Title

The limits of interculturalismo : education and diversity in Spain's new era of immigration

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5985k50b

Author

Ackert, Elizabeth Stacy

Publication Date

2008

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

The Limits of *Interculturalismo:* Education and Diversity in Spain's New Era of
Immigration

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Master of
Arts

in

Latin American Studies

by

Elizabeth Stacy Ackert

Committee in charge:

    Professor John Skrentny, Chair
    Professor Wayne Cornelius
    Professor April Linton

2008

The Thesis of Elizabeth Stacy Ackert is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm:

_____

_____

_____
Chair

University of California, San Diego

2008

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my parents, Gary and Lynda Ackert.
Thank you for your unending support and reminding me that "the best is yet to come."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES, AND GRAPHS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, I want to thank my family, Lynda, Gary, and Christina Ackert, who have offered unconditional love and encouragement. I am also grateful for my wonderful extended family of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins, who have supported me throughout this process. Thank you to my Boulder friends, Eileen, Holly, Kimberly, and Kristi, for laughter and adventures amidst the stress. Thank you to Niki, for always being a confidant. Thank you to Adam, for selflessly encouraging me to follow my passion. Lastly, thank you to Cory, for sustenance, friendship, and love.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Limits of *Interculturalismo*: Education and Diversity in Spain's New Era of
Immigration

by

Elizabeth Stacy Ackert

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

University of California, San Diego, 2008

Professor John Skrentny, Chair

Spain has recently become one of Europe's new countries of immigration.
Ethnic diversity in Spain has traditionally referred to cultural minorities within the
country's Autonomous Communities. The presence of economic migrants and their

children is further diversifying the country's ethnic landscape. This thesis focuses on how one set of public institutions, the country's schools, are responding to increased ethnic heterogeneity among their student populations as the result of immigration. Specifically, I examine how five primary public schools in the district of Tetuán in Madrid have responded to the increased presence of Latin American immigrant students.

This thesis shows that the recent introduction of Latin American immigrant students in Tetuán has only prompted a minimal response in the neighborhood's schools. While national discourse disseminated by policymakers and scholars advocates an intercultural approach to immigrant education, Tetuán's schools struggle to implement this educational model in practice. Instead of taking a broad approach to ethnic recognition, schools relegate questions of ethnic diversity to peripheral spheres of the school, such as pull-out programs for linguistic minority students and compensatory programs for students with academic deficiencies. This thesis attempts to explain why this minimalist approach to ethnic diversity prevails in Tetuán. To accomplish this task, I examine national and local policy frameworks attending to diversity, and educator and immigrant parent attitudes towards ethnic recognition in the schools. I demonstrate that the minimal approach to diversity in Tetuán can be attributed to the absence of an institutional framework for implementing intercultural education and the lack of a political constituency among both teachers and parents supporting intercultural reform in the schools. I conclude that Tetuán's current approach to diversity is consistent with other European contexts where robust ethnic recognition through multiculturalism is retreating.

Introduction

"*Madrid no es ni quiere ser multicultural*."
("Madrid is not nor does it want to be multicultural.")
-Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón, *Alcalde de Madrid* (*Partido Popular*)[1]

"...*Nadie puede negar que España se dirige hacia un futuro que se caracterizará por el mestizaje...*"
("No one can deny that Spain is headed towards a future that will be characterized by *mestizaje*."[2])
-Alfonso Perales Pizarro, *Secretario de Relaciones Institucionales y Política Autonómica* (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español.*)[3]

Spain is now widely recognized by migration scholars as one of Europe's "new" countries of immigration. Most studies of immigration in Spain highlight the country's rapid transition from labor exporter to labor importer. Yet immigration is triggering another transformation in Spain; the emergence of a robust poly-ethnic state. Will Kymlicka theorizes that cultural diversity arises in nation-states by two means: through the incorporation of smaller cultures and 'national minorities' by involuntary or voluntary means, and through processes of immigration.[4] The first characterizes the multination state; the latter, the poly-ethnic state.[5]

Spain was codified as a multination state upon the signing of the Spanish Constitution in 1978, which divided the country into seventeen Autonomous

---

[1] Translation mine. Quoted in Pilar Marcos, "El PP propone la creación de una Agencia de Inmigración y Empleo**"** *El Pais*, October 7, 2006.

[2] I have left *mestizaje* un-translated because it is difficult to find an English word that adequately captures this concept. The term *mestizaje* first arose to describe the processes of miscegenation taking place between Spaniards and indigenous groups in colonial Latin America. Generally, it alludes to the process of inter-ethnic "mixing" that occurs from increased contact between racially and ethnically diverse groups.

[3] Translation mine. Quoted in Alfonso Perales Pizarro, "Apuntes sobre inmigración" *El Pais,* October 7, 2006. Mr. Perales Pizarro passed away shortly after the publication of this article, in December 2006 due to a terminal illness.

[4] Kymlicka notes that the incorporation of minorities through involuntary means occurs through the processes of conquest, colonization, or cessation. Their incorporation by voluntary means is usually achieved through the formation of a federation. See Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 10-11.

[5] Kymlicka, 11-26.

Communities (ACs).[6] Political decentralization gave greater sovereignty to Spain's

historical minorities, such as the Catalonians and Basques, whose divergent ethnic and

cultural identities were previously suppressed under the dictatorial rule of Francisco

Franco.[7] The recent arrival of economic migrants from Latin America, North and Sub-

Saharan Africa, and Eastern Europe is further diversifying the country's ethnic

composition. Spain can now be described as both a multination and a poly-ethnic state.[8]

This thesis examines the impact of the introduction of ethnic diversity via

immigration in one sector of Spanish society— the public schools. Foreign student

enrollments have grown rapidly in Spain's public education system over the last ten

years. In the 2001-2002 academic year, foreign students comprised only 2.95 percent of

the country's overall student population.[9] By the 2006-2007 year, 8.4 percent of students

---

[6] In terms of ethnic heterogeneity, Spain was clearly a multination prior to the signing of the Spanish Constitution. However, the Spanish multination became a political reality when ethnically diverse regions were officially given semi-autonomy in 1978.

[7] See Sue Wright, "Catalonia: The Geographical and Historical Context of the Language Question," in *Language, Democracy and Devolution in Catalonia*, ed. Sue Wright, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1999), 39-47.

[8] This is not to negate the existence of the *Gitano*, or Roma population, which has been present in Spain since well before the onset of current migrations. However, recent population statistics suggest that immigrants are quickly surpassing the Roma population in terms of numerical presence. For instance, a study on the education of Roma children conducted in 2004 estimated that 630,847 residents in Spain identified as *Gitano* in 1999. This represented only .016 percent of the overall Spanish population of 40,202,160 residents during that year. In this same year, there were an estimated 801,329 foreign residents living in Spain, a number that does not include undocumented workers. By 2006, the number of resident foreigners in Spain had jumped to 3,021,808, and continues to grow.
Sources:
CIDE/Instituto de la Mujer, "Experiencias y trayectorias de éxito escolar de gitanas y gitanos en España,*"* 2004. http://www.mec.es/cide/espanol/publicaciones/colecciones/mujeres/colm004/colm004pc.pdf
Instituto Nacional de Estadística, "Dejure population figures from 1996."
http://www.ine.es/
Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Secretaria de Estado de Inmigración y Emigración, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, "Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración 1999"and "Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración 2006."
http://extranjeros.mtas.es/es/general/DatosEstadisticos_index.html (All accessed on 12/9/07.)
[9] *Ministerio de Educación, Cultura, y Deporte, Dirección General de Educación, Formación Profesional, e Innovación Educativa, Centro de Investigación y Documentación Educativa,* "El Alumnado Extranjero en el Sistema Educativo Español (1991-2002)." *Boletín CIDE de Temas Educativos,* 11 (February, 2003).

enrolled in non-university public education were foreign. This number is higher in ACs such as Madrid and Catalonia, where approximately 1 in 10 students in non-university public education are foreign.[10] These numbers may appear small in comparison to other migrant-receiving countries. However, foreign enrollments have increased at a dramatic pace in Spain and are likely to be of great significance in the years to come.

Immigrant education policies in Europe are state-specific, with states ultimately defining the parameters of the context of reception for migrant children. Historically, the specific responses of liberal nation-states to the presence of immigrant students in the public schools has hinged on a number of societal factors, including the political structure of the education system, pre-existing arrangements for minority education, political and social mobilizations of immigrants as minority groups, state conceptualizations of nationhood and citizenship, and most recently, membership in supranational organizations. These responses have also varied according to the composition of the immigrant populations themselves, with factors such as race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, and legal status taking on varying degrees of importance in each country.

Comparative scholarship has shown that migrant-receiving societies often diverge in the strategies they embrace to recognize and accommodate ethnic diversity in the public schools. In the United States, this process has involved a variety of political battles over the multicultural aspects of schooling, such as the language of instruction and social studies curricula. In Great Britain, ethnic recognition and accommodation has been part of the greater framework of race relations and multicultural politics that arose

http://www.mec.es/cide/espanol/publicaciones/boletin/files/bol011feb03.pdf Accessed 12/9/07.
[10] *Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Secretaria General Técnica, Oficina de Estadística,* "Datos y cifras, Curso escolar 2007/2008."
http://www.mec.es/mecd/estadisticas/educativas/dcce/DATOS_Y_CIFRAS_WEB.pdf Accessed 12/9/07.

in the 1960s as a means to attend to the integration of post-colonial migrants.[11] Finally, in France, a brief experiment with interculturalism to accommodate Muslim immigrants in the 1980s was supplanted by a re-assertion of secularism in the public education system.[12] In this context, questions of ethnicity are "privatized" in an attempt to uphold the ethos of republican membership.[13]

My thesis examines how Spain's public schools are addressing ethnic diversity in this country's new era of immigration. The topic of immigrant education in Spain has been scarcely explored by scholars in the United States. This is due to the newness of immigration as a structural part of the Spanish economy.[14] The first wave of academic studies by U.S. scholars examining Spain as a country of immigration has focused mainly on the immigrant first generation, analyzing topics such as the country's increasingly restrictive immigration regime and the labor market integration of migrants.[15] Studies of the education of immigrant children are much needed to provide a full scope of the context of migrant integration in Spain.

---

[11] Erik Bleich, "Re-imagined communities? Education policies and national belonging in Britain and France," in *The Politics of Belonging: Migrants and Minorities in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Andrew Geddes and Adrian Favell (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1999), 60-75.

[12] Interestingly, the pedagogical and theoretical writings that emerged from this brief period of "interculturalism" in France are now widely disseminated in Spain. I discuss this phenomenon in greater detail in Chapter 1.

[13] Erik Bleich, "From International Ideas to Domestic Policies: Educational Multiculturalism in England and France," *Comparative Politics* vol. 31, no. 1 (October, 1998), 81-100; Rogers Brubaker, "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* vol. 24, no. 4 (July 2001), 531-548.

[14] It is important to note that Spanish researchers have produced numerous studies on the topic of immigrant education in Spain since the late 1980s. This scholarly groundwork has been laid by researchers Rosa Aparicio and Andrés Tornos of the *Universidad Pontificia de Comillas*, Gunther Dietz, F. Javier García Castaño and Antolín Granados Martínez of the University of Granada's *Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales*, Adela Franzé of the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*, Carlos Giménez of the *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, researchers Walter Actis, Carlos Pereda, and Miguel Ángel de Prada of the *Colectivo Ioé*, and others.

[15] For example, see Wayne Cornelius, "Spain: The Uneasy Transition from Labor Exporter to Labor Importer," in *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, ed. Wayne A. Cornelius, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin and James E. Hollifield (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 387-429.

This thesis examines the strategies that Madrid's education system is using to respond to the new introduction of ethnic diversity via immigration. Specifically, I assess how national and local education policy and institutional praxis take into account variables such an immigrant's national or ethnic origins. To achieve this task, I analyze how *interculturalidad,* the prevailing discourse shaping immigrant education in Spain, addresses considerations of ethnic diversity. I pair this discursive analysis with a case study of the politics of diversity in Tetuán, a major immigrant-receiving zone in Madrid. Finally, I discuss the limitations of Madrid's current approaches to diversity to attend to the educational needs of Latin American immigrant students, Tetuán's largest ethnic minority. Before discussing my research questions and analytical approach, I give a brief overview of Spain's history as a new country of immigration, providing a panorama of what migration scholars call the "context of reception."

Spain as a New Country of Immigration: Context of Reception

Unlike other European countries that received migrants throughout the postwar era, Spain became a country of immigration in the 1980s, making the rapid transition from labor exporter to labor importer within the span of a decade. The year 1985 signaled the beginning of the new era of immigration in Spain. This year initiated a period of robust economic growth and restructuring of the Spanish economy, creating a greater economic demand for migrant workers. This was also the year that the first

immigration control measures were implemented in Spain. Both of these factors are directly related to Spain's entrance into the European Community (EC) in 1986.[16]

The demand for low-wage labor in Spain has arisen from the economic restructuring that has taken place during the post-dictatorial era and the concurrent process of market integration into the EC.[17] The signing of the Moncloa Accords in 1977 signaled Spain's transition to democracy and initiated an overhaul of the country's political economy.[18] Spain became a member of the internal regional market of the EC in the early 1980s, officially entering the Community in 1986. Economic restructuring in Spain is the result of these processes, and can generally be characterized as a movement towards greater labor market "flexibility."

Wayne Cornelius notes that the Spanish economy has increasingly exhibited a high degree of labor market segmentation.[19] The low-wage labor force has steadily been channeled into jobs in agriculture, the service industry, construction, and domestic service, with migrants filling many of these positions. Cornelius further points out that the proliferation of short-term and temporal work in these sectors is the result of employers' efforts to circumvent the rigidities of Spain's labor standards, which are characterized by long-term contracts and measures to prevent hiring and firing in short cycles. Even with Spain's high unemployment rates, native workers shun jobs in the country's low-wage sectors, given the short-term, physically demanding, and

---

[16] See Kitty Calavita, *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Cornelius.

[17] See Kitty Calavita, "Immigration, Law, and Marginalization in a Global Economy: Notes from Spain," *Law & Society Review*, vol. 32, no. 3. (1998), 529-566; and Cornelius.

[18] Omar G. Encarnación, "The Politics of Immigration: Why Spain is Different," *Mediterranean Quarterly* (Fall 2004), 167-262.

[19] See Cornelius.

"undesirable" nature of this type of work. Furthermore, the Spanish welfare state

provides a security "cushion" for natives, allowing them to spend longer amounts of time

in unemployment while searching for work.[20] Kitty Calavita emphasizes that the Spanish

economy can now be characterized as "post-Fordist," which is typified by "'just-in-time'

production inputs, labor cost reductions, flexibility in hiring and firing, an increase in the

contingent or part-time jobs, and gradual retrenchments of the welfare state."[21] Though

Spain has yet to retrench its welfare state, its economy is now distinguished by an

increase in part-time jobs and reductions in labor costs. This is most evidenced by the

growth of the underground economy and informal sectors.[22]

The increasing demand for immigrant labor has paradoxically coincided with the

implementation of tightened restrictions on legal channels for migration to Spain.

Immigration control as a policy imperative became part of Spain's political agenda in

1985, with the signing of the country's first Foreigners Law (*Ley de Extranjería*).[23] The

passage of the Foreigners Law was a clear step for Spain to demonstrate its compliance

with EC immigration control standards before entering the Community in 1986.[24] This

law has been described as extremely stringent for a country where immigration was not

yet an issue of national import.[25] The law also meant that, for the first time in Spain, the

"foreigner" became not only an "outsider," but, increasingly, an "outlaw."[26] Subsequent

---

[20] Cornelius, 402-403.
[21] Calavita 1998: 538.
[22] Calavita 1998; Cornelius.
[23] Francisco J. Durán Ruiz, "The Relationship between Legal Status, Rights, and the Social Integration of the Immigrants," *CCIS Working Paper,* 84*, (October, 2003). http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg84.pdf; and Encarnación.
[24] Cornelius.
[25] Cornelius; Encarnación.
[26] Calavita 1998; Calavita 2005.

laws have continued to take a hardened stance on the terms of legal entry. The passage of the most recent Foreigners Law (8/2000) represented a clear return to the restrictive past initiated by the 1985 law.[27] Scholars note that an over-arching discourse of "control" now shapes Spain's immigration policy regime.[28]

The new flow of immigration to Spain is increasingly illegal in composition. Legal channels for entry are unable keep pace with the demand created by the booming Spanish economy and the job vacancies left by a rapidly aging native-born workforce. Though Spain's labor quota system provides a mechanism for legal entry that is modified on a yearly basis, employers complain that it is insufficient for meeting the growing demand for low-skill labor.[29] The Spanish economy is becoming increasingly bifurcated, as immigrants who are unable to secure legal work contracts seek work in the informal sector.[30] Spain has attempted to control illegal labor flows and address the growth of the undocumented migrant population through the mechanisms of a labor quota system and several regularization (legalization) processes, strategies which have had varying levels of success.[31]

Migrants arrive in Spain in this context of strong demand for low-wage labor and restrictive immigration policy. Most recent estimates indicate that there are 3,740,956 resident foreigners now living in Spain, constituting 8.34 percent of the total Spanish

---

[27] Durán Ruiz.
[28] Durán Ruiz; Calavita 2005.
[29] Cornelius.
[30] Calavita 1998.
[31] Cornelius.

population.[32] The new immigrants are notable for their diversity, their youth, and their

low socioeconomic status.[33] They come from a variety of sending regions, including the

European Community, Latin America, and North and Sub-Saharan Africa. The three

largest immigrant collectives in Spain by nationality are Moroccans (comprising 16.72

percent of the overall legal resident population), Romanians (13.52 percent) and

Ecuadorians (10.35 percent).[34] Immigration is most visible in Spain's major cities. In

2003, immigrants living in Barcelona and Madrid collectively accounted for almost half

(42 percent) of the total immigrant stock in Spain.[35]

Recent data collected by Wayne Cornelius, Antonio Izquierdo, and colleagues in

Spain also indicate a strong trend towards immigrant settlement in Spain.[36] Immigrants

are beginning to reunify their families, bringing their children to Spain from their

countries of birth.[37] Foreign students now account for nearly 12 percent of total student

enrollment in Madrid. This study will show that the impact of this 12 percent is felt

disproportionately in Madrid's public schools, with foreign student enrollments in some

schools exceeding 70 percent of total student enrollment. Although illegal migrants are

---

[32] *Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Secretaria de Estado de Emigración e Inmigración, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, Boletín Estadístico de Extranjería e Inmigración,* No.14, (October 2007). .http://extranjeros.mtas.es/es/general/BoletindeExtranjeria-num-14-Web.pdf Accessed 12/9/07.

[33] Cornelius.

[34] *Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Secretaria de Estado de Emigración e Inmigración, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración.* "Extranjeros con certificado de registro o tarjeta de residencia en vigor a 30 de septiembre de 2007.http://extranjeros.mtas.es/ Accessed 12/9/07.

[35] Rosa Aparicio and Andrés Tornos, "Towards an Analysis of Spanish Integration Policy," in ed. Friedrich Heckmann and Dominique Schnapper, *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies. National Differences and Trends of Convergence* (Stuttgart, Germany: Lucius and Lucius, 2003), 213-252.

[36] In their recent research, Wayne Cornelius, Antonio Izquierdo, and colleagues found that 51.4 percent of Moroccans and 23.9 percent of Ecuadorians planned to settle in Spain. The majority of both Moroccans (61.4 percent) and Ecuadorians (74.5 percent) surveyed indicated that they had begun the naturalization process. See Wayne Cornelius and Antonio Izquierdo, "Explaining Outcomes of Immigration Control Policies: A Comparative Study of Mexican Migration to the United States and Latin American/North African Migration to Spain." Forthcoming.

[37] Aparicio and Tornos.

prohibited from receiving a variety of social services in Spain, the children of immigrants are given free access to public education- which is compulsory in Spain- regardless of legal status.[38]

Free access to education for migrants in Spain is sanctioned both by international human rights law and by national education and immigration laws. Relevant international laws include the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), and Article 28 of the Convention on Children's Rights (1989).[39] In Spain, the 8/2000 iteration of the Foreigners Law states that "*All foreigners* under eighteen years of age have the right and duty to an education in the same condition as that granted to Spaniards, a right that includes access to basic, free, obligatory education, the obtainment of the corresponding academic qualifications, and access to the public system of scholarships and assistance."[40]

Guaranteed access to education regardless of juridical status was not always the norm in Spain. Between 1985 and 1996, Spanish laws such as the 1985 Foreigners Law and the 1985 Educational Rights Law (*Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación,* or *LODE, 1985*), restricted the right to a basic free education to those foreigners residing

---

[38] Durán Ruiz.

[39] As cited in Eliseo Aja, "La regulación de la educación de los inmigrantes." in eds. Eliseo Aja et al., *La inmigración extranjera en España: Los retos educativos.* (Spain: Fundación La Caixa, 1999), 69-98.

[40] Italics mine. Translation mine. Access to education for all immigrants regardless of juridical status does not apply to pre- and post-obligatory education. With regards to pre-school education, the *LOE 8/2000* only stipulates that the public educational administration must guarantee a sufficient number of spots in pre-school education to meet the demand of parents that solicit them. The law governing post-obligatory education clearly differentiates between legal and illegal immigrants, stating that only "resident foreigners" will have the right to non-obligatory education in the same conditions as natives. See http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2000/12/23/pdfs/A45508-45522.pdf Accessed 12/1/07.

legally in the country.[41] These laws were not in compliance with the aforementioned international treaties signed by Spain. Article 2.2 of the 1996 *Reglamiento de la Ley Orgánica de Extranjería* (*LOE*), remedied this incongruence by granting *all* foreigners the right to "education in the same conditions as that granted to Spaniards."[42] Now that there is no discrepancy in Spain regarding a migrant child's right to a free, obligatory public education, policymakers, scholars, and teachers are beginning to debate how the public schools should best attend to the country's newcomers.

Public Schools and the Social Integration of Migrant Children

In his classic essay "The School Class as a Social System," Talcott Parsons summarized the socializing role of the school as "the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities which are essential prerequisites of their future role-performance."[43] Future role-performance does not solely imply labor market participation, but also membership in the national polity. This means that, in addition to preparing students for the exigencies of the economy, schools also train students for their later roles as members of the community at large.

The history of public education has demonstrated that public schools are not merely the purveyors of knowledge, but sites where community is perpetually re-

---

[41] Italics mine. Section 1, Article 9 of the 1985 *Ley de Extranjería,* regarding the "Rights and Liberties of Foreigners in Spain," states, "*Se reconoce a los extranjeros que se hallen legalmente en Territorio Nacional el derecho a la educación y la libertad de enseñanza*..." thus, restricting the right to education to legal migrants. Section 1, Article 1.3 of the 1985 *LODE* further states that "Los extranjeros residentes en España tendrán también derecho a recibir la educación a que se refieren los apartados uno y dos de este artículo."   Sources:http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Derogadas/r0-lo7-1985.t1.html http://www.boe.es/g/es/bases_datos/doc.php?coleccion=iberlex&id=1985/12978 Accessed 12/9/07.

[42] Aja, 80.

[43] See Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society." *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 29, no. 4 (Fall 1959), 297.

conceptualized, or, as Erik Bleich states, "re-imagined."[44] Bleich, in his analysis of immigration and education in Great Britain and France, posits that, "Although individuals learn about the boundaries of the nation in myriad ways… schools are one of the most important institutional locations for transmitting information about the boundaries of national membership."[45] To be sure, public schools are often the primary targets for the contestation or maintenance of national and/or local values when immigrant integration becomes salient.

