldnotes 3/22/10).

So we have levels, level A is the good ones, or it would be, it would be the official curriculum. The B level is the ones who learn more slowly, and level C is those who learn very slowly, the students who have special adaptations, who come with an individual plan, and we meet the needs of the individual plan here (GS interview, 4/12/2010).

Miró's newcomer classroom was implemented in the first year of the LSC Policy, 2004-05, in a school structured by group where those with the most need were placed in the smallest C groups. It was a 'huge relief' to have the resources the LSC Policy made available, according to Gloria, a Spanish teacher and the school's curriculum coordinator, because they were struggling to respond to the needs of their growing immigrant student population.

So, well, the first years that immigrants were arriving, and we didn't have a newcomer classroom, the truth is that it was a problem. Because we didn't have

*resources*, or professional development – well, we still don't have professional development – but not even, we hadn't even been able to go to a class to prepare us to respond, and we didn't even have the basic resource of newcomer teachers (GS interview, 4/12/10).

Other veteran administrators at Miró also talked about what an important tool the LSC Policy made available to schools by providing newcomer classes. “It’s a really good resource,” the principal said. “It helps students not feel shipwrecked here in the school”, the head of studies said. Where the implementation of newcomer classrooms at Gaudí seemed to be a patchwork job of fitting students within the existing academic tracks, at Miró the departure point for integrating immigrants seemed more tied with the goal of meeting the individual learning needs of the immigrant students while integrating them with the school as a whole. At both schools the policy made available new teachers to respond to the growing immigration, but at Miró the diversity immigrants brought was simply another challenge on the list of learning needs the school was already taking into account. The newcomer classes were thus implemented as a support for new immigrant students to learn Catalan; school staff emphasized that new immigrants should participate in as many mainstream classes as possible. Unlike Gaudí, where newcomer students were in their own group within the larger tracking system, Miró had a model whereby immigrant students spent more time with their mainstream peers, and were more integrated with the regular class schedule. Miró achieved this by having fewer hours wherein newcomer students stayed in the same group, and using ‘optional credits’ (an extracurricular class) as the time newcomers were pulled out for some of their Catalan and adapted classes.

The newcomer classroom at Miró High was located in a top floor classroom, at the end of a hallway, facing north. Tall windows overlooked views of a parking lot, the highway, apartment buildings, and hills in the distance. There was just one newcomer classroom space, and all newcomer classes took place there. The room served as a home base for newcomer students, who came there during breaks between classes to print papers, ask for the main newcomer teacher, Jordi, to help them with an assignment, or use the computers to check email. Posters of fruits, vegetables, and city spaces covered the walls, with the Catalan words printed next to the pictures. There were also signs saying ‘hello’ and ‘welcome’ in Arab, Chinese, Urdu and other languages. The room was outfitted with 6 computers lined up along the back wall, and students were allowed to use these computers to check Facebook or surf the web during breaks; I never saw newcomer students relaxing in classrooms at Gaudí between classes. Desks lay in three long rows, facing the blackboard and teacher desk at the front of the room. Students spent most of their time sitting in rows facing the teacher, with some smaller classes taking place in a more conversational way gathered around the teacher’s desk.

In terms of time, new immigrants at Miró spent an average of 9 hours per week together (28% of their weekly class hours); the hours of social studies, science, and Catalan as a second language. This was 5 hours, or 15% less than newcomer students at Gaudí, on average. Some students spent even less time. Miro’s newcomers also participated in regular Catalan classes (literature and writing) with mainstream students;

Gaudí's did not. Depending upon schedules, students at Miró were either grouped with another grade, or in homogenous age groups; precedence was given to having students participate in as many mainstream classes with their class group as possible, while receiving extra support for Catalan language learning. Like Gaudí's newcomers, immigrant students at Miró who spoke languages other than Spanish (or another romance language) spent an additional 3-6 hours together in the newcomer group, receiving more instruction in Catalan. These extra classes had mixed-age students, with first and second year students together, and third and fourth year students together.

Two teachers worked in the newcomer program at Miró. Officially, the school had one full time newcomer teacher, and another who spent half his time in the newcomer Catalan classes, and taught regular Catalan classes with the rest of his time. Neither teacher had permanent, tenured status in the school; the fulltime teacher, Jordi, had been in the school 3 years, while the other, Nicolau, was an older, very experienced Catalan teacher who was in his first year at Miró. The principal explained that over the years the school had had two newcomer teachers, but with the recession causing cuts, they had lost one teacher the year before, and managed to fight to keep a half-time newcomer Catalan teacher. With the brewing economic crisis, he thought they'd be down to one teacher the following year:

So, well, I don't know exactly which year, if it was 2004, or 2005, but the number has been, there have also been, well there've been times when, well, there were no problems with money, and maybe 2 years ago we started having 1.5 newcomer teachers, and we've maintained it until now. Now this coming year, I don't know, I don't know whether we'll continue having 1.5, I have my doubts (RL principal interview, 4/14/2010).

During the year of the study, I saw only two teachers working in the newcomer classroom at Miró, in contrast to the 6 teachers and multiple substitutions I observed at Gaudí. In addition, the role of coordinating the newcomer program at Miró did not fall to a mainstream teacher with little involvement as it did at Gaudí. Instead, Jordi, the newcomer teacher in his third year at Miró, fulfilled the role of school newcomer coach. This meant he worked with the district LSC coach, Nacho, to keep required documents up to date (school welcome plan, language immersion plan), had access to additional professional development, and attended schoolwide meetings focused on diversity and social issues. In these meetings Jordi worked with mainstream teachers in charge of attending to special needs students in the school as a whole. Together they discussed problems they'd observed, and came up with ideas for raising awareness and respect for diversity in the school. Jordi showed me posters from a recent project he'd done where students had created posters representing languages of the world.

The district LSC coach, Nacho, met individually with both newcomer teachers at Miró every other week. Nacho was a boyish, curly-haired man who was previously a newcomer classroom teacher in a small coastal city south of Barcelona. He coached teachers at 8 schools, including Miró, and said he focused his work on responding to what they asked for, and suggesting things as well. He met with newcomer teachers on a

regular basis, and provided materials.

I think our job, before, evidently, it's to respond to the requests teachers make, and it's also, I think, to suggest new things. If you suggest something and the teachers in the school accept it, well then also, as I understand it, you should try to move from the theory to the practice, and give them practical things. So when I, when I've suggested, for example, I suggest a lot of things to practice oral language. It's very important to me. When you study a language, well, a language or two, the oral part should be a first priority. So in my area I'm suggesting work on the oral language, well for example, I've focused on preparing for, for teachers I talk with, prepared sequences to work on oral language. Specifically, one for science, and one for social studies (NN interview, 3/9/2010).

In the three months I observed at Miró, I saw Nacho meet individually with newcomer teachers Jordi and Nicolau, and go over possible activities and strategies for working on conversational skills in Catalan. Jordi in particular turned to him for help, since Jordi did not have a Catalan language teaching background. At the same time, Nacho attended a coordination meeting with newcomer teachers and the curriculum coordinator at Miró, as well as other schoolwide meetings. Sometimes he spent time in the newcomer classroom, working with individual students or observing the teaching. He also worked with Jordi in his capacity as school newcomer coach.

### ***Comparing Schools with the Policy***

Many aspects of the newcomer classrooms at Gaudí and Miró were similar. Both served new immigrant students, mostly from Latin America (64% at Gaudí, 68% at Miró). Both had students sitting in rows most of the time, learning Catalan as a second language and adapted content, with some differences in how much time students spent in the newcomer classroom groups. And both had computers in the back of the room, which were used for occasional class activities. However, the implementation of newcomer classrooms also differed in important ways. Miró was more congruent with the policy's expectations, especially those pertaining to an individualized learning experience for new immigrants. Miró's implementation of newcomer classrooms was more "personal", and observations suggested that new immigrant students at the school tried harder to speak and learn Catalan.

To systematically determine the extent of the differences between schools, I coded for the congruence between school implementations and the LSC Policy's priorities for implementation outlined earlier in this chapter. I drew on Coburn (2004) and Coburn and Russell (2008) and the priorities for implementation outlined earlier in this chapter to develop congruence as a tool for analyzing the newcomer programs at Gaudí and Miró. I then determined each school's congruence with the dimensions using fieldnotes, interviews and school documents. For example, the policy expected the school newcomer coach to help coordinate the work of attending to new immigrants. Interviews with administrators as well as my fieldnotes indicated that the school coach at Gaudí did

not help coordinate the newcomer program, while the coach at Miró did. I thus coded congruent for Miró and not congruent for Gaudí on this dimension. I repeated this process for each of 17 dimensions outlined in Table 4.1.<sup>18</sup>

The congruence analysis initially suggests that Gaudí and Miró’s newcomer programs looked more similar than different. As shown in Table 4.2, Gaudí was congruent on 7 dimensions, while Miró was congruent on 12. The findings clustered into three categories: those in which *both* schools were congruent (white), those on which *neither* school was congruent (gray), and those dimensions on which the schools implemented the program differently (yellow).

**Table 4.2 Congruence Analysis**

		<b>Gaudí</b>	<b>Miró</b>
<b>Organization</b>	12 students or less per newcomer classroom;*	No	Yes
	Flexible classroom, attends to individual student needs;	No	No
	Included in larger teaching and planning of the school;	Yes	Yes
	School newcomer coach helps coordinate;	No	Yes
	Students can enter and exit any time in the school year;	Yes	Yes
	Adapted individual plan guides instruction, grades.	No	Yes
<b>Content</b>	<b>Intensive Catalan, focusing on oral and academic language; **</b>	Yes	Yes
	Adapted content for science and social studies;	Yes	Yes
	Integration into regular classes for all other subjects;	No	Yes
	Incorporate technology into lessons;	Yes	Yes
	Use tests to determine previous schooling of new students;	No	Yes
<b>Teachers</b>	Experience with language learning, technology, leadership;***	No	No
	Permanent assignment to school (tenured);	No	No
	Receive training and coaching in methods of language learning;	Yes	Yes
<b>Students</b>	Arrived to Catalonia in previous two years;	No	No
	Spend two years or less in newcomer classroom;	No	No
	Spend less than half their total weekly school hours (16 or less).	Yes	Yes

\* Yellow indicates dimensions on which schools differed. Gray indicates dimensions on which neither school was congruent.

\*\*Bold indicates “true” implementation priority as determined from government evaluations.

\*\*\*Not enough data to measure congruence with teachers’ technology or leadership experience.

<sup>18</sup> Table 4.1 earlier in the chapter shows 18 dimensions, but there was not enough data to code one dimension, emotional support for needs of new immigrant students, so the congruence analysis focuses on 17 dimensions.



First, the similarities in congruence. Both schools allowed students to enter and exit any time during the school year. Teachers in both used technology in their lessons. And newcomers at Gaudí and Miró both spent less than the policy's allowed maximum 16 hours per week in newcomer classrooms, though Gaudí's students spent more hours than Miró's. The case study schools resembled the majority of schools across Catalonia on this final point. Government evaluations show that 90% of newcomers attended schools that were also congruent on this last dimension; just 10% of newcomer students in Catalonia spent 16 hours or more per week, in violation of the policy's recommendations (Vila et al. 2010).

The most important dimension on which *both* schools were congruent was intensive Catalan, focusing especially on oral and academic language. Recall that I have argued that the government's "true" priority for the LSC Policy was for immigrant students to learn as much Catalan as possible in newcomer classrooms. All other goals served this one main goal in schools. I found that both Gaudí and Miró taught intensive Catalan as a second language in their newcomer classrooms, providing many opportunities to practice oral language, and develop academic language in adapted science and social studies. In 44 hours of observation in Gaudí's newcomer classrooms, and 38 hours of observation in Miró's, I saw evidence to conclude that both schools emphasized the Catalan language as the first goal for new immigrant students. Teachers conducted all newcomer classes in Catalan, and often prompted students to practice speaking. Further, interviews with newcomer as well as mainstream teachers in both schools showed that most saw language as the primary goal:

Well, so, my opinion is that the students should, uh, come to learn the language, you know? the language of this place, the best they can, and as quickly as possible (Gaudí, NK interview, 4/13/2010).

Well I, the newcomer classes, so I think language, which I, I believe it's fundamental to teach the [Catalan] language (Miró, NQ interview, 4/22/2010).

In emphasizing language first, Gaudí and Miró also resembled the majority of newcomer classrooms in Catalonia. The Catalan Department of Education viewed the implementation of the newcomer classrooms across Catalonia as largely successful in the goal of teaching basic Catalan to new immigrants.

The reports of the education inspectors as well as the evaluation reports of the University of Girona have shown us positive findings about the process of implementing the newcomer classrooms. Evidently some aspects need improvement, but in general, it seems they are being implemented correctly (LSC Policy Annex document, Catalan version, p.19, my translation).

The overlapping *incongruence* on 5 dimensions (gray lines on Table 4.2) continues to tell a story of how similar the case study school implementations looked

when compared with the policy expectations. For instance, neither school had newcomer classrooms that resembled the flexible space depicted in the poster at the start of this chapter. I did visit two other high schools whose newcomer classrooms looked like the poster, with groups of tables rather than rows, and students working individually, at their own pace. But Gaudí and Miró conducted newcomer classes in a whole class format, with students sitting in rows. Only groups with five or fewer students had a clustered classroom look, where the teacher sat rather than stood, and students were working on their own individual materials. In addition, one of Miró's newcomer teachers, Nicolau, sometimes focused on communication and practicing speaking Catalan in his classes, playing games or telling stories, and asking students to gather around the teacher desk rather than sit in rows. These were the exceptions; the majority of newcomer classes I observed in the two schools took place with students sitting in rows, and the teacher standing at the front of the room for much of the class.

Further, neither school had newcomer teachers with all the requisite experiences called for in the policy; just three of the newcomer teachers interviewed at Gaudí, and one of the two at Miró, had previous experience with second language learning. I could not determine whether Gaudí and Miró were unusual in Catalonia as a whole on this measure, since the evaluation reports did not report on the qualifications of newcomer teachers. But I did find that the newcomer teachers' role was precarious at both schools, similar to many teachers across Catalonia. Neither Gaudí nor Miró had newcomer teachers with permanent assignments to the school. The precariousness of the newcomer teachers' role was especially evident at Gaudí, where I observed 3 different substitutions in the five months I was in the school. The teachers in my study resembled 46% of Catalonia's newcomer teachers who also lacked tenured status in their schools, according to statistics provided to me by the Department of Education coordinator for the policy (*L'acollida de l'alumnat nouvingut*, Department of Education Presentation, February 2010).

Finally, neither school was congruent on student characteristics; both had a number of students who had been in Catalonia for more than the previous two years, and both had some students who had spent more than two years in the newcomer classroom. In this way, students in newcomer classrooms at Gaudí and Miró resembled those from over a third of newcomer classrooms across Catalonia. Of 8,714 secondary immigrant students surveyed in one Department of Education evaluation, 36% had been in newcomer classes 22 months or more (Vila et al. 2010).

Hence, when measured against the policy's expectations, the implementation of newcomer classrooms at Gaudí and Miró looked quite similar overall. Both were congruent on 7 dimensions, and incongruent on another 5. Yet immigrant students did not appear to speak as much Catalan at Gaudí as they did at Miró, and the newcomer classrooms felt very different. Gaudí's immigrants, particularly Spanish-speakers, willingly did written work in Catalan, but often resisted speaking it. They tended to answer teachers' questions in Spanish, but only use Catalan aloud in class when cajoled a second or third time. Newcomer teachers at Gaudí expressed frustration about this. For example, Francisca, the religion teacher who worked with newcomers at Gaudí, talked at length about her efforts to get students to speak more Catalan.

Well, I think the most important goals of newcomer classrooms for me is: that they aren't afraid of Catalan, that they don't close themselves to it. That they aren't afraid to make mistakes and then, assimilate first well, the comprehension – oral and written – comprehension of Catalan, that they understand, at a basic level, and if they don't understand something, that they ask. And, the oral expression which is, there is, that –they *need* to speak in Catalan, and I tell them, 'you need to speak in Catalan, and especially in the newcomer classes. You can't speak to me in Spanish because, if you don't practice it... you shouldn't be afraid, here you are all more or less at the same level, you shouldn't be embarrassed, you shouldn't be shy. Speak in Catalan, so you might make mistakes, I'll correct you, not to say 'look how badly you've done it', you know, but, to say 'look, this is how you do it, like this'' (FI interview, 2/1/2010).

She went on to say, "it's a lot harder with students whose mother tongue is Spanish. I sometimes tell them 'I don't understand, what did you say?' [said in Catalan] and I make them repeat it until they realize I'm asking them to say it in Catalan". During my observations, I saw a lot of back and forth much in the way Francisca described, in her classes, as well as other newcomer classes at Gaudí. There was a palpable tension around speaking Catalan at Gaudí, particularly among Spanish-speaking immigrants. In contrast, I saw Miró's new immigrant students using Catalan more fluidly in class, with less apparent tension. Often they forgot and spoke Spanish, but just as often they attempted in Catalan. When teachers corrected or encouraged them to speak, they corrected themselves without argument or defiant shifts in body language. I even had one Miró student correct *my* Catalan in my first week there.

Clearly, something else was going on at Miró. The school was doing something differently from Gaudí, something that helped create a more relaxed learning experience and integration into the Catalan language. I would argue that part of the answer lay in the ways in which Miró was congruent while Gaudí was not, shown in yellow on Table 4.2. The dimensions of difference between the schools include: using tests to determine previous schooling; the size of newcomer classrooms; using adapted individual plans to guide instruction; integration into all subjects beyond intensive Catalan and adapted science and social studies; and the role of the school newcomer coach in helping to coordinate the program. Can these 5 aspects of implementation really make such a difference between schools? It turns out they can, because all of them relate to the level of individual attention to newcomer student needs provided at Miró, as well as the overall integration of immigrants into the school.

Three elements of Miró's more congruent implementation helped make their newcomer classrooms more personal and individualized. First, when new immigrants arrived at Miró, their schooling experience was assessed using the tests provided by the Department of Education. Jordi – in his capacity as school newcomer coach, as well as teacher – sat down, talked with the new student, and administered the Department of Education produced tests to determine their levels of reading, writing and mathematics. Then he gave the student a tour of the school, explaining how to navigate their schedule

and find their classes. For example, in my third week of fieldwork at Miró, a new student arrived from Pakistan. Jordi went through the usual steps, sitting the student down to administer the tests in Urdu, then showing him around the school and explaining his schedule. I ran into them at the start of recess, as Jordi told the new student where to go. Later that day, Jordi commented that the student “did not do the math test very well, not very well at all; it had parts missing, there were basic things he didn’t know how to do” (Fieldnotes, 3/22/2010). He talked about how the student would be placed in the C group, and they would try and coordinate with the math teacher so the new boy would have extra help.

The second element making Miró more personal was that immigrant students at Miró sat in smaller newcomer classes on average than new immigrants at Gaudí. All of Miró’s classes had 10 or fewer students; none had more than the 12 allowed by the policy. In contrast, Gaudí had larger groups on average, including a group of 18 newcomers. The smaller classes at Miró meant that teachers had more time during class to explain things to individual students, help them with assignments, or simply get to know them. It also meant the newcomer teachers at Miró could sometimes help students with work from their mainstream classes, such as correcting an essay or helping to understand a difficult math problem. I never saw new immigrants at Gaudí seeking out their newcomer teachers for help with regular classroom assignments; they had less time, because the classes were bigger.

The third aspect of Miró’s more congruent implementation that also made it more personal was the use of adapted plans to help guide instruction and grading for individual students. The policy lays out a vision of intensive individual planning for each immigrant student that, a little like an individual plan for a special education student in the US. Miró’s more individualized planning for students stood out most when grading time came around. Newcomer teachers at Gaudí advocated for their students in grading meetings, but ultimately, all students got from the process was a printout of their grades (a number from 1 to 10). In contrast, Jordi at Miró printed out a special qualitative evaluation sheet for each student that included space for comments, and went around having the mainstream teachers fill it out. This involved quite a bit of legwork for Jordi, but he and others at Miró felt it was important for immigrant students to have more information about their progress than they got from the regular grades alone, particularly if they failed a class or got very low grades.

Two final implementation choices appeared to help Miró integrate new immigrant students with the whole school. These included the choice to integrate new immigrants into all subjects beyond the three intended for newcomer classrooms (intensive Catalan as a second language, adapted science, and social studies), and the decision to assign a newcomer teacher to the role of school newcomer coach. As I described previously, Gaudí divided newcomers into groups by grades – groups that amounted to placing new immigrants in the lowest academic group in the complex tracking system of the school. Miró had groups as well, but fewer, and immigrant students could be placed in any of the three groups. At Miró, the most important goal was that new immigrant students participate in as many mainstream classes as possible. As a result, newcomers at Miró attended Catalan and English classes with their mainstream peers, and spent fewer hours

overall in the newcomer classrooms.

At the same time, a newcomer teacher, Jordi, filled the role of school newcomer coach at Miró. A simple choice, but one that amounted to involving new immigrants in more planning and activities schoolwide. In his capacity as school newcomer coach, Jordi signed up for additional professional development on how to incorporate immigrant languages in his school. This prompted him to do a schoolwide project making and showing world language posters. He also attended school diversity meetings, representing newcomer student needs to other teachers across the school, and suggesting activities and school outings. And he helped keep Miró's required documents up-to-date, including the school welcome plan.

Both principals gave me copies of their 'School Welcome Plans'. Analysis of this document further supports the conclusion that new immigrants were more integrated with the broader activities of the school at Miró. Strictly speaking, both schools were congruent on the dimension of including newcomers in the larger teaching and planning of the school. But analyzing these documents shows Miró made more effort to include them. Though I do not have data or questions looking at the documents in practice, I have data from interviews showing the documents mentioned by administrators and coaches as being the place to go to understand how schools approached the integration of new immigrants. I analyzed the Welcome Plans for Gaudí and Miró and found that Miró's welcome plan was longer (36 pages as opposed to Gaudí's 22 pages). More importantly, Miró's document spent much more time talking about plans for integrating new students of different types into the school. Most notably, Miró's document includes expectations about the responsibilities of mainstream teachers in integrating new immigrants into the school. In contrast, Gaudí's document talked about welcoming new immigrants, but no involvement of mainstream teachers is mentioned.

## **Coaching and School History Shaped Policy Implementation**

Why were Miró's newcomer classrooms more personal and integrated with the school than Gaudí's? Prior research suggests that opportunities to learn and teacher beliefs play a key role in implementation (Coburn 2004; Cohen and Hill 2001; Kennedy 2005). And indeed, the coach seemed to play an important role in creating professional learning opportunities for teachers. District Language and Social Cohesion coaches provided teachers with vital learning opportunities and vision for the newcomer classrooms, especially at Miró where the district coach met with teachers regularly. However, teacher beliefs did not vary enough by school in this study to determine their influence on implementation. Instead, a third factor surfaced – the role of school history. Gaudí and Miró's distinct histories came up again and again as I analyzed teacher and administrator interviews about newcomer classroomw. The different school histories led to contrasting organizational norms of managing difference, or understandings about *what* new immigrants were integrating *into* at the school level. This in turn made for subtle differences within the schools about how newcomer teachers understood immigrant students' potential for learning, and the job of the school in adapting to student needs.

## ***Coaching Fueled School Change***

The LSC Policy promised two kinds of professional learning opportunities for teachers: professional development, and coaching. To foment intercultural education and respect for diversity, the policy called on schools to help organize “training for all teachers in areas of didactic tools, interculturalism, peaceful coexistence, citizenship, etc., which the presence of new immigrants makes necessary” (LSC Policy, p.20). At the same time, the Catalan government put a great deal of resources toward funding the district LSC coaches to oversee the implementation of newcomer classrooms. (There were 200 coaches across Catalonia, 31 of whom worked in Barcelona.) I investigated both professional development and coaching in conversations with teachers and administrators, and found that teachers did little or no professional development, while coaching proved to be instrumental in defining the shape of implementation at both schools.

Neither school provided in-house professional development targeted at newcomer teachers beyond the coaching provided by the district LSC Coach. Teachers who started in newcomer classes at the beginning of the school year had access to a training provided by the Department of Education. However, substitutes, teachers who were switched into the newcomer class later in the year, or teachers assigned to newcomer classes without the Department’s knowledge were not required to do any training. The “not quite legal” religion teacher and 3 substitutes at Gaudí therefore did not do any training before teaching in Gaudí’s newcomer classrooms. There was a strong assumption that they were experienced teachers in secondary school, and thus knew what they were doing. In interviews, newcomer teachers at both schools talked about not having time for training, or not finding any available to them. They saw themselves as experienced teachers, and that it was their job to figure out how to work with new immigrant students. For example, Francisca, the religion teacher in the newcomer classroom at Gaudí described how she did not do any special training when she began teaching in the program.

No, I haven’t had any special training, no. What we have done is, well, I said you know ‘I’m new in this’, so in the meetings with Julia [head teacher in newcomer program] and Nadina [district LSC coach] they explained things to me. And well, also, I don’t know, of course, as a teacher I did have, you know, a lot of years of experience. And of course, Catalan is my subject, and I’ve always liked teaching Catalan and of course, in schools I’d never until now taught Catalan, I’d only taught religion. But, since I’m licensed to teach Catalan well, I always, even in religion class with students I always worked on the language, spelling, always (FI interview, 2/1/2010).

