

Spanish approaches to the management of cultural diversity in compulsory education

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INTRODUCTION

The integration of a growing number of foreign alumni in primary and secondary schools is a main challenge in Spain today. In the last 10 years the number of foreign pupils in compulsory education¹ has increased rapidly from 43.481 in the year 1996-1997 to 432.800 in the year 2006-2007 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2007). This paper gives an outline of educational challenges and policy approaches towards the management of immigration related diversity in compulsory education.

In the context of the Spanish decentralized education system, we have conducted separate policy analysis for the central administration and the Catalan administration. The main data-sources for these analyses consisted of policy-documents, interviews with policy-makers and a focus group with non-governmental stakeholders². The following indicators have been used: perceived educational challenges, multicultural focus of education policy, management of linguistic diversity, management of religious diversity and organizational and curricular adaptations. Table 1 gives an overview of the basic questions that we have aimed to answer for each indicator.

Table 1. Indicators for analysis

Indicator	Basic Questions
1. Perceived challenges	What are the main challenges of migration related diversity in education identified by policy-makers?
2. Multicultural focus of education policy	How do policy-makers think that multicultural reality in schools should be managed? Is there a positive evaluation of cultural diversity? Is there compensation for language and educational disadvantages? And what about education in/for diversity?
3. Management of linguistic diversity	What linguistic model is at work? How is language teaching to immigrants managed? And is there a possibility for immigrants to learn their native languages?
4. Management of religious diversity	Is it possible to study different religions in school? Are schools segregated according to religion, or can different religions be studied in all schools?
5. Organizational and institutional adaptations	Has a multicultural reality resulted in any institutional or curricular changes? If so, what changes have been made?

The remainder of this paper is divided in two parts.

Part 1 consists of three sections that address the context of educational challenges related to immigration in Spain. Section one outlines how multiculturalism in Spain has shaped the education system after the democratic transition. Section two then gives a historical account of how education policy has developed from exclusion, segregation to finally incorporating cultural minorities. In section three the educational challenges

¹ Education in Spain is compulsory from 6 to 16 years old and consists of Primary Education (6-12 years), divided in 3 periods of 2 years and Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO) (12-16), divided in two periods of 2 years.

² We would like to thank research assistant Jonathan Zaragoza for his help with conducting interviews in Madrid and Barcelona and organizing the focus group.

related to the arrival of immigrants in schools are discussed, by pointing out the main debates that have surged in the printed media between October 2006 and 2007.

Part 2 is dedicated to the policy approaches towards the management of migration related diversity in education. Section four will outline the policy approach of the central administration and goes into the competences of different levels of administration, while section five will discuss the policy approach of the Catalan administration. Section six finally will conclude with a summary of the main characteristics of Spanish approaches and discourses towards the management of migration related diversity in education.

PART 1: CONTEXTUALIZING EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES

1. Multiculturalism and the Spanish education system

The main educational challenges produced by immigration have to be understood within the context of the institutional framework that was constructed during the democratic transition in Spain. In this period, education was one of the basic issues of political and social consent. The terms of debate were twofold: how to de-monopolize education from the Catholic Church and how to manage the emergent cultural diversity related to minority nations (and to lesser extent gypsies) with their own language, history and “societal culture”.³ The direction that took place on both issues frame today’s basic educational challenges related to immigration.⁴

With regard to the first debate on secularizing education, two outcomes are relevant. First, the educative system has been divided in public, private and what are called *escuelas concertadas*, schools financed partly by the state and partly by the Catholic Church. The *concertada* schools are a result of the political negotiation process that took place in the transition phase, since the Catholic Church had practically the monopoly over education during the Franco dictatorship. According to the statistics, immigrant alumni are concentrated in public schools (80% of the foreign alumni are enrolled in public schools and 20% in private and *concertada* schools). This has not only resulted in educational inequalities between Spanish public and private schools, because students from minority backgrounds perform at lower academic levels than their peers, but also led to the politicization of the question of segregation of immigrants. Second, in spite of the decrease of influence of the Church, Catholic religion is a compulsory course in both primary and secondary education, which means that it must be offered by educational establishments, but pupils now may take it on a voluntary basis. The arrival of immigrant alumni with beliefs other than Catholic has given rise to demands for education in other religions.

The second debate is related to Spain’s minority nations. Since the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution in 1978, several regions of Spain have been (re)granted political and administrative competences. The Spanish education system in this context has undergone several changes as well, gradually transferring services and resources from the central administration to the Autonomous Communities. The Laws of Linguistic Normalization (1983) gave Catalan, Basque and Galician an official status in their respective territories and also provided regional authorities with control over the educational system and the possibility to develop bilingual education programs and distinctive curricula. In regions like Catalonia and Basque country the authorities consequently started a process of “normalization” of Catalan and Euskara.⁵ In both

³ "By a societal culture, I mean a territorially-concentrated culture, centered on a shared language which is used in a wide range of societal institutions, in both public and private life (schools, media, law, economy, government, etc.). I call it *societal* culture to emphasize that it involves a common language and social institutions, rather than common religious beliefs, family customs, or personal lifestyles" (Kymlicka, 2001; 25).

⁴ For an overview of legal reforms in the Spanish education system see J. Prats, 2005; 174-184

⁵ While in most Autonomous Communities, the education system is monolingual, in Catalonia education is bilingual and in Basque country the principle of separation of languages has been applied. In Catalonia children therefore are taught in both official languages and the educational system also expects that pupils

regions linguistic departments were established to enforce laws that put the national language on an equal status with Spanish, also in compulsory education. The social reality of multi-nationality thus explains some current demands from these Autonomous Communities and ways to manage bilingualism and now (due to immigration) multilingualism in schools.

2. Incorporating cultural diversity within education law and policy

According to the Spanish immigration law, foreigners under 18 years old have the right and obligation to receive education under the same conditions as Spaniards, which means free and obligatory primary and secondary education (see article 9 of Constitutional Law 4/2000). One of the distinctive features is that Spain considers education as a universal good that has to be distributed independently of the status of people (citizens/non-citizens) and even, independent of the administrative status of the immigrant (documented/undocumented).⁶ The Spanish approach towards education is, thus, based on human rights beyond other legal considerations.⁷ Next to this approach of equal opportunities, the immigration law prescribes that public authorities should promote the facilitation of education needed by foreign residents, in order to improve their social integration, with respect for their cultural identity (see article 9 of Constitutional Law 4/2000). The law that regulates the education system (Constitutional Law on the General Organisation of the Education System, 1990) has introduced a series of measures to compensate for inequalities to be adopted by both the State (central government) and the Autonomous Communities. Also the Constitutional Law for the Quality of Education of 2002 prescribes equal rights of education for foreigners, as well as norms of *convivencia* (coexistence)⁸ in the educative centers and the need to develop language assistance. Finally the Agreements of the State with the Evangelic, Jewish and Islamic communities in Spain establish some religious rights in the educational sphere, like the right of religious education, the provision of *halal* meat in school canteens and the right of religious holidays (E. Aja Fernández and M.J. Larios Paterna, 2003).

at the end of compulsory schooling should be able to use both languages. In Basque country on the other hand there can be chosen between three type of schools, each with different levels of attention to the teaching of Euskara; schools that provide all education in Euskara (model D), schools where almost all education is given in Castilian (model A), and schools that are situated in-between these two extremes (model B). Although the two minority nations have thus developed different policies for the normalization of Catalan and Euskara respectively, the decreasing knowledge of Euskara in Basque country has made the Basque government reconsider their language policy, and currently proposals seem to direct towards the Catalan model.

⁶ The schooling of children of irregular immigrants is based on the UN's International Convention on Child Rights ratified by Spain.

⁷ Following the theory of goods applied to policies for managing immigration, R. Zapata-Barrero (2002; 85-87) says that the properties of education are symbolic, collective and heterogeneous. We can say that the symbolic and collective properties are followed in Spain, but that the heterogeneity of the good is still on the political and social agenda. The homogeneity/heterogeneity depends on the interpretation. A good is homogeneous when there is no discussion about its value, and a good is heterogeneous when not everybody values the primary good in the same way.

⁸ There is no direct English translation for the Spanish term *convivencia*, which is not merely a descriptive term of coexistence, but also has a normative dimension, as it refers to coexistence as something positive and is sometimes translated by peaceful coexistence.