In the United States, the process of re-imagining boundaries has been epitomized by multicultural education, which has involved a re-negotiation of every aspect of schooling from the curricula to the cultural sensitivity of the teaching staff. Indeed, colleges and universities in the United States now regularly offer Master's degrees and professional certificates in "Bilingual/bicultural Education" or "Education, Equity, and Cultural Diversity."[46] Multicultural education in the United States has been ambitious in its aim, attempting to change society's valorization of certain forms of "cultural capital."[47] Although most immigrants have come to the United States voluntarily, they have been included in the fold of multicultural educational politics in the United States as the result of what John Skrentny calls the "minority rights revolution."[48] In this context, post-civil rights political opportunity structures and elite support have enabled

---

[44] Bleich 1999:60.
[45] Bleich 1999:64.
[46] Course titles taken from the University of Colorado's School of Education website. http://www.colorado.edu/education/ Accessed 12/1/07.
[47] For a critical analysis of the ability of multicultural education to transform the valorization of cultural capital in United States' public schools, see Michael Olneck, "Can Multicultural Education Change What Counts as Cultural Capital?" *American Educational Research Journal,* vol. 37, no. 2. (Summer, 2000), 317-348.
[48] See John Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002).

immigrants, especially Latinos, to be recognized as marginalized minorities and accommodated as such.[49]

The process of defining community in the face of immigration has taken a historically divergent path in France. As exemplified by the *foulard* (headscarf) affair, re-defining community in France has entailed a fierce re-assertion of secularism in schools in order to uphold the value of republican membership as a national ethos. However, even France experimented with differential recognition for immigrants for a brief period in the 1980s. Rogers Brubaker highlights the emergence of a discourse of *droit à la différence* during the late 1970s and early 1980s in France, noting that the "differentialist turn" became most evident in the educational sector.[50] The term "intercultural" appeared with increasing frequency in the sphere of public education[51] and France began hiring foreign instructors to teach immigrant languages and cultures through provisions in bilateral agreements.[52] Bleich observes that the acceptance of cultural plurality in the schools is also evident in a 1985 education policy document, the *Rapport Berque*.[53] This *droit à la différence* was a fleeting moment in French history; once supplanted by *droit à la resemblance*, schools again became instrumental sites for the maintenance of *le creuset français*.[54]

---

[49] Christian Joppke, "Immigration Challenges to the Nation-State," in ed. Christian Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5-48.
[50] Brubaker, 535-537.
[51] Henry-Lorcerie 1983, in Bleich 1998.
[52] Boyzon-Fradet 1992, in Brubaker.
[53] Bleich acknowledges that this report did not advocate robust differentiation and accommodation, but envisioned public education as "a halfway house between a France with a 'historic French cultural identity' and one where there is a 'new concept of unity, respecting and taking into account heterogeneity, which the problem of immigrants' children raises.'" See Bleich 1998: 87.
[54] Bleich 1998; Brubaker.

A common framework for immigrant integration which adheres to international human rights norms and is committed to the liberal concept of individual protection from state control is now found in most liberal migrant-receiving societies.[55] Modern immigrant host societies now tolerate cultural pluralism, allowing for some degree of incongruence between cultural and political boundaries of belonging.[56] As the above cases illustrate, these common "ground rules" have not, however, compelled uniformity in education policy for immigrants across national contexts. The educational politics of diversity remain context-dependent. Whether public institutions have chosen to recognize or "benignly neglect" an immigrant's ethnic or national origins has hinged on each country's history of immigration, conceptualizations of nationhood and citizenship, pre-existing political arrangements with respect to racial and ethnic diversity, and evolving domestic politics. These factors are becoming increasingly salient in Spain as immigrant settlement proceeds.

Research Agenda and Approach

This study analyzes how five public primary schools in a major immigrant-receiving neighborhood in Madrid have responded to the recent introduction of ethnic diversity via immigration. I seek to answer the following questions: How do Madrid's

---

[55] For a discussion of the roles that international organizations have played in establishing common norms for immigrant integration, see Jasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) and Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[56] Joppke and Ewa Morawska call this "*de facto* multiculturalism," stating that, "The individual rights and liberties protected by the constitutions of liberal states have allowed immigrants *qua* individuals to find recognition and protection for their distinct cultural practices" (p.8). See Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska, "Integrating Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States: Policies and Practices," in eds. Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska, *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 1-36.

schools now define diversity in Spain's new era of immigration, and how do they

accommodate "diverse" groups? Why did the schools choose their current strategies with

respect to the recognition of diversity? Finally, what are the consequences of these

schools' approaches to educational diversity for immigrant students?

To answer these questions, I examine whether these schools embrace strategies of

differential recognition and accommodation for immigrant students, or reject

differentiation in favor of a universalistic approach.[57] I define differential recognition as

the public acknowledgement of students' ethnic[58] and/or national origins and the

implementation of accommodations in response to this differentiation. The following

would be indicators of ethnic recognition and accommodation:

1) Modifications to the school curriculum to make reference to the ethnic or

national origins of students in the school (for example, changes to the social

studies curriculum).

2) Investment of monetary and/or time resources to make reference to specific

ethnic or national groups (for example, celebrating another country's national

---

[57] Of course, these are not mutually exclusive possibilities nor are they the only two options available; I acknowledge the possibility for multi-faceted and context-specific strategies. However, choosing ethnic recognition as my dependent variable gives me a strong methodological framework from which to address the proposed research questions.

[58] Thomas Hylland Eriksen's definition of ethnicity best defines my own understanding of this concept: "Ethnicity is an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction. It can thus be defined as a social identity… Ethnicity refers both to aspects of gain and loss in interaction, and to aspects of meaning in the creation of identity… Ethnic groups tend to have myths of common origin and they nearly always have ideologies encouraging endogamy, which may nevertheless be of highly varying practical importance" See Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press 2002), 12-13. It should further be noted that my definition of ethnic is not necessarily essential to this thesis. As numerous studies have shown, migrant-receiving societies adeptly create their own ethnic categories according to state-specific conceptualizations of diversity. What is important in this research is how *Spaniards* delineate categories of ethnic belonging.

holiday or inviting a guest speaker from another country to teach a cultural

lesson).

3) Creation and implementation of programs directed towards specific ethnic or

national groups (for example, language programs, orientation meetings for

immigrant parents, in-school or after-school support programs, etc).

4) Quotas (for example, reserving a specific number of spaces in hiring or

leadership committees for persons of immigrant origin).

5) External alliances with ethnic immigrant associations (for example,

contracting with an ethnic association to provide after-school language or cultural

heritage programs).

Data for this research were collected in Madrid, Spain, in October and November

of 2006. To better understand *interculturalidad*, the discourse shaping immigrants'

educational integration in Spain, I conducted interviews with a number of key scholars

who have researched the phenomenon of immigration in Spain since the late 1980s.

They included Adela Franzé, a social anthropologist from the *Universidad Complutense

de Madrid*, Inés Gil Juarena, a pedagogue working as part of the *PROYECTO INTER* at

the *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (*UNED*)*,* sociologist Antonio

Granados Martínez and anthropologist F. Javier García Castaño, key faculty members at

the *Universidad de Granada'*s *Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales (LDEI)*, and

sociologist Rosa Aparicio of the *Universidad Pontificia de Comillas.* Anthropologist

Gunther Dietz of the *Universidad de Granada* also contributed substantially to this study

through multiple e-mail exchanges and an interview conducted via the internet.

While in Madrid, I also had the opportunity to attend two seminars that addressed issues pertinent to the specific incorporation of Latin American immigrants in Spain. The first was entitled *"Factores que inciden en la socialización de los jóvenes latinoamericanos en España"* (Critical factors in the socialization of Latin American youth in Spain), presented by *La Liga Española de Educación* (The Spanish Education League) in conjunction with the *Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales* (The Ministry of Work and Social Services). As a part of this conference, representatives from the *Liga* presented findings on an initial study of the integration of Latin American youth (ages 12-17) in secondary schools in Madrid, Murcia, and Valladolid. Additionally, the conference brought together Latin American parents, students, and local educators to discuss current challenges and strategies for improvement.

The second seminar I attended was a presentation titled *"Las asociaciones de inmigrantes latinoamericanos: experiencias y retos"* (Latin American Immigrant Associations: Experiences and Challenges) engaged representatives from six prominent Latin American immigrant associations in Madrid in a round table discussion. These organizations presented qualitative data on the growth and evolution of their organization and discussed collective successes and challenges faced as they serve Latin American immigrant populations, including immigrant children, in Madrid.

Finally, my case study of five public primary schools in Tetuán, the fourth largest immigrant-receiving district in Madrid involved structured interviews with school principals and questionnaires given to teachers. I also analyzed the education policies implemented in this district by the *Consejería de Educación's* "Attention to Diversity" division, and interviewed the civil servants that oversee these programs. The specific

criteria used for selecting the schools for this case study and the research protocol used to collect data are discussed at length in Chapter 2.

Results and Overview

My analysis shows that the discourse of *interculturalismo*, advocated by Spanish policymakers and scholars, does not explicitly endorse ethnic recognition and accommodation. Intercultural educational philosophy takes a cautionary stance towards pre-assigning ethnic identities through official categorizations, asking educators to view diversity as "beyond ethnicity." In intercultural theory, numerous variables, only one of which is a student's national or ethnic origin, are believed to hold equal weight in the sphere of the school. Thus, ethnic recognition is deemed important, but ethnicity is seen as only one aspect of an immigrant student's emergent "hybrid" identity.

This thesis highlights these and other aspects of education and diversity in Spain's new era of immigration. In the first chapter, I review the tenets of *interculturalismo*, the prevailing philosophy advocated by national and supranational policymakers and scholars to describe how public schools should best approach the education of migrant students. I analyze the historical rise of interculturalism in Spain, highlighting the roles that international actors have played in influencing its development in the Spanish context. I also contrast intercultural theory as it is being disseminated in Spain with Will Kymlicka's theory of liberal multiculturalism, as outlined in his seminal work, *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995). Finally, I present Spanish scholars' critiques of the practice of interculturalism in Spain.

In the second chapter, I present the results of my case study of the education of Latin American immigrants in five public primary schools in Tetuán, Madrid. I begin by providing a brief synopsis of the demographic shifts that have taken place in this neighborhood due to immigration since the early 1990s. I then discuss these schools' specific approaches to immigrant education. I show that Tetuán's schools take a minimalist approach to the recognition of ethnic diversity, ultimately "compartmentalizing interculturalism" by relegating themes of ethnic difference to two pull-out transitional programs, the *Aulas de Enlace* and *Educación Compensatoria*. I argue that this minimalist approach is problematic for Latin American students, the largest immigrant subgroup in Tetuán. Although educators view Latin Americans as academically deficient in comparison to natives (because they come from educationally under-developed countries), these students do not fit easily into current "intercultural" frameworks because of their perceived linguistic and cultural similarities to natives.

In this chapter, I also assess the future of interculturalism in Madrid by analyzing teacher and parent attitudes regarding the role of the public school in educating immigrant students about their parents' countries of origin. My results show a lack of consensus amongst both teachers and parents on this issue. While many express a desire for the school to amplify the boundaries of the curriculum to include more information about immigrants' sending countries (and a willingness to do so, on the part of the teachers), others believe that teaching immigrant students about their parents' countries of origin is not the public school's duty. This demonstrates that interculturalism as a bidirectional process in which the school adapts to the immigrant by making reference to his/her parents' sending country does not enjoy uniform support in Tetuán.

In the final chapter, I discuss why these findings provide support for Joppke and Brubaker's arguments that multiculturalism is "retreating" across Europe while assimilation is "returning."[59] I also explore three factors that explain why differential recognition is not currently taking place on a broad scale in Tetuán's schools. First, Spain does not formally recognize immigrants as official minorities. This means that Spaniards do not currently view immigrants as minority groups that require anything but the minimum provisions for integration. Second, Spain is unable to engage in differential politics because there are simply too many nationalities to accommodate. Previous research demonstrates that "source diversity," or a large number of sending countries, makes differential recognition an administratively tenuous, if not impossible, task for public institutions in migrant-receiving states.[60] Finally, these schools' rejection of differentialism is inherently linked to the question of Islam in Spain. Kymlicka speculates that many Europeans perceive Muslims to be a potentially "high risk" target group for differential recognition and accommodation.[61] Thus, Tetuán's schools embrace universalism for all in order to avoid the pitfalls of differential recognition for Muslim students, specifically.

---

[59] Both Joppke and Brubaker argue that liberal immigrant-receiving societies in Europe have turned away from earlier multicultural strategies in favor of liberal integration, characterized by an emphasis on individual incorporation, universal rights, and civic integration. This shift has been deemed the "retreat of multiculturalism" by Joppke and the "return of assimilation" by Brubaker. See Christian Joppke, "The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy." *British Journal of Sociology,* vol. 55, no. 2 (2004); and Brubaker. In the case of Spain, I do not argue that multiculturalism is retreating, but that the country is attempting to stave off differentialist politics for immigrants, aligning it with other European countries that are now seeking a universalist and liberal approach to integration.

[60] See Joppke and Morawska.

[61] Kymlicka 2007: 125-128.

Chapter 1: Intercultural Theory and Intercultural Education in Spain

"Nearly all the experts' reports bring out the existence of a political will to give children a twofold opportunity: first, to preserve and develop their original cultural identity and secondly, to achieve the optimum degree of integration in the host society (the optimum degree being what they themselves desire). Agreement seems to exist, then, on the pursuit of these two simultaneous aims. It remains to be seen what this implies in practice…"
-Louis Porcher[62]

Interculturalismo-- or interculturalism-- is the overarching discourse shaping a variety of immigrant integration policies in Spain.[63] Public education is one policy arena where this discourse prevails. Among intellectuals, policy-makers, and educational practitioners, *interculturalismo* is touted as a means to facilitate the integration of immigrant children in the country's public schools. In the words of José Pérez Iruela, Director of the Center for Educational Investigation and Documentation (*CIDE*), Spanish Ministry of Education, "Intercultural education, as we are defining it from a discursive standpoint, is, I insist… a direction towards which we should be heading."[64]

Becoming a country of immigration at the end of the twentieth century has afforded Spain the opportunity to learn and borrow from the experiences of its European neighbors. As Spanish sociologist Antolín Granados Martínez reflects, "When this new

---

[62]From Louis Porcher, *The education of the children of migrant workers in Europe: interculturalism and teacher training* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1981), 43-44.

[63] The terms *interculturalidad* and *interculturalismo* are frequently used interchangeably in Spanish educational discourse. Professor Carlos Giménez Romero makes an important distinction between these two terms. He notes that *interculturalidad* is a factual term, connoting the actual existence of interethnic, interlinguistic, or interreligious relations. In contrast, *interculturalismo* has normative connotations, referring to an ideological project that seeks to promote mutual co-existence in diversity that is based on the principles of equality, difference, and positive interaction. See Giménez Romero (2003) in Gunther Dietz, "La interculturalidad entre el 'empoderamiento' de minorías y la 'gestión' de la diversidad," *Puntos de Vista: Cuadernos del Observatorio de las Migraciones y de la Convivencia Intercultural de la Ciudad de Madrid*. no. 12 (December 2007), 32.

[64] Translation mine. From José Pérez Iruela, *La atención al alumnado inmigrante en el sistema educativo en España, Prólogo* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Dirección General de Educación, Formación Profesional e Innovación Educativa), 10.

diversity began to emerge, we looked around to see what was already there, in France, in England, in Holland, in Canada, in the United States. We have tried to import the experiences of all of these other countries."[65] Spain's nascent discourse of *interculturalismo* bears the influence of two main external forces: European Community frameworks that advocate intercultural education, and French educational philosophers whom developed and disseminated theories of interculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s. These two forces are not mutually exclusive; current European Community frameworks for intercultural educational reflect the work of French scholars, who played an instrumental role in lobbying for intercultural education at the level of the Council of Europe in the 1980s.[66]

Around the same time that French educational philosophers were introducing their theories of intercultural education to the European Community, Spain was becoming a country of immigration. Since then, Spanish policymakers have tried to maintain a rhetorical allegiance to European educational frameworks that have shifted their focus away from mother tongue education for migrants towards a broader emphasis on intercultural education "for all."[67] Although French philosophies of interculturalism are embedded in European Community policy language on intercultural education, anthropologist Gunther Dietz points out that Spanish policymakers and intellectuals have been directly influenced by the ideological frameworks developed by French scholars Louis Porcher, Martine Abdallah-Pretceille, and Antonio Perotti.[68] Works such as

---

[65] Antolín Granados Martínez, Interview, October 30, 2006.
[66] Gunther Dietz, Interview, August 15, 2007.
[67] See Holly Cullen, "From Migrants to Citizens? European Community Policy on Intercultural Education." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 1 (January, 1996), 109-129.
[68] Dietz interview.

Abdallah-Pretceille's *L'éducation interculturelle* (1999) have provided an ideological

base for Spanish intellectuals seeking to promote an intercultural education for migrants

in Spain.[69]

Underlying the promotion of interculturalism in Spain is also an explicit rejection

of multicultural models of integration, epitomized by what Spaniards perceive as failed

multicultural initiatives in the United States. Spanish anthropologist F. Javier García

Castaño argues that, "When they (Spaniards) want to criticize multiculturalism, they

point to the United States, and say, 'multiculturalism in the United States does not appeal

to us. What we want is interculturalism.'" [70] Joppke's analysis shows that Spain's

denunciation of U.S. iterations of multiculturalism is not uncommon amongst immigrant-

receiving societies; he notes that the United States has often been a point of reference for

liberal states seeking to develop philosophies of integration, serving as "… a balkanized

Sodom or model of multicultural tolerance, to be emulated or avoided by one's own

society."[71]

Spanish policymakers and scholars cite a multitude of reasons why

multiculturalism is a poor fit for Spain. First, advocates of interculturalism in Spain

argue that the U.S. multicultural model has failed to bring about true integration for

minorities, tending instead to reproduce the conditions that separate and isolate minority

groups.[72] Second, some Spaniards equate multiculturalism with what Joppke has deemed

---

[69] When I asked Spanish scholars which texts I should begin reading to best understand intercultural
education in Spain, they universally recommended Abdallah-Pretceille's *L'éducation interculturelle*.
[70] Translation mine. F. Javier García Castaño, Interview, October 30, 2007.
[71] Joppke 1998: 33.
[72] García Castaño interview; Granados Martínez interview; Dietz interview.

the "intractable race problem" in the United States.[73] These individuals view the

resulting "empowerment" movements of the 1960s and 1970s as inapplicable to current

case of immigrant minority integration in Spain. In essence, they argue that

"empowerment" is not a viable option for minorities in Spain, due to the absence of a

population that descended from involuntary slave laborers. As Dietz notes, "In contrast

to the United States, there are no minorities in Europe who explicitly and consciously

trace their identity back to slavery."[74] Spaniards thus dismiss multiculturalism as a viable

or necessary option for immigrants in their country, seeking instead to develop an

educational model of integration based on universalism, non-discrimination, and

secularism.[75]

If Spanish policymakers now advocate intercultural education as a means to

address the social integration of immigrants in the country's schools, what then are the

specific tenets of this ideology? Furthermore, what are the implications of intercultural

education for migrant students and the schools that receive them? In this chapter, I

analyze both the theoretical discourse and putative practice of *interculturalismo* in the

Spanish education system. I begin by tracing the emergence and historical development

of interculturalism in Spain, highlighting the influences of European frameworks for

intercultural education and the work of French scholars who developed philosophies of

intercultural education that influenced these frameworks. I then discuss the major tenets

---

[73] Joppke 1993: 33.

[74] Dietz interview.

[75] To further examine the relationship between immigration and secularism in the Spanish education system, see Dietz's article "Invisibilizing or Ethnicizing Religious Diversity? The Transition of Religious Education Towards Pluralism in Contemporary Spain," in eds. R. Jackson, S. Miedema, W. Weisse, and J.P. Willaime, *Religion and Education in Europe: developments, contents, and debates.* (Munster/New York: Waxmann, 2007), 103-131.

of intercultural theory, contrasting these with the tenets of multicultural theory as put

forth by Will Kymlicka in his book, *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995). I conclude with a

brief survey and critical analysis of the current iterations of interculturalism in Spanish

education policy today.

The Rise of "La Educación Intercultural"

The increasing presence of the term of "intercultural" in Spanish education policy

is positively related to the onset of immigration and subsequent growth of the country's

foreign-born population.[76] In other words, the frequency with which the term

"intercultural" is invoked to describe and analyze immigrants' social integration in the

Spanish education system has increased proportionately with the rise in immigrant

student enrollments in the schools.[77] García Castaño observes that intercultural education

in Spain is an outcome of the problematization of immigration in Spain; it is offered as a

"solution" to the "problem" of integrating immigrant students in the country's schools.[78]

Ultimately, intercultural educational policy is rooted at the level of the Spanish

nation-state and the country's Autonomous Communities. Nonetheless, it must be

understood as a project that has been forged in an era of increasing supranational

harmonization and cooperation in the arena of education policy-making at the European

level. In the European context, migrants' educational integration has been deemed a

---

[76] García Castaño interview.
[77] One needs only to conduct a search of the scholarly literature on intercultural education written by Spanish authors to observe this phenomenon. Such literature is virtually absent prior to 1985, the year commonly associated with the onset of robust economic migration to Spain. This literature increases dramatically from the early 1990s through today, the era that has seen the largest growth of immigrant students in the Spanish schools.
[78] García Castaño interview.

political imperative as the European Community expands and softens its internal political and economic borders. Cullen observes that, as European nations have moved towards the softening and eventual elimination of internal border restrictions, the European Union has increasingly looked to Member States' educational systems as critical sites to foster social cohesion between migrants and natives.

A policy document published by the European Commission in 1994 illustrates the gravity of this imperative:

> Changing migration patterns in the 1980s mean that all the countries in the Union are countries of immigration. The enlargement of the European Union and political instability on Europe's borders means that these proportions will continue to grow in the future. The single internal market will also stimulate and rely on cross-border mobility… A failure to achieve integration will jeopardise the education and employment prospects of individuals, and, on a larger scale, will contribute to social divisions and social exclusions, particularly in Europe's cities… There is a recognition at national and European level of the need to achieve integration and the importance of education in achieving it.[79]

Intercultural education has thus been promoted as a means to address the challenges associated with unifying individuals from disparate Member and non-Member States.[80]

The emergence of intercultural education at the European level is also the result of Europe's shifting views of migrants from sojourners to settlers. In the 1980s and 1990s, the European Community began to acknowledge that the majority of its migrant populations were more frequently settling in their host countries than returning to their countries of origin.[81] As one 1994 European Commission report stated, "The end of

---

[79] European Commission on Education, Training, and Youth, *Community of Learning: Intercultural Education in Europe,* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1994), 6.

[80] It is important to note that, at the level of the European Union, "intercultural education" also refers to the educational integration of gypsy, or Roma, populations, as well as migrants.

[81] Cullen.

economic immigration in 1973-1974 and the ensuing arrival of large numbers of pupils in

the framework of family reunification gradually led to a recognition that most immigrants

had settled permanently. Most Member States started to define the long-term integration

of immigrant pupils as their top priority…"[82] Intercultural education was proposed as a

means to address the long-term integration of students who would not return to their

parents' countries of origin. Before the 1980s, Europe had prioritized mother tongue

instruction as a means to facilitate immigrants' return to their sending countries.[83]

Intercultural education supplanted mother tongue education in the 1980s as Europe's new

strategy for educating immigrant children as individuals who would not return to their

parent's countries of origin, but whom would be permanent members of their host

societies.

In a series of reports and resolutions in the 1980s and 1990s, the European

Commission proposed the development of an intercultural education that would

incorporate aspects of the human rights field (reduction of social exclusion, racism, and

xenophobia), would amplify the concept of national identity to be more inclusive of all

cultural identities represented, and would seek to preserve the cultural identity of

migrants.[84] In this context, the protection of a migrant student's cultural identity would

---

[82] European Commission, *Report on the education of migrants' children in the European Union,* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1994), 23.