Similarly, Nicolau at Miró, in his first year teaching in the newcomer class, did not do any special training or professional development. He said with a laugh that he had the opportunity to sign up for the home language course with Jordi, his newcomer class colleague, but he didn’t see the need at this point in his career.

The thing is, I've got 3 years left before I retire, and I'm no longer, it's not the same now, I'm kind of tired you know? And I, I don't know, if you see, if you've got your whole life ahead of you it's different, but if you see that you've never done this, and they suddenly put you in the newcomer class, and next year you probably won't do it, well, there's no point (NQ interview, 4/22/10).

I found that just two of the 8 newcomer teachers interviewed, Dalia at Gaudí and Jordi at Miró, had done a professional development course the year of the study. Jordi went to a training that focused on how to work with home languages in schools, and Dalia from Gaudí participated in a training that aimed to provide resources to newcomer teachers. I attended one session of each of these courses, and talked with the teachers about them. The classes took place on Tuesday evenings, and teachers attended on their own time. This was common; the school administrators and other teachers interviewed also said that teachers usually did professional development during personal time. Both Jordi and Dalia complained that their courses were very theoretical, with some useful ideas and resources, but difficult to apply in their teaching. They were also frustrated that the courses had been difficult to find, and had to be done outside work hours.

Interviews with teachers and administrators made clear that whether and how much training teachers got was up to them, and up to the district and Department of Education offices. Overall, teachers at both schools saw a professional obligation to 'figure it out themselves,' and mostly worked on their own. "I don't know how they could prepare us", Nicolau at Gaudí said. "It's not about them preparing you or not, it's about having the will, the will to learn, right?" (NQ, 4/22/2010). This was the same across both case study schools. Some teachers wished the school provided more help, or had specialized teachers teach the new immigrants, but newcomer teachers had done little professional development. The evaluation reports do not discuss professional development, so I don't know how Gaudí and Miró's teachers compared to others across Catalonia.

Because new immigrant teachers did not receive much external training, the contact with district LSC coaches became pivotal for shaping the differences in implementation of newcomer classrooms. Coaches made the difference, particularly regarding content and teaching approaches. Their vision for newcomer classrooms, and how they organized their work, *mattered* for the shape of implementation. I investigated the role of coaches, not to evaluate them personally, but to understand how their different approaches might contribute to the implementation results I observed.

On a day-to-day basis, district LSC coaches worked directly with newcomer teachers as well as school administrators at different schools, keeping track of the number of new immigrant students, providing materials and support, and sometimes working with individual teachers or students. They also helped schools respond to Department of Education needs for documentation of work with newcomers, as well as strategic school planning around immersion in the Catalan language. I interviewed all 31 Barcelona coaches, and found that they typically worked with 6 or more schools, a mix of primary and secondary, and spent 2 days a month in each one. The number of coaches per district varied depending upon how many immigrants the area had; Gaudí and Miró's district had

5, the maximum in Barcelona. Nadina, the coach at Gaudí, worked with 9 schools, while Miró's coach Nacho worked with 8. Both were former teachers, which was typical of coaches across Barcelona.

At Gaudí, the coach's influence stood out most clearly in the organization of the new immigrant program, with more hours focused on learning Catalan first. Gaudí's coach Nadina taught in one of the first "Education Adaptation Workshops" in Barcelona, which was a program where new immigrants went from different high schools for intensive language training. Nadina worked with another teacher in the new immigrant program and built up a wealth of materials, which they later turned into a textbook for teaching Catalan as a second language to new immigrants. She was also one of the early people to study migration in Barcelona, in one of the first Master's programs that became available. Through these experiences, Nadina developed a strong ideology about how new immigrants should be incorporated in schools, which guided her work with schools. Gaudí's administrators said they had visited Nadina's new immigrant classroom years earlier, and liked her model. Thus, when Nadina arrived as a coach, she helped Carles, also in his first year as principal, to reorganize the newcomer program to emphasize language first.

Nadina's emphasis on language first, and the need to spend more time in the newcomer classroom, showed up clearly at Gaudí. Students spent an average of 43% of their time in the newcomer classroom, with other new immigrants. In addition to the standard subjects taught in newcomer classrooms (Catalan, Social Studies, and Science), students at Gaudí also stayed in their newcomer group for English class. Further, newcomer students at Gaudí did not attend mainstream Catalan classes focused on literature and other broad language skills, but rather stayed in their new immigrant group for Catalan classes where the focus was basic Catalan as a second language. In contrast, new immigrant students at Miró attended both English and mainstream Catalan classes with their age-appropriate group.

Nadina articulated her vision of Catalan language first in our first meeting, and repeated it often. "Immersion might work with younger kids," she said, "but with secondary school kids you have to *teach* them the language. You don't learn language through osmosis, it needs to be taught" (Negotiating Access Meeting with NT, 1-12-2010). I heard her make this point many times during my fieldwork, and the newcomer classroom program in Gaudí very much reflected her vision. Further, she said she thought administrators and teachers had a responsibility in schools, and in their professional lives, to speak Catalan in class. "You can do what you want in private, but in schools, we have a responsibility to speak Catalan. Catalan is the shortcut to integration" she said (Negotiating Access Meeting with NT & CN, 1/15/2010). Nadina often used the same story to talk about the importance of new immigrant students learning the Catalan language first.

Imagine yourself – I put this example because it's the most difficult – you go to China, *everyone* is speaking Chinese, and you have *no idea*. I myself, I would hide in a closet, closed in and quiet, hoping no one would bother me, you know? Because on the first day it's nice, everyone smiles. But on the second, everyone



does their *own* thing. And in a high school the kids study, they have their friends, they talk to you about their crushes, they talk about their interests, about going out, etc. And that poor new student doesn't understand anything. So, the way to integrate is to start with the [Catalan] language. And language isn't learned through osmosis. Language needs to be taught. And we should be very *clear*, that there are methods to teach language *well*. And we should use *techniques*, because language, taught in that way [through immersion] is not learned. (NT interview, 2-4-10, her emphasis.)

Possibly in response to this vision, newcomer classes at Gaudí focused on direct teaching of the Catalan language, often emphasizing vocabulary and grammar. I spent 44 hours observing newcomer classes at Gaudí, and found that the majority of the classes focused primarily on instruction in the Catalan language. I expected to see this in the Catalan as a second language classes, but found that the adapted science and social studies classes also emphasized language learning more than content.

A conflict occurred early on in my fieldwork between Nadina and a substitute teacher named Valentina, over how Valentina was teaching in the newcomer classroom. The conflict demonstrates how strongly Nadina's model of didactic language first dominated at Gaudí, and the consequences of doing something outside that vision. It also shows how Nadina enforced her vision through fear, talking with school leaders, or putting pressure on other teachers to make clear the goal of newcomer classes was language first.

The first time we spoke, Nadina told me that Valentina was a veteran teacher, but that she was "mistakenly treating newcomer classes like a literature class" (Initial Meeting with NT, 1/12/2010). Later she explained more, telling me that had heard Valentina was teaching literature, and had to show up unannounced to observe her one day. She found Valentina teaching a poetry activity to new immigrant students, but felt the students were lost, the language level was too high for them. Later, I heard her talk about it with the principal, and she brought it up in a newcomer program meeting, even closing the door of the meeting when Valentina left, lowering her voice, and showing a copy of the activity she'd taken from Valentina's class. "The school leadership says language needs to come first", she said. "It's essential to use second language learning methodology, especially with non Spanish-speakers" (Newcomer Program Meeting, 1/21/2010).

Valentina also spoke to me at length about the conflict. She told me she believed in teaching language through literature, and was doing a doctorate on the topic. She was frustrated that Gaudí's library was locked with a key, and that new immigrants did not have any literature in their classes. She thus took it upon herself to check out adapted literature books from a library across town, and bring them each day in a roller suitcase. "Gaudí's newcomer model is very rigid", she said, "all they want us to teach is Catalan grammar" (VN interview, 3/22/2010). Valentina believed in teaching language in a different way, but found her method was not welcome at Gaudí. I talked with her in her last week at Gaudí, and she was still frustrated by the experience. "Nadina is always praising Francisca [the religion teacher], because she just teaches grammar", she told me.

Independently, I did hear this, and see it. Nadina praised Francisca's didactic approach the first time we spoke. Then, on my first day of fieldwork at Gaudí, I saw her look around to make sure no one was listening, then tell Francisca in a low voice, "you're the best we have" (Negotiating Access, 1/15/2010). I spent many hours in Francisca's classes, and saw she mainly used direct, whole-class instruction to impart lessons focused on acquiring Catalan vocabulary and grammar.

Hence, Nadina's vision for newcomer classrooms helped define Gaudí's implementation, and she rewarded teachers who adhered to it more closely. She also "checked up on" teachers to ensure they were using the approach she advocated. She did not, however, have a regular schedule of ongoing coaching with newcomer teachers where she promoted her approach. In the five months I observed her, Nadina worked more with school leaders, stepping in with individual teachers when asked or when she saw a need (such as a new substitute), but I never saw her work with individual students and rarely with teachers. Nadina had a cordial relationship with many teachers in the school, and always greeted and joked around with everyone she encountered in the hallways or teacher room. She also met with the newcomer teachers as a group once a month, but the time conflicted with one teacher's schedule (Dalia) so she was never able to attend. I saw the newcomer teacher meeting happen just once. Gaudí's changes in scheduling and many substitutes also meant fewer opportunities for Nadina to build a long-term coaching relationship with the newcomer teachers.

When asked about contact with the district LSC coach, 5 of the 6 teachers interviewed at Gaudí described having little contact with Nadina, seeing her in larger meetings or having sat down with her once or twice. (The sixth teacher, Julia, was the head teacher in the newcomer program, and met with Nadina more regularly to discuss administrative matters, such as the number of newcomer students currently in the program and student transitions to mainstream classes.) Sonia, one of the substitutes teaching in the newcomer program at Gaudí who began midyear, said she had had little contact with the district LSC coach:

Well, very little. I've only been to one meeting. I think she meets with [other teachers], that she helps them and stuff, but I, directly, I've been here so little time, that I haven't, haven't had time (SG interview, 4/22/10).

Similarly, Neus, another newcomer teacher who began substituting mid-year, described having met just once with Nadina:

Well, with her, well, one day I met with her, and she said to me, well, that the most important thing she thought was to focus on oral language, and I agreed with her, and so she asked me, well, told me about some small books, you know? She recommended some small books, with simple vocabulary, for, mostly for the students that no, that are from non-romance languages (NK interview, 4/13/10).

In contrast, Miró's district LSC coach, Nacho, had a more regular coaching schedule focused on second language learning strategies with the two newcomer teachers

at the school, as well as work with individual immigrant students. Nacho had not been around when the school started implementing newcomer classrooms, and spent most of his time working with teachers and even individual students. As a result, Nacho's influence on teacher's work – on the content of newcomer classrooms – was easier to see.

Nacho was a younger man, in his mid-30s. He used to be a Catalan teacher, and 2009-10 was his first year as a coach. The year of the study, Nacho had an ongoing coaching relationship with both Jordi and Nicolau. (I saw no newcomer class substitutions during the time I observed at Miró.) Both of Miró's newcomer teachers talked about a schedule Nacho had given them at the beginning of the year, with times to meet as a newcomer classroom team, and times to meet with them individually. Nacho sat down twice a month with both Jordi and Nicolau one-on-one, bringing suggestions for working on oral language and activity ideas. He also observed Nacho sometimes, but never Nicolau, an older teacher. As a newcomer to the coaching role, Nacho was shy and somewhat cautious about intervening in teachers' work unless asked; at the same time he had a strong vision that the answer to integrating new immigrants was doing engaging activities that helped students attempt to speak Catalan, so he focused his coaching on talking about and providing these kinds of activities.

I think our job, before anything else, evidently, it's to respond to requests from teachers, but it's also, I think, to suggest new things. If you suggest new things and the teachers and schools accept it, well it's also, as I understand it, you should also try and go from theoretical to the practical, and give practical materials. So for example when I've suggested, for example, I make a lot of suggestions to work on oral language. To me it's really important (NN interview, 3/9/2010).

For Miró's newcomer teachers, this approach amounted to a flow of suggestions and new materials provided during coaching meetings. As Nicolau, the older newcomer teacher, described it:

He brings me books, he gives me photocopies, he says 'look, you can connect this, this is an interesting topic'. But he never forces it on me. He always says, 'if you want', and 'look at it', and 'what do you think?' (NQ interview, 4/22/2010).

Similarly, Jordi at Miró said Nacho met with him on a regular basis, and provided him with materials and suggestions, focused on language learning because Jordi did not have training in second language learning but was teaching Catalan classes that year.

Nacho helps with material, with, well with suggestions of how to work on the topic of *language*, and he's clear, he knows, he was trained in language teaching and has a point of view more [focused on it]. Well, I have done language, I did one credit of language, but because I have more, this year, more language classes and so on, well, he helps me with them this year (JC interview, 4/19/10, his emphasis).

But Nacho not only met with teachers more often than Nadina. He also had a vision for integration and the Catalan language that contrasted with Nadina's didactic push for language first. Like Nadina, he thought that immigrants needed to have the opportunity to learn Catalan, as a matter of equal access in the school system. However, Nacho articulated the belief that new immigrants should learn the Catalan language and culture *while* maintaining their own language and home country identity. In terms of . . . , his approach was additive rather than subtractive (Valenzuela Garcia cite). At the level of implementing the LSC Policy, and newcomer classrooms in schools, Nacho believed it was essential to focus on Catalan, but that teachers needed to be sensitive to where students came from and allow them to bring their own backgrounds into schools. He had a vision of integration that emphasized Catalan as a way of getting to know his culture better, but also allowed for the possibility of multiple identities.

If I, if I know you, and you don't know any Catalan, you can come to my house, because my family speaks Spanish, but there is a, a humor, a way of looking at the world, a vision of the land, of *life*, that is, that's transmitted through the language. If you don't know the language, you miss this. So, integration, it's not only about the language, it's language and many other things. But to me language is critical, and it has a role in opportunities too, social opportunities. And being part of the community. And I believe, that it's not, that's it's not incompatible with having different national, religious identities. What I mean is, I believe *you* can bring something, and I, I, I would like, would like the society in my country, well I don't know how to say it, I mean, I think that you can be integrated in Catalonia, and, and, speak with your family in Urdu, and speak some Spanish, and speak Catalan very well, and well be able to work for the government. I don't think it's a contradiction (NN interview, 3/9/2010, his emphasis).

Nacho recognized that immigrant students at Miró were unlikely to meet many native Catalan speakers. Many people working in Barcelona's schools saw this as a huge challenge that made it more difficult for immigrants to learn Catalan. "Barcelona has a different sociolinguistic context than the villages of Catalonia where the majority of people speak Catalan", Nacho told me. He had a friend who taught in a newcomer classroom in a village, and he described that "the students, when they go out in the street, to buy in, in a place, the language is the language of the school [Catalan], it's useful in the street". I also heard this a lot; for instance, Nadina and Gaudí's principal Carles talked about it in our first meeting, both saying that "much more Catalan" was spoken in the coastal towns where they vacationed. But students in the neighborhood around Miró and Gaudí were not likely to encounter very much Catalan.

The lack of native Catalan speakers in some neighborhoods of Barcelona was discouraging for many proponents of Catalan, but Nacho had a different take on it. He saw the fact that Miró's students weren't likely to hear very much Catalan in their neighborhoods as a reason to teach it differently, with renewed energy. He thought teachers should focus on oral language, and motivating new immigrant students to love

learning in general, so that without noticing, they would start loving to learn Catalan. This love of learning motivated his coaching.

I think that motivation is intrinsic to the classroom. If the activity the teacher does, if the students find it motivating, well, then it could be that they wouldn't need to think 'I'm learning a language that I'll use later in the street', but rather, 'now in this moment, I'm doing an activity that interests me, and look, without realizing it, I'm speaking Catalan' (NN interview, 3/9/2010).

For Nacho, the key to integrating new immigrants into the Catalan language lay in how teachers taught the language. If teachers focused on motivating their students with interesting activities, then students would learn Catalan without feeling forced. We cannot know whether these beliefs played a direct role in creating newcomer classrooms at Miró where immigrants spoke more Catalan. This study did not measure all the variables that would answer the question of what kind of teaching worked best for learning Catalan. But the case study comparison with Gaudí, and the comparison between how Nadina and Nacho worked, does suggest a relationship between Nacho's coaching approach and Miró's implementation. Though 2009-10 was Nacho's first year as a coach at Miró, and Nadina had been at Gaudí three years, the more concentrated approach Nacho took, and stability of newcomer classroom teachers, meant that Nacho's influence on the day-to-day work in newcomer classrooms stood out. In 38 hours of fieldwork at Miró, I saw how Nacho helped shape the content of newcomer classrooms – the kinds of activities and approaches to Catalan teaching that immigrant students experienced each day. I would therefore argue that Nacho contributed to greater congruence with the policy on those measures of content that helped create Miró's more personal, individualized approach to integrating new immigrants.

In sum, coaching mattered at Gaudí and Miró. But coaching alone could not account for all the differences observed; coaches did not have power over many aspects of implementation, such as choosing teachers or deciding how many students would be in newcomer classes. The next section argues that school history – Gaudí and Miró's historical norms of responding to difference – also played an important role in shaping implementation.

### ***School History Shaped Policy Implementation***

Teachers and administrators at both Gaudí and Miró brought up school history constantly during my fieldwork. For them, the arrival of immigrants signaled a new chapter in a turbulent era of intense school change that began with the Spanish educational reform of 1996, when high school became obligatory for everyone until age 16. The schools had quite different histories with this reform. That history shaped how the schools responded to differences in learning needs, and thus shaped their response to growing immigration. I argue that Gaudí and Miró had contrasting organizational norms – rooted in their distinct histories – for responding to diversity. These contrasting norms influenced how they responded to the challenges posed by immigration, and thus, how

they implemented newcomer classrooms.

I did not set out to study how school history mattered for implementation, and it surprised me how often it came up during fieldwork – especially because it had happened 14 years before. At Gaudí, 3 of the 6 newcomer teachers brought up the school’s history and the Spanish education reform when asked about the arrival of immigration to the school. The other 3 newcomer teachers were substitutes who did not talk about the school’s history, but did talk about the Spanish education reform, and how it had changed high schools in Barcelona. Three of the 4 administrators interviewed also brought up the reform. At Miró, both newcomer teachers brought up the reform as well, although they did not talk about the changes at their school because they hadn’t been there. Three of the 4 administrators I interviewed at Miró had been in the school since before the reform, and talked at length about how much it had changed their students, and the work of the school.

However, what surprised me wasn’t simply the fact that everyone talked so much about the reform and how much it had changed the schools. It was *how* they talked about their school’s history, how immigration had become part of a larger narrative of change that began with the expansion of obligatory high school.

As I heard about the reform from one teacher after another, a picture began to form of how these schools and their veteran staff saw immigration. For the teachers working at schools in a working class neighborhood, the overhaul of the Spanish education system meant that a whole set of students who hadn’t been doing academic work after the age of 14 were now required to stay in school – and do academic work – until age 16. Teachers didn’t feel prepared to teach this new student body, nor did they feel that students were prepared for the rigors of high school. For these teachers, the arrival of immigrant students from all over the world in the late 1990s and early 2000s thus compounded the challenges created by the Spanish education reform. Just as they were adapting to (and largely still struggling with) the new students brought by the reform, immigrant students landed in their classrooms, bringing with them all manner of new challenges.

How Gaudí High and Miró High implemented the LSC Policy’s mandate to create newcomer classrooms was very much rooted in this history. And because the schools had such different histories, their newcomer classrooms also looked and felt quite different.

First, Gaudí. As a formerly selective academic high school, Gaudí was perhaps the most changed by the education reform. Formerly Gaudí had had only the best, most academically prepared students in the neighborhood. After the reform, they had to take *all* students, including the most challenging ones. As Gaudí’s principal, Carles, explained it to me, the attendance lines were redrawn in their district, and some of the “worst” primary schools became feeder schools for Gaudí. Teachers felt this made their school much worse, and more difficult to teach in. Add to that the arrival of immigration in the late 1990s, and the school was quite a different place indeed. Dalia, a teacher in her first year, described the change she’d seen in her career, which had begun 19 years before at Gaudí.

When I came, well, for example, Gaudí, when I taught here the year was 1991, there weren't any immigrant students, they were all students, the majority were Catalan speakers, there were Spanish speakers, but, well, since I, I taught higher classes, I taught third year students, and students preparing for university, and there weren't, you know, any immigrant students. So the change is pretty significant (DN interview, 2/17/2010).

Francisca, the newcomer teacher who had taught religion at Gaudí for 18 years, described the change in student body in even more detail.

For me, well, the changes in the school, more than the immigration, the changes I've noticed are from the change in the education system. I mean, I've lived through, of course, with the, before, this school was a pretty elite one. And when, when the school system changed [in 1996], well, it turned out that, that the schools feeding kids into this school, in this high school, we didn't get the best piece of the pie, the best, I mean, in terms of level and that sort of thing... It was a change, a really huge change. The biggest change, well it's been in the way of teaching, but also in the *types* of students that end up here. That is, that first year [after the system changed], we got a group of first year students, who came from a primary school, ... we thought 'they are coming from a primary school, they'll be timid, shy, at being in a high school'. Well no, they came, and they were a really hard class. Really really really hard, they behaved very badly (FI interview, 2/1/2010).

For many teachers, Gaudí had become a bad school fraught with the problems brought by students with hugely varying levels of preparation for high school, and motivation to be there at all. "Teaching is so much easier when you have a student who listens, than when you have a student who won't sit in their seat, you know?", said one teacher. Maria, a new art teacher, was especially forthright in how she talked about the problem at Gaudí.

The kid who doesn't want to study, shouldn't have to study. The kid who wants to study, they should study. You know, it's as easy as that. It's not about saying we're all equal, I mean, kids learn a lot in primary school, in secondary they are fully formed, that is, and if not, there should be vocational education that really works, and that starts at 13, 14 years. Everyone would be happy. In Germany, there are 3 different levels. And there are more functional things, which doesn't mean kids who do that are stupid, but we're not all made to be doctors, you know? and lawyers. I wish we had a system where things made sense. You can't be teaching square roots, and have a kid there who doesn't know how to add, it, it's impossible, you know? (MN interview, 4/14/2010)

Many teachers expressed this kind of discouragement, and some even anger, especially those who joined the school before the reform, expecting to work with "better"

students. But it wasn't only the veteran teachers; new teachers expressed a lot of frustration as well. It felt like the disappointment over what Gaudí had been, and struggles with how it had changed, had become a cloud of pessimism that permeated the very walls of the school. I spent a lot of time in the teacher room, and often heard teachers talking about how little students worked, or how badly they had done on an exam. There were exceptions, of course, and moments when teachers told positive stories about their students. But my fieldnotes are filled with observations that add up to an overall mood of discouragement and frustration at the school. Maria, the art teacher in her first year at Gaudí, is a good example. She told me she thought Gaudí was one of the "worst high schools in Barcelona".

There are better schools, and worse ones, and though it's not said officially, everyone knows it. Gaudí is one of the worst ones, it has some of the neighborhood's worst students. There are places where the level is higher, and places where it's lower, and of course, it depends on which neighborhood you live in, you end up with one kind of school or another. (MN interview, 4/16/2010).

I heard some version of this from many others, and I also heard it from Gaudí's principal, Carles. Carles was a large, portly man with an open, if somewhat awkward manner. He had white hair that was a little bit flyaway, framing clear blue eyes behind glasses. He always seemed to be rushing around, and was a little disheveled, one shirt button often popping open. He had trained as a Catalan teacher, and was a teacher, then administrator, at Miró until 4 years before the study, when he was hired as a principal at Gaudí. Carles talked openly with me about what the school's challenges, often pulling me aside to see how my project was going, and tell me a little more about what he thought. As noted earlier, Carles pulled me into his office on my second day of fieldwork to explain where Gaudí's students came from. He laid a map of the district down on the mountain of papers heaped on his desk, and explained the attendance lines and feeder schools for Gaudí. He said Gaudí was in competition with two other high schools for the best students from the 5 primary schools in the area (Miró was not one of the schools Gaudí competed with; it was a little further away than the other two). Carles jotted numbers down on the pamphlet, ranking 5 feeder schools for Gaudí, and telling me the worst one, number 5, had "a very high number of immigrants, 80%" (CN, informal meeting, 1/26/10).

To attract, and keep, as many of the better students from these primary schools as possible after the reform, Gaudí instituted the leveled groups that have come to define the school. Many of the more experienced teachers would also leave without the leveled groups, Carles told me. But this approach had its challenges as well. For him, it was a compromise to try and keep some of the better students who otherwise would have left.