T. Aguado and B. Malik (2001; 149) point out that although cultural diversity is not new in Spain, the arrival of immigrants has resulted in new reflections, legislation and educational concerns. Before immigration became a social reality in the 90s, the factor of cultural diversity was introduced by the gypsy minority on the one hand, and minority nations on the other hand. While the gypsies highlighted the differences in academic performance between social groups, the issue of language was an explicit challenge in specific Autonomous Communities with a second official language (especially Bask Country, Catalonia and Galicia). After a period of exclusion and segregation of gypsies within so-called “bridge” schools, they were incorporated into ordinary classrooms with the backing of compensatory programs (M. Fernandez Enguita, 1996). These compensatory programs were firstly directed at those “disfavoured by economic capacity, social level or place of residence” (Constitutional Law of 19 July 1980 regulating school statutes). While cultural diversity was not regarded as factor of inequality, “the program did [...] include “cultural minorities” as specific area of action for orientation to the enrolment of the infant population, the regularization of attendance at class and the avoidance of early drop out” (J. Garreta Bochaca, 2006; 266). The development of these programs should be understood in the context of Spain adopting the notion of equality of opportunity much later and different than in other Western countries.

The 1990 Constitutional Law on the General Organisation of the Education System was the first to mention the need to fight ethnic-cultural (and sexual) discrimination and, in line with the Council of Europe, introduced the idea of intercultural education programs (E. Terrén, 2001). First, the law states that special education⁹ needs to be provided for: “those pupils with special educational needs, because they suffer physical, psychic or sensory disabilities, serious behavioural disorders or are in unfavourable social or cultural situations”. Culture is therefore understood as one of the variables that can lead to disadvantages. It also sets out an educational system that compensates for inequalities without parallel action, meaning that all students regardless of their socio-cultural background and ability levels have the right to be educated in general classrooms (J. Garreta Bochaca, 2006; 266). Second, intercultural education is aimed to adopt curricular and structural changes that celebrate the diversity of culture, gender, religion etc. In spite of the attention for cultural diversity in the 1990 law, the implementation of intercultural education is ambiguous (see for example T. Aguado and B. Malik, 2001).

Originally developed to integrate the gypsy minority in mainstream schools, the idea of compensatory programs has been applied to immigrants when they started to fill classrooms in the 90s. The main aim of these programs is to solve the linguistic difficulties encountered as well as to bridge cultural and ability gaps. Within these compensatory programs cultural diversity is dealt with from a deficit approach. It is thus a form of positive discrimination, including special treatment for special students and performed by specific teachers (P. Arnaiz and G. Soto, 2007; 376). While compensatory programs are aimed at marginalized groups in general (among which ethnic groups), the so-called *aulas de acogida* (insertion classes) are directed specifically at immigrants and consist of separate classes for immigrants who enter to learn the language and forms of conduct in school. These insertion classes should be understood in the context of a political orientation that has been directed at what Spanish policy makers call *normalización* (normalization), the aim of incorporating immigrants within the

⁹ Special education can consist of “Educational and professional counselling”, “Social Guarantee Programs”, “Compensatory Education”, “Special Education etc. (CIDE, 2002).

mainstream of society, avoiding whatever direct/indirect segregationist effect. It is also common for secondary students to be placed in the class a year below their actual age in order for them to learn the language and cope with normal school work. Many schools also have a specialist teacher, the so-called “cultural mediator” that helps immigrant children and their parents with the social integration in the education system, by solving conflicts related to language difficulties or cultural differences. The educational investigation centre CIDE (2005; 65-66) indicates that next to reception plans (so-called *planes de acogida*) some Autonomous Communities have also adopted special education programs, including the modification of the organization of schools and adaptation of curricula which are in line with the idea of so-called “intercultural education”.

Compensatory education programs, thus, take place segregated from the standard curriculum and are performed by specialized teachers, in order to compensate students’ differences in language, culture and ability levels. Intercultural education on the other hand is aimed at producing tolerance and solidarity necessary for educational equity and social justice of all students. It therefore should not be identified with education for immigrant alumni, but for all alumni to coexist and cooperate within a multicultural society¹⁰ (G. Muñoz, 1997). Neither should it be identified with multicultural education, which is understood by policymakers in Spain as the segregation of homogeneous cultural groups. Intercultural education rather takes the conflicts of a multicultural reality as starting point and aims at stimulating interaction between alumni from different cultural groups (Colectivo Amani, 2004; 47-50). According to F. Etxeberria the historical evolution of the management of multiculturalism in Spain can be summarized by a movement from assimilation, to compensation, to multicultural, to intercultural education. While the latter two are often used interchangeable, intercultural education is different from multicultural education, because it does not focus on cultures as separate groups, but aims at communication and dialogue and responds to the terminology of the Council of Europe (F. Etxeberria, 2002; 15, 16). It thereby goes beyond the liberal-assimilationist world view, by demanding both a real change in curricular contents and strategies, as well as changes in the level of cultural competence (T. Aguado & B. Malik, 2001; 151). The importance given to the development of (research on and debates about) intercultural education can be observed by the numerous congresses and seminars organized, websites launched¹¹, and books and articles published on intercultural education in recent years. Most of the academic work on multicultural and/or intercultural education in Spain is done by scholars in education/ pedagogy, anthropology or sociology.¹² In this paper we take a political approach, by examining the management of cultural diversity within Spanish education policies. This means to analyze the education challenges in terms of what R. Zapata-Barrero called “education as the mirror of society” (*educación como espejo de la sociedad*) (R. Zapata-Barrero, 2002; 215).

¹⁰ F. Carbonell i Paris (2005; 30-31) on the other hand argues that intercultural education should contain two basic pillars: education in (and for) equality and education in (and for) the respect of diversity, thereby including compensatory education within intercultural education.

¹¹ A good example is the intercultural education portal http://www.aulaintercultural.org/article.php3?id_article=1908

¹² For education/ pedagogy see for example: F. Etxeberria, 2002, F. Carbonell i Paris, 1995; 1996; 2005, T. Aguado, et.al., 2005, E. Terrén, 2001, X. Besalú Costa, 2002 and J.M. Paludàrias i Martí, 2002; for anthropology: J. García Castaño, 1995, M. Fernandez Enguita, 1996, G. Dietz, 2003 and S. Carrasco, 2003; 2005; and for sociology: J. Garreta Bochaca, 2004; 2006 and Colectivo IOÉ, 1997; 2002.

3. Educational challenges as mirror to social challenges

From an educational perspective, the academic underachievement of immigrant students¹³ is the main challenge, including the high number of foreign alumni that fail to finish compulsory schooling and the high number of school abandonment after compulsory education (J. Playà Maset, 2007). These results can be explained by a combination of socio-economic, cultural and pedagogic variables.¹⁴ Another important challenge beyond the scope of this project is the relatively low numbers of foreign students in post-obligatory education. The share of foreign alumni is about 13,5 % in primary and secondary education, while it only represents 6% and 9,7% in undergraduate university and professional education (*La Vanguardia*, 09-09-2007). Our focus here is not on academic achievements, but on challenges related to the management of cultural diversity in mandatory education. We have identified three categories of challenges in the written media¹⁵ related to the presence of immigrants in Spanish primary and secondary classrooms: the concentration of immigrants in public schools, curricular challenges and institutional challenges.

3.1 Concentration of immigrants in public schools

Although immigrants have by law equal access to public financed schools (public and *concertada* schools), 82,1% of the immigrant pupils are concentrated in public schools (J.A. Aunión, 2007; R. Benito, 2007).¹⁶ The concentration of immigrants is believed to negatively affect the quality of education, and there is a fear that scholarly segregation results in marginalization, social fragmentation and will create social conflict such as experienced in other European countries, like France, the UK or the Netherlands. These concerns have resulted in critique on admission policies, and especially the lack of inclusion of immigrants in the *concertada* schools. The new Education Law (LO 2/2006, of 3 May) approved without consensus of the main opposition party (*Partido Popular*) introduced the regulation of entrance of students with special needs (including immigrants) up to 10% per class room. In Catalonia a quota policy has been introduced to regulate immigrants' admission in general, next to specific financial measures to promote immigrant admission in *concertada* schools. The introduction of quota policy has not been without criticism. One critique is that forced redistribution does not reflect social reality. The director of immigration of the Basque government, Roberto Marro, for instance, states that "immigrants need to integrate in their own neighborhood and go to school there. You cannot solve this question (of segregation) by educational policies

¹³ From an international perspective also the underachievement of Spanish pupils in general is a challenge. In the 2003 PISA study for example Spain was ranked 25th out of a total of 40 countries in mathematics, and 26 in reading and science (OECD, 2004).

¹⁴ For example, coming from a non-Spanish speaking background and having an ethnic minority status within the society are two risk factors pointed out for such underachievement, next to poverty and special needs (P. Arnaiz and G. Soto, 2003; 377). Age of incorporation, previous education, attention to immigrants and resources for intercultural education in educational centers are other factors mentioned in the literature.

¹⁵ Five major Spanish newspapers (*El País*, *La Vanguardia*, *ABC*, *El Mundo* and *El Periódico*) have been monitored between October 2006 and October 2007.