[83] In 1977, the European Commission passed Directive 77/486/EEC on the education of the children of migrant workers. This Directive included a mandate for mother tongue education for immigrant children. The mandate for mother tongue education was implemented unevenly throughout Member States; the lack of consistency was as a key reason for its demise. See Cullen for further details.

[84] These goals are outlined in a 1992 report published by the European Parliament, titled *Report on Cultural Plurality and the Problems of School Education in the European Community* and a 1994 Commission Report published by the European Parliament titled *Resolution on Cultural Plurality and the Problems of School Education for Children of Immigrants in the European Community*. See Cullen for a more exhaustive analysis of European policy resolutions and directives regarding the education of migrant students in Europe since the 1970s.

not be advocated as a means to facilitate the return of the student to his/her country of origin, but to recognize the multiple cultural identities that would be legitimated in a Europe where political and cultural parameters of membership would expand in future years.

Cullen notes that the European Commission's current strategy with regards to intercultural education is one of "cooperation" rather than "positive rights." Supranational cooperation occurs through the exchange of information and best practices in the area of intercultural education and the creation of funding entities that support transnational networks of researchers and practitioners.[85] Despite these resources to support intercultural education, Member States ultimately maintain a high degree of sovereignty in the policy-making arena of immigrant education. Nonetheless, Spain's adoption of intercultural education, even at the discursive level, is significant, demonstrating that the country intends to ally with its European counterparts where immigrant education is concerned.

In addition to a symbolic attempt to harmonize with European standards of immigrant education, Spain's preference for intercultural education can be attributed to Spanish intellectuals' direct affinity for Francophone philosophies of immigrant integration that prevailed in the 1980s. Spanish researchers point to the work of French educational philosophers Louis Porcher, Martine Abdallah-Preceille, and Antonio Perotti, in shaping Spain's own nascent philosophies of immigrant education in the late 1980s and beyond.[86] Although French theories of intercultural education only enjoyed a brief

---

[85] Cullen.
[86] Inés Gil Juarena, Interview, November 23, 2006; Dietz interview.

period of prominence in France in the 1980s,[87] they are held in high regard by key

Spanish policymakers and scholars, even today. Dietz suggests that Spanish elite's

affinity for French theories of intercultural education, which are strongly rooted in French

philosophies of citizenship, can be attributed to a confluence of factors including

geographic proximity between the two countries and historical relations between these

countries' elites.[88] French scholarly critiques of multiculturalism and their emphasis on

universal incorporation and interactionism also resonate deeply with many Spaniards'

own theoretical positions on immigrant integration.

Based on this amalgamation of influences, Spain now exhibits a strong rhetorical

commitment to develop an intercultural education for its migrant newcomers. What,

then, does interculturalism theoretically entail in the realm of the public school? In the

next section, I will highlight the specific theoretical tenets of interculturalism that emerge

from European, French and Spanish conceptual frameworks of intercultural education.

The Tenets of Interculturalism

French philosophies concerning the appropriate relationship between the state and

its citizens form the backbone of modern theories of interculturalism disseminated in

Spain. France has had a substantially longer trajectory as a migrant-receiving country

than Spain, and Spain has built on the historical perspectives that France has to offer.

Throughout French history, different philosophies of migrant integration have enjoyed

---

[87] Bleich calls this period in France one of "Tentative Active Multiculturalism," which he describes as a movement away from strict assimilationism towards a more pluralistic view of French society. See Bleich 1998: 87.

[88] In Dietz's words, "Spanish elites until very recently have always been looking towards Paris when looking towards Europe." (quoted in interview.)

varying amounts of cachet, often depending on levels of migration and national political

contexts.[89] Overall, France has been typified by its "assimilationist" approach to

immigrant integration, which is characterized by an emphasis on individualism,

secularism, and civic integration.[90] Intercultural education in Spain is based on these

philosophies of integration, building the principle of universality and the French juridical

tradition that "does not recognize the existence of minorities."[91]

Unlike France, Spain does not seek to subsume migrants' identities to a

monolithic "Spanish" identity. (In effect, the notion of "Spanish" identity itself is an

abstract, if not absent, concept in the Spanish case.) Thus, alongside its emphasis on

universalism and individuality, intercultural educational philosophy in Spain

paradoxically advocates the importance and promotion of cultural plurality. As Porcher

said in the 1980s, intercultural education embodies the "political will to give migrant

children a two-fold opportunity; first, to preserve and develop their original cultural

identity and secondly, to achieve the optimum degree of integration in the host

society…"[92] Intercultural education in Spain attempts to find a middle ground between

unidirectional, or "straight-line," assimilation and the total preservation of an immigrant's

cultural origins without some degree of integration in the host society.

Advocates of intercultural education devise several ways to theoretically meet the

aims of educating migrants in both individual/universalistic and plural terms. In this

section, I present the tenets of interculturalism as discussed in the scholarly literature on

---

[89] See Bleich 1998.
[90] Bleich 1998; Bleich 1999; Brubaker 2001.
[91] Martine Abdallah-Pretceille, *La educación intercultural* (Spanish translation of original 1999 work, titled *L'education interculturelle*). (Barcelona: Idea Books, 2001), 33.
[92] Porcher, 43.

the subject and highlight the paradoxes that intercultural education presents for the

Spanish context. I identify and analyze three main tenets of interculturalism as they

emerge in the scholarly literature on immigration and education in Spain: 1) The

importance of interaction, exchange, and relationships; 2) The possibility of multiple

allegiances and multi-faceted identities; and 3) The social construction of diversity along

axes beyond ethnic and/or national origin.

Tenet #1: The importance of interaction, exchange, and relationships.

The promotion of interactions between diverse groups lies at the core of most

theories of intercultural education. As Abdallah-Pretceille observes, "the prefix 'inter' in

the term 'intercultural' makes reference to the fact of having established a relation and

keeps in mind interactions of distinct groups, individuals, and identities."[93] Spanish

scholars Teresa Aguado and Beatriz Malik echo this proposition, positing that "the

concept that seems most comprehensive and coherent…emphasizing the idea of

interaction, communication, negotiation, reciprocity, dialogue, mutual responsibility and

mutual enrichment among cultures, would be that of intercultural education."[94]

Intercultural theorists hope to deter educators from evaluating students based on

their racial, cultural, or ethnic origins in favor of a "trial and error" approach based on

interactions and exchanges. For instance, Perotti suggests that "…intercultural education

must be focused on interaction, and not on abstraction… it is not sufficient to know about

other cultures, even if it is necessary, knowledge has to be complemented by experience

---

[93] Abdallah-Pretceille, 36.
[94] See Teresa Aguado and Beatriz Malik, "Cultural diversity and school equality: Intercultural education in Spain from a European perspective." *Intercultural Education*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2001), 150.

and individual trial and error in intercultural situations."[95] In lockstep with Perotti, Abdallah-Pretceille advises that educators pay more attention to relationships and interactions rather than analyze cultures and individuals as if they were independent "units." To avoid the latter, Adallah-Pretceille recommends that educators focus less on "structures, nomenclatures, and categories" and more on "dynamics, strategies, and manipulations."[96] These theorists do not argue that categorizations are illegitimate, but advise that they are not as useful to educators or students as are individual interactions and exchanges. An intercultural context would not focus on official categories of belonging or recognition, but rather would scrutinize aspects of the school such as demographic composition, grouping mechanisms, and activities that maximize student interactions.

Intercultural projects are not meant to simply foster civil interactions, but are intended to be transformative for the individuals involved. The verb *superar*- to overcome- is often embedded in most theories and discussions of interculturalism. García Castaño notes that interculturalism is against the idea that all groups can mutually respect one while co-existing independently. In his words, "interculturalism would attempt to establish new relationships between groups, constructing a common project."[97] Thus, an intercultural education system would seek to diverge with the conventional notion of social organization which is based on communities of national, ethnic, and even socio-economic belonging. It would encourage students to move beyond their traditional allegiances in order to forge new relationships and common projects.

---

[95].Antonio Perotti, *The Case for Intercultural Education*, (Netherlands: Council of Europe Press, 1994), 95.
[96] Abdallah-Pretceille, 36.
[97] García Castaño interview.

Tenet #2: The possibility of multiple allegiances and multi-faceted identities.

Intercultural theorists argue against ethnic or cultural exclusivity; factors associated with immigrants' ethnic or cultural origins should not take precedence over other aspects of their identities. Perotti advises that "the concept of belonging to a minority must not be exclusive. It refers only to one dimension amongst others. Any all-embracing conception could result in a fixation about non-social identities and in a biological-type definition of the individual."[98] Abdallah-Pretceille concurs, positing that educators must acknowledge "the possibility of belonging to more than one group simultaneously and participating in more than one subculture, with norms and references not necessarily coherent between them…"[99] This emphasis on multiple belonging evidences these scholars' inclination towards the French universalist tradition which rejects the institutionalization of national, ethnic, or cultural taxonomies of belonging.

Intercultural advocates view the pre-assignment of identities as "confining" a child to an ascribed category. They see this as inadvisable under any circumstance. To quote Perotti, "…it is essential that the concrete relations between the various cultures transmitted in the class by the children and adolescents should not be mapped out in advance… To confine the children to an identity defined from without (a national, ethnic, or religious identity), pre-established as soon as they start school, affects attitudes and perceptions and does not help people to understand the real situation of the child…"[100] In practice, this would mean that an educator would focus less on understanding students through their social positions as "immigrant," "Eastern European," "Ecuadorian," or

[98] Perotti, 81.
[99] Abdallah-Pretceille, 30.
[100] Perotti, 91-92.

"Muslim," and more on comprehending their social realities by acknowledging other factors which also comprise their identities. Such an approach also implies that an intercultural education system would also be unlikely to utilize statistical educational measures that gather data on national or ethnic origins.[101]

> *Tenet #3: The social construction of diversity along axes beyond national, ethnic, or cultural origin.*

Finally, intercultural advocates seek to transform immigrant education by socially re-constructing the concept of diversity itself. In the words of Aguado and Malik, "…diversity is not limited to race, ethnic origin, or nationality."[102] Intercultural advocates recommend that educators examine the multiplicity of variables that shape students' identities rather than focus on those only associated with immigrants' racial, national, or ethnic backgrounds. Examples of these factors include (but are not limited to) biological factors (age, weight, etc.) psychological factors (personality traits, common interests, etc.) social and economic factors (employment, housing, etc.), or historical factors (simultaneously witnessing current events, migrating during the same time period, etc.).[103] Intercultural educators advise that students be made fully aware of *all* variables that potentially comprise personal and collective identities in order to make distinctions between those factors that unite them and those that differentiate them.[104]

Advocates of intercultural education argue that, by highlighting all of the factors that comprise individual identities, students will be able to articulate multiple identities, thus not restricting themselves to dichotomous categories of belonging such as

---

[101] As I will discuss in the next chapter, this is in fact the case in the Spanish education system.
[102] Aguado and Malik, 150.
[103] Perotti.
[104] Perotti; Abdallah-Pretceille.

"majority/minority" or "native/immigrant." Dietz offers the example of a *Gitano*, or Roma, student in Spain, in order to illustrate this point. He argues that a truly intercultural education would not make this student cognizant of being a member of the Roma population, but would point out his multiple identities. In Dietz's words, "From a pedagogical point of view, this emphasis on hybridity, being able to articulate multiple identities, is the most salient."[105]

The Tenets of Interculturalism: Summary

In sum, intercultural theorists hope to construct a universalistic mode of educational incorporation that does not give precedence to factors associated with a student's national, ethnic, or religious identity. In intercultural theory, difference is rooted at the level of the individual rather than the group. This is exemplified by the theoretical emphasis on interaction between individuals rather than categorizations and official taxonomies of collective belonging. By de-emphasizing the exclusivity of national, ethnic, or cultural categories of belonging, intercultural educators hope to create forums in which students enjoy a degree of autonomy and choice in constructing their identities. Intercultural education thus seeks to rupture conventional notions of social organization based in order to help students construct new identities that transcend traditional categories of belonging. In this context, the extent to which national or ethnic membership becomes significant in everyday life is theoretically determined by the student, and not the school.

Of course, it is essential to knowledge that any theoretical framework is susceptible to a lack of congruency between educational theory and institutional practice.

---

[105] Dietz interview.

In the next chapter, I will demonstrate how Spanish educational practice struggles to embrace these idealistic theories of integration. I will also discuss how this incongruence begins at the level of education policy in Spain, which, while labeled "intercultural" diverges substantially from the tenets established by these theoretical frameworks. In effect, the word "intercultural" in Spain is now a generic term used to describe nearly *any* policy measure intended to address the "problems" immigrant integration.

Interculturalism and Multiculturalism: A Comparative Analysis

Differentiating interculturalism from multiculturalism can be a challenging task for researchers and educators from North America that are accustomed to a historical discourse of multiculturalism. Further complicating this picture is the fact that the terms "intercultural" and "multicultural" are sometimes used interchangeably in academic and pedagogical texts. Equally, the putative goals associated with both "intercultural" and "multicultural" projects are often indistinguishable. For example, García Castaño observes that, "Interculturalism attempts to establish new relationships between all groups, constructing a common project… However, there are multiculturalisms that attempt to do the same… What you (in the United States) call 'multiculturalism,' might here (in Spain) be understood as 'interculturalism'… Sometimes you have to read the fine print, because what some multiculturalists are saying is multiculturalism is really the same as interculturalism."[106] Dietz concurs, observing that both multicultural and intercultural education have been similarly offered as strategies to address the

---

[106] García Castaño interview.

"challenges" associated with immigrants' educational integration, even though they lack a common definition across global contexts.[107]

Despite this semantic and conceptual confusion, there are discernable differences between these theories of interculturalism and theories of multiculturalism.[108] In this section, I will contrast the tenets of interculturalism with the main tenets of multiculturalism, as summarized by Will Kymlicka in his seminal work, *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995).[109] This analysis will demonstrate that interculturalism and multiculturalism diverge significantly in their historical foundations, theoretical modes of incorporation, and the proposed roles that public institutions should play in recognizing and protecting a minority's national, ethnic, or cultural identity. I conduct this comparison in order to clarify doubts and confusion amongst researchers that are more familiarized with multicultural education, namely those working in the United States.

Historical Origins

Multiculturalism and interculturalism both appeared in the latter half of the twentieth century, emerging in an era of increased equality consciousness and the de-legitimization of ethnic and racial hierarchies of power. In *Multicultural Odysseys*, Kymlicka characterizes liberal multiculturalism as a "third stage" that arose after the post-war "human rights revolution" and the elimination of racial and ethnic hierarchies

---

[107] Gunther Dietz, *Multiculturalismo, interculturalidad, y educación: Una aproximación antropológica.* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2003).

[108] Though I present a brief summary of my assessment of these distinctions, they are discussed at length in works by Spanish scholars. See, for instance, Dietz 2003, or Carlos Giménez Romero, *¿Qué es la inmigración?* (Madrid: RBA, 2003).

[109] It is important to note that Kymlicka's work is deeply rooted in the North American political context or minority integration. A great deal of his research builds on the Canadian historical experience of integrating minority groups such as the Quebecois, indigenous peoples, and immigrants. Nonetheless, his theoretical framework is useful for conceptualizing differential recognition in liberal states and providing a coherent point of contrast with liberal states that do not engage in robust differential minority politics.

through de-colonization (by European countries) and the African-American civil rights movement (in the United States).[110] If multiculturalism was the "third stage" in the process of equality consciousness, then interculturalism was the "fourth stage." In effect, theories of interculturalism appeared later in Europe, developing in the 1980s as a response to the perceived pitfalls of earlier multicultural initiatives implemented in North America in the 1960s.[111]

While both multiculturalism and interculturalism have similar historical precursors, they diverge in one important respect: group-differentiated rights. Kymlicka notes that Western societies began to implement group-differentiated rights alongside universal liberal rights, human rights, and civil rights in order to secure liberal-democratic citizenship for minorities in both vertical relations between minorities and the state and horizontal relationships between members of different groups.[112] Kymlicka argues that, although human rights and civil rights were essential in creating a civic nationhood based on undifferentiated rights and the transcendence of ethnic, racial, and religious differences, these rights were limited in their ability to address important questions about majority-minority relations. Such questions included considerations of language rights and mother tongue education, the devolution of governmental powers to cultural minorities, and the degree of cultural integration required of immigrants before attaining citizenship.[113] In Kymlicka's analysis, group-differentiated rights, or liberal multiculturalism, emerged as the result of societies' attempts to circumvent the constraints of human and civil rights in order to equalize the balance of power in

---

[110] See Kymlicka 2007: 87-134.
[111] Dietz interview.
[112] Kymlicka 2007.
[113] Kymlicka 1995; Kymlicka 2007.

majority-minority relations. He deems the variants of liberal multiculturalisms found across Western societies "local adaptations of civil rights liberalism."[114]

Similar to multiculturalism, interculturalism emerged as a localized attempt to address the problems of minority integration. The ideology of interculturalism was developed and disseminated in France in the 1980s as a means to address the long-term marginalization of the children of immigrants in the Parisian suburbs.[115] Brubaker deems the period during the late 1970s and early years of the Socialist government in the 1980s the "differentialist turn" in French minority politics. It was during this time period that the term "intercultural" began appearing frequently in the sphere of public education.[116] A 1985 education policy document titled the *Rapport Berque* embodied the ethos of interculturalism that was endorsed at that time.[117] As Bleich observes, this report envisioned public education in France as "a halfway house between a France with a 'historic French cultural identity' and one where there is a 'new concept of unity, respecting and taking into account heterogeneity, which the problem of immigrants' children raises.'"[118] This "differentialist turn" was a fleeting moment in French political history, with the emergent discourse of *droit à la différence* being quickly supplanted by *droit à la resemblance* in the late 1980s.[119] Nonetheless, interculturalism has had lasting implications outside the realm of French politics; it continues to prevail in European educational policy rhetoric, and now appears frequently in Spanish education policy.

---

[114] Kymlicka 2007: 91.
[115] Dietz interview.
[116] Henry-Lorcerie (1983) in Bleich 1998: 87.
[117] See Bleich 1998.
[118] Bleich 1998: 87.
[119] Brubaker 2001: 535-537.

It is important to note that, in France's brief experiment with differential recognition, French intellectuals and policymakers did not seek to develop group-differentiated rights for migrants, but simply to publicly recognize the diverse composition of French society. Furthermore, interculturalism in France was not proposed as a global solution to remedy all minority-majority relations throughout the country; it dealt only with the integration of immigrant minorities. Similarly, in Spain, interculturalism is a local attempt to address the problems associated with the exponential growth of the foreign student population in the nation's public schools. It does not permeate other policy spheres, such as minority politics for Basques and Catalonians. Thus, in Spain there now exists a dual system of minority rights and recognition: liberal multiculturalism for native minorities, and interculturalism for migrants.

Theoretical Modes of Incorporation

Intercultural projects propose a universalistic and individual approach to immigrant integration, while multicultural societies integrate immigrants as both individuals and members of collective minority groups. In an intercultural context, incorporation is achieved by a two-fold strategy that seeks to ensure individual liberal rights and prevents racism and xenophobia through policies of non-discrimination. In contrast, multicultural states incorporate immigrants by ensuring individual liberal rights while also officially recognizing certain minority collectivities. Thus, multicultural states have both liberal and corporatist modes of incorporation.[120]

Another main difference between intercultural and multicultural modes of incorporation is the role that individual and group-specific rights play in immigrants'

---

[120]The term "corporatist" is borrowed from Soysal 1994. See also Kymlicka 1994.

social integration. In traditionally multicultural states, universal rights are accompanied by group-differentiated rights. Kymlicka describes group-differentiated rights for migrant minorities as "polyethnic rights" which may include public funding for cultural practices or native language education or exemptions from laws and regulations that prevent certain religious practices.[121] Migrants qualify for group-differentiated rights based on their membership in officially recognized racial, ethnic, or cultural groups.[122] Intercultural theory seldom, if never, invokes the language of differentiated rights. Intercultural advocates believe that migrants are adequately protected by universal liberal rights and non-discrimination laws, such as human rights laws. As previously discussed, intercultural advocates heavily critique states' attempts to institutionalize national, racial, or ethnic categories of belonging.

The Role of Public Institutions

At the crux of the distinction between interculturalism and multiculturalism lie divergences in national conceptualizations of ethnicity and culture and the proposed role that states should play in recognizing and protecting an immigrant's identity. Interculturalists propose that state or local public institutions should not seek to officially categories immigrants as members of specific national, ethnic, or cultural groups, but rather should create forums for interaction. In contrast, multiculturalists view official categorization as a legitimate strategy that helps public institutions to identify individuals that may be susceptible to exclusion or marginalization. While both interculturalism and multiculturalism seek to ensure immigrants' rights to "choose" their own identities, they

---

[121] Kymlicka 1994: 38.
[122] Soysal 1994; Kymlicka 1995; and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, "Boundaries and Identity: Immigrants in Europe," *EUI Working Papers,* no. 96/3 (Italy: European University Institute, 1996).

diverge substantially in their approaches. For interculturalists, choice is secured by avoiding the institutionalization of categories of membership; for multiculturalists, choice can only be protected in the opposite manner, by officially sanctioning categories of cultural membership.

Intercultural theorists hold an anthropological view of ethnicity and culture; they conceptualize the boundaries of ethnic and cultural membership as constantly in flux, being re-negotiated by internal and external factors. In this context, it is inadvisable for the state to interject itself into the process of identity formation through the reification of ethnic boundaries or institutionalization of "arbitrary" categorizations. [123] Intercultural advocates argue that, by officializing ethnic or cultural categories of belonging, multicultural states pre-assign migrants' identities, thus preventing the expression of multiple or hybrid identities. In a true intercultural state, then, public institutions would avoid taking an active role in minority identity politics through the pre-assignment of taxonomies of belonging, instead creating forums for the interaction of diverse individuals to create new categories of belonging.

Kymlicka diverges from this view substantially, arguing that individuals are only able to make meaningful choices through their participation in local societal cultures. He acknowledges the possibility that migrants may renounce their national, ethnic, or cultural origins, but likens this to taking a "vow of perpetual poverty."[124] In his words, "we should treat access to one's culture as something that people can be expected to want… Leaving one's culture, while possible, is best seen as renouncing something to

---

[123] Abdallah-Pretceille; see also Soysal 1996.
[124] Kymlicka 1995: 86.

which everyone is reasonably entitled. This is a claim, not about the limits of human possibility, but about reasonable expectations."[125]

Kymlicka posits that liberal states have a duty to secure individuals' access to what he deems a "societal culture… a culture which provides its members with meaningful ways of life, across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres."[126] He states that it is not sufficient for individuals to have access to any societal culture, but that members of a society should be able to retain their own cultural membership, even if the borders of cultural membership are not congruent with political borders. The implementation of group-differentiated measures that ensure individuals' access to a societal culture will in turn protect an individual's ability to make meaningful choices. According to Kymlicka, this is a basic premise of liberal theories of justice.

Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Scholarly critiques

Multicultural political projects in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and beyond have enjoyed a historically longer period of implementation than the intercultural projects that now appear in Spain. As such, multicultural initiatives in these contexts have been under the lens public and scholarly scrutiny for over forty years. Scholars critique multiculturalism on a number of fronts, including the arbitrary criteria that states use to construct official minority categories, multiculturalism's emphasis on difference rather than commonality, and the inability of multiculturalism to eradicate social and economic marginalization.

---

[125] Kymlicka 1995: 86.
[126] Kymlicka 1995: 76.