It's not like it's the magic bullet, but, it has its problems too, we're aware of that, but, you know what it is, if the teachers were maybe more prepared, they might be able to respond to all the different learning needs in the same class, right? But the teachers, some could do it, but the reality is it's very hard. And so, well, if the



good students feel like they're wasting their time, they leave the school, and then, that can be, well, you know the history of the Spanish education system, right? Before at age 14 the students went to vocational school, or an academic high school, and well, the academic program worked really well, here, this was an academic high school, in the old system, and it was a place where working class people, from select families, good families, could find upward mobility, you know? And then the system changed, they [the government] decided 'no no, everyone, that's discrimination, everyone needs to go to high school until age 16', but what happened? A lot of people that went to public schools, they went to private schools, to subsidized private schools. Not private private, but rather private with government subsidies. And so, well, it separated people even more, and so, well, if, if we didn't do the levels, I think a lot of good students would leave, they wouldn't understand that that someone who doesn't learn as well is in class with them, so well, we try to find middle ground, by doing the levels (CN interview, 2/4/2010).

Immigrants, and the LSC Policy's newcomer classrooms, therefore landed at Gaudí during a tide of change set off by expanding access to the school. Because Gaudí had had "good" students before the reform, the teachers experienced the new, more challenging students as a lowering of the academic level of the school. They viewed the new students in terms of deficits and limitations – as the reason the academic level of the school had dropped. For them, immigrants – with their wildly varied educational backgrounds, and language needs – further drove down the academic level of the school. When the LSC Policy brought the resource of 2 new teachers, and the mandate to create newcomer classrooms, it therefore made sense to treat them as another group in the larger tracking system of the school.

When combined with the didactic, language-first approach to newcomer classrooms that Gaudí's coach Nadina promoted, the resulting implementation created a high degree of segregation from the mainstream activities of the school. New immigrants did go to some mainstream classes, but they also spent more hours together as a newcomer group. It's possible the opposition to speaking Catalan I observed among Gaudí's newcomer students had roots in this way of integrating them into the school. The contrast with Miró does suggest that immigrant student attitudes toward Catalan had a relationship with school implementation of newcomer classrooms.

The ripples of change set off by the 1996 reform had quite a different shape at Miró, which in turn meant the school molded a different sort of newcomer program. For one, the school already had some of the more challenging students – those from "pretty low socioeconomic backgrounds", as one administrator put it, families for whom "school, well, it's not the most important thing, they have other things to worry about, much more important things, like making a living" (TD interview, 4/26/2010). Thus, when the reform brought more varied students into academic high school, and then immigration shifted the student body even more, it wasn't experienced as a wholesale *worsening* of the school. A big change, yes. But not a perceived drop in school quality, as at Gaudí.

Like Gaudí's principal, Miró's principal Rafael talked at length about how the reform had changed his school. Recall that I did not ask about the reform, or the history of the school; rather, in answer to a question about the arrival of immigration, Rafael told a story of how the reform changed the school, and then immigration further changed it. Rafael was a veteran administrator and teacher who had worked at Miró High for 23 years; he had been an administrator for 15 years, the principal for 2. He had a slight stutter, but spoke quickly in Catalan as he went into detail about the changes at his school.

The first years, the first years, the first school years after the high school system changed, they were very hard. Hard, very difficult, very difficult. In terms of behavior, and really, with everything, because we found ourselves, as I've told you, although the vocational schools were the ones who had more experience, more experience than the academic high schools like Gaudí, Gaudí was an elite academic high school. Vocational schools, we had, let's say, we already had groups of students from a lower socioeconomic, sociocultural, from a lower level than the academic high schools. But the, the start of the new system, the change, and having to bring in a portion of the population that up to now, from 14 to 16 years, that weren't in the school [those who formerly wouldn't have done academic high school], well, that was quite a big change, in all the schools, and we really felt it here too. Okay, so I'm talking about the mid-1990s. I would say that was a period of 5 or 6 years that were were all, well we were all having to learn more, learn how to function as a new school. And then, starting around 1998, or 1999, we started seeing a lot of immigration, and I would say today, in our high school [not the vocational programs], I would say we are between 50 and 60 percent immigrant students (RL interview, 4/14/2010).

Immigration grew at Miró like Gaudí. But immigrants were not experienced as worsening of the school. Accustomed to students from a wider range of backgrounds, Miró found the bigger challenge came from having to adapt their teaching to younger kids. The reform brought 12 and 13 year olds to Miró, and veteran teachers had trained for and been teaching much older students, in many cases adults. Gloria, the curriculum coordinator and a 30-year veteran teacher of the school, described what her students were like before the reform.

So you know, we only had students starting at age 14, ok? And there were, well, in the first part of the vocational program that was age 14-16, and then the second part, which was 16 to 19 years, minimum, right? But of course, the age of students, they were much older, so in the second cycle, especially in the second cycle, there were students who were, who were as old as me often (GS interview, 4/12/2010).

Other people talked about the change in ages too. "It was hard to adjust to these younger students", Ursula, the head of studies, told me. "We weren't used to it, and there

were some students who didn't go to academic high school before, and now they started coming to us" (UT, 4/23/2010). "I had to adapt my teaching to younger kids", a veteran math teacher said, "I was used to teaching older kids" (SB, 5/5/2010). Figuring out how to manage and teach younger students thus presented an important shift to Miró's teachers' work. Yet the way they explained it, they simply had to adapt and adjust. There was little to no lingering frustration over the change, as I encountered at Gaudí.

The other big change at Miró was having students destined for an academic future – namely, university. The destination of their students prior to the reform had been the job market. Teachers therefore had to adapt to having students on a university-bound path; offering more academics, and preparing students for the university entrance exam.

I wasn't used to working with the pressure of the university entrance exams. That's a pressure too in academic high schools. And in the vocational school, well, we experimented, and we were really used to experimenting. The first years I let myself experiment with different pedagogical approaches, different ways of teaching, and made the classes more fun. And now with the older kids that I have, the ones preparing for university, there's much more, much more pressure because of the university entrance exam. That on the one hand. On the other hand well, of course, we had to get used to working with younger kids who used to be in primary school (GS interview, 5/4/2010).

To respond to the shift in student body, and expansion of academic high school, Miró instituted "open classrooms", using resources provided by the Department of Education. Because of the school's category serving more socioeconomically challenged students, they had access to more resources for responding to diversity. The open classroom resource brought extra "diversity" teachers to the school. Thanks to these extra teachers, Miró could have smaller groups for more needy students. As Rafael, the principal, explained it:

So that's the open classrooms, "diversity", which were, well, they were created, or they appeared, they didn't exist before the reform. So that allowed us to take, well, some, certain students well, in a very specific way, with adapted materials, not only curricular adaptations, but they also work in projects, and they also have teachers who are more specialized in working with diverse learning needs. This has been one of the *key* aspects of the response to the situation created by the reform, created after 1995. The open classrooms, the open classrooms, like I said, they appeared, they started in 1997 or 1998 (RL interview, 4/14/2010).

The open classrooms not only gave an answer to the needs of Miró's most challenged students, they also offered another option for placing new immigrants in smaller groups where they got more individual attention. But Miró still struggled with how to provide newcomer students with the support they needed while also fitting them into the larger schedule of the school.

Miró had three academic groups that had been in place since the 1996 reform, as described earlier in the chapter. However, the school was discussing whether to eliminate the levels. During my fieldwork at Miró, the teachers and administrators met a number of times to discuss the issue. In one poll they did of teachers, 50% wanted levels, and 50% did not. They had to make a decision by the end of the school year. Gloria, the curriculum coordinator, discussed the problem of the academic levels on a number of occasions. She really wanted to try *not* having levels, “to have students in the same group, so the one who can’t do as much has the stimulation of the one who studies more, so the worse students have the example” (GS interview, 4/12/2010). This would help with a conundrum they faced with new immigrant students – that if they turned out to be strong academically, they still couldn’t be moved into the highest academic group because then there were hours of Catalan as a second language they wouldn’t be able to do.

Normally, the students from romance languages [mostly the Spanish speakers], we put them in the B group. And if – unless they have special needs, or for any other reason, then they go to Group C. And those who come from non romance languages, they go directly to C. But this, in practice, sometimes we have to revisit it. Because while it’s a, a good solution to integrate them better, if they have a good level, then right away we send them to the A group, and then there are a series of class hours designed for newcomer students that they can’t do (GS interview, 5/4/10).

The case of Vladimir, a Russian boy in Miró’s newcomer classroom who spoke little Catalan and Spanish, but came from a good schooling background, demonstrates how hard teachers at Miró tried to help individual students. It also shows the limits of the school’s system. Vladimir had arrived to Barcelona, and Miró, in fall of 2009. He was older, already 17, and was placed in the newcomer classroom at Miró with other 4<sup>th</sup> year students. He spoke very good English; we often chatted in English. Teachers recognized he was smart and well-educated, and wanted to help him be able to keep studying on the academic track, and go on to the two-year university preparation course. But they said he didn’t speak enough Spanish and Catalan, and one year was not enough time to learn it unless he worked extremely hard, and even then, it didn’t look likely.

In some ways, Miró still felt like a vocational school. Where the air hung heavy with tension and frustration at Gaudí, Miró’s air pulsed with effort to help students find their way, whether academic or not. Where Gaudí’s principal explained what the school used to be, and how the school tried to keep the better students by creating levels, Miró’s principal pulled out a printout of the Catalanian school system and explained all the different options – vocational and academic – that exist today. A 31-year veteran Spanish teacher also told me “the school continues to have the structure of a vocational school, you know, you go upstairs and you see, the laboratory for this, the automotive shop, etc” (DB interview, 5/5/2010). Therefore, although the school changed following the reform, and began offering academic high school classes, in many ways it continued to think of student options in a broader way. This meant that when immigrants began arriving to the

school en masse, there was a wider range of possibilities for how to address their individual needs, and a culture of accepting different learning needs as a part of life.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, different ways of understanding the ‘into what’ of integration at the school level mattered for the shape programs took to integrate newcomer immigrants in schools. Schools, and the people working within them, operated in concrete reality focused on managing the young people who walked through the door and sat down in classrooms each day. Thus, in implementing an integration program aimed at welcoming new immigrants, the understanding schools and the people within them have of themselves, of their school as a place newcomers are integrating *into*, mattered. At the same time, the logistical concerns they had, the actual ways they were dividing up school days and slotting students into different classes, mattered as well. School history influenced both of these. Miró had a history of responding to student needs in a more individualized way that was more in line with the policy’s goals for individual attention to new immigrants (smaller classes, extra evaluations). Miró was also more accustomed to sending students off to vocational programs, and was more comfortable with attending to the more diverse learning needs brought by immigration. On the other hand, Gaudí was more focused on academic courses, whether students fit with these or not, and whether or not students would go on to university, or if they wouldn’t, what to do with them; teachers at Gaudí, because of its history as a more elite academic institution, were still measuring the current students against the past, academically successful ones.

District LSC coaches at Gaudí and Miró also shaped implementation in important ways by providing opportunities for teachers to attain materials and learn about the policy. While Nadina and Nacho had different styles, and organized their work differently, both influenced the implementation of newcomer classrooms at their schools. Nacho worked with teachers in an ongoing way, which helped create the more personal, individualized approach to teaching Catalan that I observed in newcomer classrooms at Miró. And Nadina helped reorganize the newcomer program at Gaudí in a way that ended up keeping new immigrants together for more hours. She also advocated for a more didactic approach to teaching Catalan as a second language, and checked up on them if she suspected they were not using the right methods. The result was newcomer classrooms at Gaudí and Miró that looked and felt different in important ways, as I have described. Other research also shows how coaches can play an important intermediary role in school reform (Coburn, Mata, and Choi in press; Coburn and Russell 2008), but more study is needed to test and extend these findings in the area of immigrant integration policy.



## Chapter 5

# Teacher Beliefs About the Meaning of Immigrant Integration

### Introduction

For over a century, scholars have debated different questions in the quest to understand immigrant integration. What factors help immigrants assimilate? Do ethnic enclaves help or hinder integration? Does assimilation happen at all? Integration theory has moved toward a consensus that integration is a process that involves immigrants *and* members of the receiving culture. But scholars have too seldom studied what the idea of integration means to real people in the host society, instead focusing almost exclusively on the experiences of immigrants. What does integration mean to people such as teachers who come into contact with immigrants every day? What does it mean to those working in schools who are also neighbors and citizens, fathers and mothers, who have their own history of identity and national belonging? This chapter moves from the abstract idea of integration embedded in the grand words of theory and policy, to the individual people who interact with immigrants on a daily basis: public school teachers.

Researchers tend to study the idea of integration in different ways in Europe and the United States. In Europe, integration research often focuses on top-down integration policies, examining government policy models and debating about citizenship (e.g., Favell 2001, 2005; Joppke 2007; Koopmans et al. 2005). In contrast, American researchers have placed more emphasis on micro processes of immigrant interaction and assimilation into mainstream culture (e.g., Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008; Zhou and Bankston 1998). Both have advanced our understanding of the incorporation process by showing, for instance, how historical ideas about national identity inform current citizenship laws for immigrants to Germany and France (Brubaker 1992), or how young immigrants are redefining assimilation and what it means to join the mainstream in New York City (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2008). However, little research on either side of the Atlantic looks at the *links* between government policy and the micro processes of cultural assimilation. This study therefore contributes to the literature by studying teachers of immigrants.

Teachers' work is an ideal place to study the connections between government and micro processes since teachers are employees of the state who interact with immigrant youth on a daily basis. Governments hire teachers to impart knowledge and instill values in the next generation of citizens (Cuban 1992; Ingersoll 2003). Teachers are also first-responders to the phenomenon of immigration, often teaching immigrants in

public school classrooms long before policies provide support (Dabach 2009; Stodolsky and Grossman 2000). In this way, teachers play a critical role as agents of assimilation who integrate immigrants in schools. Teachers are in a position of power, as the gatekeepers to academic success (Oakes 1985; Valdés 2001). Teachers also transmit important messages about national identity and belonging in everyday interactions with immigrant students (Gibson 1988; Olsen 1997), thus helping to construct the mainstream for their immigrant students. In a sense, teachers are cultural agents who set the terms of integration in schools through the everyday choices they make about teaching and curriculum. Teachers of immigrants therefore warrant further study.

Teacher beliefs about the process of immigrant integration provide an especially interesting place to investigate teachers' role in setting the terms for entry into the mainstream. What teachers believe about students shapes schooling by influencing choices about curriculum as well as what academic level to teach (Dabach 2009; Kennedy 2005; Stodolsky and Grossman 2000). While the study of teacher beliefs has been characterized by debate about how to define and measure beliefs (Pajares 1992; Tatto and Coupland 2003), there has been consensus that teacher beliefs vary, and they matter for teaching and how students experience school. One study has found that teacher beliefs matter for student achievement, with more prejudiced beliefs relating to a larger ethnic achievement gap (van den Bergh et al. 2010). Another study has found that teacher beliefs can affect teachers' sense of efficacy (how capable and confident they feel) about teaching diverse populations (Silverman 2010). In general, education researchers investigating teacher beliefs in the United States have increasingly focused on teacher beliefs about diversity, due to the growing divide between American teachers' backgrounds (mostly White and middle class), and student backgrounds (more and more students of color) (e.g., Razfar 2012; Silverman 2010; Natesan and Kieftenbeld 2013). While research on beliefs focuses more on pan-ethnic categories of diversity (African-American, Latino), it suggests that teacher beliefs about immigrants and the process of integration might vary in ways that matter for how teachers interact with students. I therefore look closely at teacher beliefs in this study of integration, exploring how teachers conceptualize the process of integration, and their beliefs about immigrants.

To study teacher beliefs about immigrant integration, I draw on the conceptual tool of boundaries and the notion that integration is a process of *boundary negotiation* between immigrants and the host society. As a reminder, the term “symbolic boundaries” refers to the understandings people have about identity and belonging in their social reality (Alba 2005; Bail 2008; Lamont and Molnár 2002). Scholars argue that individuals construct and reconstruct boundaries of collective identity in everyday interactions (Pachucki, Pendergrass, and Lamont 2007). Symbolic boundaries have consequence for the process of immigrant incorporation and coming to belong (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999), for example by defining the scope of symbolic identities available to ethnically different people (Waters 1990). In this study, I argue that teachers have a key role to play in this boundary negotiation. If immigrant integration is a process of symbolic boundary negotiation involving both immigrants and natives, as scholars now argue (Alba 2005; Bail 2008; Bauböck 1998; Zolberg and Long 1999), then what natives like teachers think and believe about immigrants matters.



Immigrants in Barcelona are integrating into a bilingual place, bumping up against two poles of national identity and language. The mainstream is in tension in Barcelona, with the history of repressing Catalan under the Franco dictatorship, and the resurgent nationalism that defines present-day Catalonia. Language – specifically, choices about when to use Catalan and Spanish – marks this tension in everyday life (Woolard 1989, 2008). Thus while Alba (2005) argues that language is more susceptible to a graduated intergenerational process of assimilation, and that immigrants can speak two languages and thus are “not confined to one side of a brightly marked boundary” set by mainstream culture, it’s not clear immigrants will choose to do this in Barcelona, or how. How do “mainstream natives” that immigrants encounter, such as teachers, think about mainstream culture and its boundaries? Do they see a mainly Spanish mainstream, or Catalan? What if teachers feel caught between the two? Teachers’ understandings of language and national identities in particular potentially matter for the choices immigrants make as they incorporate into schools and the broader culture. A place with two mainstreams, with a push-pull between two poles of language and national identity, provides an ideal place to see the boundaries within teachers’ beliefs about immigrant integration.

### ***Chapter Overview***

This chapter analyzes how teachers understood and reasoned about the process of integrating immigrants at two high schools in Barcelona. Questions guiding this analysis include:

1. What are the symbolic boundaries in teachers’ beliefs about immigrant integration?
2. How do teachers understand and reason about integrating different immigrant groups in relation to these boundaries?
3. What explains teachers’ beliefs and understandings of immigrant integration?

To answer these questions, I draw on interviews with 24 subject-matter teachers who had new immigrants in their classes, 12 at Gaudí and 12 at Miró. These teachers saw new immigrant students every day in math, Catalan, Spanish and other classes. At Gaudí, new immigrant students spent an average of 18.5 hours, or 57% of the 32.5 weekly secondary school hours in regular classes outside the newcomer programs. At Miró, students spent an average of 23.5 hours, or 72% of their weekly class hours. I selected regular classroom teachers through new immigrants themselves, using the schedules of those in newcomer classrooms at the time of the study. This sample of teachers therefore represents the main people new immigrants at Gaudí and Miró saw when they entered mainstream classroom subjects each day. I interviewed teachers from as many mainstream subjects as possible, and was able to access teachers from all subjects except electives and Physical education.

The story of this chapter centers on teachers: how they reasoned about and understood what it meant to integrate immigrants in schools. I look first at the boundaries in teacher beliefs about integration. I found that teachers implicitly ranked immigrant students in terms of three symbolic boundaries: language, academic preparedness or effort, and cultural distance. Teachers reasoned, for example, that integration was easier for some groups or harder for others because of their language background, or academic preparedness. I discuss each of the boundaries in turn, beginning with the language boundary. The language boundary had particular salience; teachers mentally divided their immigrant students into language categories depending on whether they spoke Spanish. After looking closely at how teachers viewed immigrant groups in terms of language, I turn to the academic performance boundary. Finally, I discuss how teachers saw immigrants in terms of cultural distance. How teachers viewed the boundaries – and consequently, their immigrant students – was related to their personal experiences with Catalan integration and their orientations toward the two mainstreams in Barcelona. The final section of the chapter thus looks closely at teachers' family histories with Spanish and Catalan, and their positions on the importance of Catalan in their teaching. Teachers are human beings, and their backgrounds and experience matter for how they understand immigrant incorporation in schools. As a result, immigrant students in a bilingual place like Barcelona encounter quite different expectations about language and mainstream culture from one class to the next during the school day. The chapter concludes with implications for integration theory as well as immigrant and teacher education policy.

## **The Symbolic Boundaries in Teachers' Understandings of Integration**

Teachers made broad, sweeping statements about different immigrant groups, often subtly or not so subtly ranking them based on their language backgrounds, their academic performance, or the perceived open or closed character of their culture. The fact that teachers viewed immigrant students mainly in terms of these boundaries shows how other boundaries often associated with immigrant incorporation such as race or religion took a back seat to language in Barcelona. Teachers assumed immigrants would cross boundaries into Catalan and Spanish culture via the two languages, whether to join a civic or national identity, or simply to make it in school. Further, being in a bilingual place created a hierarchy of immigrants; a framework for comparing immigrant groups to each other in terms of how difficult or easy they had it in school, or how resistant they were to learning the Catalan language. Teachers saw the meaning of immigrant integration in terms of how immigrants performed in school, as well as how they integrated with their peers. For teachers, the meaning of integration was inextricably tied up with school life, and what they thought it took to be successful academically and socially in Barcelona schools, including learning the two languages and socializing with native students.

The following three sections look closely at how teachers thought about immigrants in terms of the three specific boundaries: language, academic performance,

and cultural difference. I discuss the explicit and implicit ways teachers ranked immigrants in terms of the boundaries, and show how they talked about them in overlapping and sometimes conflicting ways. I argue that language was the defining boundary in how teachers viewed immigrants, due to the bilingual nature of Barcelona schools and society, and the role of Catalan in schools. Language also predominated because a majority of immigrants at Gaudí and Miró were Spanish-speakers from Latin America, many of whom teachers perceived to resist or rebel against Catalan. How teachers ranked immigrants was in direct relationship to language. As a result, language penetrated teachers' views about academic performance and cultural difference as well. Throughout the discussion of these boundaries, I also discuss the absence of other boundaries we would expect the diversity of immigrants in Barcelona to raise for teachers.

### ***The Language Boundary***

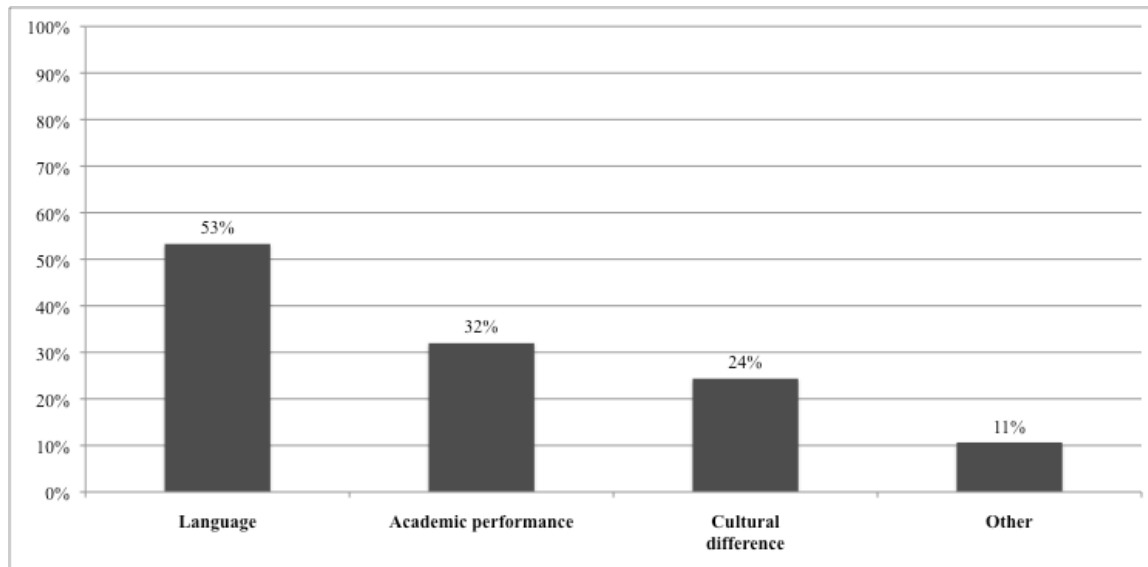
Language played a consequential role in how teachers understood immigrant integration. Teachers mainly understood what it meant to integrate immigrants in terms of the match between the home language of immigrant groups and the two languages of schooling in Barcelona. They reasoned that how immigrants would fare in school and society depended on their home language. This finding is not surprising to education and linguistics researchers who have long shown how language matters in immigrant education (e.g., August and Shanahan 2006; Thomas and Collier 2002; Valdés 2001). But immigration studies have taken a more narrow view of language, often focusing on proficiency for the workplace and native language retention across generations (e.g., Espenshade and Fu 1997; Portes and Hao 1998; Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006). In this study, I found that language also played important roles in the negotiation over mainstream culture and identity that happens between hosts and newcomers. At the same time, I argue that having two school languages meant teachers perceived a broader set of integration challenges and therefore judged immigrants' efforts to adapt in sometimes conflicting ways.

Of 24 teachers interviewed, 23 talked about language when they described or characterized immigrant groups. Over half (53%) of *all* talk about specific immigrant groups involved language, as Figure 5.1 shows. Of 197 statements teachers made that described, assessed, or otherwise talked about immigrant groups, the vast majority focused on one of the three boundaries identified (For more on the coding categories, see Appendix 6: Definitions and Evidence for Key Dimensions).

