

# EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL SYSTEMS: SPAIN

## Migrant children and communities in a transforming Europe



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The project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCreate) aims to stimulate inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting child-centered approach to migrant children integration on educational and policy level.

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### **Research partners**

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Fakulteta za dizajn, Slovenia (FD)

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## 1. Introduction

This report contains the main results of Work Package 4 (WP4) of the European project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCreate) related to the participating Spanish schools. The goals of this WP are: a) to analyse the relationships between members in the educational community and migrant children, including educational staff attitudes, their knowledge, perceptions, attitudes and opinions regarding the topics related to the dynamics and processes of the integration of migrant children; b) to evaluate the practices that they implement to integrate migrant children in educational systems – how they apply intercultural education, address the issues of intercultural co-existence, and organize everyday school life; and c) to build capacity and awareness raising of teachers and educational staff, and of professionals and other adults who come into regular contact with children, to better assess risks and meet the specific needs of migrant children in host societies.

The evidence collected and analysed comes mainly from interviews and focus groups with teachers, families and other members of the educational community; observation of classrooms and other spaces of the school; and analyses of teaching materials. In addition to a description of the methodological aspects, this report gives an overview of how schooling is developing in the context of migration in some regions of Spain. The results have been divided into five main topics: 1) How schools approach integration, 2) How Diversity in a Migratory Context Affects School, 3) Resources and mediators for integration, 4) Obstacles, difficulties and weaknesses, 5) Possibilities for doing it better. After the results section, there is another section with Other issues, that collects those not foreseen ideas and topics.

Finally, there is a conclusion and discussion section in which the most relevant issues are summarized and commented. It contains ideas that have emerged in the process of research and reflections that can contribute to the development of new discourses, practices and perspectives aimed at addressing the challenges of education and integration of migrant children in the Spanish context.

### 1. Methodological approach

This report contains the main results related to Spanish school participants. In the first stage, we carried out 15 interviews with school representatives (school principals and management boards). In a second stage, we selected 6 of the initial 15 schools for more in-depth analysis. In these 5 schools we conducted 2 focus groups and individual interviews per school with key stakeholders, including teachers, parents, counsellors, social workers, and other members involved in the educational community. We have also made observations in classrooms and other areas of the school, as well as analyses of teaching materials.

The first focus group involved teachers, and the second mainly parents and other members from the educational community. The aim of the focus groups was to explore how the educational community perceives migrant children's integration and diversity. The main

topics were: how the members of the educational community perceive migration, cultural and religious pluralism; how they live and manage it in the school environment; where they see obstacles, limitations, and problems or ideas for doing better. In addition to this, we also examined the strengths and weaknesses of the policies and practices adopted by the educational community to address the challenges related to migrant children's integration. This included how the school's existing visual displays, curriculum and teaching materials address cross-cultural issues and coexistence; how everyday school life is organized in areas that affect migrant children's integration.

We conducted interviews with a selected sample in every school, with the aim of exploring more deeply salient topics that emerged during the focus groups. We carried out individual semi-structured interviews and long-lasting conversations with participants to explore their individual perspectives in relation to their school.

In these six schools, we observed classrooms and other spaces (schoolyard, corridors, hall, dining room). The main goal was to collect visual material and the teaching resources used to support the work in high migrant diversity contexts. The research team has taken photographs and field notes as the main evidence.

The interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded, and had been transcribed into text, anonymized, themed and collaboratively coded by the research team. The purpose of the analysis strategy has been to identify common themes and also specific issues in each school.

### 2.1. School sample

All participating schools are public (see Table 1). The criteria for their choice has been to obtain a significant migration rate, ideally greater than 40%, and the availability to participate in the research. Both primary and secondary schools were considered. The size of each school's enrolment is diverse, ranging from approximately 150, the smallest, to 800 students, the largest. The 16 schools participating in the research are located in those autonomous communities of Spain which have a higher percentage of migrant population: Catalonia, the Basque Country, Aragon, Andalusia and Madrid. The six schools studied in depth are from the autonomous community of Catalonia.

Table A. Schools and community characteristics.