Soysal (1996) and Joppke (1998) have both argued that categories of group recognition and differential rights are arbitrary, constructed by the host society for its own administrative purposes than by minorities themselves.[127] Joppke has gone so far as to deem these minority categories "*ex post facto* legitimizations of administrative categories."[128] Multiculturalism has also been criticized for strengthening socio-cultural distinctions rather than emphasizing civic commonalities. Joppke has argued that, by endowing differential group rights, states create a basis for national belonging rooted in ethno-racial membership, which "undermines the color transcending communality of citizenship."[129] In analyzing multicultural education in the United States, Michael Olneck has also observed that "as multiculturalism aims to revalue more equally the specific cultural products of stratified groups, it may reinforce the stratifying power of cultural distinctions, to the disadvantage of some of the very groups whose interests it has at heart."[130]

Finally, multicultural initiatives have been critiqued for failing to alleviate the economic, spatial, and social barriers to incorporation for some immigrant groups. Both Joppke and Morawska and Brubaker point to persistent socio-economic disparity as a key reason for multiculturalism's downfall in Western Europe. As Joppke and Morawska observe in their analysis of the retreat of multiculturalism in Sweden and the Netherlands, "…the earlier stress on cultural pluralism had blatantly ignored the socioeconomic rift

---

[127] See Soysal 1996; and Joppke 1998.
[128] Joppke 1998: 34.
[129] Christian Joppke, "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Comparison of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain." *Theory and Society*, vol. 25, no. 4 (August, 1996), 464.
[130] Olneck, 336.

opening up between immigrants and the domestic population."[131] Brubaker also asserts

that the recent "return of assimilation" in Europe represents societies' attempts to remedy

socio-economic disparities between migrants and natives. In his words, "assimilation…

is opposed not to *difference*, but to *segregation, ghettoization*, and *marginalization.*"[132]

Despite claims by intercultural advocates that interculturalism could potentially

circumvent the pitfalls of multiculturalism, intercultural theory is susceptible to many of

the same shortcomings. In the realm of public education, intercultural theory presents

many more questions than answers, the foremost of which is a concern about plausibility.

For one, intercultural advocates encourage educators to have "respect for and recognition

of diversity,"[133] but also discourage them from focusing on "structures, nomenclatures,

and categories."[134] However, is it truly plausible to recognize and respect diversity

without also pre-assigning identities? A second concern is source diversity. Spain's

migrant population exhibits a great deal of internal heterogeneity which stems from the

large number of sending countries represented. This presents a practical constraint for

educators: Can schools reasonably recognize and attend to diversity when it

encompasses over twenty-five nationalities in one school? More importantly, can they do

so effectively?

Intercultural education also faces a similar challenge that multicultural projects in

the United States have historically confronted; how to circumvent the realities of social

organization and the valorization of cultural capital outside the realm of the school.

Intercultural educational philosophers propose that educators re-conceptualize diversity

---

[131] Joppke and Morawska, 14.
[132] Brubaker, 543.
[133] Aguado (1995) in Aguado and Malik, 150.
[134] Abdallah-Pretceille, 41.

by focusing on the multiplicity of factors that comprise a migrant student's identity. However, not all social variables enjoy equal weight outside the realm of the school. Schools do not exist independently of other social structures; it is difficult for education systems to surmount the mechanisms of belonging and exclusion that persist outside of the classroom, such as citizenship policy, job discrimination, racism and xenophobia, and socio-economic position.

Olneck clearly demonstrates that educational systems are somewhat limited in their ability to change what counts as cultural capital. In his analysis of multicultural education in the United States, Olneck points out how multicultural educational initiatives have successfully challenged prevailing notions of cultural capital; they have widened the range of recognized cultural capital as well as redefined the terms that reward the cultural capital of students who may have otherwise been overlooked. He argues, however, that the fluidity of cultural capital imposes certain limitations on multicultural education's ability to change what "counts" in and outside of the school. For instance, school-sanctioned cultural capital that is highly valued at one point in time may be later offset by the cultural capital acquired and valued outside of the school and/or by the majority group's mobilization of certain forms of social and political capital. Equally, majority groups may also adopt strategies that could stymie the redefinition of cultural capital in order to maintain their social positions. [135]

Olneck's analysis has important implications for the future of intercultural education in Spain. Although those who seek to "interculturalize" Spain's education system may be successful in changing the valorization of various forms of cultural capital

---

[135] See Olneck.

within the Spanish schools, they must acknowledge the extent to which the changing

valorization of these forms of capital outside of the school will affect their efforts. In

addition, these initiatives will only be measured favorably if they are able to equalize the

educational achievement and attainment of migrants in comparison to natives.

Table 1.1 summarizes the major contrasts between interculturalism and

multiculturalism that have been discussed above.

Table 1.1: Interculturalism versus multiculturalism.

	Interculturalism	**Multiculturalism**
Countries	Continental Europe: France, Germany, Spain	North America: United States, Canada; Europe: Great Britain, Sweden, the Netherlands.
Mode of immigrant incorporation	Universal and Liberal	Liberal and Corporatist
Theoretical view of immigrant incorporation.	Incorporation occurs by implementing policies of non-discrimination and fostering interactions between diverse groups to prevent any one groups' marginalization.	Incorporation occurs by securing liberal rights and endowing differential rights to officially recognized racial, ethnic, or national groups.
Theoretical view of culture	Cultures are constantly changing; the state should not seek to reify fluctuating boundaries or institutionalize arbitrary categorizations.	Providing access to societal cultures is congruent with the liberal value of freedom of choice.

(Table 1.1 cont'd.)

Role of the state in recognizing and/or protecting an immigrant's racial, national, ethnic, or cultural identity.	The state does not officially recognize any minority group.	The state officially recognizes certain collectives that may be susceptible to exclusion or marginalization.
Critiques	Paradoxical goals: Asks educators to "recognize diversity" while not "categorizing, identifying, or classifying." Source diversity presents a major obstacle, making it difficult for schools to attend to diversity when this process entails recognizing multiple nationalities. May not be able to surmount the realities of social organization and stratification outside the classroom.	Categories are arbitrary, constructed by the host society and not by migrants themselves. (e.g. "Hispanic," "Asian") May reify social boundaries, undermining the basis for nationhood built on civic commonalities. Historically, has not helped some groups overcome structural barriers to spatial, economic and social incorporation.

As with most theoretical frameworks, there is a considerable gap between philosophies of intercultural education and the realities of migrant education in Spain's public schools. In my analysis of five primary schools in Madrid, discussed in the next chapter, I will demonstrate how educators wrestle with and reconcile questions of equality and difference for immigrant students in their community amidst the imperative to "interculturalize" their schools. Before I do so, I briefly survey how interculturalism currently manifests itself in education policy in Spain. In the next section, I highlight scholarly literature from Spain that demonstrates how the putative practice of

interculturalismo diverges significantly from the theoretical frameworks from which it has emerged. This survey will provide important background information to frame the findings that I will discuss in the next chapter.

Interculturalism in Spain: Solution to the "problem" of Third World Immigration?

Given the intricate and complex theoretical frameworks behind the ideology of interculturalism, one might think that social actors would be reluctant to embrace interculturalism for lack of adequate resources to implement such ambitious projects. Yet, the term "intercultural" enjoys considerable cachet in Spanish social policy. In effect, the term "intercultural" has become a label that is placed on nearly any project aimed at facilitating immigrants' social or educational integration in Spain. Spanish scholars demonstrate that the only thread uniting these projects is a common tendency to problematize immigration and to propose interculturalism as a solution to the "problem" of immigrant integration.[136]

In his assessment of interculturalism and education in Spain, Dietz found that the term "intercultural" was used to describe a variety educational projects that in actuality sought divergent outcomes. These outcomes included assimilating students into the dominant culture, compensating educational handicaps or deficiencies, "bi-culturalizing" students through dual language programs, fostering mutual respect and tolerance,

---

[136] The problematization of immigration in Spain has been well-documented by Spanish scholars and the media. In a public opinion survey in 2003, 71 percent of Spanish respondents stated that the presence of immigrants from underdeveloped countries had a positive effect on delinquency in the country. See Juan Díez Nicolás, *Las dos caras de la inmigración,* (Madrid: *Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales,* 2004), 210. Similarly, in an article published in *El País* in 2006, Spain's Center for Sociological Investigations (CIS) reported that immigration had surpassed unemployment as the principal concern of Spanish citizens. C.E.C., "La inmigración es el principal problema para los españoles." *El País*, October 26, 2006. http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/inmigracion/principal/problema/espanoles/elpepiesp/20061026elpep inac_27/Tes Accessed 12/9/07.

preventing racism, empowering marginalized groups, and transforming minority/majority relations.[137] Dietz notes that, despite their differences, these strategies were identical in their tendency to problematize the concept of cultural diversity.

Projects labeled "intercultural" also tend to be disproportionately directed at migrants from developing countries. A study conducted by F. Javier García Castaño and colleagues in the Autonomous Community of Andalucía found that "intercultural" projects were commonplace in Almería, a city that received mostly North African immigrants. In contrast, such projects were virtually non-existent in Málaga, a city that also received immigrants, but primarily those from the United Kingdom.[138] "Intercultural" thus signified those policies and projects aimed at minority groups considered "problematic" in Spain-- migrants from the developing world.

In Spanish education policy, intercultural education generally refers to those policies and practices designed to facilitate the integration of immigrants and other socially disadvantaged students into the educational system. At the national level, legislation in this arena governs an immigrant's access to education and the compensation of educational inequalities.[139] Legislation in the area of intercultural education is more highly developed at the local level, due to the decentralized nature of the Spanish education system. In the Autonomous Community of Madrid, legislation in the area of

---

[137] Dietz 2003.

[138] F. Javier García Castaño, "¿A qué nos referimos cuando hablamos de interculturalidad?" in eds. Luis Pernía Ibáñez, María García-Cano Torrico, J. Luis Mata Grima, and Eva del Pino Villarrubia, *Inmigrantes en la Frontera de la Ciudadanía*, (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de la Provincia de Málaga, 2000), 113-126.

[139] Policies governing access to education at the national level include the *Ley de Extranjería 8/2000.* Policies governing compensatory education at the national level include *Real Decreto 299/1996 de 28 de febrero*; *Orden de 22 de julio de 1999.* www.mtas.es; www.mec.es/creade, Accessed 12/7/07.

intercultural education[140] governs the establishment and regulation of compensatory

education and the *Escuelas de Bienvenida* (or, "Welcome Schools," Spanish language

and orientation programs for immigrants), the prevention of discrimination and violence,

and the hiring and management of translational and interpretive services. Thus,

intercultural educational policy at both national and local levels is mainly directed at

migrants only, seeking to ameliorate curricular and linguistic deficiencies, to facilitate

communication between migrant families and schools, and to create forums for non-

discrimination.

It is important to note that intercultural education policy in Madrid does not

mandate modifications to the mainstream classrooms of immigrant-receiving schools. It

does not prescribe revisions to the schools' curricula, texts, or extracurricular activities,

nor does it require changes in teacher preparation or professional development. These

issues are left to the jurisdiction of individual schools, which are given the opportunity to

address these themes in their yearly curricular plans and/or individual initiatives. In the

next chapter, I discuss how five public primary schools in Madrid's Tetuán district have

---

[140] The Community of Madrid does not specifically label this legislation "intercultural education," but considers it part of their "*Plan de Atención a la Diversidad*." (Plan for the Attention to Diversity). This legislation can be accessed via *CREADE, el Centro de Recursos para la Atención a la Diversidad Cultural en Educación* (The Center for Resources for the Attention to Cultural Diversity in Education), run by the Spanish Ministry of Education. *CREADE*'s goals include, "Providing intercultural resources that respond to the demands of professionals in the field of social education; obtain, systematize, and generate all types of information related to intercultural education; and, offer resources for the development of intercultural competencies." http://apliweb.mec.es/creade/IrASubSeccionFront.do?id=3. Accessed 10/5/07; Thus, intercultural education, while not labeled as such, is considered an embedded aspect of Madrid's "*Plan de Atención a la Diversidad*." As I will discuss in the next chapter, the word intercultural is also invoked frequently in the governance of compensatory education and second-language education in Madrid.

decided to address migrant education. I will demonstrate that, while all of these schools faithfully implement the intercultural policies developed at national and local levels, there is considerable variation in how educators perceive immigrant students and the educational needs they present.

Chapter 2: Education and Diversity in Spain's New Era of Immigration: The Case of Latin American Immigrant Students in Tetuán, Madrid.

"Latin American children... share too many things with us… sometimes that which is the closest is most problematic."
-Secretary
Spanish League of Education and Popular Culture[141]

Educational policy-makers and scholars at supranational and national levels advocate an intercultural approach to the schooling of Spain's new immigrant students. This approach is typified by a universalistic stance towards immigrant integration, an emphasis on interaction and exchange, and a view of migrants as individuals with hybrid identities. Intercultural education in Spain is as new to the country as the phenomenon of immigration itself. As such, it lacks a high level of systematization across the country. Furthermore, the decentralized structure of the Spanish education system gives each of the country's Autonomous Communities, and the schools within them, the jurisdiction to develop specific local-level responses to the needs of the immigrant populations they serve. Examining individual schools in immigrant-receiving zones is, therefore, essential to understanding how educational institutions in Spain are responding to the introduction of diversity via immigration.

In my case study of five public primary schools in Tetuán, Madrid, I examine how these institutions have responded to their neighborhood's changing demographic reality. My analysis seeks to answer two main questions: First, how have these institutions responded to the increase in ethnic and cultural heterogeneity amongst their student

---

[141] Quoted on October 27th, 2006, at a conference hosted by the Spanish League of Education and Popular Culture titled *"Factores que inciden en la socialización de los jóvenes latinoamericanos en España."*

populations? Second, how do Latin American immigrant students, Tetuán's largest

immigrant minority, figure into the politics of diversity in these schools?

My interest in studying Latin American students as a subgroup is three-fold. First,

Latin Americans are a numerically significant minority in Tetuán's schools. Immigrants

from Latin American countries such as Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, and

Perú comprise the majority of the total number of immigrants in the neighborhood and its

schools.[142] Second, because they speak the language of instruction, Latin American

students present a rare opportunity for scholarly investigation in the field of immigrant

education.[143] To be sure, linguistic concerns commonly draw the bulk of scholarly

attention in investigations of the education of the children of immigrants. The case of

Latin American students in Spain's schools allows researchers to examine factors beyond

language that may affect the educational integration of migrant students. Finally, by

focusing on Latin Americans as a specific subgroup, I hope to gauge the extent to which

Latin Americans are viewed as a "true" minority in Tetuán and accommodated as such.

In the politics of diversity in many migrant-receiving societies, the social construction of

immigrants as minority groups with "special" needs has played an important role in

determining whether education systems will develop specific accommodations for

---

[142] In July of 2006, immigrants from countries in South America and the Dominican Republic comprised approximately 62.3% of Tetuán's overall foreign population of 32,367. Data from "*Población Extranjera en la Ciudad de Madrid: Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1 de Julio de 2006 (Datos Provisionales)*" (*Ciudad de Madrid, Área de Gobierno de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística, 2006).* www.munimadrid.es/estadística, Accessed 10/06.

[143] I am not suggesting that there is complete linguistic congruence between Latin Americans and Spaniards. Over the course of my study, I spoke to many students who presented evidence to the contrary. Despite their dialectical differences from natives, Latin Americans face significantly lower linguistic barriers to integration than those immigrant students from non-Spanish speaking countries such as Morocco, Romania, or China. It is this perceived advantage that is significant to my analysis.

migrant students.[144] I seek to determine whether Latin Americans are viewed as an

immigrant minority that merits specific accommodations, or as individuals with

educational needs comparable to those of native students.

Methodology

This case study was conducted in the fall of 2006 in five public primary schools

in the district of Tetuán in Madrid, Spain. Tetuán is the city's fourth-largest immigrant-

receiving zone and is located in the northwestern quadrant of the capital.[145] (see Figure

2.1) The neighborhood hosts the city's second-largest migrant student population; 24.1

percent of children under the age of 16 in Tetuán are foreign.[146]

---

[144] In traditionally multicultural societies, differential accommodations have usually only been implemented for those migrants whom have been formally recognized as significant minorities. The achievement of official minority status has often been contingent on society's perceptions of migrant groups as disadvantaged in comparison to natives. See, for instance, Soysal's discussion of the determinants of official minority status for migrants in Sweden and the Netherlands in Soysal 1996.

[145] As of July 1st, 2006, immigrants comprised 21 percent of Tetuán's total population of 154,219 residents, a figure only surpassed by the neighborhoods of Centro (28 percent), Usera (21.5 percent), and Carabanchel (21.3 percent). Figures courtesy of "*Población Extranjera en la Ciudad de Madrid: Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1 de Julio de 2006 (Datos Provisionales)*" (*Ciudad de Madrid, Área de Gobierno de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística, 2006),* www.munimadrid.es/estadística, Accessed 10/06.

[146] Only the neighborhood of Centro hosts more immigrant students than Tetuán. Centro's immigrant student population (children under the age of 16) comprises 30.5 percent of the total student population in that neighborhood. Statistics courtesy of "*Población Extranjera en la Ciudad de Madrid: Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1 de Julio de 2006 (Datos Provisionales)*" (*Ciudad de Madrid, Área de Gobierno de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística, 2006).* www.munimadrid.es/estadística, Accessed 10/06.

Figure 2.1: Major immigrant-receiving zones in Madrid, Spain.
Source: *"Población Extranjera en la Ciudad de Madrid: Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1 de Julio de 2006 (Datos Provisionales)" Ciudad de Madrid, Área de Gobierno de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística, 2006*, www.munimadrid.es/estadística, October 2006.

There are seven public primary schools in Tetuán. Two of these schools declined

to participate in this study, one citing personnel time constraints, and the other denying

access to top school officials who did not want to participate due the sensitive nature of

the immigration issue. The five schools that consented to participate in the study have

been given pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, and will be referred

to as *Colegio Público Cervantes (CPC), Colegio Público Miguel de Unamuno (CPMU),*

Colegio Público. Pablo Picasso (CPPP), Colegio Público Federico García Lorca

(CPFGL), and *Colegio Público Antonio Machado (CPAM).* I conducted extensive,

structured interviews with the principals of each of the five schools participating in the

study. (Interview questionnaires are found in the Appendix). I also distributed

questionnaires to teachers and other personnel at these schools. (See Appendix) Only a

small number of teachers (20) returned these questionnaires, and their responses will be

used strictly for illustrative purposes.

This case study also includes interviews with two important figures working in

the area of *Atención a la Diversidad* (Attention to Diversity) at the *Consejería de*

Educación (Educational Consulate) in Madrid. Their names have also been changed to

maintain confidentiality. Cecilia Martínez heads the office of the *Escuelas de Bienvenida*

(Welcome Schools), and oversees the *Aulas de Enlace* (loosely translated as "Connection

Schools"), the *Consejería*'s language immersion programs for immigrant students.

Mónica Ruiz is the head of *Educación Compensatoria* (Compensatory Education), the

Consejería's program designed for students who exhibit curricular deficiencies, including

migrants.

The findings presented in this case study are limited in scope due to several

institutional constraints, including lack of access to classrooms, teacher meetings, and

parents.[147] To overcome the latter constraint, I administered parent questionnaires on

four occasions to a non-random sample of Latin American immigrant parents at the *Casa*

de Campo[148] and the *Palacio de Deportes*, the polling location for migrants voting in the

Ecuadorian elections held in November, 2006. A total of fifteen questionnaires were

---

[147] The schools' principals gave teachers the opportunity to vote on the extent to which they would give me access to their classrooms. All of the teachers voted against having me conduct classroom observations and individual interviews. They would only consent to fill out questionnaires. This lack of access to the internal life of the school can likely be attributed to my short time in Madrid and the sensitive nature of the immigration issue in Spain.

[148] The *Casa de Campo* is a regular weekend gathering place for Ecuadorian families. This venue comes alive on Saturday and Sunday afternoons when families and friends gather to socialize. During my time in Madrid, the *Casa de Campo* came under immense scrutiny from local officials who sought to stem the growth of an informal and unregulated marketplace that had sprung up at this location.

administered. The data obtained from these questionnaires does not quantitatively

represent Latin American parents as a group. However, this small sample gives

important initial insights into the nature of immigrant parent-school relations and the

various frameworks of logic that parents use to approach the education of their children

in Spain.

Findings Overview

I demonstrate that the introduction of immigrant students into Tetuán's schools

has compelled some minor institutional modifications, but overall has not led to major

structural changes that could signal an intercultural approach to education. Rather than

address questions of diversity on a large scale, these schools consign themes of

immigration and ethnicity to two specific "pull out" programs targeted at immigrant

students: *Aulas de Enlace* and *Educación Compensatoria*. I refer to this strategy as the

"compartmentalization" of interculturalism-- the relegation of themes of diversity to areas

of the school that do not serve all students and do not involve all teachers. For Latin

American students, this compartmentalized approach is problematic for two reasons.

First, their familiarity with the language of instruction exempts them from the *Aulas de*

Enlace, programs that are an important source of cultural capital, providing information

on the school and local community in addition to language support. Second, in their

attempt to remedy curricular inadequacies, compensatory educational programs often

equate cultural and ethnic difference with deficiency. For Latin American students, this

means that their ethnic or cultural identities only become salient in the event that they

under-perform.

In the second portion of my case study, I discuss educator perceptions of Latin American students as compared to other students. My findings reveal that educators construct symbolic boundaries between Latin American students and natives under some circumstances, but "blur" these boundaries in others.[149] I demonstrate that, at one level, Latin American students, alongside other immigrants from the underdeveloped world, are marked as immigrant "others." This occurs symbolically through educators' perceptions that these students are "*bajando el nivel*"- lowering the level- of the school. Despite the fact that many of them perceive Latin Americans to be academically deficient, educators are divided as to whether they should differentiate their educational needs. Some educators argue that Latin Americans are students with distinct educational needs than natives, while others "blur" the boundaries between Latin Americans and natives, positing that immigrant and native educational needs are the same, both linked to social factors associated with their lives in Spain and not their national origins. This universalistic attitude renders unnecessary the development of specific educational accommodations for Latin American students as a subgroup.

To conclude my analysis, I assess the future of intercultural education in Spain by investigating teacher and parent attitudes towards issues of ethnic and cultural inclusion in Madrid's schools. Specifically, I asked both parents and teachers whether public schools should play a greater role in recognizing immigrant students' ethnic and cultural

---

[149] I borrow the term "blurred" boundaries from sociologist Richard Alba. In his analysis of the construction of "bright" versus "blurred" boundaries between migrants and natives in the United States, France, and Germany, Alba posits that, where "blurred" boundaries arise, the "clarity of the social distinction (between natives and migrants) has become clouded, and individuals' location with respect to the boundary may appear indeterminate." See Richard Alba, "Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 28 (January, 2005), 23.

heritages by addressing these themes in the mainstream classroom. My results reveal a lack of consensus in this area. Educators demonstrate a strong interest in teaching immigrant students about their parents' countries of origin, however, they do not see themselves as obligated to include this content in the schools' curricula. Equally, many do not indicate that they have a strong knowledge base to teach this content. Parents' opinions also diverge substantially on this topic; some support cultural and ethnic recognition in the schools, while others posit that it is the duty of the family, and not the school, to teach students about their ethnic and cultural origins.

Tetuán: Shifting Demographic Realities and Distributive Inequalities

Tetuán's immigrant stock can best be described as polyethnic,[150] however, migrants from Latin America, primarily from Ecuador, comprise the majority of the foreign-born population in the zone. (See Graphs 2.1 and 2.2) The school-age foreign population in the zone has grown substantially since the late 1990s, indicating that many of the zone's migrants have brought their children with them to Spain or have begun to reunify their families. Spanish sociologist Rosa Aparicio points out that the onset of immigration to Tetuán occurred just as native birthrates were reaching critically low levels in the zone.[151] Aparicio notes that some of Tetuán's schools were poised to close their doors in the early 1990s for lack of sufficient enrollment. The influx of immigrant students has reversed this de-population.