¹⁶ Of the foreign alumni in mandatory primary and secondary education, about 1/5 fourth is matriculated in private schools, while 4/5 is matriculated in public schools. Within the category of "private", two types of schools can be distinguished: so-called *concertadas* (partly financed by the government and partly by the Catholic Church) and *non-concertadas*. The division of the Spanish education system into public, "concertada" and private schools is important to understand segregation.

of admission” (E. Azumendi, 2007). Also the discriminatory and racist character of the policy is pointed out, because it only aims at the redistribution of foreign pupils and not of autochthons (*Deia*, 05-07-2007). On the other hand the parent association FAPAC criticizes the new admission policy in Catalonia of discriminating autochthons, because only immigrants are guaranteed free access to *concertada* schools, and they also receive the majority of *becas de comedor* (lunch grants). The association argues for an equal distribution of resources instead of the positive discrimination of immigrant alumni (M. Pérez, 2007).

3.2 Curricula challenges: confessional education, education for citizenship and language education¹⁷

Immigration has also triggered debates about curriculum changes. First, there is the question of confessional education. The socialist government proposed to make religion optional (without a mandatory alternative), in order to do right to the constitutional principle of the Spanish a-confessional state. Arguments against this proposal came from the Catholic Church and the conservative party (*Partido Popular*), who presented their claim for Catholic education to remain mandatory, because according to them 90% of the Spanish families demands Catholic classes and 70% thinks religious education should be mandatory. After a number of clashes between the two parties, the government approved a regulation of religious education without the blessing of the bishops, but assuming good part of its demands. Catholicism maintains its prominent place within the public education system, as it is obliged to be offered in public schools, though free to choose by alumni. While in primary schools no alternative needs to be provided, in secondary school an alternative course - history of religions - should be offered, but alumni are also free to choose neither of these options (A. Rodríguez de Paz, 2006; C. Morán, 2006). The debate on religious education highlights the struggle of the Catholic Church to maintain power within the Spanish education system. As far as other religions are concerned, the agreements between the Spanish state and the Jewish, Evangelic and Muslim communities guarantee the right of religious education in both public and private schools, but in practice many schools do not provide this possibility (N. Andújar, 2005; *El Periódico de Catalunya*, 18-11-2004). The Islamic Community of Spain for example highlights that there are only 33 Islamic teachers working in public schools in Spain, while there are some 74.000 Muslim alumni. Moreover, of the three *concertada* schools that are not Catholic, none of them is Islamic (two are Evangelic and one is Jewish) (M.R. Sahuquillo, 2007).

Second and related is the introduction of a new course called “Education for Citizenship and Human Rights” (*Educación para la ciudadanía y derechos humanos*) which is introduced as obligatory course with the new education law.¹⁸ The new subject is aimed at teaching individual and social ethics and democratic values and includes topics like

¹⁷ Under this heading we discuss those curricula challenges that have been mediatized, including religious education, citizenship education and language education. Although it has not received a lot of media attention there has also been some debate over the way in which Spanish history is being interpreted in school textbooks, especially the way in which the Spanish Muslim past is presented. In these history textbooks a traditional picture of Maurophobia is perpetuated that consolidate the idea of Muslims versus Christians (R. Zapata-Barrero, 2006; 143), essentialize Western versus Eastern culture and produce a great deal of Eurocentrism and Islamophobia (see for example J. M. Navarro, 1997).

¹⁸ The introduction of the subject comes after a long social and political debate concerning not only its contents, but also its adequacy, mainly lobbied by Catholic Church, which sees part of its original monopoly is under threat.

climate change, human rights, immigration, multiculturalism etc. It will be introduced into the timetable of the fifth or sixth years of primary school and in one of the first three years of secondary school. The idea was initiated after recommendations from both the Council of Europe and the European Union.¹⁹ The new course has been subject to much criticism and debate in Spain. The large amount of newspaper articles and commentaries learn that the main argument *for* are the need to create democratic citizens and prevent inequalities between sexes, minorities etc. Arguments *against* the new course on the one hand come from the Catholic Church and related parties²⁰ who argue it might lead to value indoctrination by the state and goes against the freedom of ideology and religion.²¹ In several occasions, comparison is drawn with Franco's education policy of producing a national spirit. It can be argued that those who were for the maintenance of religion as mandatory course in the official curricula are against the introduction of the new course. However, also secularists object to the new subject, but for different reasons. From their perspective, a special course is not enough and what is needed is an integral and transversal approach of *intercultural convivencia*, which includes a transformation of teaching and curricula of all subjects.

Another challenge in those Autonomous Communities with two official languages (like Catalonia, as our case study), is the question of language education. In Catalonia, the teaching of the national language (different from Castilian) is an important part of their politics for recognition. Recently, the Catalan government criticized the new state degree establishing the basic content of the curriculum (55% of the curriculum is determined by the central administration), which included the introduction of an extra hour of Castilian language every week in primary school, which was regarded to be in conflict with the newly approved Catalan constitution (*Estatut*). The Catalan government accused the central administration of interference in their competences and petitioned the Constitutional Tribunal (M. Beltran, 2007). Another incident that reached the newspapers was a sentence from the Catalan Tribunal that obliged a school in Badalona to provide one of their alumni with a minimum of four hours of classes in Castilian, as is obliged by law, after a complaint by the parents (*EFE*, 01-02-2006).

3.3 Institutional challenges: the Muslim headscarf, halal food and the celebration of religious holidays

Although some public opinion barometer illustrate that 61% of the population is against Muslim girls to wear the veil in school (*La Razón*, 03-04-2007), the use of the Muslim headscarf in public schools has not been as controversial as in other European countries and there are no laws or policies on this issue in Spain. A debate on the presence of religious symbols in the public space promoted by the Socialist Government highlighted that opinions in Spain are divided among those who defend religious symbols as part of religious liberty and those who would like to see the prohibition of religious signs in the public sphere in the name of liberal-republican values (M. J. Pérez-Barco and J. Bastante, 2006; J. L. Martí, 2007). The lack of policy has resulted in some incidents in practice, where Muslim girls were not allowed to wear the veil or where the school did

¹⁹ See Council of Europe (2002) and Council of the European Union (2004).

²⁰ Like the Popular Party (*Partido Popular*), Episcopal conference (*Conferencia Episcopal*), Catholic confederation of parents (*Confederación católica de padres*) and the employers organization of private schools (*la patronal de Colegios Privados*).

²¹ At the start of the academic year 2006-2007 some *concertada* schools even started a boycott on the assignment (see for example *El País*, 10-09-2007).

not know what to do. Recently a public school in Girona (Catalonia) prohibited a girl wearing the Islamic veil (*hiyab*) to assist classes based on internal rules of the center that prohibits all elements of discrimination, a decision that was reversed after intervention of the Catalan government, who put the right to education above that of regulations of (religious) symbols (see for example N. Iglesias, 2007; M. Beltran, 2007 and L. Galán, 2007). The incident resulted in demands from schools for public regulations of religious symbols, which were ruled out by the President of the Catalan government who argued that “at this moment in this country this is not necessary” (E. Escriche, 2007). Also in Ceuta, the Education Ministry intervened to guarantee the return of two girls wearing a veil to a *concertada* school. Again the argument was based on the prevalence of the right to education above religious symbols (*El Mundo*, 10-10-2007). The question of religious symbols in the public space has not been confined to Muslim symbols. For example in the Autonomous Community Castilla y León, the parents of 4 students in a school criticized the presence of crucifixes in the classroom. The council of Education of the Autonomous Community in question asked them to be “tolerant”. Their argumentation was based on the fact that a crux means different things for different people, Catholic, agnostic or other and therefore is situated within the sphere of *convivencia* (peaceful coexistence) (*Europa Press*, 21-02-2006).

The accommodation of cultural and religious demands, like the availability of *halal* food or cultural and religious holidays, is legally determined within the agreements between the state and Spain’s minority religions. The lack of these accommodations in practice highlight that there is not yet a common acceptance of cultural pluralism within schools. Two examples illustrate this point. First, when a school in Zaragoza (in the Autonomous Community of Aragón) decided to suppress the celebration of Christmas, because of the diversity of cultures and religions among their student, they received a lot of criticism from parent associations (Rodríguez de Paz, 2006). Second and similar, the decision of the Catalan government to change the name of a school in Barcelona from “CEIP Juan XXIII” (a pope) to “Rosa dels Vents” because of “multicultural” reasons, was criticized fiercely by the Catalan Popular Party (J. Subirana, 2006).

PART 2: THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION

The main data sources for this analysis consist of: 1) Integration and Education Policies and 2) interviews with responsible policy-makers respectively.²² In addition to this, we have also organized a focus group in Catalonia with representatives of teachers, parents, immigrants and cultural associations. Table 2 below gives an overview of the data-collection.