School	Typology	School level	Location	Number of total students	Migration rate	Languages	Religions
S1	Public	Primary school	Province of Barcelona (city) (Catalonia)	500	51%	Spanish, Catalan, Arabic, others.	Hindu Christian Muslim, others.
S2	Public	Primary school	Province of Barcelona (city) (Catalonia)	207	20 different nationalities (13% newly arrived children)	18 different languages.	No data

S3	Public	Secondary school	Province of Barcelona (Catalonia)	950	65%	Catalan, Spanish, Arabic.	No data
S4	Public	Secondary school	Province of Tarragona (Catalonia)	800	40%	Catalan Spanish French Chinese Ukrainian Romanian Arabic Wolof, others.	Christian, Muslim, others.
S5/S6	Public	Primary and secondary school	Province of Barcelona (city) (Catalonia)	225	90%	Catalan, Spanish, Urdu, Arabic, Pashto, Farsi, Chinese.	No data
S7	Public	Primary school	Province of Girona (Catalonia)	Around 400	No official data (mainly from Morocco and Gambia)	No data	No data
S8	Public	Secondary school	Province of Barcelona (Catalonia)	Around 260	No data	No data	No data
S9	Public	Primary school	Province of Barcelona (Catalonia)	Around 400	60%, according to nationality 90%, according to family origin	Catalan, Spanish, Arabic.	No data
S10	Public	Secondary school	Province of Madrid	No data	20%	Spanish, Arabic, Romanian and Chinese.	No data
S11	Public	Primary school	Province of Zaragoza (Aragón)	Around 170	99%	No data	No data
S12	Public	Primary school	Province of Sevilla (Andalusia)	Around 400	50% according to nationality (80% national children with parents)	No data	No data

					with other origin country)		
S13	Public	Primary school	Province of Granada (Andalusia)	220	Around 90%	No data	No data
S14	Public	Primary school	Province of Guipúzcoa (Basque Country)	No data	80%	20 different languages.	No data
S15	Public	Primary school	Province of Barcelona (Catalonia)	No data	20% (80% in 2010)	No data	No data
S16	Public	Secondary school	Province of Barcelona (Catalonia)	Around 900	No data	Spanish Catalan Arabic Bangla Urdu	No data

Source: Own elaboration. (example with one school)

As shown in Table 1, the rate of migrant students in the participating schools is diverse, ranging from 20% to 99%. In some of these schools it has not been possible to obtain accurate data. Although religious diversity appears in some interviews, families or students are not asked in any of the schools because, in general, the educational community did not consider it necessary.

## 2.2. Participants

The participants in this research cover a wide spectrum of positions in the schools as can be seen in Table 2. In schools S1 to S16, 15 interviews were conducted with school representatives (school principal and management board). In schools S1 to S6, more in-depth case studies were conducted. It includes two primary schools, two secondary schools and one primary and secondary school. In these cases, a total of 102 teachers, parents and other stakeholders from the educational community (social workers, educational counsellors, internship students, etc.) participated in interviews, Focus Group 1 and Focus Group 2.

Table 2. Participants in focus groups and interviewees.

School name	Interviews (indicate role)	Focus group parents (indicate role)	Focus group teachers (indicate role)
S1	3 School Representatives (R) 1 Parent (P1) 6 Teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6)	7 Teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7)	Not applied in this case
S2	2 School Representatives (R) 2 Teachers (T) 2 Parents (P1, P2) 1 Social Worker (C)	8 teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8)	4 Parents (P1, P2, P3, P4) 4 Community members (C1, C2, C3, C4)



S3	1 School Representative (R)	2 Community members (C1, C2) 2 Teachers (T1, T2) 1 Internship student (C3) 1 Social worker (C4)	4 Parents (T1, T2, T3, T4)
S4	3 School representatives (R1, R2, R3) 6 Teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6)	5 Community members (C1, C2, C3, C4, C5) 2 Teachers (T1, T2)	3 Parents (P1, P2, P3)
S5	1 School representative (R) 4 Community members (C1, C2, C3, C4) 1 Parent (P)	9 Teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9)	7 Parents (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7)
S6	1 School representative (R) 1 parent (P)	13 teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T12, T13)	Not applied in this case
S7	2 School representatives (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S8	1 School representative (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S9	2 School representatives (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S10	1 School representative (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S11	1 School representative (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S12	1 School representative (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S13	1 School representative (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S14	3 School representatives (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S15	2 School representatives (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case
S16	1 School representative (R)	Not applied in this case	Not applied in this case

Source: Own elaboration.

