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The Representation of Diversity in Catalan Institutions: Discourse and Practice

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Deliverable 3. State of the art report for the research project: *The Role of the Ethnic Majority in Integration Processes – Attitudes and Practices towards Immigrants in Catalan Institutions (REPCAT)*.

Foreword and acknowledgements

This State of the art report summarizes the results of the work performed during the initial stage of the research project REPCAT (*The Role of the Ethnic Majority in Integration Processes – Attitudes and Practices towards Immigrants in Catalan Institutions*), examining diversity management in three central Catalan institutions: the education system, the Catalan police force (*Mossos d'Esquadra*) and the political administration of the city of Barcelona. The main focus in this context lies on if and how members of immigrant groups and ethnic minorities are represented by these institutions, both in the discourses they produce and as actual, physical participants. Three case studies are conducted, combining methods as content analysis and qualitative interviews with actors representing these institutions as well as people from ethnic minorities who participate or aspire at participating as members of these institutions. The final results of the project will be published in the format of a comprehensive research report, at the end of 2020. In this State of the art report, after situating the research project conceptually, each of the three institutions-cases is presented in detail, complemented by a separate section on the role of local ethnic associations as the most salient actors claiming institutional representation for minorities.

For the project to be feasible, the voluntary participation of a wide range of actors representing schools, the police direction and the police academy, political parties and ethnic organizations is essential. I would therefore like to express my gratitude to everyone who has demonstrated their commitment to the project and facilitated my access to these institutions, without mentioning any names, respecting the right to anonymity considering the often sensitive nature of the topics discussed, including discrimination and inequality in opportunities.

Zenia Hellgren, Barcelona, September 2019

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1. Introduction: evaluating the impact of intercultural policies on the representation of diversity

Diversity and non-discrimination were declared central political priorities by the European Union in the 1990s, and consolidated through the adoption of the Anti-discrimination directives 2000/43/EC (against discrimination on grounds of race and ethnic origin) and 2000/78/EC (against discrimination at work on grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation) (European Commission's website 2019; Shaw, 2005). Since then, it has been increasingly recognized that the social exclusion affecting migrants and their descendants in Europe is a huge societal challenge, and intercultural policies have been adopted across several European countries, mainly at the local and/or regional administrative level (Gebhardt 2014; Zapata-Barrero 2017a; Catalan integration report 2015; Catalan policy document 2017; Barcelona City Council 2010 and 2018).

The project REPCAT suggests that the impact of intercultural policies could be evaluated in terms of the de facto representation of ethnic diversity at different levels in a society, for instance within its institutions and workplaces. It is based on the assumption that underrepresentation of immigrants and ethnic diversity in societal institutions hampers integration processes in European immigration societies, as immigrated minority groups lack both voice and visibility in society. Representation of diversity at the institutional level, in positions of power and decision-making, is crucial not the least to provide members of ethnic minority groups with role models and increase their identification with the society where they live. Two central dimensions of such representation are considered in this project: i) attitudes towards diversity: are, for instance, different immigrant groups depicted in stereotypical ways; is ethnic diversity mainstreamed or not in policies and guidelines, etc.; and ii) actual representation: are immigrants of diverse origins present in different institutions that play a central function in key societal spheres as education, law enforcement and decision-making?

In order to examine the translation of intercultural discourse into practice by using the example of representation, the project focuses on the case of Catalonia. Here, interculturalism has a particularly prominent role in both regional policies and the municipal policies of its capital, Barcelona, which is a salient member of the Council of Europe's Intercultural cities network (Catalan policy document 2017; Barcelona City Council 2018). Catalonia, as Spain overall, underwent rapid change from being an emigration country to one of the main immigration receiving countries of Europe during the years of economic growth in the 1990s and 2000s. Catalonia, as the whole of Spain, is often considered to have handled this demographic metamorphosis comparably well: the absence of salient anti-immigrant parties has been a commonly used example (this argument is partly losing relevance with the recent emergence of the populist extreme right-wing party Vox, which entered the Spanish parliament after the elections on April-28, 2019; however in Catalonia, xenophobic discourses remain a marginal political phenomenon) (Encarnación 2017; Faber and Seguín 2019). There is increasing recognition that socio-economic inequality between natives and immigrants is vast, and that many immigrants live in situations of precariousness and marginalization (Catalan integration report, 2015), but nevertheless, whether and to what extent policy discourse on interculturalism is being transformed into practice is still an empirical question.

The main objective of the REPCAT project is to examine how diversity is represented, and what barriers there are for participation of racialized¹ non-Western immigrants and minorities, in Catalan public institutions, assuming that such representation and participation are necessary in order to fulfil policy goals of interculturalism and foster more

¹ Though it has been –and still is—taboo to talk about “race” when discussing ethnically defined social stratification in Europe (Lentin 2008; Hine et al 2009), there is an emerging recognition that European societies are far from color-blind, and that whiteness tends to be privileged over non-white features (ENAR report 2014; Cretton 2017; Gans 2017). What is relevant in the context of this project is to examine the inclusion or exclusion of people of non-Western descent, who are or risk being racialized based on features as their physical appearance or other tangible markers of difference in relation to the white, western norm (as names or specific clothing), with the detrimental consequences this entails for these persons' equality of opportunities and identification with the majority society (Hellgren 2018).

constructive integration processes, and ultimately, to ensure that equality of opportunities is not merely a political cliché. This project intends to look beyond official discourse and examine how ethnic diversity is represented, both in terms of attitudes and actual presence, in three central institutions of the Catalan society:

1) The Catalan school system, which plays a central role for the representation of ethnic diversity at different levels, for instance through the educational material that is used, and through the attitudes, values and ethnic origins of school staff.

2) The Catalan police force (Mossos d'Esquadra), representing law enforcement; preventing racist attitudes and recruiting police officers of diverse ethnic origins are, for instance, expected to play an important role for minority groups' trust in and identification with the police.

3) The political administration of Barcelona (Ajuntament de Barcelona), representing a central decision-making institution and, ultimately, the residents of the city. Here, the main focus lies on the representation of immigrants and diversity in the different political parties present in the City Council.

This project's objectives are explicitly supported by the objective stated in the current Catalan Citizenship and Migration plan, the policy document that defines the agenda for Catalan integration and intercultural policies: "Educational success for everyone, equal employment opportunities and equity in access to public services are matters of justice, and a necessary condition to achieve interaction and social mobility," which is considered necessary for integration to be feasible (Catalan policy document 2017). Having stated that these are the overall objectives, the main task is to examine what happens in practice, considering that the gap between these policy objectives and actual inequalities remains wide.

2. Theoretical framework: representation and transformation

When approaching the idea of *representation of diversity*, we first need to consider what we suppose that such representation should consist of. Though it could appear evident, we may even need to justify why diversity should be represented in the public institutions of a society. It is not uncommon in, for instance, policy documents on diversity management to present ethnic and cultural diversity as an asset for companies and workplaces; a key to success through global competence and culturally hybridized know-how. Discourses on interculturalism may neatly be fitted into a market liberal framework and made consistent with corporate agendas prioritizing profit-maximizing rather than social justice (see for instance the Intercultural Cities Network website, 2019; Prügl, 2011). This approach is probably useful in order to “sell interculturalism” to a broader market, so to speak. However, the basic approach in this project is not that increased representation of diversity in institutions (or companies) by default should be expected to make them more successful or well-functioning. Whether increased ethnic diversity has a positive impact on the functioning of a certain workplace/institution in a short-term perspective is not included in the scope of the study. Instead, such representation is considered a matter of democratic necessity, resting on the basic premise that societal institutions should represent their population in a democracy. When institutions are not at all representative of the population in terms of gender, origin or other relevant categories, there are reasons to revise them, based on the presumption that all members of society should have equal opportunities to enter and participate in its democratic organization and functioning (e.g. Arnesen and Peters, 2017).

An efficient strategy in order to further justify such representation may be to discuss the consequences of a society where ever larger segments of the population feel that they are not being represented by, for instance, the education system or the public administration. This is a burning topic particularly when considering the often-called “second generation immigrants”; young people who are natives of their societies but often racialized and stigmatized, generating a disenchantment and lack of identification that in the most extreme

cases may contribute to radicalization. At the European policy level, there is a clear emphasis on the need of social cohesion and the dangers when too many people feel that they are not part of society or live in situations of social exclusion (see e.g. Europe 2020 strategy against poverty and social exclusion).

Representation, moreover, needs to be approached from both the minorities' and the ethnic majority's perspective. Immigrants and ethnic minorities need role models; doubtlessly, it is important that people, particularly children and youth, from minorities see people who "look like them" in professions as teachers or police officers, in order to increase their identification with these institutions and transmit that they can also reach such positions. This is salient when asking minority people themselves about their identification with societal institutions as the school system (Schuermans and Debruyne, 2017; Hellgren and Gabrielli, 2018a and b; interviews, 2019). Also, incorporating people with experiences of being "the other" in order to reform and improve the way institutions work could represent an important step towards the practical implementation of intercultural agendas, and further development of experience-based intercultural policies.

2.1. Discursive and physical representation

Having defined the groups who need better representation in ethnically diverse, Western societies as *racialized* people, we may ask ourselves what kind of representation we are talking about. In this section, I will argue that two types of representation are necessary to move towards greater equality in diversity, and define them as *discursive* and *physical* representation.

In the vast literature on representation, this concept is generally discussed in terms of political representation. The main concern is often whether minorities' interests (if they are assumed to have shared political interests based on their condition as minority) are best represented by members of these minorities (descriptive representation), or by agendas that may be promoted by minority or majority people alike; the political

ideology/proposal/agenda is what matters, not the representative him or herself (substantive representation) (e.g. Kroeber, 2018; Hänni, 2017; Arnesen and Peters, 2017).

Considering representation in institutions that are not political, as the education system and the police force, the difference may initially appear greater than it is. It could, for instance, be argued that unlike political representatives from traditionally excluded groups (Kroeber, 2018), teachers and police officers are not present in these institutions in order to represent any interests at all, but to fulfil a function that is presumable neutral and defined by the norms and regulations governing the institutions. Specific efforts to increase the inclusion of ethnic minorities should in that case only be considered in terms of removing obstacles for the equality of opportunities, as discrimination. Nevertheless, in order to transform society in a direction that paves the way for actual equality of opportunities – and ideally, also of outcomes (Fraser, 1995)–, also the discourses and narratives of these institutions may need to be revised and modified. Zapata-Barrero has argued for the value of discourse per se, even if this discourse is not necessarily translated into the outcome that is intended by policies: “normative ideas are viewed as constraining decision-making and limiting the range of alternatives that political elites are likely to perceive as legitimate” (Zapata-Barrero, 2017a: 173). Thus, just as increasing support for extreme right-wing parties may be expected to increase acceptance for restrictions in immigration policies, intercultural policies serve to mainstream ideas of openness to ethnic pluralism, potentially reducing the impact of xenophobic currents (ibid).

The idea of discursive representation is similar to substantive representation, though intended to be applicable for any institution, workplace or other environment where diversity is an issue. It is a question of how and to what extent, and from what perspectives, diversity is integrated into and mainstreamed in the discourses produced by the, for instance, institution in question. Examples of such discursive representation could be mainstreaming of intercultural and anti-racist approaches in training programs for future teachers and police officers; including non-Western authors and scientists in school curricula; or allowing to problematize the national narratives by also including slavery, colonization and the persecution of Roma people as parts of European history.