Table 2. Levels of analysis and data sources

Level of Analysis	Data sources	
	Integration policy	Education policy
Central administration	1. Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration 2006-2009 (Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2006-2009) 2. Interview with responsible policy-maker	1. Program for Attention to Immigrants (Programa de Atención a Inmigrantes) 2. Interview with responsible policy-makers
Catalan administration	1. Citizenship and Immigration plan 2005-2008 (Pla de Ciutadania i Immigració 2005-2008) 2. Interview with responsible policy-maker	1. Language and Social Cohesion Plan (Plan para la Lengua y la Cohesión Social) 2. Interview with responsible policy-makers 3. Focus group with non-governmental representatives active in the Catalan educational environment

4. Central administration

4.1 Context and basic challenges

Foreign alumni are estimated to represent 8,4% of the total students in non-university education²³ in 2006/2007. The largest groups of these foreign alumni (42,9%) proceed from Latin American countries, followed by alumni from European (28,3%) and African (19,5%) origin. The majority of foreign alumni go to public schools (10,4%), while only a small number is enrolled in private centers (4,6%) (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2007). The current administration under Zapatero has given a new impulse to immigrant alumni, by investing 42% of the integration budget to education in zones with a large immigrant presence. Moreover there has been approved a new Education Law in 2006 that introduced new norms for admission policy, changed the curricula with regard to religious education, introduced the subject “education for

²² See annex 1 for the interview guides used for the Central and Catalan administration.

²³ Non-university education includes next to compulsory primary and secondary school also child education (4-6), and pre-university and professional education (16-18).

citizenship” and established “attention to diversity” as a basic principle of the educational system. Next to the low academic achievements of foreign pupils, the concentration of immigrants in public schools, and changes in the basic curriculum have been important challenges for the central administration.

Within the central administration, the Education Ministry and Integration Secretary are the main institutions that develop the preconditions for education and integration policies at the Autonomous Community level. It is important to note that the Integration Secretary is integrated within the Ministry for Employment and Social Affairs and develops a transversal integration program that includes (but is not confined to) actions within the area of education. With regard to state education policy, the state’s power is largely confined to a regulatory nature to address the fundamental elements of the system. The Autonomous Communities have regulatory powers to expand on the basic standards set by the state, and to regulate non-basic elements or features of the education system, as well as having management powers over the system in their own territory. For example, the Autonomous Communities use the core curricula established by the central administration as point of departure to draw their own official curricula (first level of curricular formulation), after which educational establishments adapt and expand on this basic curriculum (second level of curricular formulation).²⁴

The remainder of this section will discuss the policy approach of the central administration with regard to the management of cultural diversity within the area of education. The next section will first go into the framework provided by the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (*Plan Estratégico de ciudadanía e integración 2007-2010*) developed by the Immigration Secretary and the third section will discuss the approach of the Ministry of Education and Culture, by analyzing their “program for the attention to diversity”. Findings are complemented and contrasted with interview results from policymakers of both the Secretary of Immigration and Emigration and the Ministry of Education.²⁵

4.2 Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration 2007-2010

The *Secretaría de Estado de Inmigración y Emigración* (State Secretary of Immigration and Emigration) of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has recently developed a new integration program (*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración*) that gives a new impulse to integration policy. The plan aims to stimulate a broad range of immigration policies within the fields of reception, education, employment, housing, social services, health, youth, non-discrimination, women, participation, raising awareness and development cooperation. The plan provides the political framework for integration programs, while in practice integration policy is mainly a responsibility of regional and local authorities. This is partly due to the territorial political structure of the Spanish state, which makes the central government responsible for border control,

²⁴ The curricular model introduced by the LOGSE (1990) gives schools the possibility of taking decisions on their educational approach to address the needs and context of each center. Each center in this context produces two documents: the Education Project of the Center and the Curricular Project of the Center (P. Arnaiz and G. Soto, 2003; 379).

²⁵ On the 15th of June 2007 an interview has been conducted with a representative of the General Direction of the Integration of Immigrants (abbreviated as GDI) and another with two representatives of the Ministry of Education (abbreviated as MEC)

while reception policy and social integration of immigrants are a responsibility of the Autonomous Communities and local administrations.

In the plan, immigrants are defined as “new citizens”, and are also called *immigrant citizens*, in contrast to *autochthon Spanish citizens*. Citizenship is one of the main principles of the state policy on integration (next to equality and non-discrimination and *interculturalidad*), implying the recognition of civic, social, economic, cultural and political participation of immigrants. Citizenship is defined in a Republican (civic) sense to be shared by immigrants and Spaniards alike, while differences are determined by nationality. Integration is explicitly defined as a continuous process of mutual adaptation within the framework of basic values shared within the European Union.²⁶ The conception of integration is based on the EU framework of “common basic principles for integration policy in the European Union”, where integration refers to “a bidirectional process and dynamic of mutual adjustment for all immigrants and residents of the Member States”, implying “respect for basic values of the European Union” (Council of the European Union, 2004). As a result of this approach towards integration, the integration plan is directed at both old and new citizens.

Spanish policy-makers are aware that it can learn from “good” and “bad” practices of older immigration countries in Europe, although there is not a clear model followed. Rather there can be pointed out specific Spanish interpretations of integration. First of all, the bi-directional process of integration is based on the concept of *convivencia intercultural*. *Convivencia* is often used as synonym for integration and literally refers to “living together”. *Interculturalidad* is another principle of the plan, referring to the interaction between persons from different origins and cultures that leads to the positive valuation and respect of cultural diversity. *Convivencia intercultural* therefore refers to living together in solidarity, tolerance and respect, recognizing cultural, religious, ethnic differences. Different than the concept of multiculturalism, persons from different origins and cultures (autochthon and immigrant citizens) should interact, rather than create so-called “parallel lives/ communities”. Another concept specific to the Spanish interpretation of integration is the aim to promote and guarantee the so-called “normalization” of immigrants’ access to public and private services (education among others). The term normalization aims to promote the civic participation and enjoyment of immigrants’ rights through the same bureaucratic and legal means which normally regulate Spanish citizens’ participation in society, without creating special policies of positive discrimination.

The challenge of immigration in the public policy field of education is twofold. On the one hand immigrant citizens demonstrate the quantitative and qualitative insufficiencies of the Spanish education system, which is in need of adaptation. This is made explicit in the priority actions to promote measures against scholarly segregation, reception, and to teach educational staff about cultural diversity and an intercultural approach. On the other hand, education provides the conditions for integration in the host society, which results in the need for the promotion of language teaching and basic social conduct in the society of reception. That education is regarded a priority field in both senses becomes clear in the distribution of resources. The GDI explains that 45% of the

²⁶ Consisting mainly of democratic values like the rule of law, freedom, justice, equality and political pluralism (see Secretaría de Estado de Inmigración y Emigración, 2007; 10). That European values are the only limit to integration is also stressed by the representative of the General Direction of the Integration of Immigrants (GDI).

support fund for the integration of immigrants (containing some 200 million euros) divided among the Autonomous Communities is dedicated to education.²⁷ This sum of money should be used for several actions, including the development of reception plans, the promotion of *convivencia intercultural*, the maintenance of alumni's culture of origin, the promotion of non-compulsory schooling of children before 6 years old and the promotion of adult education. The role of the Immigration Secretary is therefore confined to provide resources and a framework of priority actions of integration in the area of education that need to be developed further on the regional level.

4.3 Education policy: Attention to Diversity and Intercultural Education

The new Education Law establishes attention to diversity as basic principle of the educational system, which aims at responding adequately to the educational demands that the diversity of students require, without any type of exclusion. All the citizens, including immigrants and Spanish citizens, should reach the maximum possible development in education and be guaranteed equality of opportunities. One of the MEC representatives we interviewed explains that the fact that the words "immigrants" or "children of immigrants" has disappeared in the new Law points towards a change in discourse. Collectives, like immigrants are no longer treated separately and the focus is on integrating different collectives within the classroom, rather than separating them. One of the main actions of the new education reform has been the programming of admission of schooling in *concertada* and public centers, in order to guarantee an adequate and stable distribution among the schools of the students with needs of educational support, a category that mainly includes immigrants. The Autonomous Communities however are free to develop policies to reach this aim, as the schooling process corresponds to the educational administration of the 17 regions, except in the case of the cities Ceuta and Melilla that are under direct management of the Department of Education and Science.

As far as the curricular competences of the Education ministry is concerned, it is determined by law (the LOGSE, 1990) that the basic contents of the core curricula in no case can take up more than 55% of the timetable for those Autonomous Communities with an additional official language other than Spanish (like Catalonia, Basque country and Galicia), and no more than 65% for those that do not have another official language. The remainder of the curricula is filled in by the Autonomous Communities (CIDE, 2002; 37). The most important curricula change in the new law is found in the introduction of the new course "Education for Citizenship", which according to one of the MEC representative "is facing brutal opposition by the Catholic Church, while being a normal subject in all European schools". Another change is the regulation of religious education. In accordance with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, Catholic religious teaching is still compulsory to be offered in public schools, though free to choose and an optional alternative is provided in secondary education.