### 2.3. Analysed teaching materials

In the observation of classrooms, we have found various types of materials used for teaching in the Reception Classroom. This material is produced mainly for newly arrived students who need to learn the language of instruction: 1) Textbooks for language learning produced by commercial publishers; 2) material created by the Catalan Department of Education oriented to support the learning of school language; 3) commercial games used as mediators of learning activities; 4) visual material created by students and teachers; and 5) web resources for learning Catalan. See Table 3 for details.



Table 3. Analysed teaching materials.

School	Typology/name of the material	Description	Educational purpose	Who brought/created	Relevance for the project
S2	Literacy World. Materials for newly arrived students.	It is a commercial textbook oriented to children's learning. It is used in Reception Classroom.	Textbook for teaching reading and writing in Catalan.	This book is produced by Spanish Publishing House.	The book contains visual and textual representations of foreign cultures.
S2	'Who is it?' Game	A popular commercial game. The goal is to guess the character by asking questions.	It is used to practice spoken Catalan in a fun way, especially with vocabulary of parts of the face.	The material is produced by a game manufacturing company. It has been brought in by the teacher.	An educational resource focused on the pleasure of children while practicing Catalan.
S3	'Let's start'. Unit 1. The classroom	Student dossier with reading and writing exercises. It can be downloaded by teachers and printed at schools.	It is used for the basic learning of reading and writing Catalan.	Material produced by the Department of Education of Catalan Community Government.	This material is a proposal of the Catalan Education Department for teaching the language to newly arrived students.
S3	Visual display in the classroom's wall.	Poster built in the Reception Classroom to represent the diverse origins of the students.	Understanding the diversity of students.	Material produced in the class itself by the students in collaboration with the teacher.	It allows us to understand the diversity of countries of origin, languages and ages of the students in the reception classroom.
S9	Mural	Placed in the main hallway of the school. Everyone can see it. It is a map of the world in large size (approximately 3 m x 1m) where it is drawn students' country of origin.	To visually represent the diverse backgrounds of the students in order to raise awareness of diversity.	Material created by teachers and students themselves. It is a material initially proposed by teachers.	This material and related activity can be valued as a way of representing the cultural diversity of the school. It helps to create a sense of global village and helps to normalize the diversity of countries of origin in a participatory manner.
S9	Poster	Everyone can see it even though it is located on a side wall and situated at a considerable height. It is a poster result of a workshop with students about coexistence at school (approximately 70 cm x 40cm).	To visually represent main concepts about coexistence ( <i>respect, love, trust and humility</i> ) as well as show some reflections after the conflict ( <i>What I have done some times? I don't like it when they do to me...; How I like to be treated</i> ).	A group of teachers and students together.	This material and related activity can be valued as a way of solving intercultural conflicts and show to all the educational community of the school a strategy of inclusion.

Source: Own elaboration.

On the website of *Xarxa Telemàtica Educativa de Catalunya* [Telematic Educational Network of Catalonia] (XTEC), web resources are made available to the educational community that can be used in the Reception Classroom. On this website one can find resources for exercises, links to portals with information for teachers, dictionaries and translators and resources of web-based games for learning by playing. These resources can be accessed from the Catalan schools through the computers.

### 3. Results

In this section we describe the main ideas emerging from the fieldwork with 16 schools. It contains the above-mentioned subsections.

#### 3.1. How schools approach integration

In the participants' speeches we find references to both the term integration and inclusion. In Spain, there is a common framework defined by legal decrees that mention educational inclusion for each Autonomous Community and that consider migrant students who do not master the language of instruction (see for example Decret 150/2017). Despite this, the different approaches that educational community has about *integration as inclusion* and the way to implement it in school has nuances and different political views.