Within the language boundary, teachers were primarily concerned with immigrants' home language, and had strong views about how it helped or hindered integration. Teachers viewed language as a school subject, a skill needed for school success, and in terms of identity. They expressed frustration about how some immigrant groups didn't 'need' Catalan, and therefore didn't try as hard to learn it. They talked about encouraging immigrants to learn Catalan so they could socialize with native Catalans and thus come to belong. And they worried about how language 'deficits' would affect immigrants' chances to continue studying after high school. No matter how they

viewed it, the boundary of language was the most consequential way teachers categorized immigrant groups and reasoned about the process of integrating them in schools.

**Figure 5.1. Boundaries Identified in Teacher Talk about Immigrant Groups**



*Note: N=197 descriptive statements across 24 teachers, with an average of 8 per teacher (min 2, max 14). Columns add up to 120% because a handful of statements were double coded. Statements in the “other” category did not have an obvious connection to boundaries.*

Latin Americans were the main immigrant groups at Gaudí and Miró, and teachers talked about them more than any other immigrant group. Gaudí’s student body was 47% Latin American, and Miró’s was 42%, and all but a small handful of Brazilian students had Spanish as their home language. In teachers’ minds, Spanish-speaking Latin Americans predominated as the immigrant group to be integrated in their schools. I coded the occurrences of each immigrant group mentioned by the teachers, deriving the names for each group from the teachers’ own categorizations. Teachers lumped together Ecuadorians, Bolivians, Dominicans, and others from Spanish-speaking countries under the terms Latino, Latin Americans, South Americans, Hispanic Americans, or simply Spanish-speakers. (I mostly use the terms Latin Americans or Spanish-speakers, which were the most frequently used terms by teachers.) Seventeen of the 24 teachers (71%) talked about Spanish-speaking Latin American immigrants more than any other group during their interviews, and a majority of all talk about immigrants was about Latin Americans and invoked language. The fact that teachers could communicate with Spanish-speaking immigrants because of the shared language came up often.

Those who are South American, the language at least is something they already have. Though the class is in Catalan, at least it’s easier to communicate with

them, and you can evaluate them more easily. With the Chinese, the Pakistanis, it's more difficult, especially at the beginning (Felisa, Gaudí, 4/22/2010).

Depending on where they come from, if they come from a Latin American country, they already know Spanish well, but if they come from Morocco, of course, it's different...if they know Spanish, they have half the work done whereas if they come from other countries, they don't (Santiago, Miró, 5/5/2010).

The overall focus on language did not waver, even when teachers were talking about immigrants in terms of their country of origin, as Santiago was above. This is surprising when you consider how diverse immigrants were at Gaudí and Miró, and how much teachers brought up all different immigrant groups. Of 440 total mentions of immigrant groups across all 24 teachers, 37% were about Latin Americans, 19% about Chinese, and 11% about Pakistanis. Other groups that came up in important numbers were Eastern Europeans (10% of talk), Moroccans and Algerians (10%), and other African groups (6%). Previous research and theory in Europe suggests some of these groups might raise other boundaries in addition to language, including religion and citizenship (Alba 2005; Bail 2008; Zolberg and Long 1999). But in this study, other boundaries came up only a handful of times. For example, Tonia, an upbeat teacher at Gaudí, told me about a Moroccan student she had who began wearing a headscarf, and how it was completely fine. "It doesn't seem practical, I think they must be really, really hot, but I completely respect it" she said (TH interview, 4/29/2010). Another teacher at Gaudí told me the arrival of immigrants "surprises us, because the color of the faces changes, but otherwise nothing really changes, they're all children" (NN interview, 4/16/2010). And a Catalan teacher at Miró told me she thought people should "get used to the idea that a Catalan person can now be, a non-white person, and when, when we accept that, we'll all be better off" (RT interview, 5/4/2010). But these references to religion and race were an infrequent exception. Whether telling me about some Chinese students they used to have, or assessing how a Russian boy was doing in their class, teachers most often invoked the boundary of language.

Why was language so important to how these teachers viewed immigrants? Previous research indicates that language and Catalan identity are tightly intertwined (Pujolar 2010; Woolard 1989, 2008), suggesting that teachers' emphasis on the language boundary had to do with integrating immigrants into a Catalan national or ethnic identity. Indeed, I observed and participated in daily exchanges throughout my fieldwork that reinforced the idea of the Catalan language as inextricably tied up with *being Catalan*. For example, a substitute teacher in the newcomer classroom went around the room one day, having the students introduce themselves in Catalan. One boy introduced himself as *Juan*, in Spanish, and the teacher said his name in Catalan, *Joan*, and said (in Catalan) "we'll call you Joan" (Fieldnotes, 2/4/2010). For some teachers like this substitute, integrating immigrants into a Catalan national identity began from the first moments they arrived in the teacher's classroom, and continued each day as they spoke Catalan only with them. These teachers were an exception at one extreme, and I talk about them later

in the chapter. But for teachers overall, issues of language and immigrant integration were more complex.

In fact, teachers talked about Catalan national identity very little in comparison to the myriad other issues they brought up around language. I coded teachers' discussions of integration for references to any variation of the words Catalan or Catalonia, and Spanish or Spain. Three categories emerged: language, national identity ("being Catalan" or "being Spanish"), and place ("here in Catalonia" or "here in Spain"). Results show that teachers talked about language *much* more than they talked about national identity or place as they puzzled about the meaning of integration and belonging. At 585 mentions across the 24 interviews, language came up more than five times as often as national identity or place (Table 5.1). Nearly half of all talk (45%) was about the Catalan language, and another third (32%) was about the Spanish language. Deeper analysis of how teachers talked about the Catalan and Spanish languages suggests identity did come up in relation to language, but so did other concerns, including language competence for doing schoolwork, and how easy or hard it was for immigrants to learn the school languages. Using the Catalan or Spanish languages in school, or teaching them to students as a second language, was tied to language and identity politics, but it was also simply teachers' job.

**Table 5.1 References to Language, National Identity and Place**

Language N=585 (77%)		National Identity N=98 (13%)		Place (country, region) N=74 (10%)	
Catalan	Spanish	"Being Catalan"	"Being Spanish"	"Here in Catalonia"	"Here in Spain"
45%	32%	8%	5%	4%	5%

*Note: N=757 total mentions of Catalan or Spanish in any variation to refer to language, nationality, or place.*

The fact that Barcelona schools were *bilingual* meant that teachers' emphasis on language was about Spanish *and* Catalan, as Table 5.1 shows. As high school teachers in a bilingual place, Gaudí and Miró's teachers worried a lot about how their students would be able to handle a majority of school subjects in Catalan while also spending three hours a week in Spanish (reading and writing) and another three hours in English. If immigrants already spoke Spanish, teachers thought they had an easier time integrating into the demands of this school system.

If there isn't a problem with language, if they have Spanish they integrate well, and that's that. But, if the difficulty is, not only let's say, but also it's about language, and I'm talking about the Chinese students, I'm talking about the Russians, and I'm talking about the Ukrainians, then the integration is, it takes

two years, because two languages, well, it makes things more difficult (DB interview, 5/5/2010).

Those who are immigrants from South America, they have much fewer problems than the problems a Pakistani or Chinese student can have. It's much easier for them. Because the teacher, if they see they don't understand, they can help them, they can help them in their language [Spanish], and that helps a lot (NN interview, 4/16/2010).

All the teachers at Gaudí and Miró spoke both Spanish and Catalan. Catalan Education law required that all subjects except Spanish and English be taught in Catalan, but I often saw teachers switch to Spanish, as Natalia suggests she does to help Spanish-speakers. Spanish was a resource teachers could draw on to help immigrant students, and many did. Not everyone felt comfortable switching to Spanish, as I talk about in depth later in the chapter. But to the majority of teachers, having the shared language meant it was easier to integrate Latin American immigrants in schools.<sup>19</sup>

In contrast, teachers saw the Chinese, Pakistanis, and other non-Spanish speakers as having a more difficult time, especially at the beginning. "I'm not prepared to have a Pakistani kid in my class, for example, who has no idea of Catalan or Spanish" a Catalan teacher at Miró told me. "The Chinese, they don't have, they don't have even half the work done from knowing Spanish, or any of this, right? So it's an added difficulty," Beatriz, an English teacher at Gaudí, said. The problems associated with this added difficulty frustrated and worried teachers, particularly those in writing-heavy subjects like Spanish and Catalan. Immigrant students from countries like China and Russia had it harder because they were learning two languages, *and* many also had to learn a whole new alphabet. Luis Alberto, a veteran Spanish teacher at Gaudí, was especially frustrated with one Chinese student's lack of Spanish language skills, and didn't think she should be in his Spanish class at all, although it was the lowest level Spanish class in the school. He referred to her as 'an egregious case' three different times during our interview because the fact he couldn't communicate with her made him so uncomfortable.

Ok, well I have a Chinese girl in one class, and she really makes me sad, and she embarrasses me, because I - they tell me, when I ask, 'listen, this girl, what is she doing in Spanish class if she doesn't understand anything?' And it's true, one day I pointed to her and asked, I told her, 'listen, do you understand anything at all?', and a girl next to her tried to say, 'the teacher is saying something to you', and it was impossible, she can't even understand her classmates (LQ interview, 4/20/2010).

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<sup>19</sup> Note that I never asked teachers who was easier or harder to integrate; their ideas about it burst forth in answer to my open-ended questions about the meaning of integration and belonging.

The other four Spanish teachers I interviewed also worried about immigrants in their classes who did not speak Spanish. They did not feel equipped to teach Spanish as a second language. Since Spanish classes focused on spelling, grammar and other aspects of the language with the assumption that students were native speakers, Spanish teachers struggled to respond to the needs of immigrants who did not already speak Spanish.

They are learning the language as foreigners, so it's a different type of, type of teaching you have to do. And it's hard because there aren't enough hours to explain all that to them. But they're integrated into your class, so it's, it's hard (SM interview, 4/19/2010).

In sum, many teachers thought those who spoke Spanish had an *easier* time integrating because they already had one of the school languages. Teachers viewed and ranked immigrants through a language boundary made up of Catalan, the language of schooling, and Spanish, the home language of a majority of immigrants. These teachers implicitly ranked Spanish-speakers higher than non-Spanish speakers as they considered the meaning of integration. To this way of thinking, integrating immigrants involved helping to bridge the gap between immigrants' home language and the languages of school so that immigrant students could understand curriculum materials, teacher instructions, and other students. Seen from this perspective, having Spanish as a home language meant immigrants only had to learn one language at school, making integration easier.

However, another perspective on the language boundary mattered to teachers as well. Some teachers also thought of integration in terms of the Catalan language and in some cases Catalan identity specifically. Seen from this alternative perspective, teachers thought Spanish could *hinder* integration. In fact, some teachers had strong feelings about how Spanish could make integration harder, and they ranked Spanish speakers *lower* because they spoke Spanish. As these teachers described it, speaking Spanish made immigrants less motivated to learn Catalan, which in turn made it harder to integrate them in schools where the majority of classes took place in Catalan. The fact that Gaudí High and Miró High had very few Catalan-dominant native students made this even harder.

They come, and in the street, all they hear is Spanish, and if you're Catalan, you answer in Spanish because you know how to speak it, and so they get comfortable. And so they kind of think, 'why should I make the effort?' (Pau interview, 5/5/2010).

You really notice with people from Latin America, of course, their language, they don't understand why, if people can speak their language, well, why we use another one here (Gerard interview, 4/16/2010).



The South Americans want, they speak Spanish, and they find they can get along fine in Spanish, so they don't try and speak Catalan, and that, that creates some difficulties (OO interview, 4/23/2010).

Catalan language teachers, and those most concerned with promoting Catalan first for immigrants, argued most strongly that Spanish could make integration harder. For these teachers the fact that Latin Americans already knew Spanish meant that they didn't need Catalan, and therefore didn't try as hard, as Pau and Oscar say above. When teachers talked from this perspective, they tended to rank Spanish-speaking immigrant groups lower, and talk about how other immigrant groups spoke Catalan the best.

The Pakistanis, they speak Catalan really well, Catalan and Spanish, they're the only ones who speak Catalan really well (FB interview, 5/6/2010).

Pakistanis, the ones who come, maybe because they have to learn a language [Catalan] that's really, really different, and when they're in class, they understand it pretty well, and they actually have less issues than, than the South Americans, you know? (FL interview, 4/22/2010).

But not only those teachers who expressed to me that they had a strong Catalan identity saw immigrants from Spanish-speaking backgrounds as having a harder time integrating into Catalan. Catalan was an identity, but it was also a school subject students needed to pass, and a skill needed to make their way in other classes. To succeed in high school and go on to college or skilled jobs in Catalonia, students needed to speak and understand Catalan, and also read and write it well. So how immigrant students were doing with Catalan came up a lot for teachers in general, and was simply more charged for those teachers with stronger beliefs about Catalan integration. I look closely at teacher beliefs about Catalan integration later in the chapter, but for now, consider the contrasting ways Olga and Dolores talked about how Catalan mattered for immigrant students:

So I mean, they belong when they, well, when they start understanding what we understand here, the moment when they don't have any...it's about the person who came here. When they, well, when they no longer have, when they are speaking for example, speaking with me in Catalan, and have some of the same interests I might have (OT interview, 5/4/2010).

The problem with immigration is it's really *hard* to learn the language. The language here, whether we like it or not, is Catalan and Spanish. But more than anything here, it's Catalan. If you don't, if you go look for work, and you don't speak Catalan, you can't do anything. You're finished (DN interview, 4/23/2010).

For Olga, Catalan mattered for identifying with her as a Catalan person; immigrants belonged once they began making the effort to connect with her in Catalan. In contrast, Dolores felt that learning Catalan mattered because future jobs would require

it, and immigrant students would have fewer opportunities if they didn't speak Catalan. Both teachers worked at Miró, and had some of the same immigrant students. But language meant different things to them.

Olga, Dolores, and other teachers viewed immigrants with Spanish or non-Spanish-speaking backgrounds in contradictory ways, because language *meant* different things to them at different times. Language was a tool for communicating, *and* it was part of a social integration agenda for the most adamant Catalan teachers. Language was a skill needed for success in school, and it was a subject that got evaluated and graded. Language was a way of building rapport with students, and it was a marker of identity – becoming Catalan, or maintaining ties to ethnic groups. These and other distinct purposes overlapped and intermixed as teachers talked about different immigrant groups and measured the immigrants against the boundaries of the two languages at their schools. Thus, for example, when their focus was integration in schools in general, they might focus on how Spanish made things easier. But when they were talking about Catalan specifically, they focused on how Spanish could make it harder.

Because teachers had diverse views about the importance of Catalan in integration, immigrants received quite different messages throughout their school day about the relative importance of Catalan and Spanish, as well as the value of their own efforts. Though the immigrants themselves were not a main focus in this study, I did spend time in 9 mainstream classes at Gaudí, and 8 at Miró. In one of my early days of fieldwork, I observed a physics class with two Chinese girls who I knew from the new immigrant classes. All other students in the class were Latin American Spanish speakers, and the teacher, a portly, older man with glasses, taught entirely in Spanish. Later that same day, I observed the same two girls in their English class; the other students also spoke Spanish amongst themselves, but the teacher mostly used Catalan to explain English grammar concepts (Gaudí Fieldnotes, 1/18/2010). Hallway conversations between teachers and students were most often a mix of languages at both schools, with teachers sticking to Catalan while Spanish-speaking immigrant students asked questions and persisted in Spanish. Other studies whose main focus is the immigrants themselves find this as well; immigrants to Catalonia have to adjust to “competing, often blatantly contradictory linguistic ideologies and practices” writes the Catalan researcher Joan Pujolar (2010: p. 229). An American dissertation study also found that immigrants received different messages about the value and purpose of Catalan in school and society (Mercado 2008). Teachers and their beliefs about language play a critical role in how immigrants adapt to these messages and competing demands, as Newman (2011) also found.

### ***The Academic Performance Boundary***

Beyond language, the next most important way that teachers thought about immigrants was in terms of how they performed and behaved *academically*. Academic work is arguably the central enterprise of schooling and consequential to later life chances, so it makes sense that teachers would worry about it. Immigration researchers have looked more closely at this aspect of immigrant integration in schools and its

consequences for later life chances, though usually from the perspective of the immigrant students (Crul et al. 2012; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). These studies typically look at educational attainment of immigrants in comparison to native peers, and raise many questions about how teachers might influence immigrant outcomes. For example, a major study of 593 immigrant youth in Madrid and Barcelona found that 1.5 and second generation immigrants were achieving lower levels of education compared to native-born Spaniards (Aparicio 2007). How might the teachers of those youth view their integration in schools? In this section, I argue that teachers often categorized immigrant groups in terms of their previous schooling, and how hard they worked to catch up linguistically and academically. Academic level and perceived effort mattered a lot, and they got tangled up with the contradictory demands of the dual language boundary I just discussed. Teachers viewed Latin American immigrants more negatively overall, and praised and rewarded the efforts of other immigrant groups. Furthermore, teachers at Gaudí tended to be more negative than teachers at Miró. I argue that how teachers viewed the academic performance boundary meant the same immigrant group's academic work or behavior could be seen in opposite ways, even within the same school.

A majority of teachers (18 of 24) brought up academic performance as they puzzled over the meaning of integrating immigrants, and a third (32%) of all talk about immigrant groups involved academic issues (Figure 5.1). Teachers viewed their immigrant students in terms of how they did in school, focusing especially on level of preparedness from the home country, and effort and behavior in class. Though I never asked about these issues – my interview protocol focused on broader questions about immigration and belonging – teachers brought them up again and again. For teachers, the context for integration was schools, and incorporation therefore involved immigrants adapting to the way schools worked in Barcelona. This meant sitting quietly in lecture-style classes, taking notes, and studying hard for the high-stakes exams that made up most of students' grades. In other words, displaying the normative expectations of students in the institution of schooling (Brint 1998). Teachers felt immigrants, in particular Latin Americans, had a harder time adapting to this school system, in large part because of their low levels of previous schooling.

The problem is they write how they talk, and, and they don't know that the 'h' exists, nor the 'b', nor the 'v', nor the 'g', nor the 'j'. It's really terrible how South Americans write. I only have one in the second year of high school who writes without making mistakes. He doesn't put accents, but he doesn't have any spelling mistakes. But the rest of them, it's impossible, to read what they've written, it's deciphering scribbles, it's really terrible (Nuria interview, 4/27/2010).

I have immigrants in my classes, and the ones who are in the A groups, well they're doing fine. But I have a lot of more recent Latin American immigrants in 3C group, ok? And they are people who have barely done any English, ever. So how are they doing? You know what I've noticed? That the rest of the class is so *low, so so so low*, that, well, at the beginning I thought, I'm going to go crazy,

you know? But then since the whole class is so low, it's been ok. They're learning a few [English] words, I think (Beatriz interview, 4/20/2010).

As Nuria and Beatriz suggest, immigrants' previous level of education mattered a lot in how teachers viewed them as students. Teachers perceived discrepancies between immigrants' level of education from their home country, and the demands of schooling in Spain. In most cases, teachers saw immigrants as having lower levels of education, and struggling with the demands of academic work at their schools. At Gaudí and Miró, teachers used the word "level" (*nivel* in Spanish, *nivell* in Catalan) often as they talked about how different immigrant groups did in their schools. Teachers talked about academic levels in all different ways, but all saw the general level of students at their schools as being low, and lamented how much it had dropped since the Spanish Education Reform of the 1990s. The arrival of immigration was seen as further driving down the level at their schools, most acutely at Gaudí because it used to be a more elite academic school, as I discuss in Chapter 4.

Many teachers were particularly frustrated with the academic level and study habits that *Latin Americans* had when they arrived. Aina, a curly-haired, older math teacher in her first year at Gaudí, told me during our interview that most of her students were Latinos, and they had low levels.

The main students I have here are Latinos, and, and a few kids from Eastern countries, and others from Pakistan, but the majority are Latinos... Latinos are more respectful in general, but they do their own thing, don't follow class. And the levels they have, they are pretty low (AK interview, 4/30/2010).

Dolores, an older, neatly dressed English teacher at Miró rattled off her assessment of different immigrant groups' level. She also saw many Latin Americans as having a lower level, but said it depended on the home country.

To me in English class it's the same, teaching someone from, say, Senegal, from Sweden, or wherever, you know? But sometimes, of course, the one from Senegal, they have a really, *really* low level...the ones who come from the Ukraine, Russia, they have a higher level, a higher level. The ones who come from Africa, African countries, Latin America, it depends. If they come from Argentina, or Chile, it's higher. If they come from Peru, Ecuador, it's a lower level (DN interview, 4/23/2010).

In general, teachers perceived immigrants from Latin America and Africa as having a lower level of academic proficiency than immigrants from Eastern Europe and China. These teachers worked in a secondary school system that assumed a lot of previous knowledge and socialization in ways of behaving as a student. When immigrant students floundered, teachers felt it was due to poor schooling in their home countries. Teaching a math or Spanish class with such widely varying levels frustrated teachers; their training and curriculum assumed previous knowledge that many immigrant students

simply did not have, yet felt the education system held them accountable anyway. Their frustration with the situation exploded in sometimes primitive assessments of immigrant students.

How are we supposed to teach these kids we have here, who two years ago were in the middle of Senegal shepherding goats? (MN interview, 4/16/2010).

There are kids here who have basically come straight from the jungle, or jobs gathering coconuts all day on a tractor, or things like that, and they haven't been to school (NN interview, 4/16/2010).

These kids from South America from what I can tell, they have zero education in English. Zero (FB interview, 5/6/2010).

Not all teachers spoke in quite such crude ways. But all teachers compared immigrant groups to the bar of academic expectations at their school, and drew conclusions about immigrants and the countries they came from. For them, fitting in with these academic expectations was directly linked with how immigrants could be expected to fit with the broader society. Most teachers talked about immigrant groups and home country education systems in homogeneous ways – Latin Americans are like this, Pakistanis tend to be like that – as they assessed and compared immigrant students' academic performance. This raises questions of immigrants' class background, and what kind of schooling their parents might have had. One study of immigrants in Spain shows that immigrant parents from Morocco and the Dominican Republic had much lower levels of education, while Peruvian immigrant parents had relatively higher levels when they arrived (Aparicio 2007). Another study shows that the majority of Latin American immigrants to Spain come from middle class backgrounds in South America (Connor and Massey 2010). According to Barcelona government statistics, 67% of immigrant workers in the city worked in service jobs, while another 16% worked in construction (Departament d'Estadística 2008). I do not have specific information about the parents of immigrants at Gaudí and Miró.

The way teachers viewed immigrants in terms of academic performance was tied to behavior and expectations about what it meant to be a student. Whether it originated in poor home country schooling, or class differences, or something else, teachers often perceived immigrant students to need socializing in the norms of schooling. Teachers talked a lot about how they had to teach immigrant students *normas de conducta*, or the proper way to behave in school. Maria, the art teacher above who talked about the difficulty of teaching kids who “two years ago were in the middle of Senegal shepherding goats”, made a distinction between *educar* and *enseñar* as she talked immigrants and academic performance. *Educar* is a Spanish word that people use to talk about raising kids, teaching them values and behavior in life. *Enseñar* is closer to the English word “to teach” or “to educate”, as used in the context of teachers and schools. The implication, for Maria, and many other teachers frustrated with how immigrant students behaved in class, was that immigrants in secondary school often arrived without even knowing the

right way to behave in school, so teachers had to be like parents *and* teachers. Teachers talked in torn, frustrated and even angry ways about needing to control kids in the classroom, but having nothing but the tools of the school (words, sending kids out, detention after school). Several teachers told me immigrants were used to being beat by their teachers, and when they discovered they wouldn't be beat in Spain, they misbehaved constantly. The importance of behavior in the larger question of academic performance cannot be understated, especially because nearly all the classes I observed expected students to sit still, be quiet, and take notes.

The subject teachers taught had some relationship with how they perceived the boundary of academic performance. The majority of subject-matter teachers I interviewed (17 of 24) came from the core academic subjects of Math, Catalan, Spanish, and English.<sup>20</sup> Teachers in different areas talked more positively about some groups, and negatively about others. On the positive side, I found that math teachers talked more about how their Chinese immigrants did fine despite not knowing the language. English teachers also tended to be more positive. They talked about how having immigrants in their classes was enriching, particularly immigrants from countries like Pakistan where English was taught well or spoken as a native language.

For example, with the Chinese, I haven't had any problems, in spite of the language. I don't know how they study math in China, but they come, very well prepared, and they are able to follow the class without communicating with me. I see that without knowing the language, they can do it. They see what's on the board, write it, and do the problem, and understand what it's asking... Sometimes I think, I'd like to know what, what system of study they have in China, because I see they are able to follow the class, though they don't understand the language (FL interview, Math teacher, 4/22/2010).

For me it's, it's interesting, and I like to have people from Russia, from Pakistan. Because sometimes it's difficult to understand them, but that's good, ok? And they see that, the Spanish students see, they, they are aware that people from their age, they speak English. Not a perfect English, but they see they can improve their English (DN interview, English teacher, 4/23/2010).

Catalan and Spanish teachers, on the other hand, tended to talk in more negative ways about immigrants, particularly Latin Americans.