Apart from admission policy and the development of a part of the curriculum, the Ministry of Education has only few competences in defining education policy related to the management of diversity. Concrete policy programs developed by the Education Ministry include the teaching Program on the Arabic Language and Moroccan Culture,

²⁷ All Autonomous Communities, except Basque country, Navarra and Ceuta and Melilla, have to present a Plan in where they describe what they plan to do with the money. The Autonomous Communities also need to co-finance 30% of the plan.

Portuguese Language and Culture Program and the Program “Attention to Immigrants”. The first two programs derive from bilateral agreements with Morocco and Portugal to promote the preservation of languages and cultures of origin. Teaching immigrants in their languages of origin is not part of the basic curriculum though, but agreements have been made with the governments of Morocco and Portugal, who bring teachers in to teach their native language during or after school hours. The program “Attention to Immigrants” seems most relevant, though is not very extensive. In a one-page document, the Ministry communicates the idea of immigrants being citizens, by stating that free obligatory education is to be guaranteed for both *autochthon* and immigrant citizens. Equality of access though does not guarantee equality of opportunity. For this reason the instrument of so-called compensatory programs should “decrease” differences in education levels (i.e. compensating for language and educational gaps). This compensatory education is obligatory whenever such needs arise in a school, but the way it is put into practice may differ depending on the preferences of autonomous regions. In schools under the jurisdiction of the state however (like Ceuta and Melilla), children with special needs attend special classes during part of their school hours.

Finally, the education ministry stimulates the integration of immigrant pupils in the education system, by developing special materials for teachers that work with immigrants, within the context of compensatory education or intercultural education. One of the MEC representatives in this context points out that it is important to distinguish between “attention to immigrant pupils” on the one hand and “intercultural education” on the other hand. While the first refers to compensatory education in order to compensate for language and educational competences, the latter is aimed at an attitudinal change of all pupils to respect and value cultural diversity. The MEC representative explains that one of the roles of the ministry is to provide materials and best practices of intercultural education. In this context, the ministry has created a Resource Centre for Attention to Cultural Diversity in Education (CREADE), a website and network that aims to be a response to the concerns of professionals in the educational and social spheres with regard to cultural diversity.²⁸

4.4 Implementation of policies²⁹

Two Autonomous Communities are pointed out by the GDI to be most successful in terms of managing diversity in the area of education: Murcia and Cantabria. Official evaluations of the new Integration Plan however are not available yet. The GDI points out that although there are improvements to include intercultural education, a lot needs to be done in terms of curriculum adaptation to a multicultural society and there is a lot of variation between the different Autonomous Communities. Next to the implementation of intercultural education, also adult education and the formation of teachers needs attention according to the GDI.

When asking the MEC representatives about the implementation and evaluation of “attention to diversity” in education policies in the Autonomous Communities, the respondents refuses to give normative judgments, as they do not regard themselves competent to do so and also lack information. This highlights not only the highly decentralized nature of the Spanish education system and a clear division of

²⁸ See <http://apliweb.mec.es/creade/index.do>

²⁹ The evaluation of the implementation of policies to manage diversity in education was a topic on which only limited answers were generated in all interviews.

competences, but also lack of the evaluation of policies. The MEC respondents do argue that “they have the feeling that Autonomous Communities work hard to integrate immigrant pupils in schools”. Only one of the representatives finally remarks that while the theoretical discourse of the ministry is not to follow the line of assimilation; “in practice we might run the risk of doing this”. An example is the attention for language compensation, while there is almost no support for teaching immigrants’ languages of origin.

5. Catalan administration

5.1 Context and basic challenges

The management of immigration in Catalonia takes place in a specific context, because Catalonia is a minority nation within the Spanish State. Immigration adds a second variable to the social reality of multiculturalism and affects the process of nation building. It therefore not only requires a discussion about rights and non-discrimination, but also about the language of identity, the use of political instruments of self-government³⁰ and language policy (R. Zapata-Barrero, 2007; 179). Immigration presents a potential danger to the Catalan culture and identity, especially with regard to the future of the Catalan language. With a bilingual education model, but a majority of pupils speaking Castilian to their peers in and out of the classroom (Departament d’Educació, 2007; 6), the Catalan language is believed to be in danger. R. Zapata-Barrero (2007; 191) also points out the effects of immigration of the Castilian language, by immigrants coming from Central and South America. As a consequence Catalan language immersion is one of the main policies of the *Generalitat* with regard to immigrants’ integration.

The percentage of immigrants in the Catalan classrooms has increased rapidly over the last decade. In obligatory education, immigrant alumni only made up 0,8% of the total alumni in the year 1991-1992, compared to 10% in 2004-2005 and 12,5% in 2007-2008. Most immigrant alumni proceed from Latin American countries (44%), Maghreb countries (26,5%) and non EU European countries (11%). Like in the rest of the country, most of them are concentrated in public schools (14% of immigrants in public and 4% of immigrants in private schools) (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005: 27; Departament d’Educació, 2007).

When asking the policy-makers in Catalonia about the main challenges, they all stress the need for the Catalan society to perceive cultural diversity as enrichment and opportunity, rather than as a problem. The main challenge according to them is therefore the need for a change in public attitudes toward cultural diversity, in where cultural mixing becomes the preference and segregation is the basic fear. Within the area of education an importance role is given to teachers’ ability to teach such an intercultural approach and therefore the formation of teachers is one of the most important challenges. Another important challenge highlighted in the focus group is the lack of participation of immigrants in after-school activities and parents of immigrants

³⁰ Important in this context is the new *Estatut* (voted for in a referendum by the citizens of Catalonia on 16 of June 2006 and by 90 per cent of the Catalan Parliament) being the first legal framework speaking about immigration in terms of necessities and claims of powers.

in schools and parent associations, and the lack of availability of grants for lunch and transport.

In order to prevent segregation, one of the main outcomes of the National Pact on Education of 20 March 2006³¹ has been the regulation of the admission of foreign students to public and private schools, by putting a maximum quota of 30% foreign alumni per schools. In order to achieve this goal, the *Generalitat* will finance *concertada* schools that admit immigrant students (by signing special contracts³²), provide extra finance to schools with students that have specific needs (mainly immigrants) and install schooling commissions that provide information about available places in schools. The limit to these anti-segregation policies is parents right to choose a school for their children. Other issues of the Pact include the introduction of so-called intercultural mediators to stimulate social integration, the regulation of religious education, including the possibility to study an alternative course for non-believers, the introduction of “education for citizenship” (*educación para la ciudadanía*) and the regulation of the hours dedicated to Spanish and Catalan language teaching (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006).

The remainder of this section will discuss policy approaches of the *Generalitat* with regard to the management of cultural diversity within the area of education. Two plans will be discussed: The *Citizenship and Immigration Plan* from the Catalan Immigration Secretary and the *Language and Social Cohesion Plan* from the Catalan Education Department. Findings are complemented and contrasted with results from interviews with policymakers and a focus group with non-governmental stakeholders.³³

5.2 Citizenship and Immigration Plan (2005-2008)

The Citizenship and Immigration Plan developed by the Immigration Secretary is a follow up of two former Interdepartmental Immigration Plans (from 1993-2000 and from 2001-2004) and has a new focus on (local) citizenship, in where both immigrants and non-immigrants are conceptualized as “resident citizens” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005; 158). This new concept of citizenship refers to equal rights and responsibilities for all Catalans, regardless of nationality or legal situation. Residence is the criteria of this citizenship, which is defined as “pluralistic”³⁴ and “civic”. Next to defining immigrants as citizens, immigration itself is conceptualized as an enrichment of the receiving society, in economically, socially, culturally and politically terms (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005; 153). While the *Generalitat* has attempted to go beyond the category of “immigrant”, which so often is association with segregation, the new conceptualization of “resident citizens” is not free from criticism. Some representatives

³¹ Within this pact, the Catalan government (*Generalitat*) and the principal agents of the public and *concertada* schools (including labor unions, parent associations, local governments etc.) have agreed on several issues.

³² In 2007-2008 27 of the almost 1.300 *concertada* schools have such a contract (M. Beltran, 2007).

³³ Two interviews have been held in the Education Department: one with a representative of the Interculturality and Social Cohesion Service (abbreviated as ISCS) on the 7th of June 2007 and another one with the Sub Director of Language and Social Cohesion (abbreviated as LSC) on the 25th of June 2007. Another interview was held with a representative of the Immigration Secretary on the 20th of June 2007 (abbreviated as IS). Finally on the 29th of June 2007 a focus group was organized in Barcelona with representatives of teachers, parents, immigrants and cultural associations.