For most participants in interviews and focus groups, the concept integration is mainly understood as inclusion. Inclusion is defined as a policy by the Administration through documents or decrees that vary in extension and aspects depending on the Autonomous Community.

The discourse of the participants in the cultural and identity sphere, integration as inclusion tends to be developed from two main points of view. One that could be called assimilationist intention that has the purpose of to acquire and to build an identification with the local and European culture: "[...] and we have seen that what we have to do is to include everyone in a way that can be identified. If you do not identify yourself, it is very difficult to become part of this community." (S1T6).

We also observed another point of view that could be called dialogic-intercultural intention that avoids the colonizing integration of the Other, seeks to integrate them without losing their roots, and seeks to include them with their own history, knowledge and cultural trajectory. For example, the school representatives of S15 claim: "What we are clear about is that we do not want to colonize". Another school representative comments: "because integration does not consist of losing my roots, but of continuing with yours, but we are also going to include ourselves in this" (S12R).

According to the interviewees, integration generates action protocols that detail the roles that school professionals must assume in the implementation of this integration process. Some

organizations have a social integration technician position (for example, S5 and S6). However, there are decision gaps, especially in the classrooms, where the integration of the student is affected by the professional criteria of the teacher and his or her personal vision of integration.

Some interviews mention that teachers also need to be guided and accompanied when they arrive at a school with students with migrant backgrounds (for example in S2). For some teachers, it is a surprise to see a high diversity in their classrooms, and this is best handled with support. In this case the school provides documentation and materials that act as a map to navigate the diversity and help the new teacher to integrate in the school culture.

### *3.1.1. Knowledge, perceptions and attitudes about integration of migrant children*

Sometimes integration as inclusion is also understood from the level of services provided by the school to students. Within this framework, it is conceived as the elimination of differences, the elimination of discrimination and the construction of equality:

"For us, to include or integrate means to blend in with the environment. We should not be able to blend in with what we are, but rather the day-to-day work should become the same for everyone. That they do not feel that there are differences, that they do not encounter discrimination, that they can feel like one more." (S13R)

School integration understood as inclusion does not only focus on children but also on families. Conceptually, some educational professionals argue that integration as inclusion in school should target both migrant students and families, especially when they do not speak the language and their socio-economic situation is difficult. In this sense, we find this double-objective-inclusion in the context of migration in the discourse and in practice, which makes its implementation more complex and requires more resources. Sometimes schools build alliances with NGOs or other organizations to achieve this double goal: "We approach both families and students' inclusion, because it makes no sense to exclude families from the inclusion process" (S11R).

According to some professionals interviewed, integration understood as inclusion is assumed to be a duty of teaching professionalism and an accepted common sense. That is, integration as inclusion has become an ethical framework rooted in the professional identity of some teachers: "Well, starting from the base, 21st century, teaching and teachers, if you do not integrate I think you can go out the door, it will be a failure" (S4T3).

An issue that has also emerged could be called emotional integration (S5FG2). This emotional integration seeks to support the process that newly arrived children go through, a process that is called migratory grief, produced by the loss of family networks and relationships and other issues when moving from one place to another.

### 3.1.2. Knowledge, perceptions and attitudes about migration

When migration is mentioned as a problem in the school, it is not the different cultural background. The problems are the difficulties in communication, the emotional and social disadvantage situation of the migrant families. These issues, also present in local students, make the schooling process more difficult: "So here we are working on inclusion because we have migrant students with a rather difficult social and emotional situation." (S11R).

From the point of view of some professionals, it is observed that the diversity related to students with migratory background is understood as part of the identity of the organization, as a challenge and as a positive distinction of the school: "It's a reality, it's a challenge, but not a stigma." (S13R).

The attitudes of some families in the neighbourhoods or cities where the schools are located are different. Some have an aversion to the presence of migrants in the school. This negative attitude comes from the general community not directly linked to the school. For some of them the presence of migration is seen as a stigma that negatively affects the reputation of the organization in the community: "Well, we have a lot of families of foreign origin and that makes that some families here in the city do not want to come to our school. We have already seen this very clearly." (S14R).