We recently had this one group in 3C, of South Americans, who were, were impossible, I mean, they didn't let you do anything in class, they were against,

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<sup>20</sup> New immigrants (those in Catalonian schools for less than 2 years) attended other core subjects (Science and Social Studies) in the newcomer classrooms so I did not interview regular classroom teachers from those subjects, except one at Miró who had a few new immigrants in her Social Studies class.

against everything. They were anti-Catalan, anti-, anti-everything (NT interview, Catalan teacher, 5/4/2010).

Unfortunately, I think the majority of the kids in our school, they come to take, and go back home. Especially the South Americans. With the Chinese, the Pakistanis, the Moroccans, I'm not so sure. But the South Americans, the ones from Spanish speaking countries, I really feel this... With people who come from Eastern Europe, I don't have this feeling, it's more a feeling of, 'we're looking for sun and happiness, light and peace, and a peaceful country, where there isn't violence, where there's not war, where it's possible to live well and the sun shines and we're all happy'. But the South Americans, they come here because it's *easy*, because they don't have too much trouble with the language, because it's easy (TH interview, Spanish teacher, 4/29/2010).

There are a lot of learning deficits. With my 3<sup>rd</sup> year students, I sometimes say 'let's talk about Colombia', and I ask them, 'so, does Garcia Marquez sound familiar to you?' or if they're from Peru, 'do you know Vargas Llosa?', and they say 'no teacher, no'. You know, that's really bad for them, for us, for everyone. You know, they talk about their country with such intense love, and you ask them, 'what was your life like there?', and they say 'teacher, I lived sooooo well there...'. But I don't know, they must call living well there, living in the streets, you know? Or, or going to harvest mangos, or bananas, or - because when it comes to studies, I think for these people, there, it's very, very secondary, because when they're here, I see them in 3B, or 3C where I have a lot of Hispanic Americans, and it's a complete disaster, they don't know anything, and getting them to work is impossible (LQ interview, Spanish teacher, 4/20/2010).

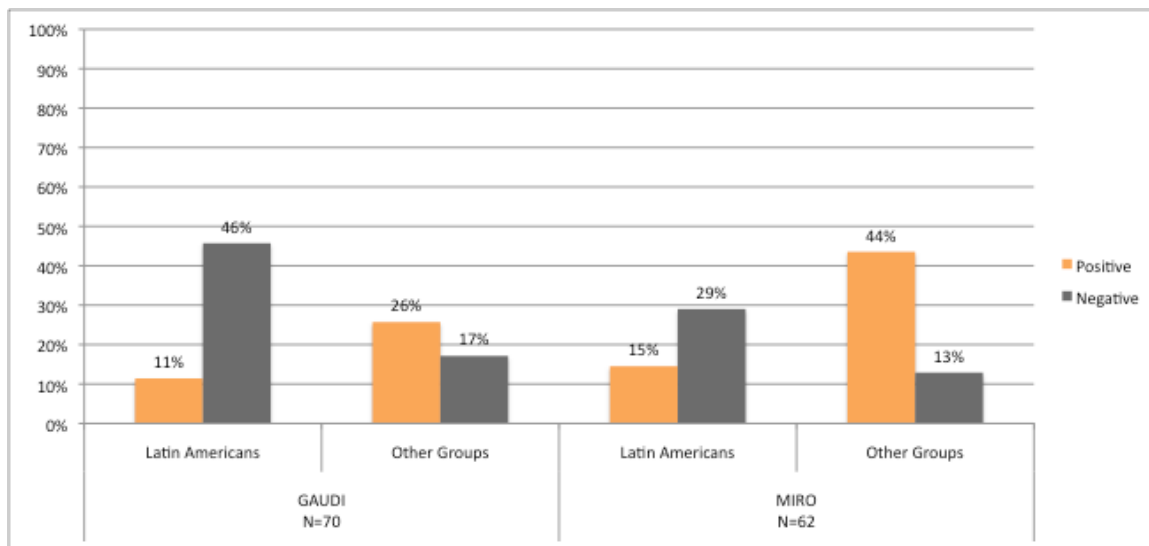
Luis Alberto's very negative assessment of his Latin American students 'not knowing anything' was not an exception. "They didn't even know who Cervantes was, one of the most important writers in the Spanish language", David at Gaudí told me. "We are in a time of cultural impoverishment, and these students are holding back the integration" Divina at Miró said. During casual conversations in the hallway, or teacher room, I heard teachers say negative things about their Latin American students in comparison to other immigrants on a daily basis. One of the most oft-repeated complaints was that they tended to do poorly in Spanish class. "Latin Americans get better grades in Catalan than they do in Spanish, and Spanish should be easy, it's their own language" teachers said again and again. The implication was that Latin Americans didn't work hard enough, despite arriving as native speakers of one of the school languages.

An overall negative assessment of Latin Americans predominated among teachers. Across all talk that described or characterized immigrant groups in some way, a majority (67%) was clearly positive or negative (Figure 5.2). I found that negative talk tended to be about Latin Americans while positive talk tended to be about other groups (for more about coding categories, see Appendix 6: Definitions and Evidence for Key Dimensions). Teachers at Gaudí were somewhat more negative than Miró. At Gaudí,

46% of talk negatively focused on Latin Americans, while 29% of talk at Miró was negative talk about Latin Americans. In contrast, teachers at both schools tended to see *other* immigrant groups in positive ways. Miró’s teachers were especially positive about other groups, with 44% of their talk being positive talk about other groups.

The difference between Gaudí and Miró is not surprising. Gaudí had a more academically prestigious history, and experienced the arrival of immigrants as further lowering the academic level of their already declining school following the Spanish Education Reform of 1995. I argue in Chapter 4 that this made for a more segregated implementation of newcomer classrooms, and more tension around learning Catalan at Gaudí. The way teachers saw Latin Americans’ academic effort may have added to the tension around Catalan that I observed. Teachers compared immigrant groups with each other, and to the yardstick of Catalan and Spanish, and the yardstick was more rigid at Gaudí. Teachers at Gaudí more often expressed frustration that their Latin American students “had it easy, because they had half the work done [as a result of speaking Spanish]”, and therefore when they struggled or failed, teachers tended to see it as a lack of effort. At Miró, on the other hand, some teachers were also negative towards Latin Americans, but the overall picture was more positive.

**Figure 5.2 Positive and Negative Statements about Immigrant Groups**



*Note: Denominator for percents is the total number of positive and negative statements at each school. Within each school, percents add up to 100.*

Note that the analysis of positive and negative talk depicted in Figure 5.2 was across *all* statements, and included the language and cultural difference boundaries. I talk about it here in the academic boundary section for two reasons. First, a majority of all negative talk focused on Latin Americans and brought up school performance. Second, boundaries of language and academic preparedness overlapped especially often. Much of teachers’ negative talk was about how they thought Spanish-speaking students were lazy,



or unprepared for school. Language and academic performance therefore got tangled as teachers talked about frustrations with how poorly Latin Americans did, when they had it ‘so much easier’ than other immigrants because they already spoke Spanish. To illustrate, consider how Gloria, a Spanish teacher at Miró, and Tonia, a Spanish teacher at Gaudí, described Latin Americans.

Almost all the students in the B groups are Latin American, not all, but most. And that doesn’t mean there aren’t Latin American students in the A groups, who work well and have a good academic level. But, there is a group, the Latin Americans in B, because they are, they tend to be lazy, and it bothers me to say it as something deterministic, but there *is* a tendency to be lazy (GS interview, 5/4/2010).

They already have a romance language, they understand its structure, so the kids who come from South America, of course, South Americans, I have a lot who are in new immigrant classrooms, [student name] for example, these guys, and in principle they shouldn’t have trouble with Spanish. But they do, and they have other problems, they don’t study, their relations with teachers, that sort of thing (TH interview, 4/29/2010).

Tonia and others thought learning Catalan should be easy for Latin Americans, because they already spoke Spanish, the “language of reference” as many teachers called it. Thus, when Latin Americans struggled in school, teachers saw it as a lack of effort and talked about how students should work harder. Teachers recognized that Latin Americans didn’t “need” Catalan to get by socially, but felt that Latin Americans should be able to easily learn Catalan for school since it is a romance language like Spanish. In contrast, teachers tended to be much more *positive* about non-Spanish speaking immigrants, particularly at Miró. Teachers talked about the academic and language challenges their Chinese, Pakistani, Moroccan and other non-Spanish-speaking immigrant students faced. Because teachers saw these students as having it much harder, they praised and rewarded their efforts. For example, Inmaculada, a fiery civic education teacher with red hair and a steady supply of cookies, described a Pakistani student she’d had the previous year.

You know who I mean, the tall Pakistani, the really tall Pakistani boy. Last year he, he didn’t say anything, nothing at all, and one day, and one day a teacher came to substitute the class, and said, ‘but this kid, he’s really quiet in this class’. And it’s because he was too shy, and he didn’t dare try. And now this year he even makes jokes, and says things that are said well, correctly in Catalan (IQ interview, 5/4/2010).

Luis Alberto, the Spanish teacher who talked so negatively about Latin Americans, and Tonia, the Spanish teacher at Gaudí who talked about the troubles South Americans had in Spanish class, also praised the efforts of immigrants from other places.

There's this Hungarian boy, and he's so great. In Spanish class, he doesn't do that well. But he works so hard, and he's from a non-Romance language, a Slavic language, and he just makes such an effort that he doesn't only pass with me, but I also reward his effort, so instead of giving him a 6 [out of 10], well, I'll give him a 7, because he has learning deficits that are a result of his language, which is neither Romance nor Spanish (LQ interview, 4/20/2010).

I have a boy for example who left the new immigrant classroom this year, and if you see him, that boy, from Pakistan, he's the most wonderful kid, it's just amazing... With a little, with few skills, he, there's not a lot of difference [with other immigrants], the difference is he gets his elbows in there when it comes time to study, you know? (TH interview, 4/29/2010)

Just four teachers cautioned against generalizing too much about immigrant groups' in terms of academic performance. At Miró, Federica, a math teacher, and Rocio, a Catalan teacher, both worried about how much immigrant groups got put in categories of high or low academic levels based only on where they came from. "I can't sincerely say all the kids who come from South America have a very low level" Federica said, "for example, [student name], her level, it's not too bad" (FN interview, 4/27/2010). Another two teachers, Fernanda at Miró, and Natalia at Gaudí, talked about how the immigrants were "adolescents, at a difficult time in their lives", and should be seen first and foremost with that in mind. But further analysis of my interviews shows that even though these teachers were less negative and did see it as important not to generalize, they themselves categorized their immigrant students in terms of how well they did academically in other parts of the interview.

Teachers' emphasis on academic performance as they talked about the meaning of integrating immigrants makes sense when you consider the daily work of teaching, and the context of secondary schools. There are many different ways immigrant groups might be viewed in general, such as in terms of citizenship, race or religion as Alba and others argue (Alba 2005; Lamont 2000; Zolberg and Long 1999). But it turns out the context of schooling creates an institutional boundary – academic performance – which plays an important role in how teachers view integration. If language is the vehicle of learning, academic work is the road on which teachers and students travel. When immigrant students land in a teachers' classroom, the teacher needs to figure out how to incorporate them into the academic work of their class. They must provide grades for the student, and help if the student has questions. Previous academic experiences, effort, and the languages students speak therefore turn out to be consequential, especially at the secondary school level where there is much more academic pressure and higher expectations about previous knowledge.

### ***The Cultural Difference Boundary***

The final boundary that characterized teachers' talk involved teachers' claims that immigrants were 'like us' or 'not like us', which I call cultural difference. Teachers

perceived that some groups had more integration problems due to coming from a more 'closed culture', while others integrated more easily because 'they are our brothers'. Teachers had strong ideas about how integration involved immigrants mixing socially with native people, and they felt issues of cultural difference made it easier or harder for immigrants to mix in school.

One has only to walk down a street in Barcelona, or take the metro to Gaudí or Miró like I did during fieldwork, to see what a multicultural place the city has become. The neighborhoods around the schools had people from all over the world. I would walk down any street on a lunch break from fieldwork, and see a Chinese-run store or café, or an Ecuadoran-run fruit stand or bar. Students at the schools themselves spoke over 15 different languages. "Everyone is a foreigner here" Maria at Gaudí told me, "of three grade levels I teach, there are 12 students who are from here, there aren't any Catalans anymore" (MN interview, 4/16/2010). One might ask, then, what these teachers meant when they talked about immigrants in terms of a boundary of cultural difference. Different from who? Similar to what?

Of the three boundaries I identified in teachers' talk about immigrant groups, cultural difference was by far the messiest. What teachers meant by cultural difference was not always clear, and they sometimes evoked the other boundaries, particularly language, as they talked about cultural difference. Despite these limitations, the ways teachers talked about immigrants in terms of cultural difference provides additional evidence for my argument that teachers viewed immigrants in complicated, often contradictory ways, and ranked them against each other in terms of notions about how easy or hard it was for them to integrate. Cultural difference, and the accompanying issue of social isolation, made integration harder, in teachers' minds.

A quarter (24%) of all talk about immigrant groups involved some notion of cultural difference and the social and academic issues teachers thought it created (Figure 5.1). Twenty of the 24 teachers I interviewed brought up issues that related to cultural difference at least once. Three issues came up more than others: how teachers thought of their Chinese and Pakistani students in cultural difference terms, the ways teachers thought cultural difference mattered for the social mixing they viewed as crucial to integration, and the contradictory ways teachers viewed Latin American culture and customs.

Teachers evoked the boundary of cultural difference most often in reference to their Chinese and Pakistani students. Teachers saw the Chinese and Pakistanis as having "more closed cultures", as "keeping themselves apart". Teacher felt this made it harder for these immigrants to connect with native peers and other immigrants. In teachers' minds, this meant immigrants from these places sometimes had a harder time adapting.

I think sometimes the Chinese have a little more trouble. Because I think that maybe the, of course, the culture is so different that when it comes time for them to integrate, it is a little harder for them. ...And it's possible we need some more training in the sense that to know how to meet the needs of these kids who come from Pakistan, or China, or wherever. What difficulties might they have, you know? It's true (FN interview, 4/27/2010).

I think about the Chinese, especially the Chinese, for them everything's very different, you know, the alphabet, writing, it's almost impossible and it's also a very closed community (DD interview, 4/20/2010).

I sometimes see students who are alone at recess against the wall, no one talks with them, you know, like the Chinese, or Pakistanis, at the beginning, and this is really sad, you know? (BH interview, 4/20/2010).

None of the teachers I interviewed spoke Chinese or Urdu, and as teachers they struggled to communicate and connect across what many experienced as a huge language and culture gap. They experienced communication gaps themselves, while also worrying about these immigrants becoming isolated because they couldn't socialize with other students. David at Gaudí expressed his worries about these immigrant groups as we walked to a café for his interview. "The hard thing about them is you can hardly tell what they're feeling," he said (DD interview notes, 4/20/2010). Natalia, also from Gaudí, told me, "the Pakistanis, they're just completely different, from a really different culture" (NN interview, 4/15/2010). Other teachers talked a lot about difficulty connecting with individual students from these immigrant groups as a result of the cultural and language differences. Fernanda and Inmaculada at Miró, for example, both struggled to connect with a Pakistani girl who had arrived to the school that year.

There's one girl that I can't communicate with this year, just one Pakistani girl, [name]. Not in English, not in Catalan, not in Spanish, and she seems to be able to write ok [in English], but I don't know, I don't know what is up with her (FB interview, 5/6/2010).

I have this girl [name of same Pakistani student], and she doesn't connect, she's very alone. She does ok in class, I think she's ok with [another Pakistani boy] who I put next to her, but, but I don't know, I see her a lot alone in the hall by my classroom (IQ interview, 5/4/2010).

Inmaculada's concern that this Pakistani student did not have friends is an example of the social worry teachers had which was wrapped up in how they talked about cultural difference. Teachers worried that if immigrants were "too different", or "too isolated with people of their own culture", they would have a harder time making friends in school. Friendship ties mattered in teachers' reasoning about integration. Teachers understood immigration as involving some separation, the natural tendency to be with people from one's own culture, but they thought the process of integration involved mixing with natives and immigrants from other groups too. They felt that their Chinese and Pakistani immigrant students sometimes mixed less with peers from school, and that it was due to how culturally different they were.

Pakistanis have a hard time learning the [Spanish] language, they have the hardest time. I have a Pakistani student who's struggling a lot. Also because of how they are, which comes from how their culture is. The Moroccans are more open than the Pakistanis, who live a little bit isolated with their families, especially the girls have a harder time making friends, more than the boys, because of how their culture is (SM interview, 4/19/2010).

We don't have a lot of Chinese students right now, but for the Chinese, here, there is a problem. We had a few more a few years back. They, they have a really hard time in high school because it's *really* different for them. They need, it's much, much harder for them to integrate in the school, make friends. They are much stronger culturally, much tighter with their culture. They need *a lot of extra help* with language, and without that, they can't make their way. And for me, in math, the thing is they do better, in math they see numbers and can understand them, so math is the only class they can really do well in (SB interview, 5/5/2010, his emphasis).

In this last excerpt, Santiago actually brings up all three cultural boundaries as he talks about his Chinese students. He saw them in terms of language, and how hard that made it for them to make their way. He saw them in terms of academic performance, and how not having Spanish or Catalan made it harder overall, but they often did better in his classes because they had better math skills when they arrived. And he saw them in terms of cultural difference and how it could make it hard to mix in the school and make friends. Another teacher, David at Gaudí, also brought up mixing and making friends beyond one's own ethnic group as he tried to define integration. He talked about many different immigrant groups, not only the Chinese:

I've lived in London, and the communities, segregation, they go together. You know Chinese people go together with Chinese people, Arab people go with Arab people, this is very very difficult to get out of. You can even see that in films, you know, problems of somebody who falls in love with an Arab guy who falls in love with a British girl, I mean, it's almost impossible to deal with that. I mean, for me, integration—I don't know, it's difficult. I mean we're dealing, we don't have problems, but in the end you see the people from Peru go with people from Peru, Arab girls they all stick together, Chinese boys stick together. So, it's like a micro wall, I don't know, micro communities in a big community (DD interview, 4/20/2010).

Like David, many other teachers had social worries that mixed up in how they talked about what it meant to integrate immigrants. Nearly half of the teachers (46%, or 11 of 24) thought mixing with natives or other immigrant groups was important to what it meant to integrate, and they worried that cultural differences could make this harder. Cultural differences caused immigrants to segregate themselves, they said, or have difficulty making friends. "Integration, it's about them being one more, not form[ing]

ghettos during recess time”, Nuria at Gaudí said (NS interview, 4/27/2010). Teachers had an intuition that integration meant making friends across ethnic lines, and when they saw immigrants as only being friends with their own ethnic group, teachers became concerned with issues of cultural difference.

On this point, teachers in this study resembled teachers across Catalonia. In a Catalan government evaluation study of LSC policy newcomer classrooms, researchers found that teachers saw new immigrant students from Asia as having more “integration problems” than immigrants from other places (Vila 2009; Siqués, Vila, and Perera 2009). Like the teachers in my study, Vila’s broader sample of Catalan teachers defined integration partly in terms of school behavior and how many friends the immigrants had. But the evaluation also reveals a disjuncture with how immigrants themselves saw the issues. Vila and his research associates found that Asian students did not perceive themselves to have worse behavior and fewer friends than other immigrants, in contrast to how their teachers saw them (Siqués, Vila, and Perera 2009). It’s possible the Chinese and Pakistani immigrant students at Gaudí and Miró also felt this way. I did not interview immigrant students, but anecdotally did notice during fieldwork that most friendships these immigrant students had were with other immigrants from the same group. The Chinese students stood under the eaves in one section of the playground at Gaudí, while the Pakistani boys played soccer and the Pakistani girls stood together talking, including younger students with older students. Independent research from two recent immigrant surveys also suggests that Chinese and Pakistani immigrants across Barcelona kept to themselves, and had fewer native friends or friends from other ethnic groups than other immigrant groups (Samper and Moreno 2009).

Just one teacher of the 11 who brought it up cautioned against generalizing too much about immigrant students and cultural difference. Federica, the math teacher at Miró who expressed caution about pigeon-holing Latin Americans too much in terms of academic performance, also thought teachers should be careful not to assume all Pakistanis or Chinese were the same just because they came from the same country. “It’s possible to have a Chinese student who’s not good at math”, she said early on in her interview “and I had a Chinese student who was very outgoing, he was the life of the party”. Later, she said:

The Pakistanis are sometimes a little more timid. But, well, sometimes for example I have a Pakistani girl in my class who no longer goes to the newcomer classes because she’s been here a while, and she is really quiet, and really, but not because she’s Pakistani. It’s because that’s how she is, I mean, when I was, when I was her age, I was also like that. So I mean, it gets to a point where we shouldn’t differentiate so much, I mean, the idea is that they get here, and that’s that, and each one has their personality, no matter where they’re from (FN interview, 4/27/2010).

Overall, those teachers who brought up cultural difference issues thought it allowed or inhibited mixing between immigrants and other people in the host community. They talked more about their Chinese and Pakistanis tending to be more isolated in

school, and worried about how it was related to cultural difference. Not everyone brought up Chinese and Pakistani students, but those who did expressed a similar view that what teachers perceived as their cultural difference got in the way of them smoothly integrating in schools.

On the other hand, teachers brought up cultural difference in more contradictory ways when they talked about Latin American immigrants. Teachers saw Spanish-speaking immigrants as being both “like us” *and* “not like us”. Luis Alberto, who above talked so negatively about his Latin American students’ learning deficits, and also talked at length about their behavior problems, also felt kinship with them if they worked hard. He told me later in the interview:

And then of course, you have the other extreme, you have South American kids who are very good, really good kids, but who come with such extreme challenges, I mean, extreme, extreme difficulties. They write *very badly*. Which of course that’s something they can learn. But I, I see them as being *light years* behind, and they’re also really slow. The Hispanic Americans, they are disappointing, and they, they are our brothers, you know, but those countries... (LQ interview, 4/20/2010).

Luis Alberto left the sentence unfinished, trailing off with an audible sigh. For him, because the Latin American students shared the Spanish language, they were “brothers”, but because they struggled academically, he felt disappointed and frustrated with them. Another Spanish teacher at Gaudí, Silvia, also felt a cultural kinship with South Americans because of sharing the Spanish language, but struggled with their different academic levels.

Then the ones who come from South America who speak Spanish, Spanish from America, they’re practically, I mean, it’s really similar, it’s the same language, and the truth is, we don’t have any problems to understand each other...but they have problems in class, because they have such different, different levels of education, you know? (SM interview, 4/19/2010).

Language, culture, and academic performance mixed together for teachers like Silvia. Yet even as the teachers expressed frustration with Latin American students, they did also feel a cultural kinship with them because they shared a language. This kinship seemed to make teachers have higher academic expectations of Latin Americans, as I described above.

In the area of cultural difference, some teachers talked about Latin Americans as being “not like us”, as having customs that were problematic in some way. Almost a quarter (21%) of teachers expressed some level of frustration, fear or even disdain at how Latin Americans dressed and behaved. They compared them to other immigrants in terms of customs and way of life, and found the Latin Americans lacking. For example, Nuria, an especially frustrated civic education teacher at Gaudí, talked about how Latin Americans had customs that caused problems for Spanish people.

The immigrants have messed up daily life here, I mean, they make noise at all hours, bother people. South Americans, they turn on the radio and have parties during the day, at night, in the afternoon... In the same circumstances, a Moroccan family leads a *much* more orderly life than the South Americans, one because they [the South Americans] don't even know who their father is, every mother, father, have children with anyone...they don't have any stability...there are some South Americans who have yet to even try Spanish food, I mean, they live exactly like they lived back home, they are as malnourished here as they were there, eating nothing but rice and some chicken, nothing more (NS interview, 4/27/2010).

Divina, the veteran Spanish teacher at Miró who talked about the arrival of immigrants as a time of 'cultural impoverishment', also judged Latin American customs to be different and problematic. Divina was always sharply dressed in dress skirts and suit jackets, with neatly coiffed hair. She talked a lot about how the immigrant girls dressed, and how much skin they showed, and felt it was a constant battle to try and get them to dress more appropriately.

More than anything, it's a question of customs, you know? I mean, the Hispanic American girl who, now that the warm spring weather is coming, you have to tell her, 'listen, you *can't* come to class dressed like that, ok? You can't', I mean, it's about different customs... You know, I don't have any problem telling someone, 'look, the way you're dressed, you're drawing negative attention to yourself, you know?', because that's the way it is. When the good weather comes, it's really terrible, you know? You can see they start, and you have to tell them, 'you can't come to class in little tank tops, ok? You can't come to class like that'. But their countries are like that (DB interview, 5/5/2010).

Other teachers also talked about how Latin American customs were different, but in reference to the issue of discipline in schools. These teachers told me about having heard from students that they were used to being physically punished in school when they misbehaved. Therefore, when they got to Spain and realized they would not be beat, they constantly caused trouble in class. Four teachers talked about the issue of immigrants being beat at school in their home country. Three of these teachers came from Gaudí, where teachers were more negative and frustrated with Latin Americans in general, because they thought Spanish-speakers had it easier, and therefore should do better in class.