Physical representation, instead, refers to the actual participation and representation of members of ethnic minorities in societal institutions and other relevant venues, supported by arguments as the case made above for the importance of role models and the *visibility of diversity*. In practice, increased physical representation would for instance mean that we would see more teachers, police officers, local politicians or public officers of immigrant or Roma origin. While discursive representation is intended to target the ethnic majority and minorities alike, and does not per se presuppose the actual participation of minority members, their inclusion in larger numbers through physical representation should be expected to lead to greater discursive representation of diversity. Both forms of representation are here considered necessary to be able to, ultimately, talk of democratic representativeness by the institutions of ethnically plural societies.

2.2. The role of the ethnic majority

Turning to the mainstream society, it is clearly an objective for intercultural policies to achieve a gradual change of mind towards acceptance and normalization of diversity among the ethnic majority. There has even been an increasing recognition both in theory (Zapata-Barrero, 2019) and, at least in Catalonia, at the level of policy discourse (Catalan policy document, 2017) that also the ethnic majority needs to participate in the construction of new collective identities and practices in order to realize interculturalism. For analytical purposes, I consider it justifiable, and sometimes even necessary, to continue using the terms “majority” and “minority,” though it is inherent in the intercultural perspective that such categories should be blurred, considering all members of society as different, with their own ideologies, religions, world views and preferences, while sharing the condition that they live together and therefore need to agree on some basic premises. The emphasis on social cohesion in ethnically diverse societies is a cornerstone of the intercultural approach, and a main difference in comparison with multiculturalism (Zapata-Barrero, 2019b). In the REPCAT project, representation – in terms of both discursive content and role models – is considered essential to foster non-racist and egalitarian perspectives among the broad majority population, as well as greater opportunities among disadvantaged minorities.

How, then, can increased representation of the ethnic composition of society be achieved in practice? The underlying assumption behind the argumentation for representation in societal institutions is that such representation would be transformative, as increased diversification would in turn lead to more openness, until, ideally, ethnic origin would not be an issue at all, for instance, during recruitment processes. In order to analyze the potential strategies and receptiveness for achieving a greater representation of diversity, some comparisons with the history of claims for gender equality may be useful. No coordinated “migrants’ rights movements” comparable to the women’s movements or the US civil rights movement of the 1960s has emerged in Europe, though there are multiple networks, organizations and lobby groups against racism and discrimination, for easier access to citizenship, regularization of undocumented migrants, and increasingly, for the rights of refugees (see, for instance, the European Network Against Racism: ENAR.org). Indeed, the massive grassroots mobilizations preceding the approval of the EU’s directives against racism and discrimination in 2000 (The Race Directive (2000/43/EC) and the Framework Directive (2000/78/EC)) could perhaps be analyzed in such terms, even if it was rather a lobbying campaign by lawyers than the self-organization of racialized minority groups (Geddes, 2004; Bousetta and Modood, 2001). The success of this movement has been explained in terms of its compatibility with dominant, neoliberal EU frames: the directives place strong emphasis on anti-discrimination as principle; however they are silent on potential measures to actively increase the representation of immigrants and minorities as quotas or positive action programs (Bell, 2002; Hellgren and Hobson, 2008). It appears that the implementation of practical measures to fulfil the goals of intercultural and anti-discrimination agendas are highly controversial in Europe, while there is far more receptiveness for *discourses* on interculturalism and equality.

In order to further problematize the majority society’s role in *making actual equality of opportunities possible*, the notion of competition may be relevant. When discussing whether integration processes are successful or not, we may need to ask ourselves whether we have realistic expectations; society has never been conflict-free, and there is no reason to expect that more cultural diversity would lead to less conflict, nor that “integration” (whatever it means) implies the absence of contentions. In fact, according to El-Mafaalani

(2018), *the more successful the integration processes are, the more conflicts may they entail*; as immigrants integrate, it is logical that they will want to reach better positions, and as ever more people in society aspire to climb upwards on the social ladder, competition over influence and resources increases. It would hardly be realistic to imagine that established ethnic majority members in high positions would voluntarily resign these positions to newcomers (ibid: 9-10). Mobilization and claims-making are doubtlessly important in order to achieve change, though, as an interviewed Roma association leader claims, the major challenge is probably to gain the support of the ethnic majority society. He believes that a quota system is indispensable in order to achieve greater representation of the Roma and other disadvantaged minority groups, though such measures would be difficult to implement as ethnic registration is not permitted in Spain (for which there are good reasons). He also recognizes that measures as quotas or positive action are highly contentious and unpopular among the majority population, why it is unlikely that politicians are willing to implement them (O1, interview 2019).

As Van Ewijk (2011a) argues, more research is needed to explain why there is more resistance against diversity (policy) in some organizations than in others. For example, differences in the definition of diversity between those in command and those on the work-floor could create resistance against these policies, which is an obstruction for their effective implementation. The ambitious policy goals declared by the Catalan government in their latest Citizenship and Migration Plan (Catalan policy document, 2017), which will be described more in detail below, clearly lays a discursive ground for the implementation of transformative measures in order to achieve a more egalitarian multiethnic society. But are such transformative measures being implemented in practice, and how? To shed light on this question is the main purpose of the REPCAT project.

3. Project aims and methodology

The empirical research that constitutes the cornerstone of this project consists mainly of three case studies, one for each of the three key institutions defined above (the Catalan education system, the Catalan police force and the political administration of the Barcelona City Council), complemented by additional fieldwork as interviews and focus group sessions with representatives of ethnic minority groups. Within each of the case studies, methodological triangulation is applied in accordance with the strategies considered necessary in order to retrieve the desired data to the extent this is possible. There is clearly a comparative dimension: by comparing these three institutions, the intention is to shed light on obstacles and opportunities for an effective implementation of intercultural policies in different institutional settings. This methodological strategy has been developed during the first year of the project, parallel with the initial fieldwork, and modified during this process in order to define the combination of methods finally considered most fruitful in order to achieve the project's objectives: i) to evaluate the outcomes of intercultural policies in terms of the *de facto representation* of diversity; and ii) develop an action strategy to address shortcomings in the implementation of these policies, based on the view that research on social challenges as inequality and discrimination to a greater extent should contribute to combat these problems through practical implementation.

These objectives are in line with the project's main methodological approach, departing from participative action research (PAR) and constructivist grounded theory. PAR emphasizes the active role of the researcher as part of the social realities that he or she studies, with the objective of contributing to social change beyond merely understanding and interpreting his or her environment (McIntyre, 2008). In constructivist grounded theory, a central element is understanding the researcher as *co-producer* of the results (Charmaz, 2000; Mills et al, 2006). The REPCAT project was designed to cover two stages: an initial research stage where the representation of diversity in the three selected key institutions is examined along a variety of dimensions, and a subsequent implementation stage, during which a series of meetings and workshops will be organized with representatives from the three selected institutions. In practice however, these two

stages are intertwined and influence each other. In line with the constructivist approach, the researcher is seen as co-producer or “architect.” This means that the researcher’s role, besides investigating a reality, also implies participating in the construction of this reality. The researcher interacts with and influences on the surrounding. In fact, by the very choice of research questions and focus, how questions are formulated and what issues are raised, the researcher contributes to set an agenda that may have several consequences for his or her environment (Aspers, 2011).

In this project, contributing to awareness-raising and to placing the representation of ethnic diversity on the agenda within the institutions in the study is, consistently, part of its central objectives. The main contribution of the project lies in its ambition to not only generate new knowledge about processes that may hamper the incorporation of immigrants at the institutional level, but also achieve the implementation of concrete methods to increase the representation of diversity in collaboration with key actors representing the institutions of study. Integrating research and practice within the same framework and aiming at not only defining and analyzing problems, but also addressing these problems in practice, is considered as a new – and necessary – approach to integration studies (Hellgren, 2019). In order to develop this approach, it has been of great value to integrate the conclusions from the author’s previous research project on Roma inclusion in education (Hellgren and Gabrielli, 2018a and b), which employed a similar methodological strategy. An important finding from this project was the perceptions of a gatekeeper in a local Roma community, who shared with us her perception that our very presence as representatives of a European research project gave them leverage in their relationship with their children’s school, and facilitated their participation in meetings and activities with the school staff; they felt more taken seriously and listened to. For us as researchers, this was indeed an illustrative example of what the role as “co-producer” of the reality that is studied may mean in practice. This insight also leads to serious, ethical reflections upon the risk to influence on actors involved in the project or “run their errands”; the recognition that the researcher influences on the outcomes, and that this to some degree may be desirable, should never be allowed to compromise the reliability of the results (Aspers, 2011).

Applying PAR and grounded theory in the design of the case studies means that the sampling is not guided by a theoretical framework, but intended to explore, for instance, different types of schools' approaches to diversity within the framework of "the implementation of intercultural agendas in the education system," and thereby contribute to theory building. Theory is used in the analysis stages, but always to contextualize the findings, not to define hypotheses beforehand. New data is analysed through constant comparison with the data already collected during earlier stages of the project, and translated into codes and categories that guide the researcher towards the construction of theory as patterns emerge (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

These are some other general recommendations for qualitative case studies that are followed in this project:

- Research units/cases are not selected before-hand, but during the research process, based on analytical considerations; what we are researching takes shape and is conceptually defined along the way (though in the case of this study, always within the main framework of examining the representation of diversity).
- Within each case (institution), we search for a multitude of contrasting narratives to reflect the diversity and complexity of the cases. Defining sample size and "saturation" are indeed central challenges for qualitative research as a whole, and it can be discussed whether it is at all possible to say when we have "enough data" (Barglowski, 2018). We cannot avoid this, but need to be aware of the limitations it implies for the study. In this study, access to the field is also inevitably controlled by the institutions, and the extent to which they are willing to be examined. Yet, to strive towards maximum diversification of the sample appears necessary as we have little previous knowledge of how these institutions work with diversity issues, or to what extent there are, for instance, internal contentions around this matter.
- The sampling is guided (and perhaps modified) by experiences and reflections during the fieldwork. In practice, this means that besides being purposive and

theoretically relevant in accordance with basic criteria for qualitative sampling, the sampling should also be pragmatic-strategic. In the case of the present project, for instance, so far we have partly needed to rely on existing contact networks and use snowballing (with the role of maximum one new contact per contact person) to gain access to schools in order to conduct the interviews.

It should also be noted that the gender perspective is present throughout the study and included in central methodological elements as sampling and the elaboration of interview guides and content analysis schemes, though without applying any predefined assumptions regarding what relevance a gender perspective has for the study.