## 3.2. How diversity in a migratory context affects school

### 3.2.1. Last-few-years migratory and educational context in Spain

Schools in Spain have undergone a structural change at the beginning of the 2000s. This situation is the result of the combination of two historical key factors:

1) The change from the *Ley General de Educación* [General Law of Education] 14/1970] to *Ley Orgánica General del Sistema Educativo de España* [General Organic Law of the Educational System in Spain] (LOGSE) 1/1990. According to LOGSE, *Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria* [Secondary Compulsory Education] (ESO) replaced *Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente* [Unified Polyvalent Baccalaureate] (BUP).

2) There's an increasing presence of migrant population in Spain coming mainly from Maghreb and North Africa. Number of migrants from countries out of EU-15 grew between 1998 and 2011, and its percentage in the total migration increased from 6.6 percent to 21 percent (INE, 2018).

The approval of the emended educational law LOGSE set a change for the secondary school's structure: BUP was optional; in contrast, ESO is part of the Spanish compulsory education. Moreover, the age of first-year students changed from 14 years old (BUP) to 12 years old (ESO). With this, baccalaureate's teachers had to relocate into secondary teaching workforce without any specific training or accompaniment. This situation disrupted significantly the

pedagogical logics, relations and structures in high schools. In one of the interviews conducted, a long-term teacher explained: "I think I had my first student from Maghreb in 2000. Since then, the migration rate has increased. [...] This school changed overnight because of the implementation of ESO and because of all those migrants coming" (S4T2)

### 3.2.2. Districts' social context

Schools participating in our research are fundamentally located in two different types of areas: A) working-class districts on peripheral zones, usually disconnected from the city centre and B) working-class districts in big cities' old towns. In both cases the presence of migratory population is highly significant. The first ones (A) were urbanised (or expanded) during the 1960s, as a result from a local demand for affordable housing by working-class population and migrant population coming from Andalusia (Amigó 1988, Fontanals 2015, MUHBA 2017). The second ones (B) are areas that historically have absorbed a high rate of migration (Villar, 1996).

During the focus group sessions, members from different educational communities reported urban deficiencies in their school's districts and have agreed that public services are worse in their areas: "In this neighbourhood there are no banks, nor supermarkets. Some days ago, I was discussing that with my students. They even asked me why streets around the school are much dirtier than in the city centre" (S4FG1). Moreover, some of them have identified their districts directly as ghettos: "This is a ghetto. There's a feeling of abandonment. When you feel abandoned, you just don't care about anything" (S4FG1). Also, "We're just segregated. We're working hard to solve it, but we're already segregated" (S3FG1).

### 3.2.3. Diversity, inequalities and perceptions

Based on our cross-cutting analysis of the focus groups and interviews conducted, we've found that in many cases members of the educational communities identify social inequalities and severe differences. This usually concerns the migration rate gap between public schools in the same city or district: "In this city there are schools where all the students are Catalan native speakers. In contrast, we have at most two Catalan native speakers per classroom. Neither of these reflect our city for real" (S4FG1). Also: "There are two public schools in this neighbourhood. Neither of those reflect our neighbourhood's real demography: we absorb all the *gitano*<sup>1</sup> and migrant population. Meanwhile, in the other school all the students are Catalan middle-class" (S5R). In another case: "Last year we've had 60 percent of migrant students, and in the school next to us they have only 10 percent. Something's wrong..." (S4T2).

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<sup>1</sup> *Gitano* refers to the Roman population in Spain. We use the word in Spanish because of its cultural and contextualized identity meaning (Digital Archive of the Roma, 2019).

Moreover, in some cases this is directly identified as a ghettoization: "While this school gets more ghettoised, the other one [a nearby school] has obtained better and newer resources and facilities, so it filled up with middle-class students" (S5R). Also: "Even if they're from this neighbourhood, [Catalan] people don't want to bring their children to our school because... well, because it's full of migrants. And they want their children to interact with people mostly like them" (S1FG2). On the other hand, some of the parents perceive that in a positive way: "this school has a very well-managed diversity. Our daughter needs to get into a context like this, where differences between people are clearly accepted and integrated as something normalised" (S2P2). Also: "Schools should always be like that [diverse]. Because if I take my son into a classroom full of white children, he's going to ask me: 'Mum, where are the other black kids?'" (S2P2).