---

[150] The following countries had more than 1,000 living in Tetuán in 2006: Ecuador, Colombia, Romania, Perú, Bolivia, Morocco, China, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and the Phillipines. Source: *"Población Extranjera en la Ciudad de Madrid: Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1 de Julio de 2006 (Datos Provisionales)" Ciudad de Madrid, Área de Gobierno de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística, 2006.* www.munimadrid.es/estadística Accessed 10/06.

[151] Rosa Aparicio, Interview, November 10, 2006.

Graph 2.1: Foreign Population in Tetuán by Geopolitical Region of Origin, July, 2006.
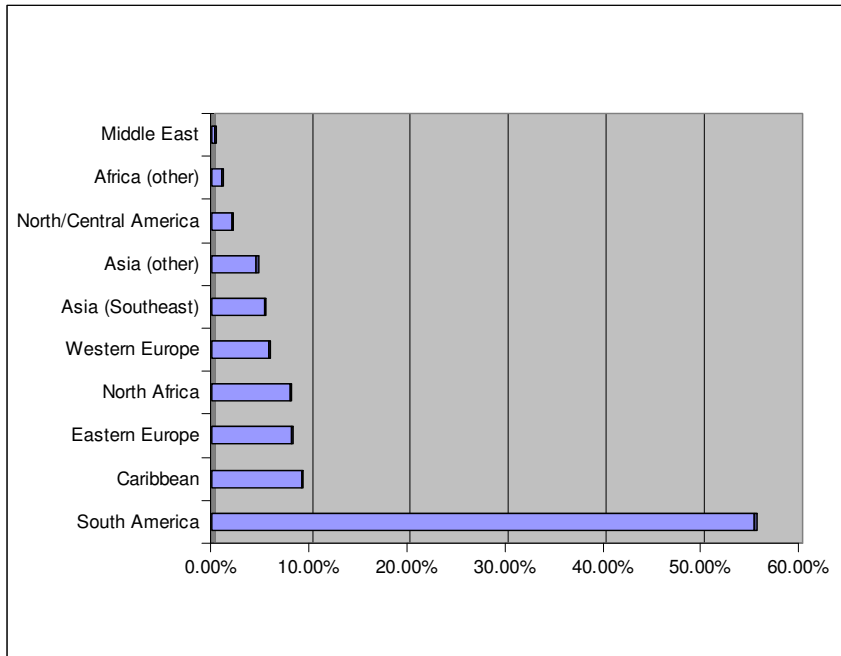
Source: Data provided by the *Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Área de Gobierno de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística,* October, 2006. www.munimadrid.org/estadística.

Graph 2.2: Foreign population in Tetuán by nationality as percent of total foreign population.
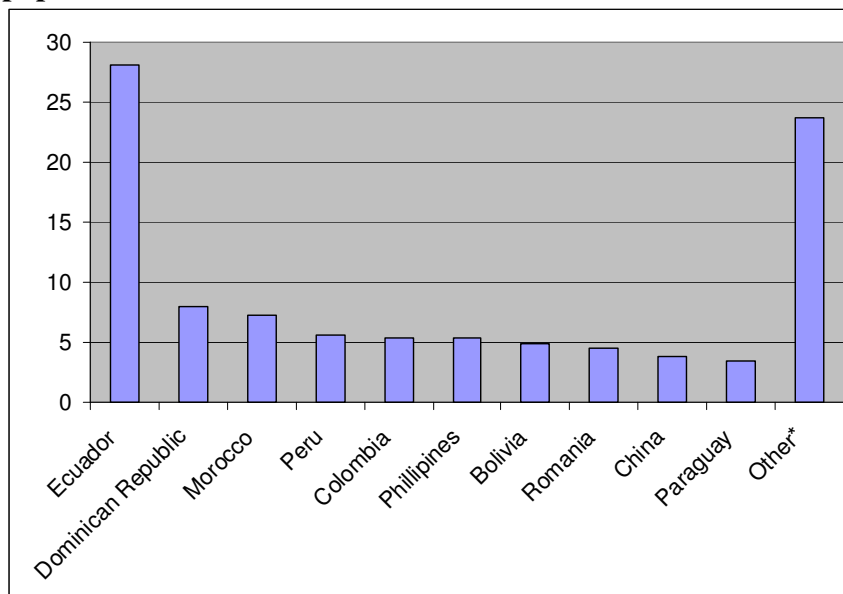

*Countries with less than 1,000 residents living in Tetuán.
Source: Researcher's graph created using data provided by *"Población Extranjera en la Ciudad de Madrid: Padrón Municipal de Habitantes a 1 de Julio de 2006 (Datos Provisionales)" Ciudad de Madrid, Área de Gobierno de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística, 2006,* accessed via www.munimadrid.es/estadística, October 2006.

Disproportionately high immigrant student enrollments are the hallmarks of four out of five of the schools in this case study. The foreign population comprises 25 percent of the total population within the 5-14 age bracket in Tetuán, but foreign enrollments well exceeded this number in four out of the five schools in this study. (See Graphs 2.3 and 2.4) The steady increase in foreign student enrollments has coincided with the diminishing presence of native-born students in the public schools. Enrollment data provided by one of the schools under investigation, *Colegio Público Cervantes (CPC)*, demonstrates this trend. (See Graph 2.5) Diminishing native enrollments can be attributed to natives' low birthrates, spatial segregation within the neighborhood, and native "flight" out of the public schools into neighboring *concertado* and private schools.

Graph 2.3: Tetuán's student-age population, ages 5-14, 2006.
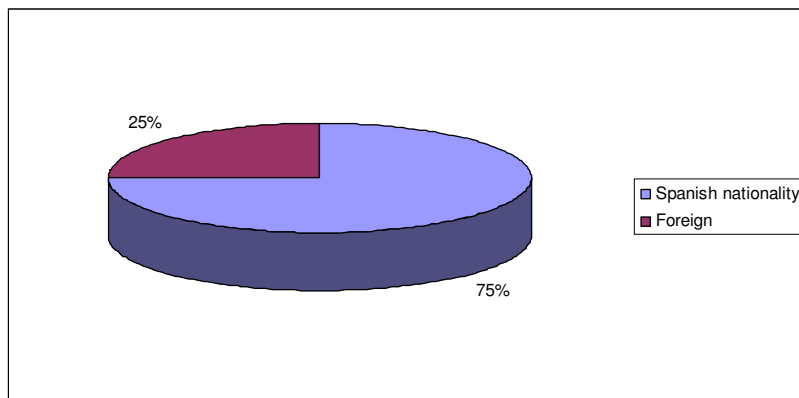
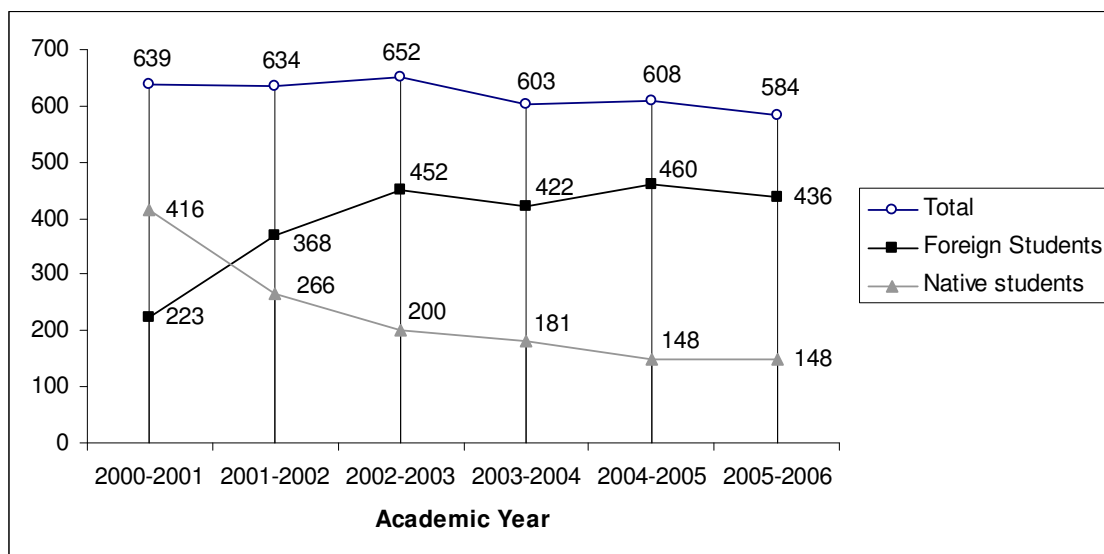Source: Data provided by the *Consejería de Educación, Comunidad de Madrid,* 2006.

Graph 2.4: Native student enrollment versus foreign student enrollment in five public primary schools in Tetuán, Madrid, 2006-2007.
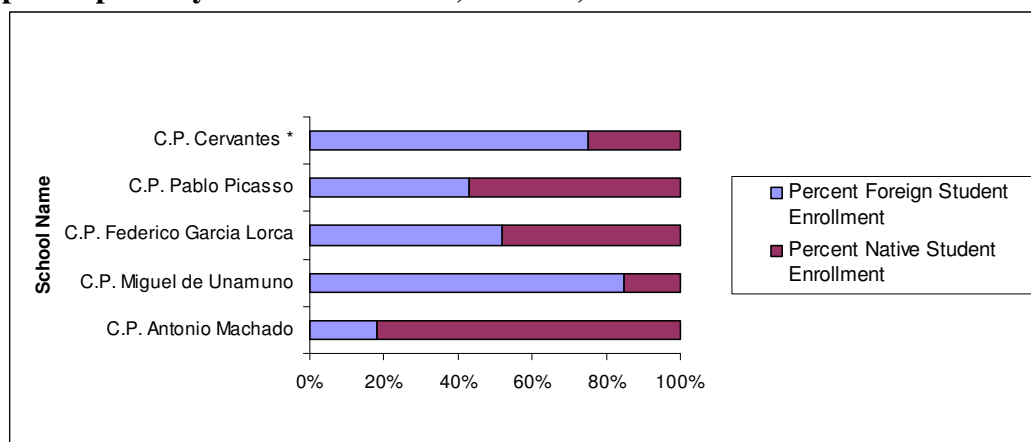
*Data from 2005-2006 Academic Year.
Source: Self-reported data provided by schools.

Graph 2.5: Foreign and Native Student Enrollments, *Colegio Público Cervantes*,
2000-2006.

Compulsory schooling in Spain takes three forms: Public centers funded with public

money, private centers funded with private money, and private centers funded with public

money. The latter are the *centros concertados*. These private centers funded quasi-

publicly are sanctioned by Article 27 of Spain's 1978 Constitution, which secures a

parent's right to choose the proper religious and moral education for their children in

accordance with their own convictions, and the right of individuals and legal entities,

either public or private, to create educational centers which respect constitutional

principles.[152] Many families who perceive that their children's school is becoming an

"immigrant school" decide to pull their children out of the public schools and enroll them

in a private school or *centro concertado*.

---

[152] Article 21 of the 1985 *Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación* (*LODE*) further authorizes the right of
people or legal entities of private character and Spanish nationality to create and direct private teaching
institutions which respect both the Constitution and Spanish education law. To learn more about the
history of the *centros concertados* and their implications for educational equity in Spain, see Liliana Jacott
and Antonio Maldonado Rico, "The *Centros Concertados* in Spain, Parental Demand and Implications for
Equity,*" European Journal of Education*, vol. 41, no. 1 (March, 2006), 97-111.

In contrast to natives, migrant families often lack the social, cultural, and monetary capital necessary to enroll their children in private or *concertado* schools. Many private schools and *centros concertados* also engage in de facto mechanisms of exclusion to prevent immigrant students from enrolling. These mechanisms include charging fees for requisites such as school uniforms, lunches, or after-school programs.[153] The Catholic character of the majority of these schools[154] may also work to indirectly to exclude immigrant students from traditionally Muslim countries such as Morocco or Algeria, while favoring the enrollment of students from traditionally Catholic countries in South America.[155]

Parents are not solely responsible for the stigmatization of schools with high immigrant enrollments; educators also play a role in this process. The prevailing opinion among educators in many of the schools I investigated is that "*el nivel ha bajado*"- the (educational) level of the school has lowered (since the onset of immigration). Where these perceptions prevail, educators may be perpetuating the notion that their school is turning into an "immigrant" school, characterized by normative challenges and low academic performance. These attitudes may also lead to the conflation of ethnic/racial diversity and low performance, subsequently prompting natives to seek ethnically homogeneous educational settings for their children.

It must be noted that many educators in Tetuán are extremely concerned about the unequal distribution of immigrant students in the zone's schools. Some of the teachers I

---

[153] Jacott and Maldonado Rico; Principal, *CPMU*.
[154] According to Jacott and Maldonado Rico, nearly 88 percent of the *centros concertados* are the property of different sectors of the Catholic Church.
[155] More research needs to be conducted to examine the demographic distribution of students in Spain's private and *concertado* schools.

surveyed deemed this process *guetización*, or ghettoization. In the words of one teacher, "The public centers are becoming foreign-born student ghettos; this should be avoided."[156] Educators most often point to the quasi-public *centros concertados* as the main culprits of segregation. In the words of one educator, "…there is so much demand in the *centros concertados* that the public schools are becoming immigrant day-care centers."[157] A school principal added that "the biggest problem I see is the *centros concertados*… On the part of the *Consejería* or *Ministerio*, there needs to be an equal distribution, beginning in pre-school."[158] Another teacher echoed these sentiments, stating that, "there should be a distribution with the *centros concertados* that receive public funds to equally distribute (students) and to prevent the creation of ghettos."[159]

The local media has shed light on the polemical uneven distribution of immigrants in the public schools while also sensationalizing this phenomenon as a process of "ghettoization." For example, a story published in *El País* in February, 2007, highlighted the efforts of parents in Galápagar, a local suburb of Madrid, to call attention to the unequal distribution of immigrant students in their neighborhood's schools. In Galápagar, 74 percent of the local public high school's student population was foreign, whereas a neighboring private school's foreign student enrollment was only 25 percent. The parents of the public school students denounced this unequal distribution as "leading to the creation of ghettos" and "against integration."[160] This exemplifies the prevailing

---

[156] Questionnaire respondent.
[157] Questionnaire respondent.
[158] Principal, *CPMU.*
[159] Questionnaire respondent.
[160] Esther Sánchez, "Un instituto de Galapagar denuncia que se está convirtiendo en un gueto." *El País.* February 22, 2007.

viewpoint that segregation is not just as a problem of distribution, but is capable of changing a school from integrated to marginalized.[161]

In their *Guide to Concepts of Migrations, Racism, and Interculturalism* (*Guía de conceptos sobre migraciones, racismo e interculturalidad*), Spanish sociologists Graciela Malgesini and Carlos Giménez argue that, "Not every poor or marginal neighborhood is a ghetto; only those where there is also racial segregation. Equally, not every ethnic enclave in and of itself constitutes a ghetto, but only those that are subordinated socially and economically."[162] Based on this definition, I would argue that Tetuán's schools should not be considered "ghettos." Specific residential sectors within the district of Tetuán could be characterized "ghettos"-- racially and ethnically segregated and lacking social and economic resources. However, Tetuán's schools do not have the degree of economic exclusion necessary to merit this label. Most educators in Tetuán do not view their schools as poor or economically marginalized. In my interviews with principals and in questionnaires given to teachers, no respondent reported a lack of resources such as textbooks, educational materials, or money for infrastructural improvements. In my own visits to the schools, I did not detect any infrastructural deficiencies such as those that have been described by authors such as Jonathan Kozol in his analyses of inner-city public schools in the United States.[163] Thus, I find little evidence that a true process of

---

[161] Several proposals have been put forth to combat high levels of segregation, including the creation of governing bodies that would regulate school enrollments. I will discuss these proposals in my conclusion.

[162] Graciela Malgesini and Carlos Giménez, *Guía de conceptos sobre migraciones, racismo e interculturalidad* (Madrid*:* Asociación los libros de la Catarata*,* 2000), 224.

[163] In *Amazing Grace*, Kozol described the dilapidated state of public schools in Harlem and the South Bronx in New York City. He noted that, "Many of schools with the most devastating academic records are also physically offensive places," going on to say that, at Morris High School, "… barrels were filling up with rain in several rooms the last time I was there. Green fungus molds were growing in the corners of the room in which the guidance counselor met kids who were depressed. Many of these schools quite literally stink." In Tetuán's schools, I did not observe anything that remotely paralleled this scene.

ghettoization, characterized by racial/ethnic exclusion *and* social and economic

marginalization, is currently taking place in Tetuán's schools.[164] Nonetheless, current

levels of racial and ethnic exclusion should not be overlooked; this situation inhibits

interactions and exchanges between diverse groups, a main tenet of Spain's proposed

intercultural project.

Compartmentalizing Interculturalism: Aulas de Enlace and Educación Compensatoria.

        Intercultural advocates propose that institutions as a whole must be transformed in

order to adapt to the increasingly heterogeneous composition of European societies. In

Tetuán, the growth of the neighborhood's foreign-born population has not coincided with

sweeping changes to mainstream aspects of schooling such as the curricula, textbooks, or

extra-curricular programs.[165] The absence of a cohesive institutional response to the

zone's changing demographic realities is further evidenced by the inconsistency in

educators' definitions of the term "interculturalism." When asked to define

interculturalism, educators' responses varied widely. Definitions included: education in

universal values (such as responsibility, respect, and cooperation), co-existence and

acceptance of difference, respect for diversity, integration of diverse groups, and the

construction of common projects between different cultures. The lack of a unified

See Jonathan Kozol, *Amazing Grace: the lives of children and the conscience of a nation.* (New York: Crown, 1995), 151-152.

[164] By critiquing the conflation of segregation and ghettoization*,* I am not suggesting that these schools are "separate but equal." Rather, I seek to demonstrate the ways in which parents, educators, and the media sensationalize the increased presence of immigrant students in the public schools, exacerbating the stigmatization of these institutions and leading to greater rates of segregation.

[165] Examples of modifications one might expect to see include changing the schools' curricula to make reference to the nationalities represented in the classroom, purchasing new texts or materials that make reference to immigrants' sending countries, or offering ethnic after-school activities, such as foreign language and cultural heritage immersion programs.

definition for this term is unsurprising, given that Tetuán's schools lack a policy framework for the implementation of intercultural projects in the mainstream classroom. Currently, there is no national or district-level policy that dictates how mainstream teachers should approach questions of diversity in their classrooms.

Semanas Interculturales or, Intercultural Weeks, are, at present, the most concrete manifestations of an intercultural education directed at all children in Tetuán's public schools. During these weeks, schools attempt to actively recognize all nationalities present in their schools by engaging in festival-like activities such as dancing, singing, displaying international flags, reading folklore, and playing games. Parents and community members may or may not play an active role in these activities. One principal informed me that parents were invited to participate in her school's intercultural week as "spectators," but that the school's teachers were in charge of planning and executing the event's main activities.[166] At *C.P. Miguel de Unamuno*, teachers also did the majority of the planning, but sought out information from ethnic immigrant non-governmental organizations in the community to supplement their resources. *C.P. Miguel de Unamuno*'s Intercultural Week was recognized by the *Consejería* as exemplary, earning the school an award. In spite of the praise that the district has given to its schools for their *Semanas Interculturales*, these festivals have been critiqued by scholars as minimal approaches to the recognition of diversity in the schools.[167]

Overall, Tetuán's schools take a compartmentalized approach to interculturalism. Rather than systematically recognize ethnic and cultural diversity in the mainstream

[166] Principal, *CPPP*.
[167] See, for example, Miguel Anxo Santos Rego and Sonia Nieto, "Multicultural/intercultural teacher education in two contexts: lessons from the United States and Spain." *Teaching and Teacher Education*, vol. 15, issue 4, (May 2000), 413-427.

classroom, schools relegate questions of difference to two programs directed at immigrant students: the *Aulas de Enlace* (loosely translated as "Connection Classes") and *Educación Compensatoria* (Compensatory Education)*.* National, ethnic, and cultural differences between immigrants and natives are mainly addressed within the bounds of these two "pull-out" and transitional programs.

The *Aulas de Enlace* and *Educación Compensatoria* are situated within the Community of Madrid's "Attention to Diversity Plan" (*Atención a la Diversidad*). The *Aulas de Enlace*, overseen by the office of the *Escuelas de Bienvenida* (Welcome Schools), were implemented by the Community during the 2002/2003 academic year to address the educational and linguistic needs of immigrant students whose native language is not Spanish.[168] In contrast, *Educación Compensatoria* was implemented in 1983 to address the educational needs of Spain's *Gitano,* or Roma, population.[169] In theory, *Educación Compensatoria* is not specifically intended for immigrant students, but for any socially disadvantaged[170] student exhibiting a *desface curricular* (curricular deficiency).[171] In reality, it has become the de facto educational accommodation for immigrant students, many of them Latin American. For example, during the 2005-2006 school-year in the Community of Madrid, 57.9 percent of the students requiring

---

[168] Cecilia Martínez, interview.

[169] Before the creation of *Educación Compensatoria*, *Gitano/*Roma students were educated in "*Escuelas Puente*," or "Bridge Schools." As Mónica Ruiz, who oversees current compensatory education programs notes, "these schools were not a 'bridge' at all, but an 'end.'" *Gitano*/Roma students were often segregated within these programs and received a lower quality education than the majority students *Educación Compensatoria* programs were originally designed to address the cultural and educational needs of this minority population as these students integrated into the public schools. (Mónica Ruiz, interview.)

[170] According to Madrid's *Consejería de Educación,* conditions that constitute social disadvantage may include difficulties of "social insertion," late incorporation in the educational system, irregular patterns of schooling, and needs deriving from a student's immigrant or refugee status. *Plan Regional de Compensación Educativa,* (Madrid: *Comunidad de Madrid, Consejería de Educación, Dirección General de Promoción Educativa*, 2000).

[171] *Plan Regional de Compensación Educativa*; Mónica Ruiz interview.

educational compensation at the primary level in the public schools were foreign students, whereas this subgroup comprised only 20.3 percent of the overall student population during the same academic year.[172] Although the *Consejería* does not disaggregate this data by nationality, anecdotal evidence from principals in Tetuán suggests that a substantial number of the students in these programs are of Latin American origin.

The *Aulas de Enlace* and *Educación Compensatoria* programs share many structural characteristics and learning objectives. Both programs pull students out of mainstream classrooms to work in small groups with an instructor who has received specialized training in these programs.[173] Additionally, both are transitional in nature; they seek to mainstream students as quickly as possible. Finally, both programs specifically state that interculturalism is one of their core objectives. Cecilia Martínez states that the *Aulas de Enlace* program seeks the social and cultural incorporation of immigrant students "not from a Euro- or Spanish-centric point of view, but with an intercultural character."[174] Martínez's colleague, Mónica Ruiz, the head of *Educación Compensatoria* in the Community of Madrid, echoes this sentiment, stating that this program attempts to "achieve an intercultural education…the knowledge of other cultures, respect for difference, and an ideal co-existence."[175]

---

[172] "*Estadística de las enseñanzas de régimen general, régimen especial y adultos en la Comunidad de Madrid, Curso Académico, 2005-2006 (Datos Provisionales)" (Madrid: Consejería de Educación, Secretaría General Técnica)*, www.madrid.org, Accessed 3/9/07.

[173] Teachers do not need a specific credential, certificate, or endorsement to teach these programs, although the *Consejería* prefers to staff the *Aulas de Enlace* with teachers whom have an educational background in Spanish language and/or philology. In both cases, teachers receive initial training and on-going professional development through the *Consejeria*. From Cecilia Martínez and Mónica Ruiz interviews.

[174] Cecilia Martínez interview.

[175] Mónica Ruiz interview.