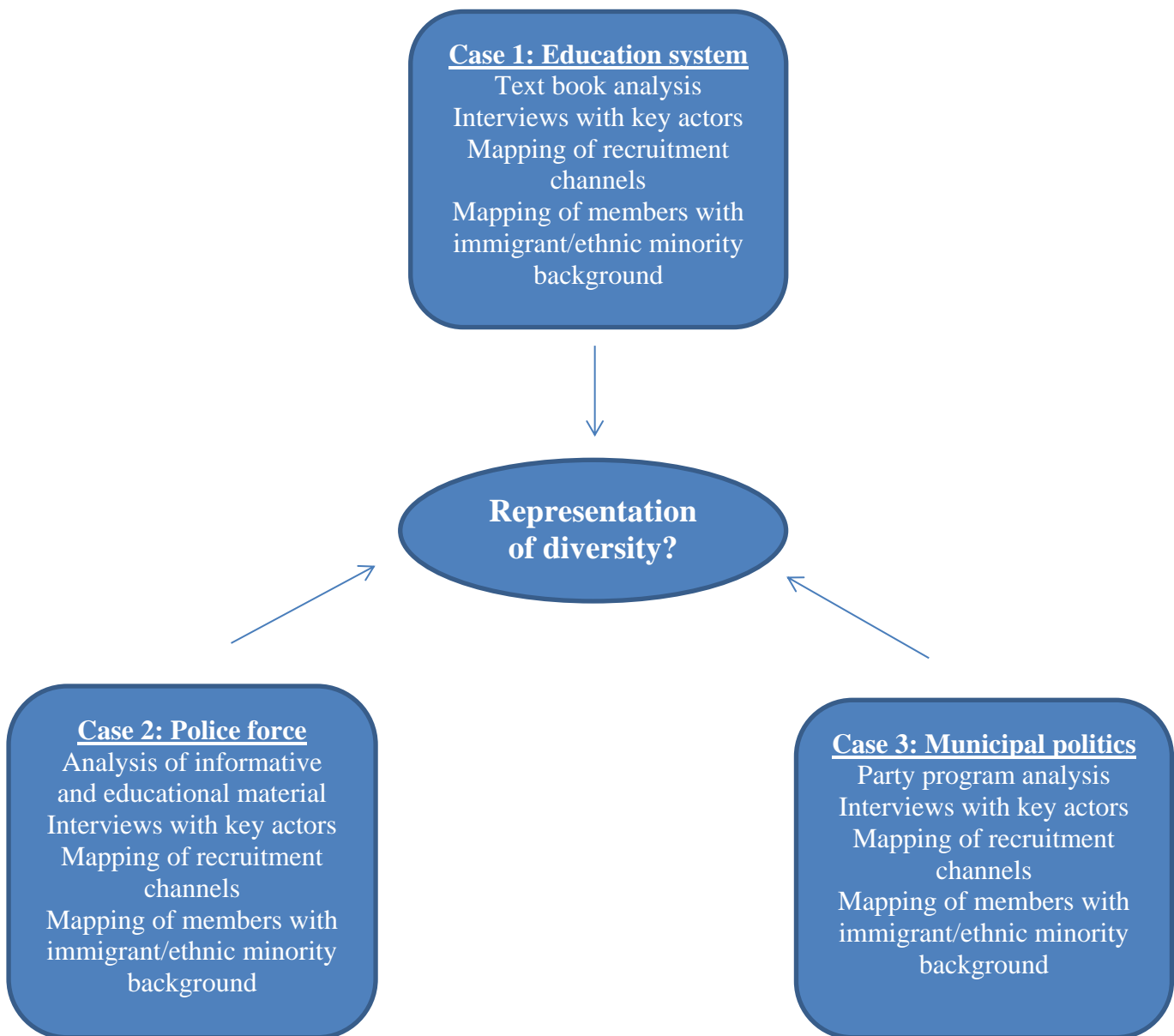
3.1. Methodological choices and strategies

The present State of the art report is based on the following material, reflecting the empirical work during the first stage of the project:

- The analysis of several reports and policy documents on interculturalism and integration, at the level of the Catalan government (*Generalitat de Catalunya*) and the local level of the Barcelona City Council, as well as educational material used for the access exam to the Catalan Police Academy.
- Transcripts from 11 interviews with representatives of the Department of Education (Ensenyament), the Catalan police force (Mossos d'Esquadra), a teacher training university program, an ethnic (Roma) association, an immigrant member of a political party, and an immigrant police aspirant.
- Notes from participation in 5 meetings with stakeholders related to the implementation of interculturalism in the education system.

For the final project report, this material will be complemented by additional interviews, as well as several focus group sessions and meetings. In the following part of this section I will discuss the methodological considerations involved in modifying the methodology initially designed for the project, in relation to the empirical findings during its first phase.

3.1.1. Methodological triangulation scheme proposed for the REPCAT project:



1) **Discourse analysis** with focus on the representation of ethnic diversity in the following educational and informative material:

- Text books in history and social sciences used in schools (for instance, how are people from minority cultures depicted? Are they represented in a normalized way?)
- Web sites and printed informative material from the Catalan police force, the City Council of Barcelona and the political parties represented in the political administration of the city.

2) **Interviews with key actors:**

- Representatives of the public school system in Catalonia (Department of Education), the Catalan police force (General Police Direction) and the City Council as well as each political party will be contacted and asked for diversity management and non-discrimination policies or guidelines. These will be analyzed, or in their absence, interviews will be performed with the representatives to discuss why there are no such policies in place and how this can be improved.
- Interviews will be performed with rectors and school teachers, police commissioners and officers, and local politicians about their own attitudes towards diversity and different possible measures to increase the representation of immigrants in their institutions, as for instance recruitment through positive action or quotas.

3) **Mapping of recruitment channels.** Information will be gathered on the different recruitment channels and selection processes for teachers, police officers and members of the political parties represented in the City Council of Barcelona.

4) **Mapping of members with immigrant/ethnic minority background.** Mapping will be performed of the actual representation of immigrants from non-Western countries in the selected institutions. This is probably the most challenging part of the study: using registers of employees' names is for instance not viable considering the large immigration from Latin America to Spain/Catalonia and the fact that these immigrants have names that cannot be distinguished from those of native Spaniards. Instead, this information will most likely have to be gathered through interviews with representatives of the respective institutions.

3.1.2. Revisions of the initial methodology

During the current stage of the project, one year after its initiation, the methodological choices following the empirical work has led to some modifications. Below follows a descriptions of the methods applied at present and why it was necessary to revise the original plan:

1) **Discourse analysis.** A significant methodological challenge was encountered during the first stage of the project: there is no coordination or supervision of school material in Catalonia, and all schools are free to choose which text books to use, or whether not to use text books at all, which many schools nowadays do not use. The Catalan Department of Education, *Ensenyament*, has elaborated a series of recommendations and a general education plan that the schools need to follow, but if and how they include diversity issues is up to the individual schools to decide (E1 and E2, interviews 2018). This is in itself a matter of contention: several actors involved in the education system criticize the lack of supervision (Fundació ACSAR meeting, 2018), and this is a matter that is internally discussed at the Department of Education (E1 and E2, interviews 2018). For the project, this finding led to the development of an alternative method: a mapping of all public and semi-private schools in Barcelona, to find out whether they use text books, and which they use, and whether they inform about this on their web sites. Altogether, 226 public schools and 124 semi-private, publically subsidized (*concertados*) schools are included in the study. The completely private schools are not included as they are not subject to the education

policies or inspections of the Catalan government and are, in practice, free to do pretty much what they want as long as no laws are violated. This is in itself considered problematic by some actors at Ensenyament (E2, interview 2018), but nothing that is much discussed at the moment. It is estimated that around 4% of the pupils in Catalonia attend fully private, non-subsidized and non-supervised schools (ibid). The results of the mapping and the subsequent text book analysis, including text books used in the social sciences and religion/values courses during the last year of primary school (sixth grade) and the third grade in compulsory secondary school (3d of ESO) will be included in the final project report, due by the end of 2020.

The content analysis of material used by the Catalan police force, the City Council of Barcelona and the political parties represented in the political administration of the city is proceeding as initially planned.

2) **Interviews with key actors.** Interviews covering the outlined topics have been performed with key representatives at the direction level of the Catalan Department of Education, the direction of the Catalan Police Force, and representatives of the Police Academy. During the next stage, the planned interviews with representatives of the City Council as well as each political party will be conducted. This task includes mapping of the actual representation of immigrants from non-Western countries in the selected institutions, to the extent this is possible. It also covers gathering information on the different recruitment channels and selection processes for teachers, police officers and members of the political parties represented in the City Council of Barcelona.

The interviews with rectors and school teachers, police commissioners and officers, and local politicians have been initiated, and will be concluded and analyzed in relation with the final project report.

3) **Mapping of recruitment channels.** The mapping of recruitment channels is carried through as planned, mainly through the interviews with key actors and revision of

publically available information. This task includes a critical approach, discussing possibilities to modify these recruitment channels in conversations with the key actors.

4) **Mapping of members with immigrant/ethnic minority background.** This task is complicated due to the lack of data on ethnicity; only data on whether an individual is foreign-born or not is available, in some cases. This mapping will therefore only consist of estimates; yet, after the first stage of the project, it is clear that in all three cases/institutions, members of immigrant or ethnic minority background are very few in numbers.

4. The empirical study: Examining diversity management in Catalan institutions

There has apparently been an increasing recognition of *equality* as a central dimension in the Catalan government's policy approach to integration and ethnic diversity. In the latest version of their Citizenship and Migration plan (Catalan policy document, 2017), the policy document that sets the guidelines for migration and integration policies at the Catalan level, it is explicitly stated that the possibilities for immigrants – and even more importantly, their descendants – to gain social mobility and enjoy equality of opportunities is absolutely essential to achieve the stated aim of social cohesion in diversity; a society where citizens of many different origins share and identify with a common project. The report also defines discrimination and inequality in opportunities as underlying motives behind disintegration, social exclusion and conflicts in a society (ibid). It is clearly stated that interculturalism forms the value base of Catalan diversity policies, defined in terms of equality, interaction, recognition of diversity, and the creation of a sense of belonging and shared values among people of diverse origins. The report moreover states the fundamentals for a common civic culture, where it is declared that Catalan should be the common language in a society based on values as cultural pluralism, gender equality and religious freedom. All members should ideally feel that they have a place as equals and participate in the construction of this ideal society, in which all forms of racism and discrimination should be actively combatted (ibid).

This ambitious policy document, thus, lays a discursive ground for the implementation of transformative measures in order to achieve an egalitarian multiethnic society characterized by openness, cultural pluralism and social cohesion. At the most general level, it makes clear something that ought to be considered fundamental for such a political project to be viable: the need to “establish a broad societal consensus on interculturalism and the Catalan approach towards diversity” (ibid: 4). Proceeding then to more specific areas of priority as the education system, the labor market, culture and media, the report suggests no less than 433 specific actions in order to achieve its objectives. In the REPCAT project's evaluation of how intercultural policies are being implemented in practice, in terms of the

representation of diversity, those actions out of the 433 that specifically address the education system, the Catalan police force and the political administration will be given special attention: we will inquire if and how they are implemented.

In the following part of this State of the art report, I will discuss how each of the three cases (institutions) included in the study address diversity issues at present. These sections are based on the data analysis described in section 3 above. Each section is concluded with a “checklist” recompiling the measures in each field that the Catalan government defines (Catalan policy document, 2017), which will be used for the evaluation of their implementation.

4.1. The Catalan education system

The educational system of a society not only shapes learning and socialization processes and provides its children and youth with necessary knowledge. It is the first, and perhaps the single one most important, institution of this society that the children become part of. The experiences that children of different origin have from their schooling are without doubt fundamental for the relationship they develop with society as a whole, as well as how they manage to assimilate knowledge, and what opportunities they will have in life after their school years. There is a vast body of research on the school failure of immigrant and Roma children, in Europe and the US as well as at the national level of Spain, and Catalonia (e.g. Bayona and Domingo, 2018; Martín Criado and Gómez Bueno, 2017; Bereményi and Carrasco, 2015; O’Hanlon 2016; Miskovic, 2009). The potential explanations are many, and generally include both the socio-economic marginalization these groups often live in, the low educational level of the parents and integration difficulties. It is often argued that Roma and immigrant children and their families are less involved in the school activities and do not seem to identify with the school, while looking for the reasons within the families themselves, their values and customs (Bereményi and Carrasco, 2015, 2017; Paniaigua and Beremenyi, 2019).