³⁴ Pluralism not only includes cultural diversity, but also secularism, understood as the separation of church and state (Generalitat, 2005; 158).

of immigrant associations in the focus group argue that the new discourse of the *Generalitat* reproduces a negative stereotype of the word “immigrant” and make citizenship an empty concept. In the words of one of the representatives: “We don’t like to be called citizens, when we do not have the right to vote”.

Next to rhetoric about the need for respect and recognition of cultural diversity, the need for the management of this diversity is addressed as well. In order to maintain equality within cultural diversity, the Plan introduces two concepts: *disadvantage* and *impartiality*. While the first objective is related to overcome discrimination and guarantee inclusion, impartiality needs to be applied when dealing with the accommodation of different cultures, favoring neither one over the other. The policies that need to develop equality (and prevent disadvantage) are *linguistic* in nature. According to the policy-makers we interviewed, knowledge of Catalan is not only an important condition to provide equal opportunities, but also an instrument to foster national identity. Language is seen as *the* element that different cultures should share together, and foster the identification with the Catalan nation. The latter is important as the representative of the Immigration Secretary (IS) states: “An immigrant is only regarded integrated by the people when he/she speaks Catalan”. One of the teacher representatives in the focus group however points out that knowledge of the Catalan language is not always sufficient: “although all immigrant pupils talk in Catalan, they do not feel Catalan”. These remarks illustrate that in spite of a new language of citizenship based residency, the question of belonging has not been resolved.

While *disadvantage* is underpinned by the need for equal opportunities, *impartiality* is linked to the notion of *interculturalism* which is defined as “an attitude and behavior based on empathy and mutual understanding” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005; 160). Different from being a theoretical concept though, “interculturalism” is rather understood as a principle for the management of cultural diversity in practice, solving conflicts by negotiation and dialogue. When asking the representative of the Immigration Secretary (IS) what is meant by “interculturalism”, it is explained as being a model in between the French assimilative and British multicultural models. When challenges arise, such as wearing the veil, requests for religious holidays etc., the school should manage these challenges by dialogue and the *Generalitat* does not develop official policy for it. The IS admits that the policies of the current government are closest to the French civic assimilation model, because of the importance of Catalan, although their wish is to develop a new “intercultural” model.

Integration is referred to in the Plan as a “two-way, dynamic process with continual, mutual adjustments between immigrants and local inhabitants”, but is mainly mentioned in the context of the basic values of the European Union, as defined by the Council of the Europe on 19 November 2004 (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005: 161). Instead of “integration”, the Plan refers more often to the concept of “coexistence” (*convivencia*), a term that describes the “common public behavior which allows people to coexist with each other based on their respecting rights and responsibilities” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005; 159). Although the emphasis on co-existence highlights the rejection of an assimilation approach, integration in Catalonia is by no means multicultural, a word that is negatively linked with ethnic segregation.³⁵ The incompatibility of the idea of segregation and the Catalan conception of integration is explicitly mentioned in the

³⁵ As R. Zapata-Barrero (2007; 190) argues, between a communitarian and liberal approach, the Plan has clearly opted for the last.

Citizenship and Migration Plan: “Spatial segregation is incompatible with favoring integration and mutual understanding” (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005; 157). Not all policy-makers and focus group participants however agree with the policies that have been designed by the *Generalitat* to fight scholar segregation.³⁶

The Plan distinguishes between reception policies, equality policies and accommodation policies to be implemented in different sectors (i.e. social, labor, housing, health, education etc.). The Department of Education is responsible for the development of seven programs: Insertion classes (*aulas de acogida*), the distribution of pupils from foreign backgrounds in educational establishments, non-compulsory schooling, training professionals in educational establishments, formation in the language and culture of origin, education plans for the (school) environment, the formation of professionals that manage diversity and workshops in Catalan to enforce social cohesion. The sector plan from the Department of Education (The Language and Social Cohesion Plan) is therefore one of the basic points of reference for the Citizenship and Immigration Plan.

5.3 Language and Social Cohesion Plan (2007)

The Language and Social Cohesion Plan from the Education Department is aimed at promoting and consolidating social cohesion, intercultural education and the Catalan language, in a multilingual framework.³⁷ Similar to the Immigration Plan’s focus on all “citizens”, this Plan is aimed at “all alumni in Catalonia, regardless of their background, situation or origin, and is intended to strengthen the foundations of a democratic culture based on justice, dialogue and coexistence” (Departament d’Educació, 2007; 5). Next to alumni, the Plan also defines actions towards the teachers, the families and the local environment. The Sub-Director of Language and Social Cohesion (LSC) explains that the policies to manage cultural diversity developed by the Education Department can be understood by the concept of a highway. The *aulas de acogida* (insertion classes) should be understood as a first step for immigrant pupils to enter the highway, in where Catalan is the vehicle language. The second step takes place in the education centers as a whole, where an “intercultural approach” needs to be implemented and affects all pupils. The third step is to adapt the school environment to cultural diversity and an intercultural approach, which has resulted in *planes de entorno* (local education plans, consisting of creating a local educational net to achieve school success of pupils).

The point of departure is to guarantee equality for all and respect for diversity. The representative of the Interculturality and Social Cohesion Service (ISCS) describes it as follows: “We were mono-cultural and now we have to recognize that we have to live together with different cultures”. Both the ISCS and LSC stress that cultural diversity must be seen as enrichment of Catalan society and its schools. The Plan stresses that

³⁶ Criticism to the anti-segregation policy of the Catalan government consist of 1) the discriminatory aspect embedded within the policy, as it does not advise Catalan parents to send their children to other schools than their preference (for example schools with higher concentration of immigrants); 2) the lack of attention to guarantee quality of education in public schools (the ISCS in this context points out that parents that do not want to enroll their children in schools with high concentration of immigrants are more afraid of socio-economic marginalization than of cultural differences); and the difficulty to implement anti-segregation policies due to parental choice and geographical and socio-economic segregation. All the policy-makers point out that it is difficult to put anti-segregation policies in practice, as parents prefer to have all their children in the same school and within their neighborhood. They also argue that segregation is not so much a problem of immigration, but rather of poverty.

³⁷ Catalonia is a bilingual area where Spanish is the majority language sharing official status with Catalan.

schools are seen as a laboratory of society in where “pupils from different cultural backgrounds, as citizens, can build a new, shared and non-exclusive identity” (Departament d’Educació, 2007; 3). The LSC in this context states that ideally all schools should have between 10 and 30% of immigrants. “More than 30% concentration of immigrants creates management problems, while less than 10% means to give pupils a limited vision of our globalized world”. Segregation of cultural groups according to the LSC not only creates problems on the long term, but also does not fit “the Mediterranean culture of proximity”. LSC: “The idea of multicultural neighborhoods does not work here, because the idea of a public sphere is more important, where intercultural – not multicultural - *convivencia* is made possible”.³⁸ The ISCS takes a similar position:

“The Catalan society does not like ghettos, and we want that everybody relates with everybody. Therefore the idea is to prevent exclusion and to create the situation in where all people that come to Catalonia in little time will feel Catalan, without renouncing what they are. We believe in multiple identities, and think that you can never renounce your identity but that you can integrate in new identities, which in this case is the Catalan identity we have here”.

The term “interculturality” was first referred to in 1992 when the Department of Education defined the curriculum for primary and compulsory education (see Department d’Ensenyament, 1992). According to S. Carrasco (1999) the guidelines and resolutions from the Council of the European Union about responses to racism and xenophobia underpinned the new focus. When in 1996 a “transversal axis on intercultural education” was proposed to be followed in schools, the concept became more developed in terms of the need to develop attitudes to respect cultural diversity by way of openness, respect and dialogue in order to prepare pupils to live in a culturally diverse society (Departament d’Ensenyament, 1996). Intercultural education referred to giving all pupils “cultural competence”, consisting of positive intercultural attitudes, improvement of personal cultural self-conception, strengthening co-existence and improving equality of opportunity for all pupils (see J. Garreta Bochaca, 2006; 268). The analyzed policy documents and interviews with policy makers reveal that this conception of “interculturality”, as an attitude rather than policy doctrine remains at work today. It basically means the positive evaluation of cultural diversity and the need to create bonds of solidarity between “different” citizens (Departament d’Educació, 2007; 12). The ISCS describes it as a tool to fight xenophobia and racism and to give immigrant pupils a feeling of recognition, by teaching pupils to respect difference, and to get to know and value other cultures. The LSC describes it as space of *convivencia* (coexistence), in which all pupils know the limits and norms. What becomes clear from these data is that “intercultural” is an attitude and practice of dialogue and interaction that needs to be taught to pupils and therefore needs to be embraced by teachers.