The Community of Madrid's Regional Plan for Compensatory Education (*Plan Regional de Compensación Educativa para la Comunidad de Madrid*) elaborates on these objectives, stating that programs that attend to diversity should "Incorporate intercultural education as a transversal theme in the curriculum, with the explicit presence of content that refers to the Roma culture and other cultures present in the school as a function of processes of immigration; institutionalize programs that maintain the language and culture of minority groups; elaborate and diffuse intercultural curricular and didactical materials oriented to support the integration of minorities… and other materials that include content which makes reference to different cultures."[176] This plan thus highlights specific structural adaptations- changes in content, curriculum, and materials- that would demarcate a program as intercultural.

Latin American immigrant students are not fully embraced by this compartmentalized approach to interculturalism. As native speakers of Spanish, they are exempt from the *Aulas de Enlace*. They may qualify for *Educación Compensatoria* in the event that they exhibit a curricular deficiency. However, this program lacks orientation to the Spanish school system and local community, a key component specific to the *Aulas de Enlace*. According to Cecilia Martínez, the *Aulas de Enlace* attempt to help students "adapt to the school, with its norms, its rights, and its obligations."[177] Students in these programs become familiarized with the city through lessons such as *Primer Paseo por Madrid* ("First Journey Through Madrid"), a lesson that combines vocabulary exercises with a historical explanation of the city's major landmarks and other

---

[176] *Plan Regional de Compensación Educativa*, *Consejería de Educación de Madrid.*
[177] Cecilia Martínez interview.

activities.[178] Thus, the *Aulas de Enlace* programs attempt to transmit important cultural capital- the organization, norms, and values of the host school and community- to new students, whereas *Educación Compensatoria* does not.

Teacher training and professional development constitute another important difference between these programs. Both *Aulas de Enlace* and *Educación Compensatoria* teachers are pulled from the ranks of the regular teaching staff. As such, neither group has received substantial pre-service training in these areas. The majority of the training that they receive comes in the form of ongoing professional development overseen by the *Consejería*. In contrast to teachers of *Educación Compensatoria,* who are trained to meet the needs of a diverse group that includes native, minority, and foreign students, *Aulas de Enlace* teachers receive specialized training through the *Consejería* to attend to the educational needs and social realities of immigrant students specifically. This includes training in theories of second language acquisition and a critical examination of national, ethnic, and cultural differences that may affect learning outcomes. Martínez regularly provides teachers with flyers, such as *La Segunda Generación de Inmigrantes* ("The Immigrant Second Generation"), which includes information such as "Even though they may have (Spanish) nationality, they are not considered European, nor in their countries of origin are they considered natives: crisis of ethnic identity."[179] Martínez also meets with these teachers on a regular basis to collectively discuss challenges and strategies for working with immigrant students.

---

[178] Material shown to researcher during interview.
[179] Material shown to researcher during interview.

Training for *Educación Compensatoria* does not focus solely on the needs of immigrant students, but rather the needs of *any* socially disadvantaged student, native or non-native.

Still, another key difference involves how these programs conceptualize and approach immigration as a social process. The *Aulas de Enlace* view immigration as a transitory phenomenon; students are expected to become integrated into the mainstream classroom once they master the Spanish language and are able to navigate the norms and institutions of the host country. In contrast, *Educación Compensatoria* approaches immigration as a situation of "social disadvantage" stemming from more pervasive social structures such as socio-economic status or familial situation. Furthermore, *Educación Compensatoria* was not specifically designed to meet the needs of immigrant students, as it was created before the onset of robust immigration to Spain to address the needs of de-territorialized minorities such as the Roma population. Although it was not intended for this purpose, it is currently the main way for schools to address the needs of immigrant students that speak the language of instruction, such as Latin Americans. This indicates that, because of their perceived linguistic and "cultural" similarities to natives, the education system views Latin Americans as disadvantaged, de-territorialized minorities, such as the Roma, rather than an immigrant minority.

"No se discrimina": Academic performance versus academic needs of Latin American immigrant students

To determine why there is currently no program that specifically addresses the educational needs of Latin American students, I sought to further investigate how this subgroup was viewed from the eyes of educators themselves. I examined two potential explanations. First, I hypothesized that educators did not view Latin American students

as different from natives. As such, the absence of programs designed specifically for their subgroup could be attributed to the perception of "sameness" between Latin Americans and Spaniards. Schools did not see a need to develop new institutional responses for Latin Americans, because they were not viewed as a separate minority in need of specific educational accommodations. Alternatively, educators may view Latin Americans as different from natives, but may not view these differences as deep enough to necessitate the creation of specific accommodations for this subgroup.

To investigate these hypotheses, I asked educators to differentiate between Latin American students, natives, and other immigrant students along two axes: academic performance and educational needs. Were Latin Americans' academic performances comparable to natives', to other immigrants', or distinguishable altogether? Were their educational needs more similar to natives' or to other immigrants'? The answers to these questions are complex; educators perceive Latin Americans as distinct from natives under some circumstances but similar to them in others. The distinctions that educators draw are dependent on the specific axis along which they are asked to evaluate Latin American immigrant students.

On the axis of academic performance, distinctions are clear; Latin Americans are generally perceived as having lower academic achievement levels than natives. Educators propose that these differences can be attributed to factors such as region of origin, socio-economic status, age of entry into the Spanish schools, and familial circumstances. Some educators essentialize these academic differences, attributing them to immigrant parents' countries of origin or their "cultures." For example, three principals in this study (independently) theorized that Latin American students had a

slower "rhythm" than natives because their parents came from countries that had a "*ritmo lento*" (slow rhythm) and were more "*tranquilo*" (tranquil) in general.[180] On the axis of educational needs, these distinctions are "blurred"; educators opinions are split between those that view Latin Americans as a group possessing specific educational needs and those that prefer to universalize all students' educational needs. To summarize, even though most educators in Tetuán view Latin Americans as academically distinct from natives, there is no consensus on whether these distinctions should translate into differential educational accommodations.

Latin Americans: Academic "others" from the underdeveloped world

When evaluating students' academic performance, educators in Tetuán assert that Latin Americans, alongside other immigrants, are "*bajando el nivel*"- lowering the level- of the neighborhood's schools. In this context, all immigrants from underdeveloped countries, including those in Latin America, are distinguishable by their low academic performance, curricular deficiencies (*desfaces curriculares*), and low levels of parent participation. Educators use a "developed/underdeveloped" dichotomy to evaluate student performance; academic deficiencies are perceived as stemming from migration from an underdeveloped country.[181]

"*El nivel ha bajado*"- the level has lowered- is the common discourse woven through educators' descriptions of the how Tetuán's schools have changed since the onset of immigration in Spain in the early 1990s. Educators do not directly implicate any one

---

[180] Principals, *CPC, CPPP, CPAM.*
[181] There is a lack of objective data to support these claims. The *Consejería de Educación* in the Autonomous Community of Madrid does not publicly disclose student performance data disaggregated by national or ethnic origin. Furthermore, principals did not provide me with specific statistics indicating the exact percentage by which student performance at their schools had declined.

group in the process of lowering level of the school. However, the perceived correlation between increased Latin American immigrant presence in the schools and low academic level can be inferred in two ways. First, Latin Americans are the largest immigrant subgroup in the schools.[182] Thus, when a teacher claims that "the level has lowered since the 'phenomenon of immigration,'" she is often cognizant that Latin American immigration has comprised the bulk of this flow. Second, educators directly stated that Latin Americans have lower academic levels than natives. They attributed these lower academic levels to differences between Spanish and Latin American education systems.[183]

Even though language is commonly thought to assist immigrant's integration into the education system, my research demonstrates that migrants' countries of origin condition educators' perceptions and expectations of them. Many educators note that, even though Latin Americans speak the same language as natives, they tend to exhibit more *desfaces curriculares*- or curricular deficiencies- than natives because of the underdeveloped education systems found in their countries of origin. One teacher's comment succinctly illustrates this point, "even though language can be a facilitative factor, a deficit tends to be produced between the educational level of the country of origin and that of our country." Another teacher concurred, "They, Latin Americans, come from less-developed countries, and, although the language is the same, the customs

---

[182] Educators will de-emphasize the fact that Latin Americans comprise the majority of migrant students in the school, instead highlighting the poly-ethnic composition of the immigrant stock. However, it is important to keep in mind the numerical strength of Latin Americans in the schools, as discussed previously.

[183] This is despite the fact that many of the teacher questionnaire respondents in this study claimed to know "very little" about their migrant students' countries of origin.

are not."[184] One principal portrayed *desfaces curriculares* as characteristics that students "bring with them" in the process of migration, seeing this problem as increasing with age of entry into the Spanish schools: "The problem is that… when they arrive during grades that are no longer lower, fourth or fifth, then they bring from their country a little bit of deficiency with relation to the level that is being taught in Spain."[185]

The perceived deficiencies associated with Latin American education systems are used as one means to justify the placement of immigrant students, especially in the upper grades, in *Educación Compensatoria.* In extreme circumstances, Latin American students are placed in classrooms one to two grade levels below their age group. These placements are based solely on educator perceptions; there is currently no mandated, objective measure (such as placement tests) implemented by the *Consejería* to determine when a student should enter or leave *Educación Compensatoria.*[186] These decisions are based on the evaluations of numerous individuals, including the mainstream classroom teacher, the school psychologist, and other educators.

The danger in this paradigm is that, for lack of a systemic approach, educators may simply fall back on perceptions that are less than impartial. Numerous studies in the sociology of education demonstrate how educator perceptions of students' backgrounds can establish informal tracking mechanisms as early as kindergarten.[187] Students in Spain are not formally tracked until they finish obligatory secondary education.

---

[184] Teacher questionnaire responses.

[185] Principal, *CPC*.

[186] The *Consejería* has created guidelines and sample rubrics that educators may use to determine placements. At the time this research was conducted, none of the principals indicated that their schools were utilizing these metrics.

[187] Ray Rist's (1970) classic article "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education" laid the foundation for examining how "caste" systems in society may be reproduced in the classroom. In *Harvard Education Review,* vol. 40, no. 3 (August, 1970), 411-51.

Nevertheless, in the absence of objective placement measures, primary school educators may be informally tracking Latin American students at an early age by singling them out for *Educación Compensatoria* based on subjective, rather than objective, assessments.

Educators view immigrants' low educational levels as the biggest challenge facing the Spanish education system today, prompting claims that things would improve if they could just increase the academic level of the school. In the words of one principal, "If we could just reach the level that there was 7 or 8 years ago… if we could avoid academic failure by not reducing the levels of performance, but increasing them… this would logically increase the academic performance of these (immigrant) kids…"[188] Yet another principal unabashedly stated that her main concern was not necessarily the academic performance of immigrants, but that of natives: "I think the biggest challenge is that Spanish children's academic performance does not diminish because of the level of the rest of their classmates. This is the biggest challenge that we have. (Things would improve if) we could combine these two things: that some would bring themselves up to our level, academic, I mean, and that their Spanish classmates would not lose their rhythm."[189] These comments illustrate that educators view the panacea to immigrant integration as strictly academic; raising immigrant students' educational levels of achievement would ultimately ameliorate current integration challenges.[190]

---

[188] Principal, *CPC.*

[189] Principal, *CPFGL.*

[190] This is further illustrated by a comment from a local high school teacher who spoke at a conference on the socialization of Latin American youth in Spain. In assessing the situation at her school, she argued that, "We do not have problems of integration. We have problems of academic failure." (Quoted on October 27th, 2006, at the conference "*Factores que inciden en la socialización de los jóvenes latinoamericanos en España.*")

Overall, these results show that Latin Americans are socially constructed as academically significant "others" in Tetuán's public schools.[191] Educators argue that Latin Americans, alongside other immigrants from the developing world, are lowering the level of the schools; this constitutes a threat to the Spanish education system as it tries to modernize to reach European standards of education. As scholar Xavier Bonal highlights, "semi-peripheral" Spain began to address the challenges of "...modernizing and adapting the education system to the needs of the productive system, and at the same time providing for the first time in history a real equality of educational opportunity for the masses" later than other "core" countries in Europe. As such, the country has had to field "multiple and complex demands from very heterogeneous interest groups." The new presence of immigrant students that exhibit *desfaces curriculares* places yet another demand on a system that was already in the process of working to meet European standards of education prior to the onset of immigration. As such, immigrant students are singled out as one more "challenge" that the system must confront.

Differentiating and Universalizing Latin American Immigrants' Educational Needs

My findings indicate that educators in Tetuán adeptly distinguish Latin Americans from natives based on subjective measures of academic performance. However, when asked to make distinctions between Latin American immigrants' and natives' educational needs, educators' opinions are split. Some posit that their needs are distinct; others

---

[191] In her analysis of an emergent Greek nationalism and the Macedonian question, A. Triandafyllidou introduces the concept of "significant others." She argues that "significant others" are individuals or groups that are perceived to pose a threat to the nation or that threaten to blur the distinctiveness of the ingroup. Triandafyllidou's definition of "significant others" aptly describes Latin Americans in Tetuán's schools. See A. Triandafyllidou, "National identity and the 'other.'" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4 (July 1, 1998), 593-612.

propose that their needs are similar to those of socially disadvantaged natives, stemming

from socio-economic factors rather than immigrant origin. Educators that differentiate

Latin Americans' educational needs point to the salience of factors such as a student's

years of prior schooling in the sending country and the quality of education systems in

Latin America as factors that distinguish Latin American students' educational needs

from native needs.[192]

Other educators are unwilling to dissociate immigrants' educational needs from

natives'. These educators posit that immigrant's academic needs do not stem from their

immigrant origins, but are associated with their disadvantaged social positions in Spanish

society. In the words of one principal, "I think that each family is different. We have

both Spanish and immigrant families with necessities, and I wouldn't differentiate based

on origin, but by situation…"[193] Another teacher argued that, "You can't generalize.

Spanish students also have- unfortunately, in my opinion- peculiar educational

necessities. Some of them coincide with those of foreigners- broken family structures,

etc."[194] Another principal proposed that differences between immigrants and natives

stemmed from immigrants' unfavorable family circumstances: "(These students) spend

many hours alone in the house. They don't receive help from their families with their

studies. The parents can't, don't have time to, don't make time to come to the school to

---

[192] Many educators propose that the necessity to make distinctions between Latin American immigrants and natives diminishes if these students begin school in Spain at a young age. For example, one principal notes that Latin American students who begin schooling alongside their native peers from age five have "no problem" integrating, whereas those that enroll in fourth or fifth grade exhibit the greatest academic differences from natives. (Principal, *CPC.*)
[193] Principal, *CPPP.*
[194] Questionnaire respondent.

talk with the teachers. And they (immigrant students) are a bit abandoned in this sense."[195]

The tendency to universalize helps explain why no new programs have been developed specifically for Latin American immigrant students in Tetuán's schools. When asked about the potential for new programs that would be directed specifically at immigrant students and their families, some principals argue that such measures would be unfair, and, in effect, discriminatory. In the words of one principal, "We don't discriminate between students. All programs are for everyone."[196] Another principal concurred. "There is no distinction. We treat all children equally."[197]

Educators' willingness or refusal to differentiate Latin Americans' educational needs from natives' educational needs illustrates two important points. First, educators in Tetuán are unsure about whether to view Latin Americans as a specific immigrant minority with differential educational needs, or a socially disadvantaged minority, similar to natives, with educational needs stemming from factors such as socio-economic status or family circumstances. Secondly, the liberal notion of equality, and not equity, is currently the driving force behind educational accommodations in Tetuán. Thus, educators are unwilling to endorse new programs designed specifically for immigrants in order to uphold a context of "fairness," in which schools do not discriminate between students. This fidelity to the ideals of non-discrimination is accompanied by a strong belief that the programs currently implemented by the *Consejería* are adequately meeting

---

[195] Principal, *CPFGL.*
[196] Principal, *CPFGL.*
[197] Principal, *CPAM.*

the needs of immigrant students.[198] Thus, specific educational accommodations for Latin

American immigrant groups have not been developed because the status quo is seen as

sufficient.

Interculturalism Rising? Educator and parent attitudes towards ethnic and cultural recognition in the schools.

     This case study has shown that a broad intercultural educational approach has not

taken root in the mainstream classrooms of public schools in the zone of Tetuán. My

results show that there is little consensus among educators and parents alike regarding the

extent to which the public school should recognize and be more inclusive of an

immigrant student's ethnic and cultural heritage. Among educators, most indicate an

interest in *learning* about immigrant students' sending countries, but do not see

themselves as *obligated to teach* about them as curricular content. Latin American

immigrant parents also hold diverse viewpoints concerning the role that public schools in

the host country should play in teaching children about their parents' countries of origin,

exhibiting what I describe as four "parent logics," which are discussed below.

     Interest? Yes. Obligation? No. Teacher attitudes towards ethnic and cultural inclusion in the schools.

     Nearly all educators indicate a strong interest in learning more about their

students' countries of origin. However, there is very little support for intercultural

projects when they are framed as obligatory. In interviews and questionnaires, I asked

---

[198] For example, Cecilia Martínez responded with frustration when told about a local Dominican mother whom I had met that was upset because there was no orientation program, similar to the *Aulas de Enlace*, for her son. Martínez said that this mother was obviously misinformed, arguing that her son would be adequately accommodated by *Educación Compensatoria* in the event that he exhibited a curricular deficiency.

principals and teachers if it is the school's *deber*- duty or obligation- to teach immigrant

students about the history, culture, and values of their parents' country of origin.

Roughly one-third of respondents answered "yes," citing the importance of conserving a

student's cultural heritage.

These responses, however, often came with a caveat of reciprocity; if the school

was required to make reference to an immigrant student's home country, then the student

would be equally obligated to learn about the host country. As one principal noted, "it

seems to me that a child must adapt to everything. To his/her culture, to ours, and to the

next one where he/she finds him/herself."[199] Another teacher answered that "yes, it is the

school's job, but it is also the labor of parents too, because it is necessary for the schools

teach the history, culture, and values of the country in which they, immigrant students,

are immersed."[200] This demonstrates an underlying fear that teaching about an immigrant

student's country of origin may supplant, not supplement, knowledge of the host country.

The reasons why many educators do not see themselves as obligated to teach

about immigrants' national and cultural heritages vary, but can be classified under the

following broad categories: time constraints, plausibility, pre-eminence of national

culture, and assimilation. Numerous educators cite time constraints as the primary reason

for not including information about an immigrant student's country of origin in the

curriculum. In the words of one educator, "What would happen, then, to the content that

the Administration demands us to teach? How would we have time for everything?"[201]

Another educator saw this as implausible, given the multiplicity of nationalities

---

[199]Principal, *CPAM.*
[200] Questionnaire respondent.
[201] Questionnaire respondent.

represented in the schools: "I imagine that this would be an interesting task, given the number of students from every one of the countries integrated in the educational community."[202]

Still, other educators view the curriculum as "full" with the national culture, leaving little room for the incorporation of others. For example, one teacher stated that "The programs are sufficiently ample with Spanish culture. This teaching can be done in high school."[203] Another teacher posited that schooling is always rooted in a national context, and should remain as such: "The curriculum of every country is impregnated with its own culture."[204] Finally, some educators argue that, because these students are not sojourners, but settlers, it is most important for them to learn about their immediate environment. "The majority of these students, if you ask them about their country, they remember. But if you ask them 'do you want to go back to your country? They respond, 'no, no… I live better here… I go to a better school, I learn things, I have fun with my friends…' In other words, the child is more content here, more content."[205] This principal uses students' positive views of Spain as a host country to justify their unidirectional, or straight-line assimilation; students should integrate into their immediate environment, and not vice versa, because the host community is "better than" the sending community. Equally, he argues that students should embrace Spanish society because they are "here to stay."

Despite this resistance to institutionalize cultural recognition, it is important to note that many teachers demonstrate a high level of "*buena voluntad*," or good will, to

---

[202] Questionnaire respondent.
[203] Questionnaire respondent.
[204] Questionnaire respondent.
[205] Principal, *CPMU*.

learn more about the cultures and heritages of the students in their classrooms. All

educators participating in this study stated that it was important for schools to recognize

the cultures of their foreign-born students, viewing this as a way to facilitate integration,

increase cross-cultural comprehension, and create an inclusive atmosphere at school.

Most indicated a strong interest in learning about the customs, social organization,

politics, and "culture in general" associated with an immigrant's sending country.

Educators lament that they have simply not been trained to work with the ethnically

heterogeneous populations currently residing in Spain. In the words of one principal,

"The training that we received was not directed at the students that we have today."[206]

Cecilia Martínez concurs, stating that, "Teachers are very prepared in content areas in

Spain… but they lack some professional formation. It is hard for professors to

understand that teaching, just like society, has changed."[207]

Professional training in themes of interculturalism is in short supply in university

departments of education and ongoing professional development courses offered by the

Consejería. Within the *Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación* (Faculty of Educational

Sciences) at Madrid's *Universidad Complutense*, only one course offered by the

department includes the word "intercultural" in the title- "Workshop in Intercultural

Artistic Education." This workshop is not compulsory, but offered as an *asignatura*

optitiva, or optional course, for teachers completing their Master's specialty in primary

education.[208] The *Centros de Apoyo al Profesorado* (Centers for Professional

---

[206] Principal, *CPC*.
[207] Cecilia Martínez interview.
[208] Even though most courses aren't labeled as intercultural, it is possible that themes of *interculturalidad* are embedded in courses such as the "Sociology of Education" or "Theory and Contemporary Educational

Development, or *CAP*), a department in the *Consejería* that offers regular professional development classes for teachers, currently offers no specific course explicitly addressing interculturalism.[209] The *Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia* (National University for Distance Education, or UNED), is one of the only innovators in this area. This university, in conjunction with the *Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural* (Intercultural University of Veracruz) now offer a Master's in intercultural education.[210]

   Immigrant parent attitudes towards ethnic and cultural recognition in the schools.

   As discussed above, there is not a strong consensus among teachers to support the development of a more profound intercultural education in the schools. Parents, also, are divided on the ideal role that schools should play in teaching their children about the history, culture, and values of their countries of origin, parents exhibit a wide variety of answers.   When I asked parents at the *Casa de Campo* and the *Palacio de Deportes* what role schools should play in maintaining an immigrant students' knowledge of their parents' home countries, responses were mixed. However, some commonalities emerged, and I have divided into four "parent logics": Sojourner Logic, Global Logic, Assimilatory Logic, and Privatizing Ethnicity Logic. (See Table 2.1) The "Sojourner Logic" was the most prevalent (seven respondents), followed by the "Assimilatory Logic" (five respondents), the "Privatizing Ethnicity Logic" (two respondents), and the "Global Logic" (one respondent).

Institutions," which are also offered by the *Universidad Complutense.*
http://www.edu.ucm.es/web/estudios/primaria.asp Accessed 10/07.
[209] http://www.educa.madrid.org/web/cap.madridcentro/paginas/activ_abiertas.htm Accessed 10/07.
[210] http://www.uned.es/centrointer/folletomaster.pdf Accessed 10/07.

Table 2.1: Four parent logics regarding the role of the school in educating students about their parents' countries of origin.

	"Is it the school's job to teach your son/daughter about the history, culture, and values of your country of origin?"	Rationale
Sojourner Logic	*Yes.*	*Parents plan on eventually returning to the country of origin; schools can assist their children in maintaining ties with their home country.*
Global Logic	*Yes.*	*Children are part of a plural global society; it is necessary for them to learn about their own culture as well as the cultures of their fellow students.*
Assimilatory Logic	*No.*	*These children are living in Spain; they need to know their "medio"- immediate environment.*
Privatizing Ethnicity Logic	*No.*	*It is the family's duty, and not the school's, to teach children about their parents' countries of origin.*

In the "Sojourner Logic," transnational parents hope that schools will educate their children about their home countries in order to facilitate their social re-insertion upon return. These parents expressed a strong desire to eventually re-settle in their country of origin.[211] Parents who planned to settle in Spain for an indefinite period of time exhibited an "Assimilatory Logic." They considered Spain their children's new home, and viewed learning about the country and its society as the most essential component of their children's education.[212] The parent who responded to this question with a "Global Logic" highlighted the multi-ethnic demographic composition of schools and societies. She expressed a desire for her children to learn about their own heritage as

---

[211]In their most recent study of immigration in Spain, Cornelius and Izquierdo show that approximately 49 percent of Ecuadorian migrants surveyed hoped to eventually return to their country of origin. (Forthcoming.)