Much less attention has been given to the education system itself and how it operates to create inclusion or exclusion of the pupils, and, which is at the core of this project: how ethnic diversity is represented within it. If and how is the actual ethnic and cultural diversity of society transmitted through the school material used? Is there a relationship between lacking representation of diversity and disproportionately high rates of school failure among minority students? In her discussion of the school failure of Roma children across Europe, O’Hanlon (2016: 7) summarizes the Spanish case with the following words: “Roma students aren’t in the classrooms, and their history isn’t in textbooks: 500 years of Roma contributions to Spain fails to merit a single mention in school history books.”

Are there teachers and other school staff of diverse origins, or does the vast majority represent the white, middle-class that often is implicitly understood as the “normal citizen”? According to directors at the Catalan Department of Education, it is impossible to know how many teachers there are of immigrant or Roma origin in Catalonia; many people with immigrant backgrounds are naturalized Spanish citizens and no longer figure in migration statistics, and there are no ethnic registers. They do however state that “teachers are in general ethnically Catalan, or Spanish” (E1 and E2, interviews 2018). The REPCAT project aims to contribute to expand our knowledge on what are the obstacles for a better representation of diversity in the education system.

4.1.1. School failure and segregation as central political concerns

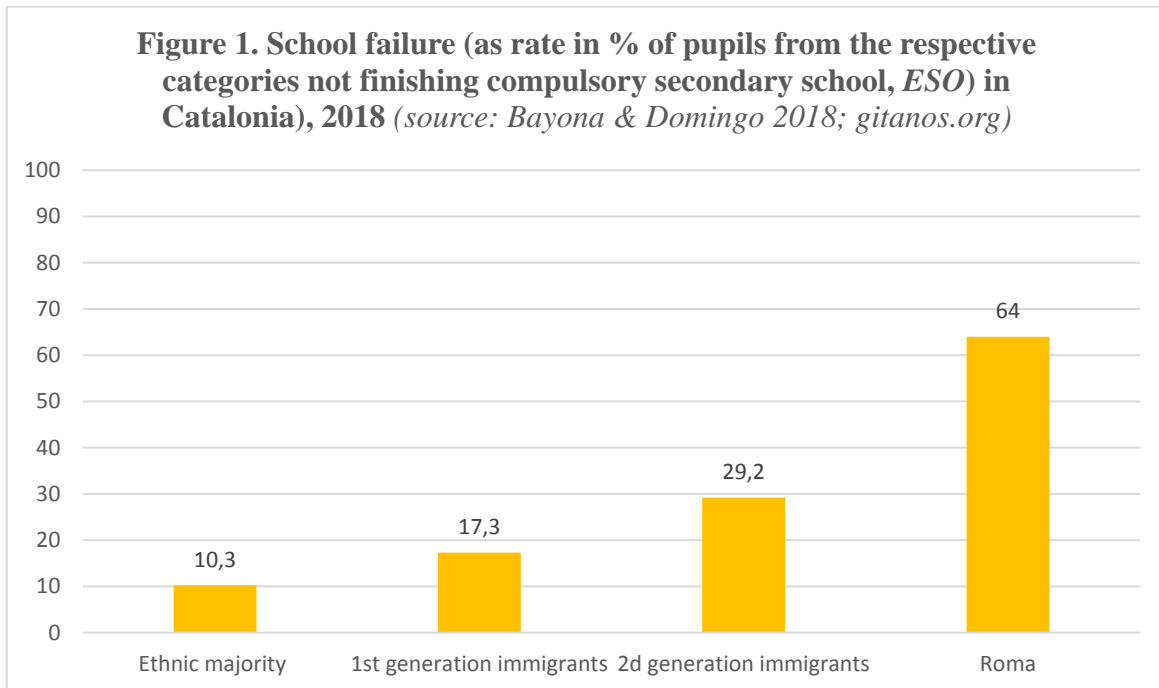
Just as in Spain in general, the Catalan education system, characterized by a division between public, semi-private (*concertada*) and private schools, has been the object for much concern and debate over the last years, both in the media and in academic contexts. The focus generally lies on the high degrees of school failure², where immigrants and Roma pupils are hugely overrepresented (see Figure 1), and on the problem with school segregation.

² In Spain, this is generally defined as not achieving to graduate from compulsory secondary school, ESO, at age 16.

A broad agreement to combat segregation was reached at the Catalan level and signed in the Catalan Parliament on March 18, 2019, on the initiative of the Catalan public ombudsman, *Síndic de Greuges*. The Catalan Department of Education signed the agreement, as most municipalities with more than 10,000 habitants, the associations of the subsidized semi-private schools, and a couple of municipal federations. The agreement defines 189 concrete measures to combat segregation, for instance to increase the budget destined for scholarships to school material and activities, to apply guarantees of schooling being free of charge also in semi-private schools, measures to improve the transparency of admission systems, to sign agreements to distribute pupils of diverse origins between schools in order to avoid concentration of certain origins in certain schools, and to include interculturalism as a basic pillar in the educational programs applied in schools (<http://eldiariodelaeducacion.com/blog/2019/03/18/educacion-sindic-municipios-y-comunidad-educativa-firman-el-pacto-contr-la-segregacion-escolar/>).

Many of the proposed measures concern economic resources, and reflect broad agreement on the view that unequal and insufficient distribution of resources is a main challenge for the education system. The agreement is based on recommendations and not legally binding. Yet, it is perceived as controversial as it implicitly questions the cemented division between public and privately run schools, a system of which there is disagreement both at the political and institutional level (E1 and E2, interviews 2019), and not all key actors in politics and in the field of education were willing to sign the agreement. The reasons for this differed between actors disagreeing with its ideological foundations, as the liberal (*Ciudadanos*) and conservative (*Partido Popular*) parties on the one hand, and on the other hand critics that did not consider its proposed measures to be sufficient, as the pro-Catalan independence, far left-wing party CUP, and the teacher's union USTEC (the latter for instance considered that the agreement should combat the phenomenon of publically subsidized private schools as such, which it does not in its present form) (<http://eldiariodelaeducacion.com/blog/2019/03/18/educacion-sindic-municipios-y-comunidad-educativa-firman-el-pacto-contr-la-segregacion-escolar/>).

In discussing school failure, there is also an emerging emphasis on the role played by the education system itself, and the schools. The authors of a large study on school failure among children of immigrant descent in Catalonia (Bayona and Domingo, 2018) suggest that what has hitherto not been addressed is to what extent the school failure possibly reflects a *school system failure* (Bayona and Domingo, Espai Avinyó seminar 25/05/2019).



During a presentation of their research findings with an audience representing ethnic communities and the school system, the central topic for discussion was whether the schools tend to not assume their responsibility for the bleak results of large numbers of pupils who may not feel represented by the school system, or identify with their school. A Roma school mediator who attended the meeting claimed that “the school is to blame for the Roma school failure, it makes the children lose their dreams,” and that it is necessary for Roma, as other minority children, to have more role models. Other critical voices emphasized what they considered to be a destructive focus on the children who fail in school and their families. The teachers and other representatives of the education system, in turn, agreed on much of the critique and that the education system needs to incorporate the

actual diversity of society in its DNA; “the problem is that the teachers continue to see pupils with foreign background as foreigners, who do not fully belong here.” They also highlighted the destructive effects of segregation, and expressed feeling saturated by programs to increase awareness with little actual effects: “Don’t impose more programs on us – what is needed is to mix the students, Catalans with Moroccans, and so on.” There was also self-critical reflection on the tendency to “blame the families,” while the school representatives also claimed that their situation is indeed complex and aggravated by financial cutbacks in the wake of the crisis: “The system has to compensate for the lack of family involvement, but in practice that is complicated, there are not enough resources” (Espai Avinyó seminar, 25/05/2019).

During a follow-up meeting, Marta Comas, current Director of Innovation, Programs and Training at the Consortium for Education of the Barcelona City Council, claimed that there has been, and still is, a remaining “white supremacy” in society which also influences on the treatment of minority students in schools, which is in her view often paternalistic rather than explicitly racist, and an “identity-related, Catalan fear”; “much emphasis is placed on protecting our language, our culture... and now we need to lose the fear of what comes from abroad and redefine our own identity in order to incorporate diversity” (Espai Avinyó, dialogue meeting 2, 13/06/2019). Marta Comas believes that the present moment is “the best ever” to actually integrate interculturalism in the everyday practices of schools, as there is now a policy framework defined by the Department of Education that allows for this. Now, then, the actual transformation of these policies into practice is largely up to each school to implement. These perceptions are supported by staff of the Department of Education involved in developing a program on linguistic pluralism (*plurilingüisme*) (which will be further described later in this section) (interviews E1, E2 and E3, 2018-2019). Comas also suggested that the existent Text book observatory (Observatori de llibres de text; http://icip.gencat.cat/ca/que-fem/llibres_de_text/) should consider supervising the school material used in Catalonia from a diversity lens (Espai Avinyó, dialogue meeting 2, 13/06/2019).

These statements coincide with the results from a recently concluded research project directed by the author of this report and PI of the REPCAT project (Hellgren and Gabrielli 2018a and b), addressing the educational situation of Roma pupils in the Barcelona area. We found that overall, the Roma families who participated in the project had high educational expectations for their children, but had few practical possibilities to help them and requested more help from the schools. The participating schools, in turn, tended to explain the school failure of the Roma children with little involvement in the school work by these families. Segregation results in high concentrations of immigrant and Roma pupils in mainly public schools in residential areas affected by multiple socio-economic difficulties. The lack of sufficient resources and heavily charged school staff contributes to schools placing responsibility for the widespread school failure in these schools on the families rather than on the school system, while many immigrant and Roma families request more help from the schools (ibid).

This was a central topic at a meeting organized with central actors from the Catalan education system and families of diverse origins (Espai Avinyó, dialogue meeting 1, 06/03/2019). Overall, families of Roma, Moroccan, African and Asian origin who participated in the meeting requested that they should be encouraged to participate in school activities, but not delegated educational responsibilities. They also agreed that many schools continue to reproduce stereotypical images of children with foreign backgrounds and their families that, despite good intentions, serve to stigmatize them and highlight their “difference”, when what they want is instead to *be allowed to form part of the mainstream*, a mainstream that needs to be constantly redefined. As one Roma father said, “it is very important for the ethnic communities to feel that we are included in the regular school curriculum and not just during a “culture week”. How are you going to achieve this?”

4.1.2. How can change happen? The role of the education system

As discussed above, the division of responsibilities between the Department of Education and the individual schools for how the schools work in practice plays a central role for the outcomes, in this case, the translation of intercultural policies into daily practices in schools. According to a person with a leading role at the Department of Education, this

situation is difficult to avoid. Nevertheless, she argues that the Department of Education tries to transmit the intercultural goals to the schools, for instance through their (voluntary) training programs for teachers. She recognizes that the situation is problematic, but does not see a more centralized control mechanism as the solution:

“Interviewer: Is there ethnic discrimination in the Catalan education system?”