Although cultural diversity is understood as enrichment of the Catalan society, and the Plan is full of recognition, respect, intercultural education etc., there are certain limits to diversity in the public sphere. Social cohesion is the precondition for the celebration of cultural diversity and the main tool to create social cohesion is found in Catalan language learning. In the words of the LSC: “We don’t want anybody to feel like a second category Catalan”. One of the main aims of the Plan is therefore to consolidate

³⁸ The LSC affirms this by pointing out that the vision of the Catalan government is to manage questions of cultural diversity from a bottom-up approach of contextual proximity. Nevertheless, in May next year a congress is planned to discuss the limits of *convivencia*, especially in relation to questions of religious symbols, alimentation etc.

Catalan as the mainstay of a multilingual scheme. Both policy-makers and participants in the focus group underline the importance of Catalan as vehicle language.³⁹ In order to promote Catalan language learning the following intervention spheres are defined: language immersion programs⁴⁰, encouraging the use of Catalan as language of instruction and communication in schools as well as in families and the entire school environment, and the creation, adaptation and sharing of materials for better language learning. The so-called *aulas de acogida* are classrooms in educational centers that aim to teach immigrant alumni the basics of the Catalan language and have substituted the so-called “workshops of school adaptation” that were realized outside education centers. Immigrant pupils spent max. 50% of their time (15 hours a week) in these classes for maximal 2 years approximately, depending on their language of origin and level of education. The ISCS makes clear that the Education Department is not in favor of separate classrooms for immigrants and stresses the integral integration into the school.

Learning the language and culture of the country of origin is not part of the official school curriculum, but in schools with demands for it, it is offered as an extra-school activity (CIDE, 2005; 139). Due to an agreement of the *Generalitat* with the Moroccan government, there are 15 professors teaching Arabic after school hours in Catalan schools. Most parents however send their children to learn Arabic language and culture in cultural associations or in the mosque.

While language is a political tool for integration, other areas of cultural diversity are neither politicized nor celebrated within the context of the intercultural approach. Religious education is one example. Different than language, religious diversity is not mentioned in the Plan. When asking about religious diversity, the ISCS explains that the education centers are non-religious⁴¹, but that there are covenants with “other” religions (i.e. Jewish and Muslim community), thereby revealing the salient importance of the Catholic Church (for which courses are offered in all public schools). Parents who wish religious education of “another” type can ask for it, but in practice this is not often the case. According to the ISCS this is due to both a lack of availability of teachers (for which the religious communities are responsible) and the lack of pupils in the schools making demands for it. Also the LSC argues that “there is almost no demand for religious education from immigrant parents, nor do autochthons worry about this question”. The debates about religion in the new Education Law according to the respondent were more “salon debates” than questions important in daily practice. According to the LSC: “Catholicism is the normalized religion in schools, Evangelism is punctual, Judaism is a small minority and Islam lacks accreditation”. The IS gives another reason for the lack of Islamic classes: “In practice Islamic education is not offered, because Islamic teachers have a lack of respect for Catalan values of teaching” and does not hide prejudices: “it cannot be accepted for example that they hit pupils”. A representative of Moroccan (and other) immigrants in the focus group though argues

³⁹ Only one participant in the focus group made a critical note, by stating that “some immigrants do not plan to stay for a long time, and they might profit more from learning Castilian”.

⁴⁰ In the year 2007-2008 there are 1.155 insertion classes (*aulas de acogida*) out of the total 3.000 educational centers. This means that one of every three education centers has an insertion classroom. It is also important to note that while the policy tool of *aulas de acogida* is a resource provided by the *Generalitat*, including the appointment of a tutor, materials, time tables etc., the education centers are responsible for constructing a Reception Plan (*Plan de Acogida*) (CIDE, 2005; 136-137).

⁴¹ Although not within their competence, the Catalan Education Department is in favor of implementing the principle of secularism (*laïcité*) in schools. Also most participants in the focus group argue that religion classes should not be given in schools, except from teaching respect for religions in general.

that the problem of a lack of teachers is due to the malfunctioning of bilateral agreements with countries of origin. The lack of possibilities for the formation of Islamic teachers in Catalonia (or Spain for that matter) (see for example N. Andújar, 2005) highlight that impartiality is not embraced when it comes to the management of religious diversity.

Another example of a lack of impartiality is found in institutional challenges produced by migration related diversity. When asking about how Catalonia manages the question of the veil for example, the ISCS states: “We do not start a war on the veil” and explains that these issues are managed and negotiated at the local level in a practical manner. Although there is no policy on religious symbols, the respondent explains that “there are demands that are negotiable and those who are not”. While wearing the veil (but not a *burkha*) is negotiable, not participating in gymnasium is not. When asking about the management of religious holidays, the salience of the Catholic Church is confirmed again. “The festivals (majority Catholic) are what we have here, and we cannot permit that there are more or less festivals”. The ISCS explains that alumni who want to have a day off because of religious festivities can ask for it and will get permission if the school has an intercultural approach. More in general cultural and religious demands are to be resolved “in dialogue and with common sense” at the school level. Only if schools encounter problems, the Education Department is contacted. These examples highlight the limits of respect and celebration of cultural diversity in Catalonia. It can be argued that although cultural diversity *an sich* is evaluated as an enrichment, it is limited by the Catalan public space and in practice depends for a large extend on the decisions made at the school level.

The boundaries of cultural diversity are justified by the need for social cohesion in the public sphere. The ISCS highlights that the school is part of the public space and therefore important for the production and the practice of a community: “Everybody needs to know what they have to do and what to respect” [...] the public sphere consists of principles that cannot be waived, like language, human rights, child rights, women rights”. The LSC exemplifies that the Catalan public sphere is very limited, in comparison with the French: “Although there are important principles and rights in our public sphere, there is still a lot of liberty to organize oneself in communities”. Social cohesion and local citizenship is to be created by the idea of *socialization* (mainly learning Catalan language and basic “European” values), rather than on *cultural assimilation*. Catalonia’s interpretation of integration therefore comes closest to the French civic assimilation model, with Catalan as the main tool for fostering a civic identity among the resident citizens, although there are important differences, for example with regard to the management of religious diversity. According to the ISCS the Catalan education model cannot be compared with another model in Europe, because “Catalonia has learned from its mistakes and experiments its own model”. The ISCS:

“We know the policies pursued by other European countries and they have not given hopeful results. This is as true for the British, as much as the French and the German. They were implementing policies that did not function and which they had to change. Therefore, as none of the models convinced us, we created a model between the French and the English, [...] with a focus on both attention to immigrant pupils and what binds them together”.

5.4 Implementation of policies

As far as the evaluation of the implementation of the Citizenship and Immigration Plan is concerned, the IS admits that this is an area which has not been developed very much. Or to put it otherwise, there are no serious evaluations planned. The ISCS comments that it is too early to evaluate the new Language and Social Cohesion Plan. Nevertheless the policy all policy-makers stress that there are no big problems encountered in the implementation and overall the results seem to be positive. It seems to be the case that policies in this field are so new, that policy makers are already enthusiastic about the fact that policies are being developed and money is allocated to manage diversity in the area of education. In the words of the IS: "Better this than nothing". According to the ISCS representative, the enormous increase in resources for Education (from 6 to 80 million Euros in three years) explains the overall positive evaluation of policies.⁴²

Especially the insertion classrooms (*aulas de acogida*) and local education plans (*planes de entorno*) are positively evaluated by the representatives of the Education Department. The latter also get positive credits from the representatives of immigrant associations in the focus group. With regard to the first, one of the strengths of the Catalan model, according to the ISCS and LSC is the former knowledge of teaching Catalan to Spanish immigrants, next to the political culture of dialogue for which Catalans are known. A weakness mentioned is the difficulty to educate teachers within a short period to implement an intercultural approach, next to problems of participation⁴³ and fostering interpersonal relations. The ISCS also mentions that it is not easy to introduce intercultural education as it involves not only new curricula and school materials, but also new tutorials and the formation of teachers. In the focus group the difficulty to change attitudes of the receiving society in general is stressed as the main problem. One of the immigrant representatives in this context argues that "we need to go beyond the folkloric meaning of interculturality, which you can see in intercultural weeks organized everywhere, and move towards a normalization of cultural diversity, beyond the idea of eating *cous cous*". The participants in the focus group also emphasize the need to prepare and educate (new) teachers and develop an intercultural curriculum. In the words of one of the representatives of an immigrant association: "next to an intercultural vision, there is a need for radical changes in the standard curricula, like history, before we can speak of intercultural education in Catalonia". As the LSC explained, the editors of school books are only given transversal visions by the Education department, after which each editor makes its own proposal and the market finally decides.