[212] Cornelius and Izquierdo show that 23.9 percent of Ecuadorian migrants plan on permanently settling in Spain. (Forthcoming.)

well as those of their fellow classmates. Finally, a few parents wanted their children to learn about their sending country, but did not see it as the school's duty to impart this information. In the "Privatizing Ethnicity Logic," parents prefer that their children learn about their national and cultural heritage within non-public forums such as the family or ethnic community.

While the small number of interviewees does not allow me to estimate the prevalence of these logics among all immigrant parents, their comments are suggestive of the range of ways that migrant parents approach the ethno-cultural aspects of their children's education.

Conclusion: Latin American immigrants and the politics of diversity in Tetuán.

This case study demonstrates that Spain's proposed intercultural project remains top-down: philosophized and disseminated by educational policymakers and scholars, but not penetrating the level of the mainstream classroom. Schools in Tetuán face many obstacles to the implementation of a broad interculturalism. These include structural considerations, such as segregation and lack of a political mandate for implementation, and ideological barriers, such as teacher attitudes towards identity politics in the public schools. Overall, Tetuán's schools currently take a compartmentalized approach to interculturalism, relegating themes of ethnic and cultural diversity to transitional programs targeted largely at linguistic minorities and socially disadvantaged individuals within Spanish society, rather than addressing diversity in the mainstream classroom.

Tetuán's current approach to diversity does not fully embrace Latin American students. Educators in Tetuán readily acknowledge that Latin American students are

academically deficient in comparison natives. Nonetheless, the perceived *cercanía*, or

closeness, of Latin Americans to natives exempts them from specific educational

accommodations, such as the *Aulas de Enlace*, which could benefit their academic

achievement by providing crucial cultural capital. The schools' current strategy with

respect to Latin Americans is thus to simply immerse them in the school environment

without accommodation-"sink or swim"- bringing them under the umbrella of pre-

existing *Educación Compensatoria* programs in the event that they "sink," or fail

academically.

Finally, this study shows the extent to which questions of cultural and ethnic

recognition and inclusion are still being debated and contested in Tetuán's schools, just as

they are in the greater city of Madrid and in Spanish society as a whole. At the core of

this debate lies the question of which immigrant groups should be recognized and what

accommodations they should receive, if any. I have shown that this polemic is the most

complicated where Latin Americans are concerned. Educators and education policy

inconsistently approach Latin Americans as an immigrant minority from the

underdeveloped world, a de-territorialized sub-national minority (such as the Roma), and

as socially disadvantaged natives. These multiple viewpoints make it difficult for

educators to determine when to differentiate and when to universalize Latin Americans'

educational needs, as well as how to attend to their needs. In the absence of a policy

framework to assist them, educators tend to follow the status quo, working under the

assumption that current frameworks will adequately meet the ideals of equal opportunity

for all students. Any alternative is deemed unnecessary, implausible, or discriminatory.

Chapter 3: Conclusion

"Although today practically all nation-states participating in this debate claim to practice some variant of intercultural education, the analysis of discourses generated by institutional actors demonstrates that the school continues to successfully resist its interculturalization."
-Gunther Dietz[213]

The recent introduction of immigrant students into Spain's schools has prompted educators to take stock of how they conceptualize and accommodate educational diversity. This thesis has highlighted the debates surrounding the politics of educational diversity at national and local levels in this recent country of immigration. Although this work initially sought to analyze whether ethnic recognition was occurring for Latin American immigrant students in Tetuán, Madrid, the results of this investigation reveal that ethnic recognition is only dimension of immigrants' educational integration in Spain in general and Madrid specifically.

In intercultural educational philosophy, ethnic recognition is deemed important, but is not given primacy. Advocates of intercultural education support ethnic recognition for immigrant students, but situate this consideration within a larger framework that advocates the re-conceptualization of diversity itself. To this end, intercultural philosophy attempts to rupture the notion that difference is solely rooted in national, ethnic, or cultural origins; categories of difference are amplified to include multiple variables, legitimating the possibility of multiple allegiances and hybrid identities. The exclusivity of ethnic belonging is de-emphasized so that all variables can hypothetically hold equal weight in the realm of the school. As such, schools are asked not to pre-assign

---

[213] Quoted in Dietz 2003: 166.

ethnic identities, nor presume that ethnicity has pre-eminence over other variables that comprise an individual's sense of self.

The politics of diversity are substantially more complex at the local level. In Tetuán's schools, educational practice diverges significantly from theoretical frameworks advocating "intercultural education for all." In effect, interculturalism is not universal, but relegated to specific spheres of the school that only accommodate linguistic minorities and socially disadvantaged students, many of whom are immigrants from Latin America. Questions of ethnic recognition are only addressed within the confines of these pull-out programs, not in the mainstream classroom. This situation is reinforced by the current policy framework for intercultural education in Spain and Madrid, which prescribes stipulations for compensatory education and language acquisition programs, but does not attempt to reform mainstream elements of education such as the curriculum. For lack of a political framework for implementation, interculturalism in the mainstream classroom is dependent on the *buena voluntad*, or good will, of individual actors within the schools.

In Tetuán's schools, the accommodation of diversity for immigrant students is coupled with linguistic recognition and academic deficiency. For Latin Americans, this means that their linguistic attributes exempt them from programs such as the *Aulas de Enlace*, which transmit important cultural capital to immigrant students. Furthermore, Latin Americans' ethnic differences are only acknowledged in the event that they deviate academically from their native peers, in which case they are placed in compensatory education. This creates a deficit model of inclusion in which belonging is solely

dependent on academic achievement; remedying academic deficiencies through compensatory education thus becomes a key strategy for problems of integration.

Scholarly work on the second generation in Europe has often focused on the salience of language and religion in determining the boundaries of membership for immigrants in European countries.[214] This analysis of Latin American students in Madrid shows that questions of modernity also factor into how educators draw the boundaries of inclusion. Latin American students, especially those that enter the schools in the upper grades, are symbolically marked as academic "others" when compared to natives. This is perceived to pose a threat to the Spanish education system, which has sought to improve its overall standing amongst its European neighbors. In this context, European standards of academic achievement take precedence over considerations of ethnic inclusion.[215] The solution to this "otherness" becomes the amelioration of academic differences.

Finally, it must be noted that segregation is the largest structural barrier currently impeding the implementation of intercultural education in neighborhoods such as Tetuán. Current levels of segregation in Tetuán mean that the majority of the zone's immigrants have little contact with their native peers, who are increasingly educated in private and quasi-public (*concertado*) schools. This is a clear barrier to immigrants' social integration and an obstacle to interculturalism, which hinges on interactions and exchanges between individuals. Segregation has adverse effects on natives as well. Students in diverse school environments have the opportunity to learn interculturalism by

---

[214] For example, see Alba.

[215] The desire to promote a Euro-centric education in Spain is extremely clear. Language education in Madrid's public schools is one indicator. The educational program at each of the schools in Tetuán included daily English classes during school hours. Schools did not offer any other language courses, even as extracurricular activities. One school attempted to implement an after-school Arabic language program, but had to cancel the class for lack of enrollment due to prohibitive enrollment fees.

default. For example, one of the principals in this study boasted that interculturalism was not an ideal, but a social reality for most students at his school; his students hailed from thirty different nations, and many had begun to learn to navigate the boundaries of a variety of ethnic groups. In a city where poly-ethnic diversity is becoming the norm, these intercultural communication skills will likely be an asset in adult life. The public education system must do more to stymie segregation in order to foster true intercultural interactions for all.

The Triumph of Liberal Integration

The prevalence of the intercultural education movement in Spain demonstrates that the country's scholars and policymakers accept the legitimacy of publicly recognizing ethnic groups, but favor an overall mode of integration based on the principles of universality and non-discrimination. This is exemplified in the neighborhood of Tetuán, where "*no se discrimina*" is the main ethos behind the accommodation of diversity in the zone's public schools. Schools' attempts to uphold the virtues of non-discrimination necessitate the rejection of positive discrimination and equity; overall, educators in Tetuán are reluctant to implement measures that make distinctions between students simply based on national origin or ethnicity.

These findings support the literature on the "retreat of multiculturalism"[216] and "return of assimilation"[217] in liberal immigrant-receiving states in Europe. Both Joppke and Brubaker observe that, recently, liberal immigrant-receiving societies in Europe have

---

[216] Joppke 2004.
[217] Brubaker.

turned away from earlier multicultural strategies in favor of liberal integration, characterized by an emphasis on individual incorporation, universal rights, and civic integration. Joppke characterizes the "retreat of multiculturalism" in Europe as the replacement of official policies of multiculturalism with centrist policies of civic integration.[218] Brubaker offers a virtually identical descriptions of the "return of assimilation," which he defines as "normatively… a shift from the automatic valorization of cultural differences to a renowned concern with civic integration."[219] Both Joppke and Brubaker provide an array of evidence from Europe to support their claims that former multicultural states are downgrading their differential politics while simultaneously re-asserting the importance of "assimilation" based on the common values of civic integration.

Joppke notes how the Netherlands, traditionally recognized as one of Europe's most robust multicultural states, now places a high premium on bi-directional integration. In the past, this country's "ethnic minority policy," implemented in 1983, designated eight groups as official minorities on the basis that they were not participating "on an equal base in Dutch society."[220] Dutch society sought to accommodate these groups through the strategy of pillarization, whereby each group was given separate institutions (such as religious schools, mother-tongue education, and ethnic broadcasting stations) financed by the state.[221] Joppke describes how the Dutch 'ethnic minority policy' came under immense scrutiny in the 1990s, and was eventually replaced by the 1998 Law on

---

[218] Joppke 2004.
[219] Brubaker, 542.
[220] Amersfoort (1999) in Joppke and Morawska.
[221] Joppke and Morawska.

the Civic Integration of Newcomers.[222] In contrast with the earlier multicultural initiatives, this policy emphasizes integration as a bi-directional process in which immigrants were also required to adapt to Dutch society. To meet the goal of civic integration, this policy requires new migrants to take 600 hours of language classes as well as civics lessons.

Brubaker points to Germany as a country that has also recently re-evaluated its earlier multicultural policies. Brubaker observes that previously, differentialist strategies in Germany attempted to integrate immigrants through "institutionalized separatism" in policy arenas such as education, social services, and voting rights. Once a classic exemplifier of ethnic nationhood, Germany has now eased naturalization rules and modified the principles of membership by changing the basis of citizenship from ethnic belonging, or *jus sanguinis*, to birth in Germany, or *jus soli*. The resulting increase in naturalization rates has lessened the need for "separate but equal" institutional structures.[223]

Scholars propose a number of reasons for the movement away from differential politics towards a more universalistic liberal integration strategy. These include a lack of public support for official multicultural policies, the inability of multicultural policies to prevent segregation and socio-economic inequality for immigrants, and a renewed effort on the part of liberal nation-states to impose the "liberal minimum" for immigrant integration.[224] Current global migratory and settlement patterns also make it increasingly difficult for host countries to determine who should qualify for minority recognition.

---

[222] Joppke 2004.
[223] Brubaker.
[224] Brubaker; Joppke 2004.

Identifying and accommodating official minorities has become an elusive task in an age of increasing international movement due to globalization and political conflict, and justifying differential policies becomes administratively tenuous as the list of migrant sending countries grows.[225] Increasing rates of intermarriage between migrant groups has also further complicated the task of delineating the boundaries of ethnic membership.[226]

What commonalities exist between the context of immigrant integration in Tetuán and neighboring European contexts where multiculturalism is retreating and assimilation is returning? Which unifying factors help explain why Tetuán's public schools, like public institutions in other European countries, currently favor liberal integration over differential recognition for migrants? I propose three explanations: First, immigrants in Tetuán are not officially recognized as minorities in Spain, leaving the question of "who qualifies for recognition?" open for debate. Second, the immigrant stock in Madrid exhibits great internal, or "source" diversity; ethnic recognition and accommodation in European countries becomes administratively tenuous in contexts where numerous nationalities are present. Finally, the rejection of multiculturalism in these schools is indirectly linked to the question of Islam in Spain. In essence, schools avoid engaging in ethnic identity politics for all students in order to circumvent the challenges associated specifically with recognition of students from traditionally Muslim countries.

The question of who qualifies for ethnic recognition and accommodation in European societies has historically hinged on the official classification of immigrants as minorities. Establishing the determinants of official minority status for immigrants has

---

[225] Soysal 1996; Joppke 2004.
[226] Joppke 2004.

been a delicate matter for these receiving states, often involving the legitimization of

arbitrary classifications. For instance, Soysal critiques the Netherlands for only including

immigrant groups that were presumed to have problems with integration in the country's

official minority policy.[227] Soysal, Joppke, and Morawska have pointed out that some

immigrant groups were left out of "official" minority politics due to the assumption that

they were participating adequately in all aspects of Dutch society without state

accommodation.[228] Furthermore, members of "official" minority groups were grouped

together under one administrative category, despite exhibiting little internal

homogeneity.[229]

Although much has been done at the European level to build consensus around

issues of non-discrimination and human rights for migrants in liberal nation-states, these

policies have their limitations where the official recognition of minority groups is

concerned. In effect, no supranational policy initiative currently mandates that states

recognize immigrants as official minorities with explicit cultural rights. Even Kymlicka

concedes that, "there has been no serious attempt to codify cultural rights for immigrants

at the international level."[230]

In Spain, ethnic minority recognition has traditionally referred to the recognition

of sub-national minorities, such as the Basques and Catalonians. Multicultural

recognition is not achieved through an official minority policy, but indirectly, through the

devolution of power to politically decentralized Autonomous Communities. The Spanish

Constitution guarantees to "Protect all Spaniards and peoples of Spain in the exercise of

---

[227] Soysal 1996.
[228] Soysal 1996; Joppke and Morawska.
[229] Soysal 1996.
[230] Kymlicka 2007: 123.

human rights, their cultures and traditions, languages, and institutions" and to recognize other languages spoken in Spain as "official in the respective Autonomous Communities, in accordance with their Statutes."[231] Thus, ethnic recognition and accommodation for sub-national minorities has historically been achieved by guaranteeing the free exercise of minority cultures at the state level and by codifying linguistic and cultural rights for minorities at the sub-national level.

This minority recognition has not expanded to include the country's migrant newcomers. In the realm of public education, Spaniards are not willing to codify immigrants as official minorities that merit differential recognition and accommodation, except for linguistic minorities, who are given classes in the Spanish language. Recent migratory flows to the country will likely compel Spain to re-assess whether migrant cultures, traditions, and languages, should be codified under the pre-existing paradigm of de-centralized minority rights policies. However, this is likely to be a lengthy and complicated process, dependent on local opportunity structures, elite support, the political mobilization of immigrant groups in Spain,[232] and the permeability of public educational institutions to change.

Source diversity is another key variable affecting the plausibility of ethnic recognition and accommodation in European migrant-receiving states. As Joppke, Morawska and Soysal have demonstrated, multiculturalism in both Sweden and the Netherlands became difficult to sustain as the number of migrant sending countries and

---

[231] Preamble and Article 3 of the Spanish Constitution. http://www.mtas.es/insht/en/legislation/constitucion_en.htm Accessed 11/28/07.
[232] Joppke notes that, in the case of the United States, multiculturalism for immigrants only emerged because of the "peculiar opportunity structure and élite culture" that encouraged immigrants such as Hispanics to identify themselves as oppressed minorities. See Joppke 1998: 35; See also Peter Skerry, *Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority,* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1993).

asylum-seekers increased.[233] To remedy this problem, these countries have begun to

distance themselves from earlier robust multicultural strategies in favor of an emphasis

on civic integration. Joppke and Morawska highlight how, in recent debates regarding

immigrant integration in Sweden, "…the very notion of 'immigrant' has practically

disappeared."[234] They propose that source diversity, in conjunction with socioeconomic

factors, has been one of the key factors shaping the new emphasis on civic integration

over cultural pluralism. As Joppke and Morawska observed, "Once the source countries

multiplied, particularly after the onset of mass asylum-seeking, it became impossible to

provide all (immigrants) with their own infrastructure."[235]

In sum, source diversity makes differential politics administratively untenable in

the new global context of migration. I propose that source diversity is a key factor

preventing the emergence of differential politics in migrant education in Madrid. As I

have discussed, Spain's immigrant stock is extremely diverse, comprised of migrants

from Latin America, North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe, and Asia. In 2006,

there were twelve sending countries with 10,000 or more nationals living in Madrid

alone.[236] This sheer diversity of sending countries overwhelms educators; when faced

with the task recognizing and accommodating each of the nationalities represented in the

classroom, teachers simply opt for the status quo. Had Spain's new era of immigration

only consisted of migrant flows from strictly from one sending region, this picture might

---

[233] Soysal 1996; Joppke and Morawska.
[234] Joppke and Morawska, 14.
[235] Joppke and Morawska, 14.
[236] These countries, in order of greatest to least number of residents, are Ecuador, Colombia, Romania, Perú, Bolivia, Morocco, China, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, and Italy. Source: *Población Extranjera en Madrid, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes, a 1 de julio de 2006 (Datos Provisionales)* Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Área de Gobierno y de Hacienda y Administración Pública, Dirección General de Estadística.

look quite different. Given that this is counterfactual, recognition for all immigrant

students in the schools is likely to remain an elusive task for the public education system

as it continues to receive a variety of migrant newcomers.

Finally, Madrid's universalistic and non-discriminatory approach to immigrant

education is emblematic of greater European strategies attempting to reconcile cultural

pluralism and Islam. Kymlicka notes that liberal multiculturalism for immigrants has

always been dependent on the degree of risk associated with the "target group" of

immigrants whom are the recipients of differential policies.[237] He argues that European

societies now perceive Muslims as a "high risk" group in the era of heightened security

following the terrorist attacks on New York City, London, and Madrid. Islamophobia is

strongest in European states where Muslim immigrants now comprise the bulk of all

migrant flows, and it is within these contexts that immigrant multiculturalism is now

retreating.[238]

Spain is not exempt from the current resurgence of European Islamophobia. Dietz

notes that anti-Islamic and "anti-*moro*" sentiment in Spain has ethnic, religious, and

nationalist dimensions that date back to the "nation"-building building projects of

1492.[239] More recently, anti-Muslim sentiment in Spain has spiked in public opinion

polls in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in New York and 3/11 in Madrid.

Dietz posits that the current stigmatization of Muslim immigrants is fueled by the

Spanish media, observing that, "…islamophobia-cum-arabophobia re-appears openly in

---

[237] Kymlicka 2007: 127.
[238] See Kymlicka 2007:122-128.
[239] Dietz 2007.

the media – where supposed Al-Qaida sleepers or network units are suspected of existing in nearly every Muslim immigrant community in Spain."[240]

I propose that, by emphasizing the importance of a universal, non-discriminatory education, Spain's schools are able to strategically divert attention away from ethnic recognition for all students, thus de-legitimating calls for differential recognition for Muslim students specifically. That I did not find evidence of ethnic recognition and accommodation for the Latin American students in my study may have little to do with Latin Americans themselves; rather, it may have been part of a greater strategy to stave off claims-making for ethnic recognition and accommodation by Muslim students.[241]

Policy Implications and Recommendations

This analysis reveals several critical areas for policy-making in the arena of immigrant education in Madrid. Modifications in education policy will be necessary at both national and local levels to improve the outlook for intercultural education in Spain and to attend to structural aspects of immigrant education in the city of Madrid. A gap currently lies between intercultural theory being disseminated at national and supranational levels in Spain and local-level educational practice in Madrid. The results of this study suggest that interculturalism is currently a top-down solution to immigrant integration which has not yet been appropriated by the schools that actually serve immigrant communities. If intercultural education is to become more than an

---

[240] Dietz 2007:13.
[241] Increasing religious plurality in Spain's schools has not gone unnoticed. The presence of Muslim students as well as other non-Catholic immigrants is compelling Spain's schools to re-assess mandated religious education in the schools as well as other aspects of the curriculum. For more details on the debates surrounding religious pluralism in Spain's schools, see Dietz 2007.

ideological project in Spain, educational policymakers must provide frameworks for its structural implementation in schools. This objective can be achieved by marshaling human and monetary resources to integrate intercultural education in schools and providing educators with incentives for change.

Greater professional training in intercultural education in pre- and post-service teacher education is one critical means to achieve this goal. Madrid's current reliance on the good will of a few educators to pursue further training in this area is a limited strategy. Courses addressing intercultural themes at post-secondary institutions and within professional development courses run by the *Consejería* are optional, and only prospective or current teachers that show a special interest in these courses currently seek them out. This strategy does not keep pace with the rapidly changing demographic realities of the city. In a district like Tetuán, where nearly one out of every four students is of immigrant origin, almost every teacher is now implicated in the task of educating immigrant students. Policy-makers need to provide incentives for all educators, not just the interested few, to receive training in intercultural education.

If intercultural education is to become more than an ideological project, it needs to be included as a specific, and not transversal, subject area in teacher preparation programs. Teacher education must be reformed so that all prospective educators are required to take a course addressing educational diversity and immigration. At the district level in Madrid, professional development training in intercultural education will be necessary for all teachers, especially those that were trained prior to the onset of immigration in Spain. This training should be mandatory, however, teachers should be able to fulfill this requirement through multiple means, by taking a course at a local

university, attending courses offered through the *Centros de Apoyo al Profesorado* (CAP) at the level of the *Consejería*, or participating in post-service training offered directly at the school. Schools could also use some teachers to train others; teachers appointed as "teachers on special assignment" could receive specific training in this area and then train teachers at their school about these themes.

The development of intercultural curricula and the purchase and implementation of intercultural classroom resources are two other arenas for improvement in Madrid's schools. Resources in this area are becoming readily available in Spain as educators re-think current educational models. Aparicio observes that several educational publishing houses have taken an interest in intercultural education, producing textbooks and other classroom resources to accommodate growing demand in this area.[242] This suggests that, where the educational market demands them, publishing houses and other purveyors will make these resources available. It will then be up to funding entities at the school and district levels to decide how to marshal resources to purchase and implement them.

The case study in Tetuán reveals critical areas for educational reform specific to this zone. Addressing segregation is of foremost importance in this neighborhood. Segregation in Tetuán is currently an outcome of spatial segregation within the city of Madrid and the unequal exercise of educational choice between immigrants and natives. Due to these inequalities, the zone's public schools are currently responsible for educating the majority of immigrant students in the neighborhood. The *Consejería*,

---

[242] Aparicio interview.

possibly in conjunction with local housing authorities, could make substantial changes to prevent these distributional disparities.

Policymakers and scholars in Spain have proposed the development of housing policies that diversify the housing options available to immigrants throughout the city to prevent their concentration in specific zones.[243] Potential solutions to segregation have also been proposed in the debate over Spain's new Organic Education Law (*Ley Orgánica de la Educación,* or *LOE*). Policymakers have advocated the creation of *ad hoc* organizational bodies (potentially named "*Comisiones de garantías de admission*") that would oversee the admissions processes of public and quasi-public (*concertado*) schools to ensure that both are adhering to the legal norms governing public school admissions.[244] These commissions would be comprised of representatives from administrators at local and Autonomous Community levels, parents, and teachers from both public and quasi-public schools.[245]

Over the course of this research, I have argued that Latin Americans in Tetuán are an overlooked immigrant group in the zone's schools. The current approach to their education is to place them in the mainstream classroom in the hopes that they "swim," and place them in compensatory education in the event that they "sink." Tetuán's schools must re-assess their current educational strategies with respect to this subgroup. Tetuán's schools currently presume that knowledge of the Spanish language renders unnecessary the specific transmission of information about Spain and its institutions to Latin American students. The schools must take on a more proactive role where

---

[243] Margarita Lema Tomé, *Laicidad e integración de los inmigrantes,* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Ediciones Jurídicas y Sociales, S.A., 2007).
[244] Lema Tomé.
[245] Lema Tomé.

dissemination of this type of cultural capital is concerned. This does not mean that schools in Tetuán need to develop specific programs for Latin Americans as a subgroup, but that they should begin to view and include Latin Americans as part of the larger group of immigrants, implementing accommodations accordingly.