The South Americans come, and they tell us that here they are so, so undisciplined because the teachers here let them. In their country, if they raised their voice, they got slapped (NS interview, 4/27/2010).



These kids, what I am really surprised by, is that a lot of them, especially the South Americans, they are used to being hit by their teachers, at school (NN interview, 4/16/2010).

The South American culture, I think especially when they get here, after 2 years it's different, you know? But when they get here, they have an idea of respect that is, that's mistaken, because back home since they get beat, in their home countries, well they have a mistaken idea of respect (MN interview, 4/16/2010).

Overall, only 5 teachers expressed opinions like those of the teachers here who talked about problems with South American customs. But I include them here because they show the broader picture of contradictory ways teachers viewed immigrants, particularly Latin Americans, and what teachers thought it meant to integrate them in schools.

Thus far, I have argued that teachers drew on the boundaries of language, academic performance, and cultural difference to reason about integration in their schools. But they evoked the boundaries in overlapping and sometimes conflicting ways, often assessing how easy or hard integration was for different immigrant groups depending on how the immigrants measured up to the boundaries. The picture that emerges is one in which immigrants might enter one classroom after another on a normal school day, and have their behavior and efforts be treated quite differently, based solely on their language background, or country of origin. The question that arises is why. What explains the way teachers viewed immigrants? Why did the language boundary come up more than others? Why did they view Spanish-speaking Latin American immigrants in especially contradictory ways? The final section of this chapter argues that teachers' own personal backgrounds with Catalan integration influenced how they viewed the boundaries and understood what it meant to integrate immigrants.

## **Personal Histories Shaped Teacher Beliefs About Immigrant Integration**

Teachers' perceptions of immigrants and the integration process were tightly linked with their own experiences navigating the cultural borderlands between Catalan and Spanish. When I asked teachers, 'What does it mean to integrate immigrants? What does it mean to belong here?' they brought up their own personal history with belonging in Catalonia, in addition to talking about immigrant groups in terms of the boundaries I have described. I set out on the journey of this dissertation study with the goal of understanding how the Language and Social Cohesion Policy shaped integration in schools, but found that the policy had little impact on mainstream teachers. None of the 24 regular classroom teachers I interviewed had had any professional development related to teaching immigrant students specifically, nor had they had any contact beyond a polite greeting with the district LSC policy coaches. Instead, the source of regular

classroom teachers' views on immigrant integration appeared to be their own personal histories with the Catalan and Spanish languages. Again and again I found myself hearing details about teachers' own family history, where their mother was from, where their father was from, how Catalan they felt. For teachers, reasoning about the meaning of integrating immigrants, thinking about what it meant for immigrants to come to belong, was inextricably intertwined with feelings about their own history with the Catalan and Spanish identities. Like a fourth boundary, one that influenced how they perceived the other three, teachers' personal histories with Catalan integration mattered in how they thought about the integration of immigrants in Barcelona.

In this section, I map the stories teachers told me about their own backgrounds, showing the wide range of experiences with Catalan and Spanish identity, and how teachers brought it up to explain their understanding of integration. The analysis shows how boundaries of integration are path-dependent (Alba 2005) not only at the country or ethnic group level, but also at the individual level. Teachers' backgrounds with Catalan and Spanish influenced their feelings about switching to Spanish or persisting in Catalan with their mostly Spanish-speaking immigrant students. I argue that these two issues – teachers' own histories, and their position on switching to Spanish – shaped teachers' stance on Catalan integration, which fundamentally shaped how they understood the boundaries immigrants had to cross to belong. The wide range of stances on Catalan integration provide a window into teacher experiences with the two mainstream identities in Barcelona, and bring a human face to discussions of the mainstream in theories of immigrant integration.

### ***Teacher Experiences With Catalan and Spanish***

While the larger tug-of-war between Spain and Catalonia on language and identity issues would suggest there were just two ways to be – Spanish or Catalan – the teachers in this study show that in reality, many people in Catalonia fell somewhere in the middle. When asked about the meaning of immigrant integration, teachers told me about how Catalan they felt, or what they thought of the Catalan government's efforts to strengthen the Catalan language in schools. They told me about their family's history with repression under the Franco regime, including one teacher who had been jailed for protesting the dictatorship in the early 1970s. They brought up their experiences traveling, or living abroad. Talking about the meaning of integrating immigrants prompted teachers to reflect on their own sense of belonging in Barcelona.

The majority (92%) of teachers at Gaudí and Miró told me about their personal backgrounds at some point during our interview or during my fieldwork. Just two teachers, Aina at Gaudí, and Inmaculada at Miró, did not tell me about their backgrounds; our interviews were shorter than others, and I had less contact with them beyond the interview. From the other teachers, I learned about Catalan, Spanish, and mixed backgrounds. Just one teacher had an immigrant background, Felisa at Gaudí, who had a Peruvian father and a Spanish mother. Sometimes teachers brought up their backgrounds in the first moment of our interview, as explanation for speaking one or another language. Most of the time, however, they brought it up in response to my question about what it

meant for immigrants to belong. During interviews, family and professional stories spilled out between opinions about the efforts immigrants made in class, or the importance of speaking Catalan in school. In a few cases, teachers flagged me down in the hallway later, or sat down next to me at the large table in the teacher room the next day, to ask about my study and explain more about their own backgrounds and what they believed about the presence of immigrants in their schools.

Teachers' backgrounds with Catalan and Spanish, and the way they talked about the importance of Catalan and Spanish, fell into four distinct categories along a spectrum of attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish identities (Figure 5.3). Using a combination of what teachers said about their own backgrounds, the reasons they gave for teaching and learning in Catalan (or not), and their talk about 'us Catalans/'here in Catalonia' or 'us Spanish'/'here in Spain', I placed teachers on an identity politics spectrum from the most staunch defenders of Catalan to those who rejected it outright (For more about the coding, see Appendix 6: Definitions and Evidence for Key Dimensions).

**Figure 5.3. Stance Toward Catalan Integration**

Catalan		Mixed		Spanish
<p><b>Very Catalan</b> Catalan roots. Explicitly push Catalan language as key to identity for immigrants.</p>	<p><b>Mixed Catalan</b> Mostly Catalan roots, but some mixed. Mostly focus on Catalan as important for school but more flexible with Spanish.</p>	<p><b>Mixed Conflicted</b> Spanish or mixed roots. Conflicted identity. Feel connected to both, use both languages fluidly, emphasize value of both.</p>	<p><b>Very Spanish</b> Spain born. Push more Spanish for new immigrants instead of Catalan. Resist Catalan integration efforts.</p>	
<p><b>3 teachers*</b> Enric, <i>Santiago</i>, <i>Olga</i></p>	<p><b>10 teachers</b> Beatriz, Tonia, Silvia, Natalia, Maria, <i>Fernanda</i>, <i>Pau</i>, <i>Oscar</i>, <i>Dolores</i>, <i>Rocio</i></p>	<p><b>6 teachers</b> David, Gerard, Felisa, <i>Nieves</i>, <i>Federica</i>, <i>Gloria</i></p>	<p><b>3 teachers</b> Luis Alberto, Nuria, <i>Divina</i></p>	

\* *Italics indicate teacher is from Miró High. Note that Aina, the math teacher at Gaudí, and Inmaculada, the social studies teacher at Miró, do not appear on this chart because I did not have enough information about their background to categorize them.*

At the most Catalan end of the spectrum were three teachers who talked at length about the Catalan language as the key to integrating immigrants into the identity of Catalonia. These teachers had strong Catalan roots themselves, and felt that for

immigrants to integrate in Barcelona, they needed to learn the Catalan language. At the other end of the spectrum were three teachers who themselves rejected being thought of as Catalan at all, and thought that immigrants should be learning much more Spanish. These teachers at the two extremes were in the minority with their more singular views. The majority of teachers fell into the two middle categories. Mixed Catalan teachers had mostly Catalan roots, and thought of themselves as Catalans, but also talked about mixed aspects of their backgrounds. They felt Catalan was important for immigrants to learn because it was needed to succeed in school, but thought of themselves as being more flexible with Spanish when needed. For them, immigrants were integrating into the school first and foremost. Mixed Conflicted teachers, on the other hand, were even more open about using Spanish, and talked about using both Spanish and Catalan fluidly. They saw themselves as occupying the conflicted middle ground between the two identity poles, struggling at different points in their lives to understand their own identity as mixed background Spanish-speakers in Catalonia. They talked about Catalan both as a language needed for school, and in terms of a social identity immigrants were joining.

To illustrate, consider how the teachers who fell at different points along the spectrum from Very Catalan to Very Spanish talked about their stories and explained their point of view. First, at the most resolute Catalan end of the spectrum, I met Enric, a long-term substitute science teacher at Gaudí. I interviewed Enric over coffee one morning, and he spoke at length about his feelings regarding the urgency of immigrants taking on Catalan. We then continued the conversation over lunch a few weeks later, and he told me about the importance of preserving and promoting Catalan as the most important marker of Catalan identity. He said he persisted in Catalan with everyone, including Spanish-speaking immigrant parents, because he believed it gave them an opportunity to learn that they wouldn't otherwise have. With immigrants, he felt the most important thing teachers could do was promote Catalan and teach students it was ok to make mistakes as they learned. For him, immigrants were and should be integrating into a Catalan identity *first*, because they were landing in the country of Catalonia. This meant learning the Catalan language first and foremost.

So when I talk about, when I say I belong here, I don't belong anywhere else, right? That is to say, all or nothing, right? That sometimes, it's about when, primarily when immigrants, when they can relate peacefully with the people from this country, right? Of course, whether you want it to or not, language is central to this, right? And not only language, but also some, the habits, customs, kind of the rhythm of the place makes up part of the culture. But I think that, this is what it's about, and more in this country, in this country Catalonia. That you mix with the language, right? The Catalan language is a clear element, and lots of other things come after it, you know, ways of being, of acting (EG interview, 4/7/2010).

For Enric, immigrants were arriving to his homeland, the place where his Catalan ancestors had always lived, and therefore they should learn Catalan to integrate there. He told me about an altercation with a Latin American girl in his class who refused to read out loud in Catalan. "If they don't want to learn, I can't do anything", he said. For him,

making an effort in Catalan mattered above everything else in his classes. If he switched to Spanish, for him it was like giving up, humiliating himself by giving in. Over lunch he explained his position with an impassioned plea for the plight of Catalan as a minority language. He explained the sense of responsibility he felt for strengthening Catalan, asking the questions, “If not me, who? If not here, where? In Madrid? No. In Holland. No. The place to speak Catalan is here” (Fieldnotes, 4/30/2010). He described confrontations with students in the classroom over the question of why immigrants should learn Catalan, particularly Latin Americans.

I’ve found a lot, well, especially groups from South America, you know? Who have really bad attitudes, they ask, ‘why should I learn another language’, and I tell them, ‘look because I speak it, and I was born here, ok? And not only was I born here, but my parents were also born here, and my grandparents, and my... ok?’ The kids, they ask me, and I tell them, if I can’t be here, I can’t be anywhere else, where can I live and be who I am? I tell them, ‘just like you can live in Colombia, ok? You know how for you there is a Colombia? Well for me this is *my* Colombia’, and I get defensive with them (EG interview, 4/7/2010).

Like Enric, Olga from Miró also inhabited a more determined Catalan space rooted in her sense of identity as a Catalan person. Olga was a long-term, tenured Catalan teacher at Miró who had originally trained to teach French. As I described earlier in the chapter, Olga saw the integration of immigrants as being about them learning Catalan so they could connect with her in her language; to her, integration was about immigrants learning about the Catalan culture, learning the Catalan language, adapting to what *she* had been doing all her life.

I think that all of that talk about integration is nice, that they integrate, but oftentimes I think that we make a mistake, I mean, it’s not about us adapting to them, to the people who come here, but rather the person who comes should adapt to, to *everything* that is ours, our customs, our way of being, etcetera, etcetera. And that’s true for our *language*, and I don’t know, for customs, for traditions ... What I mean is, the person who comes is the one who should adapt to, to what I have here, to what I have done all my life. I mean, they shouldn’t come to me, and say I’ve got to uproot what I’ve got established here (OT interview, 5/4/2010).

For Olga, as well as Enric and Santiago, immigrants were integrating into *Catalonia*. For them, the meaning of language was entwined with a more exclusively Catalan identity. Immigrants needed to learn Catalan not only to succeed in school, but also to belong, to participate, to be a part of what these teachers’ understood as their country, their past, their homeland of Catalonia.

At the other extreme, in the most adamantly Spanish territory, I met Luis Alberto. He was the veteran Spanish teacher who spoke at length about his frustrations with Latin American immigrants’ home country schooling. Luis Alberto had been teaching for over

30 years. He entered high school teaching long before the Spanish Education Reform of the 1990s, when high schools were selective. Luis Alberto was originally from Galicia, in the northwest of Spain, but had gotten a doctorate in Hispanic Studies in Madrid and then followed his wife to Barcelona in 1980. He was in his first year at Gaudí, having just returned to Barcelona after working at a school in France for 6 years through a government exchange program for teachers. Earlier in this chapter I quoted Luis Alberto talking about the challenge of having a Chinese student in his class who didn't understand him at all. He was embarrassed by not being able to communicate with her, and frustrated that her peers couldn't communicate with her either. Talking about the integration of this Chinese girl in his class prompted him to talk about his own experiences, and views about Catalan and Spanish.

I don't think she should be in Spanish class. You know what I mean? And even less in Catalan. Because here we have another problem, and I've always worried about this, which is the following: already, in the '80s when the Catalan linguistic normalization campaigns began – which is fine, I think it's fine. I know that the, well, productivity, the usefulness of Catalan at a global level is minimal, as minimal as my Galician language, and the Basque language. But you know, they are cultural goods that should be taken care of, that shouldn't be lost. But you know, if a person comes here from China, and you put, you immerse them directly in Catalan, it's a problem. No, no, because here evidently, I don't speak Catalan because I don't want to, and yet I can speak Spanish fine, and that's legally, I mean, it's no laughing matter. We are in Spain, and so we can speak what we want... I always talk about my country, which is Spain, you know, for me Catalonia is a *region* (LQ interview, 4/20/2010, his emphasis).

In the same vein, Nuria, also a longtime teacher in Barcelona who was originally from a region in the north of Spain, felt strongly that being Catalan was a choice, one she would never make no matter how long she lived in Catalonia. When I asked her what it meant to integrate immigrants, she brought up her own experience with integration in Catalonia, and her opinion of Catalan integration efforts.

Jordi Pujol [leader of Catalonia from 1980-2003] said many years ago that anyone who lives and works in Catalonia is Catalan. And my sister and I add, 'and wants to be'. Because I can be happy, live very well here, but I'll never be Catalan. And it would really bother me, if I have an accident or if, if through some miracle I were to get a Nobel Prize, were they to say, 'the Catalan Nuria Sanchez'. No, no, I am Spanish (NS interview, 4/27/2010).

Nuria went on to tell me that she always taught in Spanish. She said she knew how to speak and write Catalan, and used it for internal documents or communication with the Department of Education, but never in her teaching. "No one has ever told me that I have to teach my classes in Catalan," she said. On paper, Catalonian government law required that all weekly hours of class in secondary school, except 3 Spanish and 3

English, be in Catalan. The assumption and requirement at the highest levels of Catalan education policy was that students would learn math, science, social studies, technology, and other subjects in Catalan. Teachers were aware of the official policy, but they had very different stances towards it, as the case of Nuria demonstrates. Implicitly, teachers sent a message to immigrants by their choices about which language to teach in, as well as their willingness to use Spanish while teaching or informally outside of class.

I tell students, I warn them the first day, that I teach in Spanish, they can speak to me in the language they want, and they have the right to do their exams in whatever language they choose, which is not something other teachers do, they force students to do the exams in Catalan, which is illegal, it's against the constitution (NS interview, 4/27/2010).

For Luis Alberto and Nuria at Gaudí, and also Divina at Miró, immigrants were integrating into *Spain*, and should therefore be learning much more Spanish in schools. For these teachers, Catalan was a hindrance in the larger Spanish integration project. Luis Alberto told me “if we were to put a number to it, it should be two parts Spanish, and one part Catalan”. Divina felt that the current policy of mostly Catalan in schools was making integration harder for immigrants.

They [the Catalans] are *imposing, imposing*. Why do we have to learn everything in Catalan, why? ... When an Ecuadoran comes, if they were taught in *their* language – look, what I am going to say is controversial. It would be much easier if they were taught in the Spanish language, it would speed up their integration. But since they are put in, immersed in, in Catalan, it's *all* new, the context, language and context and *everything*, and it's a shift in mentality, which not everyone is able to overcome. And so, they speak both Spanish and Catalan poorly. They don't know one language or the other. That's what I think. We are holding back their integration, [by integrating them] in Catalan (DB interview, 5/5/2010, her emphasis).

Latin American immigrants who already had Spanish were halfway toward integration in Divina's mind, and should be able to study in Spanish. Integration in Catalan meant they didn't learn either language well, and it also meant that their performance in Spanish class – *their* language – was judged more stringently than their performance in other classes. Because teachers found they had lower levels of literacy to begin with, this generated a lot of frustration, as I argued earlier. Spanish teachers like Divina and Luis Alberto were among the most negative regarding Spanish-speaking immigrants' effort and home country schooling.

Overall, teachers like Enric, with his fervent agenda to incorporate immigrants into Catalan, and Nuria, with her resolute rejection of Catalan, were in the minority. Of the 22 teachers who talked with me about their backgrounds and feelings about Spanish and Catalan for immigrants, just 3 fell in the Very Catalan category, and another 3 fell at

the other extreme in the Very Spanish category. The majority of teachers I interviewed occupied the space between the two extremes, with some *mix* of loyalty to the Catalan and Spanish languages. As I showed in Figure 5.3, the middle ground clustered into two camps, with the basic defining feature being whether teachers talked about their own conflicted feelings with having a mixed identity, or talked more exclusively about the utility of Catalan for success in school.

On one side of the mixed category were those with mostly Catalan roots who did not bring up a personal identity conflict to talk about the meaning of immigrant integration. The Mixed Catalan teachers had mostly Catalan roots, but expressed a more flexible attitude toward using Spanish in their teaching than Enric and others at the most Catalan end of the spectrum. These teachers took as a given that Catalan was the language of schooling, and thus necessary for school and future success. Dolores, the English teacher I brought up earlier, fell into this category. Dolores was from a Spanish-speaking family, but had lived in Catalonia her whole life and identified as Catalan. She spent some years abroad in the United States as a special education teacher, and also brought up these experiences to explain her views on immigrant integration.

What I notice is, what *doesn't* integrate, the ones who *don't* integrate, it's because, well, for example the ones who are from Latin America, Spanish, they continue speaking Spanish amongst themselves, they don't speak Catalan. But what is the problem? The problem is that here we don't have Catalan speakers. So, well, some teachers speak Catalan, but [the immigrants] they keep talking always in Spanish. That's the problem... One, one basic factor in integration is always the language. If you don't speak the language, you don't integrate. So, well, if you speak Catalan – I always tell them, you know? 'what's important is that you don't, it's ok to make mistakes, I'm from Spanish, from a Spanish-speaking background, and I speak Catalan, and I make mistakes, and who cares? And I make mistakes in English, and who cares? And I make mistakes in German, and who cares? Forget about being embarrassed, accept you are who you are, and that's it' I tell them... Language integrates a lot, and if they don't learn it, then what? TV, school, everything is in Catalan (DN interview, 4/23/2010).

For Dolores, Catalan was important because it was needed for school, and work, and because people in Barcelona spoke it. She did not advance the opinion that Catalan was needed to be Catalan. Rather, she thought immigrants needed to learn Catalan because it was a skill that would help them. But she also readily used Spanish in her teaching, and felt it was important also for helping students learn. Tonia, Pau, Oscar, and other teachers in the Mixed Catalan category expressed a similar view. For example, Oscar, a technology teacher with Catalan-speaking origins from Valencia, a neighboring region of Catalonia that also speaks Catalan, described his stance:

The law is the law, but then no one actually does it in the classroom. There are *many* teachers who teach in Spanish. I teach, I usually teach in Catalan, but of course, when they talk to me, or if there are things I sometimes answer in Catalan,



and if I see they don't understand, well I do it in Spanish (OO interview, 4/23/2010).

Maria, the art teacher from Gaudí, saw herself as Catalan, and used Spanish every day with her students because she felt it was important to connect with them. Speaking Spanish makes it so students “see you as one of them”, she told me. “It makes things easier, makes it easier to connect with them”. She said she used both Catalan and Spanish all the time in her teaching because it helped students learn. But she struggled with the need to speak Spanish so often, and the lesser importance she saw that people ascribed to Catalan. As someone who identified as a Catalan, she had strong feelings about the importance of Catalan for integrating immigrants. When I asked her about the meaning of integrating immigrants, she launched into an impassioned story of her own experience with the two languages.

You know, I'm Catalan, and I spend my day speaking Spanish, so the one who needs to integrate is me, you know, or what are we talking about? Integration of who? Right? I spend my days speaking Spanish, when I'm in my neighborhood. I was born and raised here, and when I was little in elementary school [we spoke Spanish] because they were all Andalusian, and when I was older, because they're all South American, and when my French boyfriend came he said to me, ‘hey, Maria, they told me in the hairdresser that Catalan isn't needed for anything’, and I said to him, ‘well at my house it is, at my house it is, even if it's only to say ‘adeu’ [‘goodbye’ in Catalan] to my grandmother’, you know? (MN interview 4/16/2010).

Whether their reasons were to connect with students like Maria, or prepare them for future school and work like Dolores, the teachers in the Mixed Catalan category all thought of themselves as Catalan but used a lot of Spanish in their teaching. They promoted and supported the Catalan language as the reality of schools, and felt that to integrate in schools, immigrants needed to learn it. But they also felt it was important to help students using all the tools they had, so they didn't hesitate to use Spanish as well.

Teachers in the final area, the Conflicted Mixed category, were those teachers who used both languages, but who did so with a more explicit discussion of their own identity conflicts. These teachers talked openly about occupying the symbolic middle ground between Catalan and Spanish identity. They had past and present personal experience with negotiating the cultural borderlands between Spanish and Catalan, and felt their experiences helped them understand immigrants better. They said they often brought up these experiences with their students as a way of helping them navigate the two languages, and understand the value of learning Catalan in school. These teachers talked the most about their own identity conflicts and experiences.

David was the first person I spoke with who brought up his own conflicted identity as he discussed what it meant to integrate immigrants. David was an English teacher who had lived in England for many years before coming to teach in Barcelona.

He had studied philosophy in college, and later studied English so he could teach when he returned from England. He was tall and muscled, with very short blond hair and a tattoo on one shoulder that often showed below the cuff of his tee shirt. David had a lot of experience with immigration from his years in England, and talked about it when asked about integrating immigrants in his school in Barcelona. Originally from the Canary Islands, David also had a conflicted relationship with Catalan identity. When he was in Catalonia, he felt different, like he didn't belong, and he still called himself an immigrant after 27 years. But then when he was back home visiting family in the Canary Islands, he missed Catalonia and felt how he had become Catalan.

I feel like, what you read in literature, what you see in films, I'm from nowhere. When I'm here...I don't feel like I'm from Canary Islands anymore, I mean, if I think, but I don't really, I'm not homesick. But, when I'm there, because Catalonia is very criticized, I really miss Catalonia, and I feel, like, Catalan. But when I'm here...So I, I mean, it's something which is, how do you say, I mean the word 'belong' it, it doesn't make any sense. I mean, we are Europeans. I don't really give a damn about that, I just live here, in Barcelona, because I love it, I like it, the city, I think it's my city, but apart from that, belong to, I don't know where I belong. And I also don't want to. You know, it's like, no, I belong, I live today here, tomorrow I don't know where I'm going to live, and if I moved there I would like to have a really nice welcome, and feel comfortable. So when I see those people and all they're fighting for, no, there's too much nationalism here in Spain, which, I don't like. I hate it (DD interview, 4/20/10).

Nieves, a Social Studies teacher at Miró, also felt conflicted about what being Catalan meant to her. Nieves was a stocky woman in her 50s who had worked as a teacher in Barcelona her whole career. I spoke with her on my very last day of fieldwork, a late spring morning in May. Nieves was very candid about her own struggles with Catalan identity, and her history with the language. She felt that integrating immigrants into Catalan required time, and giving them space to come to it themselves.

So anything that involves imposing, it causes rejection, it's automatic, it happens to all of us, right? So we need to be very sensitive, and we need to give it time. I think that time, it usually, it always – look, it happened to me. I'm from a Spanish-speaking family, and, and I didn't start speaking Catalan until I was 18 years old, and it was of my own accord, well because I had friends, because I saw an effort towards me, because in some moment you, it arises in you, the desire to return what they are giving you. But when it comes from you, that's very strong, and it doesn't get broken easily (NM interview, 5/7/2010).

Nieves talked about her own position on navigating the boundaries between the two languages and identities, raising the question of whether someone from a Spanish-speaking background could every really be Catalan, despite having grown up in Barcelona.