In sum, although a policy discourse of intercultural education has been developed in Catalonia, the respondents admit that in practice intercultural education is not (fully) implemented and is mainly focused on reception of newcomers, support for school enrolment and language classes. These results are confirmed by the work of J. Garreta Bochaca (2004; 2006) who argues that although policy discourses point into the direction of intercultural education, evaluation studies are critical of the practical

⁴² In this respect the Education Department also expresses concerns for a lack of intercultural vision in other policy areas. The ISCS emphasizes that local governments have to do much more to change public opinion, in order to prevent segregation of immigrants in schools. Also the LSC mentions that teachers feel sometimes isolated as promoters of an intercultural discourse. In general they emphasize the need for the whole society to adapt to cultural diversity, not only within the area of education.

⁴³ Some 40% does not finish Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO).

interventions and guidelines. Reasons for this lack of practice are problems of admission of immigrant pupils, the difficulty to change the official curriculum and the limited pedagogical practice of teachers (see J. Garreta Bochaca, 2006; 270).

FINAL REMARKS: different policy approaches and multiple diversity

This paper has analyzed Spanish challenges and policy approaches towards the management of migration related diversity in education. The first finding is that there is not one approach, but several, due to both the decentralized character of the education system and the multiplicity of diversity that is at stake (i.e. language, religion, culture etc.).

First, the decentralization of state power after Spain's transition to democracy has resulted in a **decentralized education system** and therefore a variation in approaches towards the management of cultural diversity among different Autonomous Communities. These differences are most explicit with regard to language education. Especially in those Autonomous Communities where a second official language is promoted (like Catalonia, Basque country and Galicia), immigration represents a challenge to identity politics and has resulted in specific challenges of how to manage bilingualism and now multilingualism in schools. The decentralized education system moreover has resulted in a situation in where cultural diversity is mainly dealt with at the individual school level, usually following a compensatory approach, by which immigrant alumni are given special attention to learn the official language(s) and bridge educational and cultural gaps. More in general it can be said that while education in (and for) equality of opportunity has been developed within compensatory policy programs, education in (and for) difference is a new policy discourse within Spain and in practice largely depends on the efforts of educational centers. The lack of knowledge of policy-makers about the implementation of state and regional policies indicate that research at the school level will provide most insight in the actual management of cultural diversity in Spanish schools.

Second, the historical (though diminished) influence of the Catholic Church on education has resulted in a situation of **cultural hegemony**. First of all, Catholic classes are to be offered in all public schools, while classes in minority religions are almost absent (in spite of the bilateral agreements signed with the Jews, Muslims and Protestants). Second, the fact that the policy documents analyzed in this study do not speak about the management of religious diversity at all confirms the importance of the Catholic Church in Spain. Third, the Catholic Church and affiliated parties tried to prevent changes in religious education and the implementation of a new course "education for citizenship" recommended by the Council of Europe. After heated debates the Socialist government managed to implement a new Education Law which has made religious education optional and introduced the new course "education for citizenship". Finally, while there are many so-called *concertada* schools (schools half in the hands of the state and half in the hands of the Catholic Church) there are only three schools controlled by other religious minorities (and none of them is Islamic). Moreover, the Catholic *concertada* schools have failed to incorporate immigrant alumni, thereby creating situations of concentrations in public schools, which is one of the main challenges in Spain. The management of religious diversity therefore can be understood within the context of an integration model based on cultural hegemony, in where decision-making power remains in the hands of the dominant culture and where the right of the majority (and therefore the individual) is regarded more important than that of cultural minority groups.

Third, because immigration is relatively new in Spain, the authorities are struggling how to manage this migration diversity and look at different approaches followed in Europe. Policy-makers are aware of different model of integration existing in older European host countries, but seem not convinced of any of them. They look most down to the multicultural model of integration that is negatively associated with segregation and social marginalization. In order to avoid the separation of immigrants, the idea of citizenship has been presented within the policy discourse as new category for integration that includes both immigrants and Spanish natives. The wish of mixing cultures within schools (and society) is so strong, that quota policies for admission have been introduced in Catalonia and are considered in other regions. Next to these quota policies, the strong focus on language immersion, which in Catalonia is part of the process of “normalization”, and the lack of teaching in languages and cultures of origin all point towards an integration model that is based on the idea of **civic assimilation**, in which the main aim is to assimilate immigrants into the national language and conduct. Policy-makers however do not want to be associated with the French doctrine and rather see themselves as the harbingers of a new model of integration, which is based on “interculturality”, and draws on European conceptions of integration and European values.

Fourth, **intercultural education** has gained a lot of popularity in the policy arena (as well as in academic circles). Policy-makers have different views about the meaning of this new approach and it remains often unclear what is meant exactly by this intercultural approach that is located somewhere in-between assimilation and multicultural models of integration. Broadly speaking, intercultural education is conceptualized as an approach that is aimed at teaching all alumni values such as tolerance and respect, in order to live in *convivencia* (to coexist peacefully). It is aimed at the interaction of different cultural groups, and therefore separated from both multicultural (segregation) and compensatory (assimilation) education. An intercultural approach rather expresses the need to change societal attitudes and modify the public structures of society in favor of cultural diversity. For some though it is only about the positive evaluation of migration diversity and the need to solve multicultural conflicts by way of intercultural dialogue, while others point out the need for substantial organizational and curriculum changes. For the central administration, the implementation of an intercultural approach has been limited to the introduction of the course “Education for Citizenship” in the basic curricula and the promotion of the development of intercultural education materials. In Catalonia, intercultural education is mainly understood as an attitudinal change that teachers must promote among there students, next to being a guiding principle for multicultural problem solving by way of peaceful negotiation and dialogue (rather than legislating the limits of cultural diversity in the public sphere). As a result the formation of existing and new teachers is one of the main challenges. The scope of intercultural education at this moment therefore seems to be limited to efforts to teach educational staff values like recognition and mutual respect and some marginal changes in the curriculum, while implementation is largely dependent on the willingness and interpretations of individual schools.

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Appendix 1: Interview guides

1. POLICY MAKERS AT THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

1. What is the “state of the art” of policy making on (migration related) diversity within the area of (compulsory) education (in your institution)?

Evaluation of policies of the management of diversity within education

2. How would you summarize the challenges that immigrants produce towards the Spanish education system?
3. How do you evaluate the way in which the following challenges are managed within national immigration/ education policy?
 - Segregation of immigrants in (public) schools
 - Curriculum: religious education and citizenship education
 - Institutional challenges, like wearing the Islamic headscarf and other religious symbols, availability of *halal* food and religious holidays.
4. How do you evaluate the changes made in the new law of last year with regard to the management of cultural diversity in education?
5. When thinking about the management of diversity within the area of education, what would be your advice to politicians that are responsible for the construction of these policies in the future?

Evaluation of the implementation of policies in the Autonomous Communities (AC's)

6. How do you evaluate the implementation of the following state policies at the AC level?
 - Admission policy related to immigrant students
 - Curriculum and diversity: Religious education and Citizenship education
 - The implementation of the “*Fondo de Apoyo a la Acogida e Integración de Inmigrantes y el refuerzo educativo*” (every AC needs to present a plan?)
7. Do you think there is a gap between what is said (in policy) and what is done (in practice)? In what policy fields? Why there?
8. As we know there are different education models/approaches in the Autonomous Communities (AC's). How do you think these different models effect the management of diversity within the area of education?
9. How do you think the implementation of state policy (like for example admission, reception, religion and citizenship education) can be improved in the future?

2. POLICY MAKERS AT THE CATALAN ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

1. What is the “state of the art” of policy making on (migration related) diversity within the area of (compulsory) education (in your institution)?

Evaluation of policies on the management of diversity within education

2. How would you summarize the challenges that immigrants produce towards the education system in Catalonia?
3. How do you evaluate the way in which the following challenges are managed within immigration/ education policy?
 - Segregation of immigrants in (public) schools
 - Curriculum: Language, religion and culture
 - Institutional challenges, like wearing the Islamic headscarf and other religious symbols, availability of *halal* food and religious holidays.
4. The *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2006-2009* allocates 40% of their money to education. What is done with this money in Catalonia?
5. As we know there are different education models/approaches in different Spanish CA's. What would you say are the strengths and weaknesses of the model/approach in Catalonia?
6. When thinking about the management of diversity within the area of education, what would be your advice to politicians that are responsible for the construction of these policies in Catalonia in the future?

Evaluation of the implementation of policies

7. How do you evaluate the implementation of the policies to manage diversity in education at the local level (municipalities)?
 - Admission policy related to immigrant students
 - Reception policy
 - Attention to diversity of alumni (here immigrants)
8. Do you think there is a gap between what is said (in policy) and what is done (in practice)? In what policy fields? Why there?
9. How do you think the implementation of policy (on for example admission, reception, language, and citizenship education) can be improved in the future?