Respondent: It is not that the system is discriminatory, there is much awareness at *Ensenyament* (the Department of Education) and also in many schools... but the reality is of course complex many times. I think that we have an excellent education system. But then how it is implemented in different schools... It depends on the school boards and the teachers at each center, also there are differences between teachers. It depends on many things, on whether they have been trained in these issues, if they prioritize it, if they have reflected upon it... There are a series of recommendations in line with our interculturalism policy, though these are recommendations, not an imposition. I think that is important. We cannot force this on people, but we have a perspective that emphasizes the equal value of all cultures and respect for difference. We transmit this to the schools through our courses and seminars. We organize many activities, though of course participation is always voluntary.

Interviewer: Do you think that there is a risk here, that only the most engaged schools or teachers who already have much awareness on diversity issues participate, and read your recommendations?”

Respondent: Of course it is hard to control that, this may be a risk, but we cannot really force anyone by law. I don't think that we should have a coercive system but it is of course problematic. We normally only reach a school when there is a problem with achievement, for instance a school that has very poor results, then we inspect them and how they work and try to improve this in collaboration with the school. But we don't control schools generally.” *E1, interview 2018*

Moreover, there is agreement among the interviewed representatives with central positions within the Department of Education that the fact that Catalonia has received high numbers

of immigrants during a comparably short time period represents a significant challenge for the education system:

“It is evident that, using official statistics, it is a bit frightening that at the turn of the century the number of immigrant students was less than 2%, and now it is 12%, with foreign nationality, not foreign origin. Many Latin American students are invisible statistically as they have Spanish nationality, it is impossible to know how many they are. There are also many Moroccans who are born here, but when they start school they have never spoken Spanish or Catalan... Statistics only speak of foreign nationality and that does not give an accurate image of the real situation. At present, 1 out of 5 students, more or less, have a foreign background. That is a challenge, clearly.” *E2, interview 2018*

A related topic is that the challenge of managing diversity in the everyday practices of a school is mainly taken on by the public schools, as most children with immigrant backgrounds do not enroll in semi-private or private education:

“Let’s say that the challenge of receiving immigrant pupils is mainly taken on by the public schools. There are semi-private schools who do as well to a smaller extent, depending on the district mainly, and then the fully private schools, that is different. There are private schools with many foreign students but of a different profile, of course, there may be a Japanese company here whose employees send their children to a private school... and that is not quite the same parameters for diversity as the rest. Or the British schools... their realities are quite different. These elite schools may have many foreign students but it is quite a different issue. And we basically don’t intervene there. Then what I may think of this... When the differences between schools produce differences in opportunities between people, then it is a problem.” *E2, interview 2018*

The situation described by leading representatives at the Department of Education is thus one in which mainly public schools, that often are under much economic pressure, take on the main responsibility for managing diversity, and where the translation of their

intercultural agendas and guidelines into the school curricula and practices is entirely up to each school and its staff to design and implement.

4.1.3. Physical representation of diversity in education

When approaching the question of physical representation of diversity in education, that is, the idea that there is a need for teachers and other school staff of diverse origins to be incorporated in the education system, the key persons at the Department of Education agree that this would be desirable, and claim that the main obstacle is the low educational level among people of foreign backgrounds.

“Interviewer: Do you think that the recruitment system for teachers needs revision? Do you think that the schools should be able to choose their staff more freely?”

Respondent: There are possibilities for schools, particularly public schools with what we call a high level of complexity, which generally means high degrees of immigrants or Roma students, these schools may get exceptions from the requirement to receive the teachers that are assigned to their center at the general level, and for instance apply to recruit staff with specific competence that they need. So here there is some margin for individual choices. We know that many schools want more freedom to decide, this is a discussion we have. But the current system is also fair in that it does not leave room for discrimination.” *E1, interview 2018*

“For instance the Moroccan community, these children don’t usually go to the university. And I think that is more related to their background, the educational level of the family and so, socio-economic circumstances rather than the fact that they are from another country. If you look at the Eastern Europeans here, for instance, they have overall high ambitions and their parents give much importance to education. The educational success of the pupils is very much related to the social and educational level of their parents. And as for now, there are not many people of foreign background working as teachers.” *E2, interview 2018*

Since 2014, there is a program for inclusion of Roma people in the school system as so called *promotores escolares*; mediators or interlocutors between the Roma families and the schools (Roma integration plan, 2014-2016). There have been critical voices claiming that this is mainly a way for schools to not have to deal directly with tensions between school staff and Roma families, but place this task on the promoters, and that there is instead a need of teachers and regular school staff of Roma origin (Hellgren and Gabrielli, 2018b). However, the program may also have been empowering for young Roma, as they have direct contact with role models of Roma origin, who may assist them and encourage them to continue studying. A more general evaluation of the program's success has hitherto not been carried through.

The system for recruitment of school teachers in Spain/Catalonia is similar to that applied for other spheres of public employment: by oppositions, public tests where those who score the highest are assigned for employment. The defenders of this system argue that it guarantees transparency and non-discrimination, while its critics argue that, for instance, individual schools should be able to hand-pick personnel who share their pedagogical project or do not meet the formal requirements for oppositions, as having Spanish nationality. When discussing with leading actors at the Department of Education how to achieve more diversification among the Catalan school teachers, we agree that this is something that the universities providing training programs for future teachers may need to consider, both in terms of student recruitment and inclusion of intercultural perspectives in course material. In order to shed further light on the low numbers of immigrant or Roma students who continue to the university and study to become teachers, we turn to the Pedagogics department at one of the main Catalan universities, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). The attempt to figure out how many pedagogic students have foreign background immediately fails; there is no data on the character of the students. As in Spain in general, ethnic registers are not legal, and the only way to figure out the ethnic identity of the students would be to guess by their names, which in any case is confidential and not public information.

Nevertheless, the vice dean of the department states that the number of students with foreign background has increased slightly over the last years, but is still very small: 3-4 per 70 students, is her estimate, and about one Roma student in each class (“and we only know that they are Roma if they tell us that”). The few students with immigrant background that are present at the faculty are mainly of Moroccan, Latin American or Romanian origin (U2, interview 2019).

Regarding the contents of the courses at the teacher program, the vice dean and another key person at the department, a renowned teacher and researcher on intercultural issues, states that there are attempts to integrate an intercultural perspective in the Social education and pedagogics courses. “Otherwise, this is largely absent from the courses” the vice dean says, and adds that what they do is largely controlled by the Spanish government, “they decide the content of the courses” (U1 and U2, interviews 2019). None of them are sure of how the guidelines on interculturalism of the Catalan government (Catalan policy document, 2017) can be translated into practice, and the researcher, who has specialized in diversity and interculturalism research in Catalonia since the 1990s, argues that interculturalism has failed to move from the discursive sphere:

“Interculturalism is a topic that is very much studied and pronounced but not very active in practice. There have been much talking about this for many years, but very little happens beyond discourse. In 1993, 50 teachers were trained in all Catalonia to educate university professors in interculturalism, interculturalism goes back until the early 90s. But we are very much at the same place we were then, in practice. We are repeating the same issues now as we did then... this is not advancing.” *U1, interview 2019*

The vice dean compares interculturalism with the gender perspective, which is just very recently being mainstreamed: a legal reform obliges all universities in Spain to include a gender perspective in all course contents. This presupposes a complete change of perspective. She thinks that diversity of origins will become more mainstreamed over time, and considers the gender issue more of a priority at this point, claiming that this is what they need to promote; “interculturalism is much

more present than gender, there has been talk of interculturalism since the 1990s but gender equality has only been up for discussion during the last 2 years” (U2, interview 2019).

These two representatives of the university reflect contrasting views on interculturalism and how to implement it, that may be expected to exist within most institutions and workplaces and that need to be further explored.

4.1.4. Discursive representation of diversity in education

The ways in which diversity is represented in school text books and other educational material is central in the REPCAT project, and expected to have a direct impact on how both majority and minority students perceive “other cultures” and people of their own and other ethnicities. Over the past decades, there has been a transition towards more individual responsibility for each school, who are free to choose for instance what school material they use as long as they comply with the overall learning goals defined by the Department of Education. In earlier years, the criteria used to be that the Department of Education had to approve the text book before it could be used in schools: the author of the book and the publisher could decide the content, but it had to be approved by the Department of Education. Now, each school chooses freely what material they would use and from what publisher they wish to buy the texts book, in case they use books.

Interviewer: Are there any measures to include ethnic diversity in the school material, for instance in the text books?

Respondent: “Not really. The schools choose what material they use... and if they use text books I have to be honest and say that these books may not be very up to date in this aspect, but many public schools nowadays don’t use books, for instance. We don’t know what teaching material every school uses.” E1, interview 2018

During a conference organized by the migrants' rights organization Fundació ACSAR in collaboration with the trade union CCOO (Comisiones Obreras), titled "The treatment of diversity in text books" (ACSAR conference, 05/12/2018) and moderated by Ghassan Saliba at CCOO, prominent figures involved in the Catalan education system discussed how diverse origins are represented in text books. They "found that it is overall done in a stereotypical and often pejorative manner" (Saliba, ACSAR conference, 05/12/2018). As discussed above, there is currently no control of the content in the text books used in the education system. This situation was described with the following words by one of the key speakers at the conference "The advantage is that anyone who wishes to could write a book the reflects diversity, and the disadvantage is the reverse: anyone can choose to write a book that does not reflect, or that misrepresents, diversity. The current education system facilitates each school's subjective vision of society—there is no construction of a general concept of diversity" (Essomba, ACSAR conference, 05/12/2018).

According to the speakers, Miquel Àngel Essomba, commissioner of education and universities, Barcelona City Council; Salwa El Gharbi, expert in diversity and immigration, and member of the Catalan Parliament; and Jordi López Camps, Funder of Fundació ACSAR, it would be necessary that Ensenyament should have a supervisory group working with diversity in text books, something that does not exist at present. Ideally, they argued, a form of observatory should be constituted to supervise the education material used in schools. Essomba claimed that "we need to establish criteria for evaluation and control of the school material; those who controls this also controls the 'ideology of the system' (...) We believe that diversity (ethnic, gender, etc.) must be mainstreamed and expressed in all school content, for instance including female and male scientists, African and European writers, etc. And it is important to also include the Roma people in discourses on diversity" (Essomba, ACSAR conference, 05/12/2018). This view thus collides with the Department of Education's emphasis on the schools right to autonomy in this aspect.

Salwa El Gharbi in turn discussed how diversity is dealt with within the Catalan government, and claims that they are aware that it is essential to understand how "the culturally hegemonic and patriarchal structures that generate discrimination are present also

in the education system, for instance in the text books” (El Gharbi, ACSAR conference, 05/12/2018). She used as example that the image that children will have of Africa is much influenced by how schools teach about Africa. The general image is that of poverty and disaster, and the general imagery of a “poor Africa” influences on how children will look at kids from Africa in the school, for instance: “What children learn in schools, from text books and other school material, contributes to construct their image of ‘the other’” (ibid).

Jordi López Camps concluded the conference with these words: “All school material used in Western countries transmits the image of a white, homogeneous world. White children don’t encounter the same ethnic diversity that they see in the streets in the text books. And children who are not white don’t feel represented, it is harder for them to identify with the school system. We always talk about diversity referring to others, but we must also include ourselves as part of this diversity” (Camps, ACSAR conference, 05/12/2018).