Some years ago there was a Catalan teacher who said to me, ‘listen, although you speak a lot of Catalan, you’re not from here’, and I was born here, you know? (NM interview, 5/7/2010)

Gerard, a math teacher at Gaudí, also brought up what it felt like to come from a Spanish-speaking family in Barcelona. He explained that he felt both Catalan and Spanish. He told me he had had an identity crisis as a young person, and that he drew on this experience to connect with immigrant students.

Belonging. It’s complicated, because, let’s see... (pause). For example I have my own personal experience, I was born here in Catalonia, but my parents are from the South [of Spain], right? So I also had a *crisis* early on of, in, of, in elementary school, of –well, I knew I was from here, of course, but my language wasn’t the language of here...I, when I, I consider myself Catalan, but when I go abroad I realize I’m Spanish and I say, the truth is, I’m Spanish. I’d forgotten it, the truth is I’d forgotten. Well, yes, I’m Spanish, ok. But I had, I am very assimilated, I’m Catalan. Yes, it’s silly, but, the more I leave, the more I realize I’m Spanish too (GN interview, 4/16/2010).

Lastly, Federica, the math teacher at Miró who cautioned against generalizing too much about immigrant students in the discussion of boundaries, also brought up her own background, and how she identified with immigrant students because of coming from a Spanish-speaking family.

My parents for example, both are from a town in Caceres, and they had to come here. So what I mean to say is, I see myself a little like the students I have that in a certain moment, but what happens is that you see, I was born here, that is, I am Catalan and I was born here and everything, but my parents also had to pack their things and come here (FN interview, 4/27/2010).

In sum, teachers brought up their own backgrounds to explain their understanding of immigrant integration. Personal histories mattered to how teachers understood what it meant to integrate immigrants in their schools. Teachers had layers of pent-up resentment about Catalan government integration efforts, the lack of effort by Spanish speakers, or reasons to promote, save, or protect Catalan as a minority language. Like a tangle of different colored ropes, the opinions and experiences heaped upon one another to form a broad picture of what integration meant at Gaudí and Miró. Teachers experienced Spanish-speaking immigrant students as continually questioning why they needed to learn Catalan. Part of their job became giving reasons, and their reasons were rooted in their own experiences with Catalan integration and their choices about Catalan identity. For some, this was a natural choice born of their family history. For most, it was an active choice born of growing up in Catalonia, and experiencing life and teaching there. These teachers’ world was one in which they had the family history they had, whether Catalan,

Spanish, or some mix, and they had a student body of mainly Spanish-speaking kids in schools that were officially in Catalan. How they negotiated this, their own feelings about the importance of Catalan, created a context in which immigrants likely got different messages about language and mainstream identity.

## Conclusion

Teachers as individuals matter to the process of immigrant integration. Teachers had widely varying beliefs about what it meant to integrate immigrants, which manifested themselves in how they talked used the three symbolic boundaries to rank immigrant students in terms of how easy or hard it was to integrate them. Teachers sit between government and daily interaction with immigrants. They are human contexts of reception (Dabach 2008) for the incorporation of immigrant students. Teachers have their own biographies and experiences with the broader symbolic forces exerting pressure on new immigrants in schools. This meant that for a few teachers, integrating immigrants became part of their agenda to build a Catalan identity around the Catalan language. For a few others, it was about *resisting* those very same efforts. And for a majority of teachers caught by life circumstances between the two poles, integrating immigrants was about balancing the expectations of schooling, their own sense of integrity about teaching and learning, and push-pull of larger identity politics. This was the material teachers drew on to help construct the mainstream for immigrant students. At the same time, teachers were grappling with the expectations of their workplace, and expectations that they teach immigrants, evaluate them, give them grades, and ultimately promote them to the next level. The competing and often overwhelming demands made teachers rank different immigrant groups as easier or harder to integrate as they grappled with the different needs they brought to classrooms. As another recent dissertation study in Catalonia schools shows, the results often left immigrant students feeling their belonging was “conditional” (Rios-Rojas 2011).

Larger Spanish-Catalan identity struggles suggest there are just two ways to be, Spanish or Catalan. These findings show that teachers understood immigrant integration in much more varied ways. They had personal understandings of integration that drew on their own experiences of feeling they belonged, or not, in Barcelona. And they had social and collective understandings that drew on their perceptions of the mainstream immigrants were integrating *into*. For teachers, defining the integration of immigrants became a process of weighing their own feelings about the changes immigrants brought to their work, and their understandings of what it meant or *should mean* to come to belong in Catalonia. The findings put a human face on larger theories of immigrant integration as a process of remaking the mainstream. They show that on the host society side of the incorporation process, teachers negotiate with their own sense of identity and how immigrants are becoming a part of the mainstream(s) they know.



## Chapter 6

### Conclusion and Implications

Though the global economic crisis has hit Spain particularly hard, the number of immigrants in Spanish schools has held steady just below 10%, with Catalonia at 13% in 2010.<sup>21</sup> The vast majority of these immigrant children are in the public education system,<sup>22</sup> where they have transformed schools very quickly in the last 10 years. As one administrator in this study described it, “at first, they were a curiosity, an anecdote, just one Romanian here, one Ecuadoran there, and then it felt like poof, an explosion” (UT, 4/23/2010). The integration of these immigrant children is a top concern in Spain today, as in other countries of immigration such as the United States where children of immigrant parents now make up over 20% of the school-age population.<sup>23</sup> In Catalonia, the integration of immigrants has an added urgency stemming from the fact that so many of the new arrivals speak Spanish and are thus perceived as jeopardizing efforts to strengthen the Catalan language. The findings of the research presented here therefore have important implications, both for local policy in Catalonia, and for our broader understanding of the role of schools play in immigrant incorporation into mainstream culture.

This study provides evidence that schools play a central role in defining what it means for immigrants to join the symbolic identities of broader society. In Catalonia, the LSC Policy put forth a vision of integration and belonging that framed the Catalan language as the main membership boundary immigrants needed to cross to join the mainstream. Schools then used policy resources to implement new immigrant programs according to their vision for attending to diversity. I found that both school history, and district coaches provided for by the policy, influenced school implementation of new immigrant programs. Then, in mainstream classrooms beyond the reach of the policy, I found that teachers viewed immigrants through beliefs shaped by their own experiences with the broader identity politics of Catalonia. Teachers’ stance on the importance of Catalan in schooling was especially important for how they viewed and understood immigrant integration.

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<sup>21</sup> Datos y Cifras: Curso Escolar 2010-2011. Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de España. For more, see: [educación.gob.es](http://educación.gob.es)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Center for Immigration Studies analysis of the March 2010-11 United States Current Population Survey public use files. For more, see: [cis.org/node/3876#public](http://cis.org/node/3876#public)

A centuries-long quest for a separate identity from Spain makes Catalonia a unique context. At the same time, I argue that the findings provide insight into larger ideas about how contextual conditions in the host society vary and potentially matter in immigrant incorporation into mainstream culture. The following sections discuss these conclusions and their implications. I first summarize the findings in more detail to paint a picture of schools as a context of reception, and suggest specific policy recommendations for policy officials in Barcelona. I then talk about three research implications in more depth: the role of history in defining integration and shaping policy processes; the role of context in shaping boundaries of membership and belonging; and the importance of doing more to build theory about individuals' roles in planned and unplanned social change.

### **Schools as a Context of Reception: Summary of Key Findings**

This dissertation studies three levels of the education system to conceptualize how schools provide a context of reception for immigrant integration into the cultural mainstream. My goal has been to map key dimensions, or mechanisms, which suggest ways that schools function to shape social and cultural processes incorporation. Put in the language of symbolic boundaries, I have characterized how schools as host society institutions matter in the negotiation over membership boundaries hypothesized to take place between immigrants and natives (Alba 2005; Zolberg and Long 1999).

At the level of education policy I found that language formed the keystone of what it meant to integrate immigrants in schools. The Catalan language was the first priority, the “backbone” of Catalan integration efforts. A first read of the policy document suggested that Catalan policy officials viewed immigrant integration as a process of social change that included *both* immigrants and natives. This vision brings to mind current theories of immigrant assimilation as a process of social change on the part of immigrants and the host society (Alba and Nee 2003; Alba 2005; Kazal 1995; Zolberg and Long 1999). But my interviews with policy officials and analysis of policy documents shows that in fact, the Catalan government responded to the arrival of new immigration by *brightening* the boundary around Catalan identity (Alba 2005). The bulk of integration resources went toward teaching the Catalan language; to come to belong in Catalonia, immigrants were expected to learn Catalan. As Department of Education and Barcelona policy officials described it, the Catalans still very much felt their language and identity were under threat from the influence of Spanish, and the arrival of immigrants added to this feeling. Hence, the policy response involved tightening the definition of what it meant to integrate in Catalonia by setting up new immigrant classes in schools to teach the Catalan language, providing teachers and coaches to oversee the classes, and developing a range of new second language teaching materials.

At the level of individual schools I found that while Gaudí and Miró both implemented the new immigrant classrooms, they appeared to have different results with new immigrant students. In school observations, I found that Spanish-speaking Latin American immigrants at Gaudí spoke less Catalan, and demonstrated more resistance to learning it, than those at Miró. Closer study of *how* the two schools implemented

newcomer classes suggests the school approaches may have contributed to this outcome. At Gaudí, new immigrant classes were another, lower slot in the larger system of academic levels, thereby segregating immigrant students more from their mainstream peers and teachers. In contrast, Miró's new immigrant classroom had students for fewer hours, and provided more individualized support to help students succeed in regular subject classes. I conclude that the contrasting approach to implementation stemmed from a difference in school histories on the one hand, and the role of district LSC coaches on the other hand. Gaudí had a history as a more prestigious school, and experienced the arrival of immigrants as worsening the school quality, while Miró had a history as a vocational school, and was therefore more accustomed to adapting to different educational needs. The approach of the district coaches assigned to the schools reinforced and intensified these tendencies.

I found that individual teachers in mainstream classes were beyond the reach of the LSC Policy. Although the policy talked about providing professional development for all teachers, the 24 subject-matter teachers in this study had virtually no support for their work with immigrant students. Instead, they drew on their professional experiences as teachers, and their own experiences with belonging in Barcelona, to reason about immigrant integration. Teachers viewed immigrants through the lens of three specific boundaries of membership: language, academic performance, and cultural difference. They compared immigrants with each other in relation to these boundaries, assessing how easy or hard it was for them to integrate based on their home language, for example. Teachers viewed Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in especially contradictory and often negative ways. They believed Spanish-speaking immigrants should have had an easier time in Catalan schools because they already had one of the school languages. Teachers became frustrated with Latin Americans for "not trying hard enough" if they failed, while rewarding the efforts of non-Spanish speaking immigrants since they "have it so much harder". Teachers' own experiences with Catalan integration, and the subject they taught, appeared to influence how they viewed different immigrant groups.

### ***Policy Recommendations***

The results of this study suggest three concrete issues government officials in Barcelona and other similar places should attend to as they approach the task of incorporating immigrants in schools: 1) the role of policy intermediaries like coaches; 2) the vital importance of taking into account school history when designing education reforms; and 3) the related issue of teacher beliefs in shaping responses to diverse students.

*The Role of Coaches in School Change:* As the contrast between Gaudí and Miró shows, coaches can play an important role in influencing the shape policy takes in schools. The case of Nacho demonstrates this at Miró. Nacho met with the newcomer classroom teachers biweekly, occasionally observed them, and participated in some school meetings where he overlapped with the head newcomer teacher. Both newcomer teachers at Miró told me they turned to Nacho



for advice and curriculum materials, and I observed him sitting down meeting with the teachers on a regular basis. This more sustained interaction appeared to penetrate teachers' work at Miró more than the sporadic meetings teachers had with the coach at Gaudí.

*History Shapes Implementation:* This study demonstrates the integral role of previous experiences with diversity and difference in defining the meaning of integrating immigrants. History matters not only at the government level, but also within schools. This finding suggests that policy officials concerned with immigrant integration policy should attend to the historical ways people have thought about difference in their schools. As this study shows, this is tied to broader symbolic boundaries in the cultural mainstream. Evidently policies cannot take into account the particular histories of each individual school. But attending to and planning for the ways schools might understand difference at the policy formation stage might facilitate smoother implementations of policies.

*Teacher Beliefs Matter:* The findings presented here also show how teachers' beliefs are shaped by their own experiences with diversity and difference. Policies which attend to this, and plan for ways of bridging potential gaps between teacher beliefs and policy goals, are more likely to succeed. As this study suggests, coaches might be one way of bridging this potential gap. Regular subject teachers interact with immigrant students on a daily basis, and have the ultimate deciding role immigrant education. It is therefore important to attend to how they experience immigration when creating integration policy in schools.

## **Implications for Immigration and Policy Studies**

This section turns to implications of these findings for research and theory in immigrant integration and policy implementation. I first talk about the ways history matters in this study, and point to the broader implications for research. I then discuss how boundaries depend on context, and the role of individuals in planned and unplanned social change.

### ***History Matters***

This study provides evidence that the meaning of integrating new populations of immigrants depends on past experiences with diversity and difference. Integrating immigrants raises questions of what it means to belong in a place. It prompts us to confront our personal and collective stories about *who we are* and *who we are not*. This study shows that how these questions are answered within the education system depends on history. At the policy level, the Catalan government's history integrating Spanish-speaking schoolchildren in the 1980s shaped their response to the new immigration from other parts of the world. At the school level, schools had their own histories with academic prestige and norms of understanding and responding to difference, and this

history shaped how they used the resources of the LSC policy. And at the individual level, teachers' own histories with Catalan integration shaped how they viewed immigrants and the task of teaching them Catalan. Table 6.1 summarizes this finding.

**Table 6.1 The Importance of History**

<i>Level of the Education System</i>	<i>Historical Factors</i>	<i>Meaning of Immigration</i>
Policy	Previous integration project with people from other parts of Spain;	Policy vision focused on the Catalan language.
Schools	School history, norms for thinking about difference;	Implementation of policy as more personal at Miró, more segregated at Gaudí.
Teachers	Personal backgrounds with Catalan and Spanish;	Contradictory views of symbolic boundaries, particularly the role of language.

Large social theories of immigrant assimilation draw on history to make the case for how assimilation works, and to show the role of shifting boundaries of membership in assimilation (Alba and Nee 2003; Alba 2005; Waters 1990; Zolberg and Long 1999). The negotiation of boundaries of membership between immigrants and natives is held to be “a path-dependent process that hinges on the materials available in the social-structural, cultural, legal, and other institutional domains of the receiving society, as well as on characteristics and histories that the immigrants themselves present” (Alba 2005: p. 41). On the host society side, the prevailing understandings of diversity, for example, is held to influence the shape of boundaries immigrants are expected to cross to become members of society. My dissertation study shows that these symbolic boundaries are path-dependent not only at the country level, but also at the level of different institutions of society, and the individual level of teachers. School norms for addressing different learning needs ended up shaping how schools implemented integration policy, which contributed to defining integration at the school level. At the same time, teachers' own personal histories with Catalan integration shaped how they understood the integration of immigrants in schools.

My study reiterates and adds to argument within new assimilation theory that history matters in the symbolic boundary negotiation over membership that happens between immigrants and natives. “[T]he different histories of the groups and the societies that receive them carry over into the construction of boundaries, which cannot be manufactured de novo and thus are path-dependent” (Alba 2005: p. 22). That is, the symbolic boundaries of membership and belonging in the host society mainstream are constructed using experiences from past immigration, or integration work. This has been shown at the country level in German and French citizen integration models (Brubaker 1992). My study extends the research to the scope of educational institutions, and

individual people. I show how individual people in the host society make sense of the arrival of immigrants by drawing on previous experiences with difference and diversity.

In Catalonia, Spanish-speaking immigrants were experienced as a new threat to Catalan, and became part of a broader narrative to strengthen the Catalan language. Immigrants shifted the balance of power with their Spanish-speaking backgrounds in Catalonia. Many people saw these immigrants as tipping the balance of power back towards Spanish, just when they were starting to make some progress with those who had come to Catalonia in the 60s, 70s, and 80s. A few studies have shown Spanish-speaking immigrants are more willing to learn Catalan than Spanish-speakers from other parts of Spain (Gore 2002), especially if they had a good teacher in high school who treated them in positive ways (Newman 2011). But the generation of people running schools in Catalonia, teaching in many of the schools, is a generation who lived through the repression of the Franco years. They lived through the revival of the language in schools, the push towards undoing perceived damage done to the language after years of repression. They therefore operate using models of integration born of this history. What I found in my study was that the memory of this was very much alive for some teachers, and surfaced in how they viewed immigrants and their possibilities to succeed in school and become a part of society. It was also very much alive for policy officials, as they grappled with what it meant to integrate large new immigrant populations in their schools.

The finding that history matters in the symbolic work of immigrant integration in schools raises important questions about other new destinations, and their histories with diversity and difference. For example, what would a study of teachers in previously majority Black towns of the American South show about their beliefs regarding new Latino populations? The findings in this study suggest that these teachers would draw on their own experiences of difference – namely, the dominant race boundary in the United States. Thus, like Catalan teachers who viewed their immigrant students through the lens of their own integration in Barcelona, American teachers might turn out to view new immigrant students through their experiences of being Black or White in America. Recent research does suggest this on the immigrant side, as well as within American health and education institutions (Frank, Akresh, and Lu 2010; Marrow 2007).

### ***Boundaries Depend on Context***

A second implication of this dissertation study is how it shows the numerous ways that boundaries between natives and immigrants depend on the context of the host society. This finding is related to the idea that history matters, in that it focuses on how host society material makes up symbolic boundaries. However, the finding that boundaries depend on context shifts attention to the present, and to *characterizing* the types of boundaries that have consequence in local contexts today.

On paper, the LSC Policy promoted a vision of inclusiveness, respect for difference and democratic values, and openness to immigrant cultures. But as my study shows, in fact their focus was much more singularly on Catalan. The boundaries around mainstream identity in Catalonia appeared to contract, or shift (Zolberg and Long 1999)

in response to immigration. The arrival of immigrants became an opportunity to refocus the education system on the central job of teaching Catalan. In Catalonia, policy officials and government documents appeared to allow elements of immigrant cultures in some ways, but overall put forth a vision of immigrant rights to hold on to their cultural difference only if they crossed the brightest boundary of learning Catalan. If immigrants would learn Catalan and participate in a new Catalonian citizenship unified around the Catalan language, then they could be ‘as different as they wanted’ in the minds of policy officials and some teachers.

Symbolic boundaries of membership come to life in the context of individuals’ interpretations of them. In this study, individuals at the policy and teacher levels had different ideas about language and integration. This disjuncture reveals a need to learn more about implementation of integration policies, particularly those concerned with changing individual teachers’ behavior. Policy officials and teachers had different perceptions of the linguistic realities of new immigration, and what action needed to be taken. Those working at the policy level put forth a vision of integration that ascribed much less importance to Spanish and focused resources and attention on the Catalan language. As discussed in Chapter 3, policymakers admitted Catalonia was a bilingual place, but focused all their attention on Catalan. The policymakers could distance themselves from the bilingual reality of some schools, the teachers and students who might be more comfortable speaking Spanish, and say that all teachers *should be* speaking Catalan with students *all the time*. But teachers who worked at the daily level of schools could not distance themselves from this bilingual reality. They had daily, front-row seats in the theater of integration in schools. If anything, they were constantly faced with precisely the side of the reality policymakers de-emphasized: the number of Spanish speakers in some schools, and the challenges some teachers faced teaching in Catalan when their students spoke Spanish already. Teachers responded by constantly weighing the necessity of speaking Catalan, their own feelings about it, and the best way of conveying material to their students, as this study shows. In most cases, they used all the linguistic resources they had to communicate with students, including Spanish; there were only a handful of teachers who made clear they never switched to Spanish with immigrant students.

The complete emphasis on language in this study raises questions about other boundaries of membership, particularly religion. Zolberg and Long (1999) argued in their influential article that religion is the most important boundary in Europe. Because European countries have an identity fundamentally rooted in Christianity, Muslims can never truly belong, in their view. But the symbolic boundary of religion did not emerge as consequential in this study. Why? I suggest that the reason had to do with the fact that boundaries depend on context. The context of the two schools in this study was a majority Spanish-speaking neighborhood of Barcelona. There were some Muslim students at Gaudí and Miró, but Spanish-speaking immigrants predominated. Therefore, teachers tended to focus more on the boundary between Catalan and Spanish, and the perceived problems with integrating Latin Americans into Catalan when the sociolinguistic context did not require them to speak it. Other studies in Catalonia in

schools with larger numbers of Moroccan students have shown religion to be a more important boundary (Carrasco, Pàmies, and Ponferrada 2011; Rios-Rojas 2011).

The final way this study points to how boundaries depends on context is in its focus on the institution of schooling. Academic performance and language were important to teachers because they are core to the education enterprise. High schools have high expectations of previous knowledge, and they are sending students off to university or the labor market. Both put pressure on high schools to prepare students academically, so that when immigrant students arrive with low levels of education, it can create strong boundary of academic performance for teachers. This finding raises questions about what kind of boundaries might surface in other local or government institutions. For example, are there symbolic patterns to how health care workers view immigrant integration, or police? How might the boundaries of membership in education institutions look different outside the context of high school?

### ***Individuals Matter in Planned and Unplanned Social Change***

Lastly, this study also shows how individuals matter in both planned and unplanned social change. On the side of planned change, I found that coaches helped shape implementation of newcomer classes. Coaches were an intentional part of the policy, and they mattered a lot because teachers did little other training to implement newcomer classes. Coaches provided a vision for newcomer classes, content and teaching approaches, and beliefs about how to teach Catalan as a second language. At Miró, the coach became a resource for teachers to turn to for materials and language teaching strategies. At Miró, the coach advocated a very specific way of teaching Catalan as a second language, and checked up on teachers if she felt they were not following it. Both coaches helped shape implementation of new immigrant classrooms in their schools. Other research also shows that coaches can play an important role in reforms because they have the opportunity to interact with teachers in more sustained ways than one-time professional development events or meetings with district officials typically provide. In this way, coaches become a part of teachers' advice networks, and teachers tend to turn to them more frequently for expertise about reforms (Coburn, Mata, and Choi in press; Coburn and Russell 2008).

The analysis also revealed how teacher beliefs about immigrant integration, and the role of their own backgrounds, matter in unplanned ways as well. These teachers saw new immigrant students daily, and conveyed often conflicting expectations about what it meant for immigrants to come to belong. Teachers had strong views about the value of immigrant home languages, for example. They saw Spanish as helping school success, but hindering integration into Catalan. Chinese, Russian, Urdu, other non-romance languages were seen mainly as a deficit, similar to the way teachers view Spanish in the United States (e.g., Valdes 2001). At the same time, teachers viewed academic effort in conflicting ways, and talked about rewarding students' efforts in part based on perceptions of the challenges they faced due to their home language. Teachers at Gaudí and Miró valued Pakistani and Chinese students' efforts higher because they saw them as

‘having it so much harder’. In this way, individual teachers were playing a role in integrating immigrants, in ways unplanned for and unanticipated by integration policy.

## **Future Directions**

I envision three main directions for future research that build off the findings presented in this study. The first involves looking more deeply at the implementation of integration policy in different contexts. In the present study, I found that coaches and history mattered for implementing the LSC Policy. But questions remain about how other aspects of schools influence the implementation of policies, particularly teacher beliefs. In an area of policy – immigrant integration – that relies so much on symbolic understandings of belonging from the broader culture, teacher beliefs are likely to impact policy implementation. I was not able to determine how teacher beliefs mattered for implementation in this study. But other studies could investigate the relationship between teacher beliefs and school implementations of immigrant integration policies.

The second direction for future research would be to study teacher understandings of symbolic boundaries of membership in different contexts. For example the context of American race relations suggested above would be an especially interesting place, given how much of the immigrant incorporation literature has been developed in the American context. Would we also find that teachers in the American South viewed their immigrants in terms of language, academic performance, and cultural difference? How would the category of race emerge? I would argue based on the findings of this study that the overarching symbolic boundary between Blacks and Whites would have consequence for how teachers view new immigrant populations. At the same time, the findings suggest that language and academic performance might surface as well. Language is essential for the core communicative work of teaching, and academic performance is central to the institution of schooling, no matter what the context.

Finally, a compelling continuation of the research presented here would be a study of the relationship between teachers’ beliefs about immigrant students, and their understandings of their own incorporation, especially among high school students. The Catalan government evaluation’s finding that teachers and Asian immigrant students had different perceptions of the students’ level of school integration (Siqués, Vila, and Perera 2009) presents an intriguing puzzle in light of ways teachers in this study viewed immigrant student integration. Future studies in Barcelona or other contexts could provide more insight into the symbolic boundaries in teachers’ understandings of immigrant integration, and how they impact or relate to immigrants’ own understandings of integration and belonging. An ethnographic or in-depth case study of teacher beliefs and immigrant experiences would be especially interesting.

## **Conclusion**

This study provides a contextualized portrait of how three parts of the education system conceive of and respond to the arrival of immigrants. It answers sociological

questions about how parts of the education system contribute to the social process of integrating immigrants. At the most fundamental level, the study shows how the arrival of immigrants can animate national identity struggles and prompt new emphasis on elements of belonging like language.