For instance, orientation to Spanish society is currently embedded in the *Aulas de Enlace*, or Spanish language programs for linguistic minorities. I propose that either the *Consejería* or Tetuán's schools decouple these two themes (orientation to society and language preparation) and design an induction course for all immigrant students and/or their families. This course could include information about the organization of the school, appropriate family-school relations in Spain, availability of extra-curricular activities and community resources, mechanisms of school choice, and post-secondary educational options in the Spanish education system. Although this course would be most beneficial for immigrants, it would not necessarily have to be directed strictly at immigrant students and their families. Socio-economically disadvantaged native students and their families could also benefit from this type of introduction to the school system.

Tetuán's schools take a minimalist approach to ethnic recognition in the mainstream classroom. Ethnic recognition takes place infrequently in the schools during festivals such as the *Semanas Interculturales*. The lack of consensus amongst policymakers, schools, and parents regarding the role that public education should play in the shaping the ethnic identity of immigrant students means that immigrant families need to look beyond the public sphere if they want their children stay connected to their countries of origin. In Madrid, a variety of quasi-non-governmental ethnic

organizations[246] provide regular opportunities for immigrant students to learn about their parents' cultures as well as receive tutoring and school support. In contrast to Tetuán's schools, which avoid differentiation in order to maintain an atmosphere of equality and universalism, Madrid's ethnic immigrant NGOs have been characterized by their multicultural character, accommodating groups via regional or national origin.[247] NGOs such as the *Casa Ecuatoriana* and *Casa Peruana* offer a variety of regular activities, from weekend seminars on cultural aspects of migrant sending countries to after-school tutoring programs for migrant students.

In their study of ethnic after-school institutions and the immigrant second generation in Los Angeles, researchers Min Zhou and Susan S. Kim found that regularly attending after-school ethnic institutions gave Chinese and Korean students the cutting edge in academic achievement while simultaneously helping them maintain a secure sense of ethnic identity.[248] Data on the efficacy of ethnic institutions in Madrid is not yet available. However, these institutions hold great potential to serve as viable cultural and academic resources for Latin American students and their families. In the event that Tetuán's schools decide to embrace ethnic recognition in the future, they would be best be served by cultivating relationships with these NGOs to obtain and disseminate information about immigrants and their sending countries.

---

[246] I use the term "quasi-non-governmental" because many of these organizations receive funding from the city and Autonomous Community of Madrid.

[247] See Belén Agrela and Gunther Dietz, "Nongovernmental versus governmental actors?: Multilevel governance and immigrant integration policy in Spain." in ed. Takeyuki Tsuda, *Local citizenship in recent countries of immigration: Japan in comparative perspective,* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 205-234.

[248] It is important to note that, while these after-school institutions benefited some students, the researchers found some of them to be highly exclusionary. See Min Zhou and Susan S. Kim, "After-School Institutions in Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities: A Model for Others?" *Migration Information Source* (May 2007).   http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=598   Accessed 11/29/07.

My final recommendation pertains to the transparency of student data currently available in Madrid. Gathering demographic data for this research was a pain-staking process; any data obtained was the result of numerous correspondences with the (acronym) at the *Consejería de Educación* in Madrid, and, finally, petitions to the principals themselves to release this information. Given the sensitive nature of the topic of immigration in Spain, the *Consejería* was reluctant to disclose data on both the demographic distribution and academic performance of immigrant students. My case study of immigration and education in Tetuán demonstrates the subjectivity of educator perceptions of immigrant students and the necessity for more objective data on student academic performance. Making academic performance data, disaggregated by nationality, available to the public is the only way to determine whether these perceptions are legitimate or baseless. Equally, an examination of the demographic composition of schools and programs within them, such as compensatory education, is necessary to expose school segregation and examine whether schools are disproportionately placing immigrant students in compensatory programs or tracking them into vocational training in post-secondary education. I would encourage the *Consejería* to begin collecting this data if it has not already done so, and to make this data readily available to researchers and the public.

Future Studies

This study has presented an introductory examination of immigration, ethnicity, and education in Spain, highlighting the macro-level debates concerning the politics of diversity in this new country of immigration and current educational frameworks for

immigrant students in the neighborhood of Tetuán, Madrid. While this study has

underscored the implications of current educational approaches to diversity for Latin

American immigrant students in Tetuán, future scholarly work on Spain's immigrant

second generations is necessary to assess the full scope of influences conditioning the

educational and occupational trajectories of these students. This research should build

on the innovative research in Europe and the United States that has identified key

factors conditioning educational and occupational success for the children of

immigrants. According to these studies, achievement for the immigrant second

generation is affected by two sets of variables: institutional factors associated with the

host country and the particularities of the immigrant populations themselves.[249]

In Europe, comparative research on the immigrant second generations has

focused on identifying institutional factors that positively affect the educational

trajectories of immigrant students. This research shows that success for the immigrant

second generation in European educational contexts is positively related to the number

of years of schooling in the host country, the number of contact hours with instructors,

the late onset of tracking (late selection), and the availability of "second chances" in

educational and occupational training.[250] These studies have also found that labor

market opportunities for immigrant students hinge on the method of transition to the

labor market (e.g. availability of apprenticeship programs), the "tightness" of the labor

---

[249] See Alejandro Portés and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); also, Maurice Crul, "Pathways to Success for the Second Generation in Europe" *Migration Information Source* (April, 2007). http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=592 Accessed 11/1/07.
[250] Crul.

market (i.e. competition within the labor market), and the degree of ethnic

discrimination experienced.[251]

Scholars are beginning to determine which factors most strongly condition the

social, educational, and occupational mobility of immigrant children in Spain. In a

recent study, Rosa Aparicio and Andrés Tornos examined the labor market integration

of the immigrant second generation in Spain. They highlighted the negative effects of

the "tight" Spanish labor market on the occupational trajectory of the immigrant second

generation, finding that, while both natives and immigrants face significant barriers to

upward mobility in Spain (including limited access to high quality jobs and jobs that

required a high degree of qualification, lack of job stability, and low wages), these

barriers are pronounced for the immigrant second generation. These findings led the

researchers to conclude that, "…labor and social mobility is so scarce (in Spain)…it

would be difficult (for the immigrant second generation) to elevate themselves to a

level above the first generation."[252] More research on the social mobility of the

immigrant second generation in Spain must be conducted in order to assess the

prevalence of Aparicio and Tornos' findings.

In the United States, researcher Alejandro Portes and colleagues have identified

several contextual factors associated with educational success for the immigrant second

generation, using data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS).

Their research demonstrates how the socio-economic composition of schools attended

---

[251] Maurice Crul, and Hans Vermeulen, "The Second Generation in Europe." *International Migration Review*. vol. 31, no. 4 (Winter 2003), 965-986; also Crul.
[252]Parentheses mine. In Rosa Aparicio Gómez and Andrés Tornos, *Hijos de inmigrantes que se hacen adultos*: *marroquíes, dominicanos, peruanos*, (Madrid: *Subdirección General de Información Administrativa y Publicaciones, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales,* 2006), 99.

early in life can positively or negatively affect the educational outcomes of immigrant students. [253] Data from the CILS also reveals a relationship between the ethnic composition of schools and the academic performance of different immigrant groups.[254] Future studies of immigration and education in Spain should build on studies such as the CILS, analyzing contextual factors and group-specific outcomes by nationality or ethnicity. Such an approach would help to identify convergences and divergences in the Spanish and American experiences of educating migrant children.

Studies in both Europe and the United States have also underscored the importance of characteristics associated with immigrant populations. These factors include, but are not limited to, family human capital, socio-economic status, family structure, gender, presence of an ethnic enclave, immigration cohort, and the context of reception in the host country.[255] Whereas this study has analyzed Latin Americans as a monolithic group unified by a common language, future research should take national, ethnic, and socio-economic heterogeneity within this group into greater account. To be sure, Latin Americans in Spain exhibit many differences with respect to their national group's migratory history to the country, the numerical strength of their ethnic

---

[253] Alejandro Portes and Lingxin Hao, "The schooling of children of immigrants: Contextual effects on the educational attainment of the second generation." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 101, no. 33 (August 17, 2004).

[254] The CILS shows a relationship between a high number of co-ethnics in the schools and student achievement outcomes, with positive effects for some ethnic groups and negative effects for others. For instance, even though students of Mexican-origin in the CILS generally had lower levels of academic achievement than other groups, these results were attenuated with increased presence of co-ethnics in the schools. The increased presence of co-ethnics in the schools had the opposite effect for Asian-origin students; the academic advantages associated with their ethnic origin actually diminished in schools with higher numbers of co-ethnics. See Portes and Hao.

[255] See, for example, Crul and Vermeulen; Portes and Rumbaut; Crul.

enclaves, and their levels of human capital.[256] Future studies should thus disaggregate

data on Latin American immigrant students by national origin.[257]

In the area of educational integration, an examination of tracking mechanisms

may be a crucial area for future research on Latin American immigrant students in

Spain. Formal tracking in Spain does not begin until a student finishes obligatory

secondary education. However, qualitative and anecdotal evidence from this research

suggests that educators may be informally tracking Latin American students as early as

primary school. Latin Americans are generally perceived as exhibiting lower levels of

academic achievement than their native peers; these perceptions may translate into low

expectations for some educators. To provide example from my interviews, when I

asked one principal about the educational outlook for the students at his school, he

argued that, "there needs to be more vocational training, because the majority of these

children are going to end up in a trade." When asked if this meant that these students

would not pursue a college-preparatory track (*el bachiller*), he responded with

perplexity: "College-preparatory track? (*¿Bachiller?*) They (immigrants) fail. They go

to secondary school and 60, 70 percent of them fail."[258] As this study did not

exhaustively examine educational expectations for Latin American or other migrant

students, future studies need to examine prevailing educator expectations for migrants

---

[256] For example, Dominican migration to Spain began taking place several years prior to the migrations of other Latin American groups. Despite Dominicans' historically longer experience of migration to Spain, Ecuadorians now have the largest ethnic enclaves in large cities like Madrid. Future studies should examine the effects of both historical experience of migration to Spain and enclave strength.

[257] Several studies in Spain have begun to compare the educational and occupational integration of the children of immigrants by national origin. One study in this area is "La escolarización de hijas de inmigrantes," by Carlos Pereda, Miguel Ángel de Prada and Walter Actis of the Colectivo IOE (2003), which highlights the differences between national-origin groups with respect to the human capital of the first generation and shows the positive relationship between immigrant parents' levels of human capital and student educational outcomes in Spain.

[258] Principal, *CPMU*.

and whether these translate into differential placements in lower educational tracks through obligatory secondary education.

Finally, more research is needed to examine the intersection of educational philosophy and educational outcomes within Spain and across national contexts. Spanish advocates of intercultural education must assess how this educational model will ultimately promote educational achievement and equal opportunity for immigrant students. A group of researchers from the American Institutes of Research and West Ed, an educational policy research institute in California, recently published an study on bilingual education in California, finding that specific model of instruction was not a strong indicator of the educational achievement of non-English-speaking students.[259] In their study, conducted five years after the passage of Proposition 227-- a proposition which virtually outlawed bilingual education in California's public schools-- the researchers found no discernable differences between schools that continued to use a bilingual model of instruction versus those that had switched to an English immersion model. The most important finding that emerged from the study was that differences in student achievement could not be attributed solely to the model of instruction. In the researchers' words, "there is no clear evidence to support an argument of the superiority of one EL instructional approach over another."[260]

This research shows that educational quality, and not model of instruction, strongly conditions immigrant students' educational outcomes and post-compulsory

---

[259] Thomas B. Parrish, María Pérez, Amy Merickel, and Robert Linquanti, "Effects of the Implementation of Proposition 227 on the Education of English Learners, K–12: Findings from a Five-Year Evaluation," *American Institutes for Research and West Ed*, (January 24, 2006). http://www.wested.org/online_pubs/227Reportb.pdf Accessed 12/7/07.
[260] Parrish et al., ix.

opportunities. Thus, future research on intercultural education in Spain must examine

the efficacy of intercultural educational models already in place in other European

contexts. If the country is to devote substantial human and monetary resources to the

implementation of intercultural education, policymakers and practitioners in Spain need

to identify the specific mechanisms by which an intercultural approach to education

will bring about educational and occupational parity for immigrant students.

APPENDIX

Principal Interview Questions

Entrevista- Directores

1. Nombre (opcional):
2. Colegio:
3. Años como director/a en este centro educativo:_____
4. Años en la profesión:_____
5. ¿Ha trabajado Ud. como profesor/a en un centro educativo?
   Sí_____ No_____
   Años_____
   ¿Dónde?_____
6. Formación:
   Universidad/es_____
   Título/s_____
   Año/s_____
7. ¿Has trabajado como docente en el extranjero?
   a. Sí_____ ¿Cuántos años?_____
   b. No_____
8. ¿Habla Ud. una lengua extranjera?
   a. Sí_____ Lengua/s_____
                           Nivel/es_____
   c. No_____
9. Número de profesores en el colegio:_____
10. Número de alumnos:_____
11. Porcentaje de alumnado extranjero (aproximadamente):_____

12. ¿Ha cambiado la escuela mucho desde que Ud. comenzó su trabajo aquí?
    Describe los cambios que ha experimentado.
 (Cambios demográficos, cambios de programación, adjustes curriculares, cambios de texto, etc.) (¿Han salido muchas familias españolas de la escuela?)

13. ¿Cuáles programas del colegio están dirigidos al alumnado extranjero?

    _____ Un currículo intercultural
    _____ Clases de lenguas extranjeras
              ¿Cuáles lenguas?_____
              ¿Durante el horario escolar?_____
              ¿A partir del horario escolar?_____
    _____ Programa de acogida (aula de enlace)

(Principal Interview Questions cont'd.)

_____ Clases de educación compensatoria.
  ¿Durante el horario escolar?_____
  ¿A partir del horario escolar?_____
  ¿Cuál porcentaje del alumnado total en el colegio está en el
  programa de educación
  compensatoria?_____
  ¿Cuál porcentaje de los alumnos en ed. compensatoria son
  niños extranjeros?
  ¿Cuál porcentaje de los alumnos en ed. compensatoria son de
  origin latinoamericano?
  ¿Cómo se decide si un niño debe estar incorporado en un
  programa de educación compensatoria?
  ¿Están informados los padres si su hijo/a está en el programa
  de la educación compensatoria?
  ¿Cuándo puede salir el niño del programa de educación
  compensatoria?

_____ Reuniones dirigidas específicamente a familias de inmigrantes.
  ¿Qué tipo de reuniones?
_____ Clases de ciudadanía. "Educación para la ciudadanía."
_____ Talleres para profesores acerca del tema de la escolarización
  del alumnado extranjero.
_____ Personal de apoyo/mediadores
_____ Información escrita sobre el sistema escolar.
_____ Reducción de la ratio profesor/alumno por clase.
_____ ¿Otro apoyo extraescolar?

14. En su opinión, ¿Cuáles son las necesidades educativas de la población extranjera
    en su colegio?

15. Los estudiantes de familias latinoamericanas tienen la ventaja del conociemiento
de la lengua española. ¿Son sus necesidades diferentes que las de los otros niños
extranjeros? ¿Cuáles son sus necesidades educativas?

16. ¿Qué tipo de formación profesional ha tenido el profesorado en temas de la
educación intercultural, educación para inmigrantes, convivencia, solidaridad, anti-
racismo, etc. para responder a las necesidades de esta población?

17. ¿Ofrece la escuela o la Consejería de Educación talleres sobre la educación de
niños inmigrantes?

(Principal Interview Questions cont'd.)

18. ¿Piensa Ud. que su escuela tiene recursos suficientes para responder a las necesidades de esta población? ¿Tiene el colegio una relación con la Consejería de Educación de Madrid o una ONG para fomentar los recursos para los alumnos extranjeros? ¿Piensa Ud. que la Comunidad de Madrid y el Estado deben proporcionar más recursos para responder a las necesidades de esta población?

19. ¿Qué hace la escuela para informarles a los padres extranjeros sobre la educación de sus hijos? (Programa de acogida, clases de tutoría, entrevistas, reuniones de padres, folletos, etc.)

20. ¿Piensa Ud. que la escuela tiene una buena relación con los padres del alumnado extranjero? (¿Cómo se describiría esta relación?)

21. ¿Cuál es su definición de la educación "intercultural"?

22. ¿Tiene el colegio algunas actividades interculturales?

23. ¿Piensa Ud. que es el trabajo de la escuela pública de impartirles a los niños extranjeros clases en la cultura del país de nacimiento de sus padres?

24.   La nueva Ministra de Educación, a través de la LOE, propone plantear clases de educación para la ciudadanía en las escuelas públicas, comenzando en el tercer ciclo de la primaria. ¿Qué piensa sobre esta idea? ¿Piensa que el profesorado estaría preparado para impartir tal clase?

25. Compara el alumnado extranjero *latinoamericano* con el alumnado español en tu escuela. ¿Hay diferencias entre estos grupos en términos de...?
    Sus notas_____
    Su comportamiento_____
    El empeño que echan a sus estudios_____
    La participación de sus padres_____
    Su respeto para el profesorado_____
    Sus relaciones con sus compañeros_____

26. ¿Cuál es el mayor desafío para el sistema educativo público, con respeto al alumnado extranjero?

27. Piensa Ud. que el sistema educativo español es capaz de crear una nueva sociedad intercultural en España?

28. ¿Tienes una predicción sobre la trayectoría del alumnado inmigrante?

29. ¿Otro comentario?

Teacher Questionnaire

Instrucciones

Por favor, rellene el cuestionario con los datos solicitados. Si encuentra alguna pregunta que no entiende, escribe "NS." Si encuentra alguna pregunta que prefiere no contestar, deje el espacio en blanco. Gracias por su colaboración.

1. Nombre (Opcional): _____

2. Sexo (Opcional): Mujer   Varón

3. ¿Es Ud. miembro/a de un sindicato de profesores? (Opcional)
 Sí_____ No_____

4. Años en la profesión: _____

5. Formación:
        Universidad/es_____
        Título/s_____
        Año/s_____

6. ¿Ha tenido alumnos extranjeros...?
    a. Antes_____ ¿Cuántos?_____
    b. Ahora_____ ¿Cuántos?_____
    c. Nunca_____

7. ¿Ha trabajado como docente en el extranjero?
    d. Sí_____ ¿Cuántos años?_____ ¿Dónde?_____
    e. No_____

8. Señala el ciclo en que trabaja y/o la asignatura que imparte:
    Ciclo_____ Asignatura_____

9. ¿Habla Ud. una lengua extranjera?
    a. Sí_____ Lengua/s_____
                           Nivel/es_____
     b.No_____

(Teacher Questionnaire cont'd.)

10. ¿Cuántos cursos que tomó en la universidad le formó en los siguientes temas?
    a. La educación intercultural_____
    b. La educación para la ciudadanía_____
    c. Los movimientos migratorios_____
    d. La derechos humanos_____
    e. El tercer mundo_____
    f. El racismo y/o la xenofobia_____
    g. La cultura española_____
    h. Las culturas latinoamericanas_____
    i. La cultura magrebí_____
    j. Las culturas asiáticas_____
    k. Las culturas europeas_____
    l. Las culturas africanas_____

11. ¿Cuántos talleres profesionales ha asistido para formarle en los siguientes   temas?
    a. La educación intercultural_____
    b. La educación para la ciudadanía_____
    c. Los movimientos migratorios_____
    d. La derechos humanos_____
    e. El tercer mundo_____
    f. El racismo y/o la xenofobia_____
    g. La cultura española_____
    h. Las culturas latinoamericanas_____
    i. La cultura magrebí_____
    j. Las culturas asiáticas_____
    k. Las culturas europeas_____
    l. Las culturas africanas_____

12. ¿Piensa Ud. que es importante que los centros educativos reconozcan las culturas del alumnado extranjero? Sí_____ No_____
¿Por qué?

13. ¿Piensa Ud. que sabe mucho sobre las culturas del alumando extranjero en sus aulas?
Sí_____ No_____

14. Por favor, escriba su definición del siguiente concepto:

    La educación intercultural-

15. ¿Piensa Ud. que los centros educativos tienen los recursos necesarios para llevar a cabo las metas de la educación intercultural? Sí_____ No_____
¿Por qué?

(Teacher Questionnaire cont'd.)

16. ¿Piensa Ud. que los centros educativos públicos tienen los recursos necesarios para darle al alumnado extranjero la formación necesaria para seguir sus estudios al nivel universitario y conseguir un trabajo profesional? Sí_____ No_____ ¿Por qué?

17. ¿Tienen los alumnos extranjeros las mismas necesidades educativas que los alumnos autóctanos? Sí_____ No_____ (Si son diferentes, ¿Cuáles son las necesidades de la población inmigrante?)

18. Los alumnos de procedencia latinoamericana tienen la ventaja del conocimiento del idioma castellano. ¿Son sus necesidades educativas las mismas que las de la población autóctona? Sí_____ No_____ (Si son diferentes, ¿Cuáles son las necesidades específicas del colectivo latinoamericano?)

19. ¿Hay diferencias entre los alumnos de procedencia latinoamericana y los alumnos españoles en términos de sus notas, su compartamiento, y la participación de sus padres? Sí_____ No_____ (Si ha respondido "sí," ¿Cuáles son las diferencias específicas?)

20. ¿Piensa Ud. que es *un deber* de los colegios públicos españoles enseñarles a los alumnos inmigrantes la historia, cultura, y valores del país de origen de sus padres? Sí_____ No_____ ¿Por qué?

21. ¿Piensa Ud. que los padres del alumnado extranjero tienen la formación adecuada y los recursos necesarios para que sus hijos puedan seguir sus estudios al nivel universitario y conseguir un trabajo profesional? Sí_____ No_____ ¿Por qué?

22. ¿Cuáles de las siguientes frases expresan mejor sus expectativas para el alumnado extranjero en su colegio?
     (Marque con "X.")
          _____ a. Que aprendan leer y escribir para poder trabajar.
          _____ b. Que terminen la enseñanza secundaria obligatoria.
          _____ c. Que terminen el bachillerato.
          _____ d. Que terminen los ciclos de formación profesional.
          _____ e. Que saquen un título universitario.

23. ¿Se siente Ud. muy preparado/a para responder a las necesidades educativas del alumnado extranjero en su colegio? Sí_____ No_____ ¿Por qué?

24. ¿Le gustaría aprender más sobre las culturas de su alumnado?
     Sí_____ No_____
     ¿Si tuviera los recursos para aprender más, qué le gustaría aprender?

(Teacher Questionnaire cont'd.)

25.   La nueva Ley Orgánica de Educación (LOE) propone impartir clases de educación para la ciudadanía en las escuelas públicas, comenzando en el tercer ciclo de la educación primaria.

¿Está Ud. de acuerdo con este plan?
 Sí_____ No_____ N/S_____
¿Por qué?
¿Piensa Ud. que estaría preparado/a para enseñar tal clase?

26. ¿Ha visto Ud. un/os caso/s de racismo o xenofobia en las aulas contra el alumnado extranjero?   Sí_____ No_____
    Si respondió que sí, ¿Puede describir lo que sucedió?

27. ¿Tiene Ud. otro comentario sobre la inmigración o el alumnado extranjero en los centros educativos?
    Comentario:

Fin del cuestionario. Gracias por su colaboración.