In the open debate that followed, teachers and representatives of text book publishing companies discussed the challenge represented by the market dynamics: as one publisher put it, “if there is a demand for books with a diversity perspective, we will publish these books.” To summarize the challenge of integrating diversity at the discursive level, in text books and other educational material used in schools: within the current institutional framework, this is mainly the responsibility of individual schools.

4.1.5. “Plurilingüisme” and global competence: attempts to upgrade diversity

In line with its interculturalist goals, during 2019 the Department of Education is developing a new program called Plurilingüisme, in an attempt to empower children of minority backgrounds through making their origin language and culture visible, and integrate teaching in the most commonly present foreign native languages (as Arabic and Chinese) as part of the curricular activities (it has hitherto only been available as extracurricular activities). At a broader level, this program also attempts to foster general attitudes of openness and anti-discrimination among the children (Linguistic pluralism program website, 2019; Catalan report, 2018). The director of the program describes as part of its bases to encourage also native children to study minority languages, based on the idea

that the linguistic pluralism is an asset for society and that everyone is a part of diversity. Emphasis lies on promoting the notion of *global competence* as an empowerment strategy for immigrants, by emphasizing their competences and skills (linguistic, cultural etc.) instead of seeing them as “deficient.” In the interview, she uses the example of a native Catalan student who enrolled in minority language training told her that it had made her understand the effort immigrants are making to learn the language and see them with different eyes. Besides aiming to serve as means to better integrate diversity in the schools and empower minority students, the program also opens up for recruiting more teachers of foreign origin as minority language teachers (E3, interview 2019).

The idea of linguistic pluralism as an asset represents an important discursive shift at the Department of Education, which for decades has been a central driver of Catalan as the vehicular language in the education system. Indeed, there is not per se any contradiction between maintaining Catalan as vehicular language and incorporating linguistic diversity, but the director of the program recognizes that there are internal tensions around this issue at the department: some fear that incorporating more languages and teachers of other origins will weaken the position of Catalan. Herself, she argues against this attitude, and claims that “the language just as the culture of the majority must be open to change and reflect the diversity of society” (ibid).

One of the interviewed directors at Ensenyament states that the reality of ethnic pluralism has led them to develop teaching material in 20 languages, and to promote a view on the language and culture of origin of immigrant pupils as an asset, not a deficit, as often has been, and still may be, the case:

“Sometimes teachers tell me that they have a problem with children who don’t speak ‘any languages.’ Then I ask them if they are mute or what... if they are from Morocco perhaps they speak their own variety of Amazigh or a version of Arabic, and maybe they also speak or understand French, maybe Quranic Arabic or Egyptian Arabic, and then I ask the teacher ‘how many languages do you speak?’ Because this child maybe speaks 5 or 6 languages... The pupils who speak Catalan, Spanish, English and also one of these languages as mother tongue, they will

probably have an advantage compared to others when looking for a job in the future. Understanding that makes them [the teachers] look at these children in a different way. Diversity is much greater than we think, even, and that is part of our cultural richness. Learning the official languages here should not be a process of substitution or subordination of the languages used at home. It should be the people themselves who decide whether to continue using a language or not, not an imposition of the receiving society.” *E2, interview 2018*

Moreover, there are different attitudes towards the idea of “plurilingüisme” among the schools, just as regarding the implementation of intercultural policy goals in general:

“You can find examples of everything among the schools. I work with teacher training on interculturalism and linguistic diversity, maybe we have 60 teachers every year who are interested in our training programs. But not everyone is interested in these questions, obviously. Now that we incorporated Arabic and Chinese as foreign languages in the ordinary school programs, there are people who consider this very good and others who don’t agree at all. This is evident, there is not consensus on these issues. It is impossible to speak for the whole educational system. But at the Department of Education, there are some established guidelines that we are following and this is one of them, the linguistic diversity. But it is not easy and I am not saying that we are achieving any wonders.” *E2, interview 2018*

4.1.6. Evaluating the implementation of interculturalism in education

In order to comply with the evaluative dimension of the project objectives, the following actions addressing the education system defined by the Catalan Citizenship and Migration plan (Catalan policy document, 2017) will be examined in order to reveal if and how they are actually implemented:

1. Courses in foreign pupils’ native languages should be offered both during ordinary school hours and as extracurricular activities, for all pupils regardless of their origin. Foreign native languages should be included within the second language options in the schools.

<p>2. Implementation of the awareness-raising program on migration <i>Paco Candel</i> in the classrooms http://www.fundaciocandel.org/doc/programa_candel_catalunya_un_sol_poble.pdf</p>
<p>3. Affirmative action addressing specific training should be implemented so that people of immigrant origin can compete with equality of conditions for access to public employment.</p>
<p>4. Immigrant families should be offered tailor-made academic counselling.</p>
<p>5. Role models of educational success should be available for immigrated families.</p>
<p>6. There should be training programs for families to teach them how to accompany their children in their education.</p>
<p>7. Develop and implement strategies to facilitate and promote the interaction between all pupils and their families.</p>
<p>8. Promotion of work methods in disadvantaged schools that may improve the inclusion of immigrant pupils.</p>
<p>9. Support to schools by the teams working for “language, Interculturalism and social cohesion” in the respective territory.</p>
<p>10. Inclusion of specific training on Interculturalism within the general teacher training programs.</p>
<p>11. Promote the use of theatre and storytelling against racism and discrimination in primary education.</p>
<p>12. Promote educational activities against racism and any form of radicalization in the schools.</p>
<p>13. Offer school meal options that respect the religious diversity of the school.</p>
<p>14. Hire staff of immigrant origin to work in the school canteen and the schoolyard in schools where high percentages of the pupils have immigrant origin.</p>
<p>15. Include and distribute resources to work with interculturalism within the general school curriculum.</p>
<p>16. Promote the celebration of festivities of the different cultures that are present in each school.</p>
<p>17. Create a professional role for interculturality and coexistence in the schools.</p>

4.2. The Catalan police force (*Mossos d'Esquadra*)

The *Mossos d'Esquadra* are the police force of the Catalan autonomous community in Spain, with roots that go back to 1719, though they were founded as a modern institution in 1983 and gradually expanded their competences (Study guide, 2017; Van Ewijk, 2011b). Just as in police forces across European countries, where studies show that diversity is low among new recruits and diminishes as police officer' rank rises (Van Ewijk, 2011a and b)³, there is a huge diversity gap in the Catalan police force. In the case of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, according to the most recent data, 130 out of 17,000 police officers are foreign-born (including ethnic Spaniards born abroad); that is, 0,76% (P3, interview 2019). As there are no forms of ethnic registration in Spanish society in general, just as in the case of school staff it is impossible to get an accurate number of police officers of non-majority ethnicities. There are however no doubts that the police force both in numbers and in its official identity, which is pronouncedly Catalan (Study guide 2017), is strongly dominated by the ethnic majority (P1, P2, P3, interviews 2019; Van Ewijk 2011a and b; Study guide 2017).

Van Ewijk (2011a) has argued that there is a lack of pro-active efforts within the Catalan police force, which diminishes the likelihood that people from groups who do not feel represented by the police would apply to become police aspirants: “The dominant approach within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is individual-based with low intensity [...] For example, in general, publicity for openings is more informative than proactive, not aimed at creation of the motivation to join or to rise in rank, but aimed at providing all individuals that are already interested with the necessary information” (ibid: 86).

³ Earlier studies on racism within the police force in Britain show, for instance, that members of ethnic minorities besides being heavily under-represented were more likely to leave the police force and less likely to ascend (Phillips 2005), and that even the incorporation of minority members did not lead to more pro-diversity attitudes as new members would simply adopt the same stereotypes as the dominant groups (Cashmore 2001).

4.2.1. Physical representation of diversity in the police force

According to the interviewed representatives of the Catalan Police Force and the Police Academy, there is a *problem with representation but not with racism* within the police (P1, P2, P3, interviews 2019).

“Yes, there is a problem with representation, just as there is when it comes to gender, 50% of all police officers should be women but only around 20% are. There are 133 foreign-born police officers in Catalonia... but of course, we cannot know their ethnicity because that is not registered. They could be children of Spaniards living abroad, but we know that there are at least some who are black, and Chinese. And there is one police commissioner from India.” *P3, interview 2019.*

The interviewed persons with key positions within the Catalan Police Force agree that more ethnic and cultural diversity would enrich the police force, is necessary in order to represent the society of today, and also could be an important asset for the police work in itself; “I don’t know if there are any police officers of Roma origin, but that would surely facilitate the communication in areas where there are large Roma communities” (P3, interview 2019). These interviewed key persons do not think that people in general nowadays would have difficulties in accepting an ethnically diverse police force. The low rates of police officers with foreign origin are explained by the comparably short history of immigration in Catalonia, assuming that numbers will increase over time, or lacking confidence in the police force in origin cultures (P3, interview 2019), and the fact that so few people of foreign origins apply to the Police Academy (P1, P2, interviews 2019).

When mentioning potential concrete measures against misrepresentation as quotas or positive/affirmative action, two of the interviewed key persons are negative to the idea, while one of them thinks that this could be an efficient way to achieve inclusion when other channels do not work.

“I don’t think that positive discrimination is a good idea... it would take a political decision if it were to be applied, but in my opinion that will not happen.

Interviewer: Quotas?

That has not been discussed and I don't think that it will be." P3, interview 2019

"Of course there should be more police officers of diverse origins, society is diverse and this diversity must be represented, right. But how can that be achieved?

Interviewer: Is there not, for instance, a discussion of quotas or other measures to achieve this representation?

No...that is a very difficult topic. Perhaps this should be applied, because it is often said that this issue will become normalized over time, and more people of diverse origins will apply to the Police Academy automatically, but if nothing is done perhaps that will not happen. The same goes for women, only 20% of the Mossos are women and that has not changed over time, so I think that some form of quotas or positive action is necessary." P1, interview 2019

"I don't believe in quotas or positive action. People don't want this, there tends to be a lot of resistance, and people who entered through such methods would be questioned, accused of being less competent... But we do want diversity, I think that we feel very pleased if someone of foreign origin appears and applies. And I think that there will be more diversity automatically, there are already foreigners who apply, still very few but there are some. This will change." P2, interview 2019

These different attitudes towards if and how to address the lacking representation of diversity within an institution reflects a divide that overall appears to be present among institutional actors (E1, E2, E3, P1, P2, P3, PP1, PM1, interviews 2019): whether a gradual transition towards greater diversity is expected to happen spontaneously, as a result of the growing ethnic pluralism in society as a whole, or whether one believes that specific measures are necessary in order to accomplish such a transition, at least temporarily. The same division between standpoints was detected by Van Ewijk in her study: while some interviewees within the police force would argue that the entrance of minorities with a migrant background in the Mossos d'Esquadra was just a matter of time ("within one generation candidates from these groups will have the Spanish nationality and proper preparation to compete in the public selection process"), others instead claimed that it was a matter of time and critical mass; "entrance has to be stimulated until a critical mass of

minorities is present within the police force, afterwards the promotion of migrant minorities will follow automatically” (Van Ewijk 2011a: 79).