Immigrant integration raises issues of national identity and belonging that have real meaning in peoples' lives. Some of the people I interviewed had family and individual stories of pain and oppression under the yoke of Spain's dictatorship. Others had equally powerful stories of feeling they never quite belonged as Spanish-speakers in Catalonia. And still others had stories of why they did not consider the Catalan language important, and actively resisted Catalan integration efforts. While the circumstances of the histories and stories in this dissertation are unique to the context of Barcelona, the findings have much broader implications for our understandings of processes of social integration. They show that narrative understandings of national identity and belonging matter for how people in the host society experience immigration. The arrival of immigrants pushes the edges of the collective story, or maybe the heart of it, because to be a new "us", either immigrants have to change, or the boundaries of what "us" means have to change. Education policies, schools, and individual teachers all have a role to play in this boundary negotiation. In particular, teachers' stories matter for how they understand the arrival of these newcomers in their classrooms, and therefore have consequence for the meaning of integrating immigrants in schools.





## Appendix 1. Newcomer Teacher Background Information

### Gaudí High School

Name	Language of Interview	Subject Taught	Degree(s)	Years Teaching	Years in School	Admin Status
Julia	Spanish	Adapted Science	Chemistry	20	10	Temp
Dalia	Catalan	Catalan	Catalan Language	20	1	Tenured
Francisca	Spanish	Catalan, Social Studies	Catalan Language, Religion	20	18	Temp
Neus	Catalan	Catalan, Social Studies	Hispanic Language Studies	10	1	Sub
Sonia	Catalan	Catalan	Psychology	20	1	Temp
Valentina	Catalan	Catalan	Catalan Language, Psychology, Literature	39	1	Sub

### Miró High School

Name	Language of Interview	Subject Taught	Degree(s)	Years Teaching	Years in School	Admin Status
Jordi	Catalan	Adapted Science, Social Studies	Geography, History	8	1	Temp
Nicolau	Spanish	Catalan	Catalan Language, History	28	3	Temp

## Appendix 2. Mainstream Teacher Background Information

### Gaudí High School

Name	Language of Interview	Subject Taught	Degree(s)	Years Teaching	Years in School	Admin Status
Beatriz	Spanish	English	German, English	15	6	Tenured
David	English, Spanish	English	Philosophy, English	18	3	Tenured
Aina	Spanish	Math	Math	32	1	Temp
Felisa	Spanish	Math	Math	8	1	Tenured
Gerard	Spanish	Math	Chemistry	7	2	Temp
Luis Alberto	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish & Galician Language	30	1	Tenured
Maria	Spanish	Art	Fine Arts, Photography, Design	5	1	Tenured
Nuria	Spanish	Civic Education	Classics (Latin and Greek)	20	20	Tenured
Natalia	Spanish	Math	Chemistry	7	2	Temp
Tonia	Spanish	Spanish	Roman Languages	23	3	Tenured
Silvia	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish Language	11	1	Tenured
Enric	Catalan	Science	Environmental Science, Physics	3	1	Sub

## Miró High School

Name	Language of Interview	Subject Taught	Degree(s)	Years Teaching	Years in School	Admin Status
Divina	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish Language, Journalism	33	31	Tenured
Dolores	English, Spanish	English	Psychology, English	20	5	Tenured
Federica	Catalan	Math	Physics	7	3	Tenured
Fernanda	Catalan	English	French Language	17	1	Tenured
Gloria	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish Language	30	23	Tenured
Inmaculada	Catalan, Spanish	Civic Education	Social Sciences, Art, Pedagogy	10	7	Temp
Olga	Catalan	Catalan	French Language	30	14	Tenured
Pau	Catalan	Art	Art, Astronomy	7	1	Sub
Nieves	Spanish	Social studies	Medieval History	23	12	Temp
Oscar	Catalan	Science	Computer Science	5	1	Tenured
Rocio	Catalan	Catalan	Catalan Language	10	4	Tenured
Santiago	Catalan	Math	Engineering	22	20	Tenured

## Appendix 3. Policy Interview Protocol

### Introduction to the Study<sup>24</sup>

Thank you for your time today. I appreciate the opportunity to talk with you as part of my research. My dissertation study looks at schooling and the integration of immigrants in Barcelona, focusing on the implementation of education policy. I have some questions for you about the children of immigrants in schools and newcomer classrooms. I am especially interested in your thoughts about the role schools play in incorporating the children of immigrants. I have prepared some questions, but please add anything you feel is relevant. Your answers will all be kept confidential, and your name will never be used in any of my research publications. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or wish to stop our interview, please let me know and we will stop.

Before we begin, I want to ask whether I can audio record our interview. This will help me represent your point of view as accurately as possible. Again, your answers will be confidential, and I will be removing your name from my project database and using pseudonyms to respect your privacy. [Begin recording if subject allows.]

### Background and Current Role

1. What is your **professional background**?
  - a. Education?
  - b. Job experience?
2. Tell me about your **current job**.
  - a. Title of your position?
  - b. Time in the job?
  - c. Focus of your work? What do you do every day?
  - d. Tell me about your work (if any) with policies focused on changing schools.

### The Policy Problem

1. How has increased immigration in this area affected schools in the past five years?
  - a. Public vs. private schools?
  - b. Primary vs. secondary schools?
2. What are the **main immigrant groups with children** in this area, and what are their needs?
3. **Who** needs to be integrated, in your view?

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<sup>24</sup> In all except three policy interviews, I used a Spanish or Catalan version of these interview questions.

4. People use the phrase “immigrant integration” in a lot of different ways. Can you talk about what it means to you to “integrate” children in schools?
  - a. **Into what** are immigrant children integrating?
  - b. [probe for views of culture, national identity, relative importance of language, religion, other issues?]
5. What does it mean to “**belong**” here? At what point does an immigrant “belong”? How do we know? (possibly probe for differences between Spain, regions, neighborhoods).

### **Policy Solutions *in general***

6. What has this government done to integrate immigrant children in the last five years?
  - a. What have the main policies been? [probe for name, target group of policy, and basic goals.]
  - b. Which policies are focused on schools specifically? Describe.
  - c. What resources have been dedicated to these policy efforts?
  - d. How have you been involved with these policy efforts?

### **Language and Social Cohesion Policy *in detail***

#### **[Policy Officials Only]**

7. Who were the most important **people** in shaping the Language and Social Cohesion Policy?
8. In your view, what are the most important **goals** of the newcomer classrooms? What is the policy **supposed to achieve**?
  - a. Standards or content expectations (what are students supposed to learn)?
  - b. How are the programs supposed to achieve their goals?
9. How has the policy been **implemented**? Tell me the story of how newcomer classes were implemented in schools.
  - a. What’s the process by which schools set up a newcomer classroom?
  - b. Number of personnel dedicated to the programs?
  - c. Trainings for teachers? Selection or assignment of teachers?
  - d. Role of unions or parent groups? Other actors?
  - e. Students’ entry and exit in the program?
  - f. Oversight or evaluation of the programs?
  - g. Problems you’ve noticed in the implementation?
10. Is the policy achieving its **goals**?
  - a. Why or why not?
  - b. Sources of information?
11. Who do you talk to about the newcomer classrooms? [ask more social network questions, including frequency, closeness, etc.?]
  - a. List people and positions.

- b. Please tell me about the last time you discussed the newcomer classrooms with [name of person]. What was the conversation about? [ask for each person mentioned]

## **Newcomer Classroom Policy *in detail***

### **[District LSC Coaches Only]**

3. How many newcomer classrooms are there in this district (in secondary schools)? How many students do they serve?
4. In your view, what are the most important **goals** of the new immigrant programs? What is the policy **supposed to achieve**?
  - a. Standards or content expectations (what are students supposed to learn)?
  - b. How are the programs supposed to achieve their goals?
  - c. Who were the most important **people** in shaping the newcomer classroom policy?
5. Tell me about your work with schools and newcomer classrooms.
  - a. How often do you visit schools?
  - b. Tell me about your last couple visits to schools. What did you do/see?
  - c. Do you work with teachers? Newcomer teachers and/or mainstream teachers? Tell me about your work with them.
  - d. [Probe for details about work with students, teachers.]
6. How has the policy been **implemented**? Tell me the story of how newcomer classes were implemented in this district.
  - a. What's the process by which schools set up a newcomer classroom?
  - b. Number of personnel dedicated to the programs?
  - c. Trainings for teachers? Selection or assignment of teachers?
  - d. Role of unions or parent groups? Other actors?
  - e. Students' entry and exit in the program?
  - f. Transition to normal classes?
  - g. Oversight or evaluation of the programs?
  - h. Problems you've noticed in the implementation?
7. Is the policy achieving its **goals**?
  - a. Why or why not?
  - b. Sources of information?
8. Who do you talk to about the newcomer classrooms and the topic of immigration?
  - a. List meetings, people and positions.
  - b. Please tell me about the last time you discussed the new immigrant classes with [name of person]. What was the conversation about? [ask for each person mentioned]

## **Final Thoughts**

12. Can you think of any **colleagues** I could interview to learn more about this policy? [those mentioned above, or others]

13. Documents related to the policy?
  - a. Policy documents?
  - b. Memos?
  - c. Correspondence?
  - d. Training documents?
  - e. Others?

**Thank you so much for your time!**

## Appendix 4. Teacher Interview Protocol

### Introduction to the Study<sup>25</sup>

Thank you for your time today. I appreciate the opportunity to talk with you as part of my research. My dissertation study looks at schooling and the integration of immigrants in Barcelona, focusing on integration programs inside schools. I have some questions for you about the children of immigrants in your class and the newcomer classes specifically. I am especially interested in your thoughts about incorporation and your job teaching immigrant children. I have prepared some questions, but please add anything you feel is relevant. Your answers will all be kept confidential, and your name will never be used in any of my research publications. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or wish to stop our interview, please let me know and we will stop.

Before we begin, I want to ask whether I can audio record our interview. This will help me represent your point of view as accurately as possible. Again, your answers will be confidential, and I will be removing your name from my project database and using pseudonyms to respect your privacy. [Begin recording if subject allows.]

### Teaching Background

*First, I'd like to know a little bit about you, your education and professional background.*

1. Tell me about your career as a teacher.
  - a. Training?
  - b. Previous jobs (subjects taught, amount of time)?
  - c. Professional development, additional certificates or training?
2. Now I'd like to know about your current job.
  - a. How long in it?
  - b. Focus of your work? What do you teach every day?
  - c. Professional development currently involved in?
  - d. Leadership positions?

### The Problem of Integration in this School

*I'm now going to ask you about your opinions on immigration and how it has affected this school and your teaching.*

3. How has increased immigration in this area affected this school in the **past five years**?

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<sup>25</sup> In all except two teacher interviews, I used a Spanish or Catalan version of these interview questions.



4. What are the **main immigrant groups with children** in this neighborhood now, and what are their needs?
5. **Who** is the focus of integration efforts in this school?
6. People use the word “integrate” in a lot of ways. What does it mean to you to **“integrate” children into this school**?
  - a. **Into what** are immigrant children integrating?
  - b. [probe for views of culture, national identity, relative importance of language, religion, other issues?]
7. People also use the word “belong” to refer to many different things. What does it mean to **“belong”** in this school? At what point does an immigrant student “belong”? How do we know?
8. In a newspaper article recently, I read an interview with a teacher who said teachers aren’t prepared to respond to the demands of immigrant students. What do you think about that?
9. Tell me about policy efforts to integrate immigrant students in this school. What have you seen or been a part of as a teacher in the last 5 years?

## **Knowledge and Opportunities to Learn**

*The next questions are about your experiences of teaching immigrant students, and your experiences or opinions about professional development needs.*

10. In a newspaper article recently, I read an interview with a teacher who said teachers aren’t prepared to respond to the demands of immigrant students. What do you think about that, do you agree with him?
11. Have you had any special training to teach immigrant students?
  - a. If yes, tell me about it. Did you seek it out or was it required at your school?
  - b. If no, would you like additional training? Why or why not?
  - c. What about training to use **“individual plans”**?
  - d. Special **meetings** that stand out in your mind for teaching new immigrant students?
12. Have you had any help or interaction from the **district LSC coach**?
  - a. If yes, tell me about the last interaction or two.
  - b. If no, what do you think they could help you with, if anything?
13. In your view, what are the most important **goals** of the newcomer classrooms? What is the policy **supposed to achieve** in this school?
  - a. Standards or content expectations (what are students supposed to learn)?
  - b. How are the programs supposed to achieve their goals?
14. From your perspective, are the newcomer classes achieving their **goals, do they work**?
  - a. Why or why not?

## The LSC Policy

### [Newcomer Teachers Only]

*I'd now like to know about the newcomer classroom policy in more detail.*

15. In your view, what are the most important **goals** of the newcomer programs?  
What is the policy **supposed to achieve** in this school?
  - c. Standards or content expectations (what are students supposed to learn)?
  - d. How are the programs supposed to achieve their goals?
16. I'd like to know more about **implementation** of the programs in your experience.
  - a. When did you start teaching in the newcomer classes?
  - b. How were you assigned to it?
  - c. Number of students in your class? (demographics of students?)
  - d. Have you received any special training to teach in the newcomer classroom?
  - e. Role of unions or parent associations?
  - f. Do you have meetings with other teachers about work in newcomer classrooms? If so, describe.
  - g. What, if any, is your role in students' entry and exit in the program?
  - h. Problems you've noticed in the implementation?
  - i. Resources or lack of resources?
17. What do you teach every day in the newcomer classes?
  - a. What do you think students entering newcomer classes need to know?
  - b. What kind of guidance have you received on what to teach?
18. From your perspective, are the newcomer classes achieving their **goals, do they work**?
  - a. Why or why not?
  - b. Sources of information?
19. Do you ever talk with mainstream teachers about your students? Recall the last time you talked about a student with a mainstream teacher. What did you discuss?

## Interactions with Students and Newcomer Classroom Teachers

### [Mainstream Teachers Only]

*Now I have a few short questions about new immigrant students in your class, and interactions with newcomer teachers.*

20. Tell me your impressions of \_\_\_\_\_ (name of student).
  - a. What kind of a student are they? How do they do in your class?
  - b. [repeat for each student in their class]
21. Do you ever talk with newcomer teachers about these students? Recall the last time you talked about a student with a newcomer classroom teacher.
  - a. What did you discuss?
  - b. Probe for whether they ever discussed individual plans.

## **Final Thoughts**

22. Can you think of any **colleagues** I could interview to learn more about this policy? [those mentioned above, or others]
23. Documents related to the policy?
  - a. Curriculum documents? Lesson plans?
  - b. Student schedules?
  - c. Memos?
  - d. Correspondence?
  - e. Training documents?

**Thank you so much for your time!**

## **Appendix 5. List of Documents Used in the Analysis**

### **Policy Documents**

L'acollida de l'alumnat nouvingut, Department of Education Presentation, February 2010

Language and Social Cohesion Plan: Annex 2: Protocol for extracurricular classes in foreign pupil' languages and cultures of origin. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació. Aprovat: abril 2004

Language and Social Cohesion Plan: Education and immigration. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació. Aprovat: abril 2004.

Mosaic. Castellnou Edicions amb la collaboració de Generalitat de Catalunya-Departament d'Educació. Curriculum book and CD for teaching Catalan.

Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social: Educació i immigració. Annex 3: Plans Educatius d'Entorn. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació.

Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social: Educació i convivència intercultural. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació. Aprovat: abril 2004, Actualitzat: novembre 2009.

Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social: Educació i convivència intercultural. Annex 1: Aules d'Acollida. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació. Juny de 2007. Actualitzat: novembre 2009.

Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social. Annex 2: Orientacions per a les línies d'intervenció i les seves actuacions. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació. Gener 2010.

Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social. Annex 2: Protocol a seguir per a l'establiment de classes de les llengües i de les cultures d'origen de l'alumnat de nacionalitat estrangera en horari extraescolar. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació.

Pla per a la Llengua i la Cohesió Social: Pla per a l'actualització de la Metodologia d'immersió en l'actual context sociolingüístic: 2007-2013. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació. Novembre 2007

Plan para la lengua y la Cohesión Social: Anexo 1: Plan para el alumnado de la comunidad gitana. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació.

Plan para la lengua y la Cohesión Social: Educación y convivencia intercultural. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació. Aprobado: abril 2004. Actualizado: noviembre 2009.

Recursos i materials per a l'atenció a l'alumnat nouvingut in edat escolar, Department of Education Presentation, February 2010

Vincles: Llengua Catalana per a Alumnat d'Incorporació Tardana: els altres i jo. Generalitat de Catalunya-Departament d'Ensenyament. Book and CD for teaching Catalan.

Vocabulari en imatges: Viure a Catalunya. Generalitat de Catalunya-Departament de la Vicepresidencia-Secretaria de Política Lingüística. Curriculum book for teaching Catalan.

## **Evaluation Papers & Reports**

Serra, Josep-Maria, Imma Canal, Pere Mayans, Santiago Perera, Carina Siqués, Ignasi Vila. 2007. Les aules d'acollida de l'educació primària de Catalunya: Algunes dades de l'avaluació del curs 2005-2006. Universitat de Girona i Servei d'Ensenyament del Català.

Vila, Ignasi, Imma Canal, Pere Mayans, Santiago Perera, Josep-Maria Serra, and Carina Siqués. 2009. Las aulas de acogida de la educación primaria de Cataluña el curso 2005-2006: sus efectos sobre el conocimiento de catalán y la adaptación escolar. *Infancia y Aprendizaje* 32 (3):307-327.

Serra, Josep-Maria, Santiago Perera, Carina Siqués, Ignasi Vila. November, 2007. The Linguistic Support Classrooms for Primary School Immigrant Children in Catalonia: Characteristics and Results. 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity. Hamilton, New Zealand.

Siqués, Carina, Ignasi Vila, Santiago Perera. 2009. Percepciones y actitudes del alumnado extranjero y del profesorado: un estudio empírico en las aulas de acogida de Cataluña. *Education and Psychology* 17(7): 103-132.

Vila, Ignasi. 2009. Students and Teachers' Perceptions About School Involvement: A Survey Developed in Catalonia, Spain. Girona: Universitat de Girona.

Vila, Ignasi, Imma Canal, Pere Mayans, Santiago Perera, Josep-Maria Serra, and Carina Siqués. 2007. Les aules d'acollida de l'educació primària i secundà obligatòria de Catalunya: Un estudi comparatiu. Universitat de Girona i Servei d'Ensenyament del Català.

Vila, Ignasi, Imma Canal, Pere Mayans, Santiago Perera, Josep-Maria Serra, and Carina Siqués. 2010. Las aulas de acogida de Cataluña: Sus efectos sobre el conocimiento de Catalán y la adaptación escolar. Departament d'Educació de la Generalitat de Catalunya y el Departamento de Psicología de la Universidad de Girona.

Vila, Ignasi, Judith Oller, Santiago Perera, Josep-Maria Serra, Carina Siqués. 2008. Lengua inicial y adquisición del Catalán en las aulas de acogida. Universidad de Girona.

### **School Documents**

Gaudí Pla d'Acollida i Integració. April 2009.

Gaudí Programació General de L'Institut, Curs 2009-2010

Gaudí Projecte Lingüístic, 2009-14.

Miró Family Languages Project, by Newcomer Classroom Teacher Jordi Catalá, Abril 2010.

Miró Pla d'Acollida i Integració. June 2008.

Miró Programació General de L'Institut, Curs 2009-2010

Miró Projecte Lingüístic, 2009-14.

## Appendix 6. Definitions and Evidence for Key Dimensions

### (A) Teacher Boundaries Analysis

<i>Boundary</i>	<i>Coding Definition</i>	<i>Sample Statements</i>
Language boundary	Statements that reference immigrant groups and language in any way, whether talking about how different their language is from Catalan, how having Spanish makes it easier to communicate with them, or something else.	The immigrants from South America, the language at least is something they already have. Although the class is in Catalan, at least it's easier to communicate with them, and you can evaluate them more easily (FL interview, 4/22/2010).
Academic performance boundary	Statements about immigrant groups that reference academic performance issues, including previous schooling, placement levels in school, behavior in class, and study effort.	Well, Hispanics, the, the truth is that the Latin Americans often have a lot of trouble, the ones who just got here recently, they have trouble in class, because they have levels, they have such different levels of schooling, you know? So they have a lot of problems in school (SM interview, 4/19/2010).
Cultural difference	Statements about immigrant groups where teachers reference issues of cultural difference, including ways <i>their</i> culture is different from <i>ours</i> , and ways teachers believe cultural differences matter for integration (how easy immigrants mix with peers).	I've noticed as a teacher that it's sometimes hard, because if one, or another custom, well, you set a meeting with them, they don't show up, 'let's meet at 5', they don't come. 'Right, but it was at 5, right?'. It's a different, a different way of being than, than the people from here (DN interview, 4/23/2010).
Other (a mix of statements, not clearly about boundaries or not enough to see a pattern)	Any statements teachers make about immigrant groups that do not fit the above categories.	Three or 4 years ago, Chinese, Moroccans started coming, and, well, now we've started having Russians, and Ukrainians (DB interview, 5/5/2010).  It's even true that, when the Africans come, I mean they are sent straight here with their ticket, you know? So the issue of, of politics, I think it's

		very present, and I mean, it's not a coincidence that all the immigrants are here in Catalonia (MN interview, 4/16/2010).
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### **(B) Teachers' Positive, Negative and Neutral Assessments of Immigrant Groups**

<i>Value</i>	<i>Coding Definition</i>	<i>Sample Statements</i>
Positive	Statements that were clearly <i>positive</i> assessments of immigrant groups, for example, of their academic capacities, how 'easy' it was to integrate them, or how hard they worked in school.	The Pakistanis speak Catalan the best (FB interview, 5/6/2010).
Negative	Statements that were clearly <i>negative</i> assessments of immigrants, for example, of their academic capacities, how 'hard' it was to integrate them, or how hard they worked in school.	I notice that the Hispanic Americans, they bring with them the most atrocious levels of schooling (LQ, 4/20/2010).
Neutral	Statements that were not clearly positive or negative.	Latin Americans are the main immigrant group in this school (BH interview, 4/20/2010).

### **(C) Teachers' Stance Toward Catalan**

To assign teachers to the four categories, I used teachers' background, how they talked about the importance (or not) of Catalan, and, in some cases where more evidence was needed to differentiate between categories, references to "here in Catalonia" or "here in Spain".

	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Very Catalan	Teacher has Catalan roots. Explicitly pushes for the Catalan language as the key to integration for immigrants.	<i>Enric from Gaudi:</i> <i>Background:</i> I've found a lot, well, especially groups from South America, you know? Who have really bad attitudes, they ask, 'why should I learn another language', and I tell them, 'look



		<p>because I speak it, and I was born here, ok? And not only was I born here, but my parents were also born here, and my grandparents, and my... ok?’</p> <p><i>Importance of Catalan for integration:</i> I think that, this is what it’s about, and more in this country, in this country Catalonia. That you mix with the language, right? The Catalan language is a clear element, and lots of other things come after it, you know, ways of being, of acting.</p>
Mixed Catalan	Teacher has Catalan or mixed roots. They mostly focus on Catalan as important for school but more flexible with Spanish.	<p><i>Silvia from Gaudí:</i> Background: I always tell students, I speak Catalan with my family, but I also speak Spanish, and I studied Spanish.</p> <p><i>Emphasize value of Catalan for school:</i> I always tell them, when I can, I speak Catalan, I speak it, it’s important...but I do notice a sort of resistance to learning Catalan for school, so they don’t have to do exams in Catalan, but it’s more resistance to it because they don’t want to study.</p> <p><i>Also more flexible with Spanish:</i> I have an advantage in my subject [Spanish], because I can speak Spanish, the language they have in mind when they come here.</p>
Mixed Conflicted	Spanish or mixed roots. Conflicted identity. Feel connected to both, use both languages fluidly, emphasize value of both.	<p><i>Nieves from Miró:</i> <i>Background:</i> I’m from a Spanish-speaking family, and, and I didn’t start speaking Catalan until I was 18 years old.</p> <p><i>Conflicted Identity:</i> Some years ago there was a Catalan teacher who said to me, ‘listen, although you speak a lot of Catalan, you’re not from here’, and I was born here, you know?</p>

		<p><i>Emphasize value of both languages:</i> I think having both languages is enriching, that's my personal opinion....I always teach my classes in Catalan, I make myself have them see it as normal. And I also like that they see that someone who is a Spanish-speaker can speak both languages without a problem, you know?</p>
Very Spanish	Spain born. Push more Spanish for new immigrants instead of Catalan. Resist Catalan integration efforts.	<p><i>Divina from Miró:</i>  <i>Background:</i> I'm from a small town, a small town in [neighboring region of Spain].</p> <p><i>Emphasize Spanish:</i> It would be much easier if they were taught in the Spanish language, it would speed up their integration. But since they are put in, immersed in, in Catalan, it's <i>all</i> new, the context, language and context and <i>everything</i>, and it's a shift in mentality, which not everyone is able to overcome.</p> <p><i>Resist Catalan integration:</i> They [the Catalans] are <i>imposing, imposing</i>. Why do we have to learn everything in Catalan, why?</p>

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