In order to further explore the reasons behind the strong underrepresentation of diversity within the police force, it appears essential to look closer at the systems of recruitment and admission. To become a police officer in Catalonia, the potential aspirants must first wait for a public call to be announced. Then, the aspirants must first be admitted to the Police Academy by passing an exam consisting of three tests: a theory test, a physical test and a psychological evaluation. This exam has proven difficult to pass for people of foreign origin. According to representatives of the Police Academy and the direction of the Catalan Police Force, the admission system is completely transparent and leaves no room for discrimination concerning the theory or the physical tests, but they recognize that the psychological evaluators who interview the candidates could interpret the results differently, and that there can be no guarantee that they do not discriminate (interviews P1, P2, P3, 2019). However, they also believe that this is not related to the applicant’s origin, but to whom is perceived as a suitable police officer: “I don’t think that they [the evaluators] discriminate based on origin, it is rather about looking for a certain type of personality that is considered apt to be a police officer” (P2, interview 2019).

How is, then, the imagined “model police officer”? Even if the interviewed key persons argue that the civil society is more receptive for ethnic diversity these days, one of them claims that the general image is still that of a (strong) man from the ethnic majority (P1, interview 2019). An aspirant from an ethnic minority may experience how features that are taken-for-granted by someone perceived as ethnically Catalan can operate exclusionary against those who are not. As part of the methods used in this project, a focus group of Latin American immigrant youth who took a preparatory course, organized by the Federation of Latin American Associations in Catalonia (FedeLatina) together with a representative of the Police Force, and funded by the Catalan Government (Generalitat) in order to pass the exam and enter the Police Academy, has been followed. None of the 16 potential aspirants passed the exam, despite the intensive preparatory course. A more complete account on their experiences will be included in the final project report. In this

State of the art report, this part of the study is represented by the testimony of a female Spanish citizen who immigrated from Bolivia as a child, but never felt accepted as part of the Catalan society (PP1, interview 2019). She took the preparatory course organized by FedeLatina and then the exam for access to the police academy, organized by a Catalan university, in 2018:

“I felt very discriminated by the instructors who were in charge of the (theory) exam. The first reaction of the lady who was supervising the exam was asking me “what are you doing here”? And then she said “do you know that you need to know Catalan well in order to pass this exam?” I was the only non-Catalan person there and felt completely questioned. Also, they let other people use the bathroom, but not me. And then the questions were very difficult, with many details about Catalan history and culture. I went to school here but there was a word I did not understand in one of the questions, I asked the instructor if she could explain it to me, and she replied “if you do not understand Catalan well, you should not be here.” I will never take this test again and I don’t recommend it to anyone.” *PP1, interview 2019*

This narrative reflects an important dimension of discrimination, namely that of *self-perception*. A person who feels discriminated against, and expects to be discriminated against, suffers from damaged self-esteem which may limit both her willingness to participate in situations where there is a risk of being discriminated, and her behavior in such situations. An important part of the inclusion of diversity is therefore both to combat discrimination, and to work with self-perceptions and expectations among stigmatized groups (Bobowik, Basabe, and Páez, 2014; Crul and Schneider, 2009; Wu, Shimmele, and Ho, 2012; Safi, 2010). This view is confirmed by an interviewed spokesperson of a Roma association, who also raises the problem with trust in the police among the Roma communities, and the risk that a Roma police aspirant would face rejection among his own community as important impediments for potential Roma police officers. He emphasizes the need to also work with attitudes among minority communities and convince them that the police represent them too, in parallel with measures as a quota system, which he believes is indispensable in order to actually accomplish diversified representation in practice (O1, interview 2019).

4.2.2. Discursive representation of diversity in the police force

There are (at least) two central dimensions of how diversity is represented at the discursive level within the police force: whether this dimension is included in public presentations (is the police force presented as “diverse” or not; does diversity form part of its collective identity?), and in the education material used for police aspirants at the Police Academy. Earlier research on the representation of diversity within the Catalan Police Force found that diversity in terms of ethnicity/origin is not mentioned in “the vision of the Mossos d’Esquadra, which is: to be the reference in security and the protection of people in Catalonia, offering quality service, through proximity and professionalism” (Van Ewijk 2011a: 102). Going through the most recent version of the official website of the Catalan Police Force, we find information about how to report discrimination and hate crimes affecting, among others, ethnic minorities. We also learn that the Catalan Police Force participates actively in prevention and awareness-raising on discrimination and hate crimes. There is however no mention of (ethnic) diversity within the police force (<https://mossos.gencat.cat/ca/Com-estar-segurs-Prevencio/odidiscriminacio/>, 27/09/2019).

When interviewing an inspector at the General Police Direction about diversity within the Catalan police force, he explains that there are indeed no specific diversity programs or plans within the police force (P3, interview 2019). On the other hand, he states, there is increasing awareness that diversity needs to be incorporated, which is “inevitable in a society where 20% have foreign background” (ibid). During the interview, he shows a newly elaborated card game that is used when the police visits primary schools, and in which half of the illustrated police officers are women and 2/8 have a non-Western ethnic profile. In his view, the main explanations of why so few people with immigrant backgrounds become police officers are to be found in their own attitudes towards the police force, and in the access exam to the Police Academy being the central selection mechanism; “most people who pass the exam and make it to the Police Academy end up working as police officers, but very few people with foreign background pass the exam” (P3, interview 2019)-

The second part of this project's focus on the discursive dimension of how diversity is represented within the Catalan police force involves the educational material used for future police officers. The analysis of education material performed for this State of the art report includes the comprehensive Study guide (*Guia d'estudi*), upon which the access exam to the Police Academy is based (Study guide 2019). This study guide is divided in three main sections that are similar in length: 1) Knowledge of the environment (*Àmbit de coneixements de l'entorn*), which encompasses Catalan history and society, language and social situation; 2) Institutional section (*Àmbit institucional*) about governance at the Catalan, national Spanish and European levels, and 3) Security and police work (*Àmbit de seguretat i policia*). What appears most striking when analyzing the material from a diversity perspective is that, though interculturalism is the explicit foundation for the Catalan government's approach to diversity, the term is not once mentioned in the Study guide (*ibid*). The section on diversity is limited to a short section (8 pages out of 250) on migration flows, immigration and integration policies in a "multicultural" society, in which emphasis lies on demographic data on immigration. There is also a short section about public policies for the equality of opportunities, in which only gender inequality is mentioned. Policies or norms against other forms of discrimination are not mentioned, nor is there, for instance, any discussion of what it means to perform police work in an ethnically diverse society. Concerning the actual content of the tests, this is confidential, but interviews conducted for a doctoral thesis comparing the treatment of diversity within the police forces in Holland and Catalonia, respectively, found that only in the Catalan case did the tests include a considerable component of factual knowledge (particularly history) (Van Ewijk, 2011a).

In order to increase diversity within the police force, there has been one campaign by the Mossos d'Esquadra addressing ethnic diversity: a call for candidates with a migrant background for the Social Diversification Programme in 2007 and in 2008, in which a total of 110 places including some economic support were announced for aspirants with immigrant origin who fulfilled the official requirements for becoming a police officer, including Spanish citizenship (Catalan government's document, 2007). This campaign can hardly be described as a success in terms of actually leading to significant numbers of

applicants with immigrant background: in 2007, 53 persons with foreign background took the access exam, of which only 3 approved this first selection process, and in 2008, only 1 out of 58 applicants with foreign background approved this test (P3, interview 2019; internal statistical material facilitated during the interview).

At the police direction, this is explained by the fact that applicants with foreign background, to the extent these meet the formal criteria to apply in the first place, have particular difficulties with the Catalan language and the psychological adequacy. These segments are considered as basic and not subject to possible modifications, unlike some other criteria: for instance the maximum age was recently abolished, and there are discussion about whether to abolish the minimum length criteria (currently 1,65 meters for men and 1,60 meters for women) (P3, interview 2019).

Interviewer: **Considering the psychological evaluation. Is there room for discrimination?**

Respondent: “Discrimination... of course, in an interview there can always be a margin, and I don’t know what criteria they apply, you should interview those who conduct the interviews⁴. But I don’t think that this is a general problem (P3, interview 2019).

For the final part of the project, a more detailed examination of the access and selection process will be performed, focused on the following dimensions:

- 1) Is there easily accessible information about the application process; is it easy to apply?
- 2) Is there margin for discrimination in the evaluation of applicants?

⁴ This will be done as part of the empirical work scheduled for the second stage of the project.

4.2.3. Evaluating the implementation of interculturalism in the police force

During the interviews with key persons within the Catalan police force (P1, P2, P3, interviews 2019), the question of whether the specific measures defined by the Catalan government (Catalan policy document, 2017) are implemented, which they are not informed about: “This is nothing that we are aware of... to be honest, there is not much debate about this, it is not a topic that is on the agenda” (P2, interview 2019).

There are only two specific measures (Catalan policy document, 2017) that explicitly address the police force:

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| 1. Promote contacts between the Catalan Police Force and immigrant associations. |
| 2. Provide specific training in interculturality for local police officers. |

4.3. The political administration of Barcelona

Just as is true for the administrative level of the Catalan government, the policy documents defining the city of Barcelona’s approach to diversity have a pronounced interculturalist approach. Interculturalism as official approach to diversity management in the city of Barcelona goes back to 2010, when the city was officially declared intercultural and adopted its Barcelona Interculturality Plan, and the city is a salient member of the Council of Europe’s Intercultural Cities network (<https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities>). In recent policy documents defining the city’s interculturalist approach, diversity is considered a central part in the construction of a common collective identity that is intended to foster mutual identification and solidarity between its residents. There is also explicit recognition that equality is necessary for the intercultural political project to work in practice: “Everyone [who lives] in this city, regardless of his or her cultural origin, should have the same rights, obligations and opportunities. That is the only way that all citizens will want to participate in the city as a common project shared by everyone” (Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2010; <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/novaciutadania/>).

How, then, should this be achieved? That is, how should the intercultural policy agenda of the Barcelona City Council be implemented in practice, in order to achieve its results in terms of peaceful coexistence and equality of opportunities? In the city's action plan for interculturalism, there is a clear emphasis on dialogue and the cultural dimension: “[to] create and support forums for dialogue and intercultural relations; awareness-raising among the majority society; making cultural diversity visible through cultural events; create opportunities to develop intercultural projects; promoting Catalan as common language (based on the idea that this strengthens social cohesion)” (Barcelona Interculturality Plan 2010; <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/ca/qui-som/progbi>).

In terms of concrete actions, the broad municipal anti-racism campaign *Barcelona antirumors* (“Barcelona against rumors”) is key. This ongoing campaign, which is a cornerstone of the city's intercultural plan, currently counts on 1001 members, including both organizations and individuals. Through the campaign, anti-racism agents are trained by the city council, with the aim to combat racism on a daily basis, in direct, interpersonal contacts within the family, at the workplace or in the neighborhood (ibid; <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/ca/estrategia-bcn-antirumors/xarxabcnantirumors>).

The City Council also offers intercultural training program for professionals, with the focus “how can we incorporate interculturalism in our workplace, and what are the benefits of this?” Moreover, through the City Council's cultural institution Espai Avinyó (<https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/ca/espai-avinyo/que-fem-espai-avinyo>), cultural events and seminars are organized regularly within the framework of interculturalism. Altogether, the Barcelona City Council's approach is strongly focused on awareness-raising and promotion of the intercultural approach, particularly within the cultural sphere (Barcelona City Council, 2018; <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/bcnacciointercultural/ca/qui-som/progbi>). There is however no evaluation of the intercultural policies in terms of their impact on, for instance, public opinion towards immigrants, or the life conditions of migrants.

Within the framework of the REPCAT project, diversity within the institution defining the intercultural approach of Barcelona, that is, the City Council itself, will be examined, by looking at the representation of diversity within the Municipal government and the political parties present in the City Council. In addition, the specific measures to promote interculturalism at a broad, institutional level defined by the Catalan government (Catalan policy document 2017) will be evaluated.

4.3.1. Physical and discursive representation of diversity in the Barcelona City Council

The diversity gap in politics and its consequences has recently been addressed by Ricard Zapata-Barrero (2017b), who argues that the lacking participation and representation of immigrants in politics constitutes a democratic deficit that the parties will inevitably have to deal with. Parties, in turn, should be expected both to have an interest in increasing their internal diversity in order to better represent society, and gain democratic legitimacy, and in order to attract immigrant voters (*ibid*). This standpoint appears particularly relevant in a pronouncedly interculturalist political context as Catalonia in general, and the city of Barcelona in particular. Yet, just as in the education system and in the police force, the diversity gap is wide on the political scene of Barcelona. While the gender gap in politics has been much debated and addressed, the question of “ethnic equality” lags behind. 19 out of the 41 aldermen (*regidors*) representing all the political parties present in the City Council are currently women, but none are foreign-born or of another ethnicity than Spanish/Catalan (<https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/novaorganitzacio/es/>).

Below the aldermen, there are local counselors (*consellers municipals*) representing the political parties in each of the city’s 10 districts. Two of the largest parties in the Barcelona City Council at present, the governing left-wing party *Barcelona en Comú* and the left-wing, republican pro-Catalan independence party *Esquerra Republicana*—have published information about all their local counselors, including their origin, on their websites. In the case of *Barcelona en Comú*, 4 out of the 49 local counselors have foreign or partly origin (2 Latin American, 1 half Latin American/half Spanish, and 1 half Palestinian/half Spanish).

In the case of *Esquerra Republicana*, 3 out of 46 counselors have foreign origin (Ecuador, Congo, and China). In the case of the other 5 parties present in the City Council (*Partido Socialista*, *Junts per Catalunya*, *Partido Popular*, *Ciudadanos*, and *Barcelona pel canvi*), none have published such information on their websites. Information about people with foreign background in these parties will instead be gathered during the interviews with their representatives.

Within the framework of the REPCAT project, the intention is to conduct interviews with immigrant or ethnic minority representatives of all the political parties present in the Barcelona City Council. As this report is written, one of these interviews has been conducted, with a member of the party *Junts Per Catalunya*, defined as Catalanist and at the center of the political left-right scale. She migrated from Latin America at age 22, 16 years ago, and started her political trajectory in 2013, mainly of coincidence: she got to know a local representative of the party in her district at a personal level, and was encouraged to start going to meetings (PM1, interview 2019). Earlier research has highlighted that personal contacts and proximity is particularly central for recruiting immigrant members to the political parties (Szlovak 2017), and not the least as voters; this is something that the political parties overall acknowledge in Barcelona, where most parties have their representatives attend the numerous ethnic community events and festivities, for instance.

According to the interviewed Latin American party member, who used to have a political position as municipal counselor, which she lost after the poor election results of her party in May 2019, the overall lacking representation of immigrants in local politics is a major problem.

“During the mandate of 2015-2019, we were only 2 people [with political assignments in Barcelona] who were foreign-born. And it really cannot be like that, only 2 people in a city where over 20% of the population is foreign-born, and also, these two people were both Latin American.” *PM1, interview 2019*

She thinks that the receptiveness to including people of foreign origin has improved within her own party, but recognizes that there is still resistance, in her view mainly due to a lacking understanding of what it means to migrate and what obstacles people with immigrant backgrounds may encounter. She claims that she has made much efforts to place discrimination among the party's priorities, and thinks that she has achieved to create some awareness-raising in this field. In her view, politically active immigrants in general have an important role to fill in creating awareness around this problem, which may be more difficult to identify with for people from the ethnic majority who do not share this experience.

“The general perception [in her party] is that these people [in marginalized neighborhoods] are not interested in political participation, but they are, it is just that they are afraid of being treated badly, or maybe they cannot attend the meetings at certain hours because they work cleaning houses or something. During the last years I have focused on discrimination and diversity issues, and noticed how little attention is given to this field. My party has really not made a great effort here.” *PM1, interview 2019*

She does not believe in quotas, but considers it essential to accomplish a broad attitude change in order to include more immigrants in the political parties, and states that it is important not only that they participate as members but are assigned for high positions within the parties (PM1, interview 2019).

4.3.2. Evaluating the implementation of interculturalism in the political administration of Barcelona

In determining which of the special measures defined by the Catalan government (Catalan policy document, 2017) address the sphere of political management and public administration, measures addressing access to public employment have been included to be evaluated for the REPCAT project:

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| 1. Eliminate the criteria that personal data (name, age, origin, marital status) or photographs should be included in applications for public employment, regardless of whether these refer to permanent or temporary positions. |
| 2. Inclusion of a section on current migration policies in the selection tests (oppositions) for public employment. |
| 3. Implementation of affirmative action to increase diversity in the area of public employment. |
| 4. Create habilitation and specific training of non-discrimination personnel within the public administration's bodies. |
| 5. Offer specific information for foreign persons or persons of immigrant origin regarding access to public employment. |
| 6. Create elected office to prevent discriminations and racism. |
| 7. Elaborate a manual for anti-racist politics. |

5. Concluding remarks

This State of the art report has summarized and analyzed the work performed during the first stage of the research project REPCAT (*The Role of the Ethnic Majority in Integration Processes – Attitudes and Practices towards Immigrants in Catalan Institutions*) for each of the three case studies that the project consists of: how diversity is managed and represented within the Catalan education system, the Catalan police force (*Mossos d'Esquadra*) and the political administration of the Barcelona City Council, respectively. The preliminary findings indicate that there are important contradictions between discourse and practice. Particularly within the education system, the intercultural discourse is salient, and the Department of Education works actively within this field, for instance through training and awareness-raising programs addressing school teachers, or the new *plurilingüisme* program referred to above. However, considering the transfer of the intercultural agenda to everyday practices in schools, if and how this actually happens depends at present on the school direction, and, ultimately, on whether the individual teachers bring these ideas to the classrooms. Given the lack of central supervision and the high degree of independence of each school, it is difficult to get a general overview of what approaches, methods or education material are used: this depends entirely on whether the schools are willing to share this information or not.

In the case of the Catalan police force, interculturalism has hitherto been largely absent: there are no specific work plans or recommendations within this field (with the exception of the diversity campaign in 2007/2008), and immigration/diversity is given little consideration in educational material for future police officers. There are some indications that this may be changing, as the increasing awareness expressed through newly designed dissemination material where ethnic diversity is included. Nevertheless, there appears to be a long and uncertain road towards a police force where the ethnic diversity of the population is represented. While diversity nowadays is clearly a part of the education system's official identity, it is not clear that this is the case for the police force.

In the case of municipal politics, the approaches towards diversity obviously differ significantly between the different political parties and their respective ideologies. Yet, given the explicitly progressive and interculturalist approach of the current municipal government, one could expect the implementation of specific strategies within this field as, for instance, assigning aldermen with immigrant background, which has not been the case. In all societal institutions, the link between physical and discursive representation appears evident: the actual presence of people of diverse background should be expected to resonate in the discourses produced by the institution in question. This relationship is perhaps even more evident in the case of political parties, where party programs may be redefined to take into account issues raised by non-majority party members, if parties are receptive to such influence. The interview with a Latin American party member above reflects an opening to the representation of diversity within Junts per Catalunya, a party that has hitherto not paid much attention to this policy area (PM1, interview 2019). The interplay between immigrant party members and the definition of political agendas and priorities needs to be further examined in all parties during the second stage of the project.

Overall, the same pattern is repeated in all three institutions: there is general awareness of the lacking representation of diversity, but serious difficulties arise when it comes to actually bridging the gap. The attitudes of institutional actors could roughly be divided into two main currents: those who believe that no specific actions are necessary in order to increase the representation of diversity as “time will fix it,” and those who do believe that specific measures are necessary. When discussing what measures, however, it appears difficult to gain institutional support for active measures as quotas or positive action.

Approaching the question of physical representation of diversity, that is, the idea that there is a need for teachers and other school staff of diverse origins to be incorporated in the education system, the key persons at the Department of Education agree that this would be desirable. They argue that the main obstacle for this to happen is the low educational level among people of foreign backgrounds, coinciding with the explanations given by the interviewed key person within the police force. The widespread school failure among people with immigrant background (Bayona and Domingo, 2018), and Roma, indeed appears central for an approach that takes the under-representation of diversity in societal

institutions seriously: support, empowerment and attitude changes among minorities must complement attitude changes and increased receptiveness among the ethnic majority society. This reflects a double role, and a double challenge, for the education system: to incorporate the – physical and discursive—representation of diversity in schools, and to attend the educational needs of resource-weak pupils in order to seriously combat school failure among disadvantaged groups as immigrants and Roma. Needless to say, these two challenges are clearly interrelated.

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Meetings and conferences

1. Fundació Acsar, conference (5/12/2018): “El tractament de la diversitat als llibres de text” (*The treatment of diversity in text books*)

Presentation: Ghassan Saliba, CCOO

Speakers: Miquel Àngel Essomba, commissioner of education and universities, Barcelona City Council; Salwa El Gharbi, expert in diversity and immigration, member of the Catalan Parliament; Jordi López Camps, Funder, Fundació ACSAR

2. Espai Avinyó, dialogue meeting 1 (06/03/2019): “La educación intercultural en diálogo – qué piensan las familias?” (*Dialogues on intercultural education – what do the families think?*”)

3. Espai Avinyó, seminar (29/05/2019): “Més enllà de l’aula” (Beyond the aula). Research presentation by Andreu Domingo and Jordi Bayona.

4. Espai Avinyó, dialogue meeting 2 (13/06/2019): La educación intercultural en diálogo – qué piensan los profesores? (*Dialogues on intercultural education – what do the teachers think?*”)

5. Pompeu Fabra University conference (17/05/2019) about the Plurilinguism project by Generalitat de Catalunya, in collaboration with the Department of Education (Ensenyament).

Interview persons

1. E1: Vice director at Ensenyament, in charge of communication with schools, interviewed 25/10/2018

2. E2: Head of linguistic support at Ensenyament, interviewed 09/11/2018

3. E3: Head of the plurilingüisme program, interviewed 08/03/2019

4. P1: Head of the research unit at the Catalan Police Academy, interviewed 14/05/2019

5. P2: Head of the educational content at the Catalan Police Academy, interviewed 14/05/2019
6. P3: Inspector at the General Police Direction of the Catalan Police force, interviewed 17/07/2019
7. U1: Professor and director of interculturalism projects, Autonomous University of Barcelona, interviewed 29/04/2019
8. U2: Vice dean, Department of systemic and social pedagogics, Autonomous University of Barcelona, interviewed 29/04/2019
9. PM1: Member of the political party Junts per Catalunya, interviewed 17/08/2019
10. O1: Director of the Catalan Roma Federation (FAGiC), interviewed 08/05/2019
11. PP1: Police aspirant with Latin American origin, interviewed 02/08/2019