High rates of migration in schools usually don't involve enough specific training programmes for teachers. Nor enough resources for migrant reception and diversity management. In consequence, it's perceived as an inequality: "Society changes overnight. Institutions can't manage all these changes. There're not enough resources and we must be very flexible to address these issues" (S5FG1). Another teacher noted: "I think all schools should be in full equality conditions. In that sense, local and regional policies are not contributing" (S5FG1). In the same direction, some teachers have noted the impossibility of putting into practice regulatory decrees like *Decret de l'atenció educativa a l'alumnat en el marc d'un sistema educatiu inclusiu* [Decree of student service in the frame of inclusive educational system] 150/2017 by Catalan government: "Inclusivity is a fundamental right decreed by law. But how do I put it into practice if I have no resources? The inclusive school decree is a high-level decree designed with a very low budget" (S4FG1).

#### 3.2.4. *Coexistence in schools*

How linguistic, cultural and religious diversity affects school? Teachers noted that they haven't received any specific training to approach religious diversity. The majority of the educational communities participating in our research have chosen to make the school a secular place where no religion is visible or present (S2T2, S4T, S5R, S6FG1). Nonetheless, religious practices are also part of the daily happenings of school: "In Ramadan, some students asked me to leave the classroom three times during the lessons, because they needed to pray" (S2T2). Also, "Last week, during the break, there were four girls on their knees praying" (S2T2).

Language is usually identified by teachers as a difficulty in school's everyday life. Sometimes they need external resources to manage it: "We don't have any cultural mediator. In specific cases we rely on an NGO's translator" (S2R). On the one hand, these situations can contribute to stimulate cooperation and sympathy between families: "When we have individual tutoring, parents organise themselves for translations" (S5/S6R). On the other, this issue often negatively affects the families' participation: "It's very difficult to engage the parents who don't speak any Catalan or Spanish in school life" (S5/S6R).

### 3.3. Resources and mediators for integration

This section approaches to those resources and mediators involved in the processes of migrant children integration in schools. It is split into four subsections: in the first one, we present school reception policies; in the second, we compiled the main practices based in schools and their reception policies; the third explores examples of teaching materials for integration used by schools; and the last one focuses on teachers' training and accompaniment.

#### 3.3.1. School reception policies

In this section we identify and discuss some policies that we have observed in the fieldwork and in the participants' speeches. In this analysis, following Ball (1993) we understand politics as text and discourse, "contested and changing, always in a state of 'becoming', of 'was' and 'never was' and 'not quite'" (p. 12). In this sense, we distinguish a policy from an anecdotal practice by its permanence in time. We consider that a policy exists when it has been proven that it is permanent, and therefore the participants provide us with the keys to a conceptual framework and give it meaning. What follows is the main ideas, principles, and objectives that are being developed as a policy in participating schools. In the analysis of the policies in the schools, we have observed two main origins: on the one hand, those policies whose proposal emerges from the education Administration. And on the other hand, those created by each school. All of them have been grouped in the following categories.

#### *The reception*

All schools have a more or less explicit reception policy. For reception there are some practices regulated by the education Administration, such as the Reception Classroom, and they receive specific funding and are regulated by decrees or regulations. Other reception projects or activities are developed by the schools and teachers themselves. The different visions of reception include issues such as emotional reception, accompaniment of migrant bereavement, peer support projects, teacher supervision, and the use of games to build a relationship of trust. Reception policy is usually organized in written protocols that delimit roles and actions. For example, in S1, it is stated that "the reception of P3 [3 years old children] is very careful. And yes, it is a fairly welcoming school at all levels. Projects are continually being made both at the *Pla d'Acció Tutorial* [Action Tutorial Plan] (PAT) level, in order to include students" (S1FG1). In some schools this reception also includes specific actions to receive families. For example, in S2 it is stated that "We are in charge of welcoming both families and children" (S2FG1).



### *Multi-language communication*

Schools also develop their own translation policies, sometimes with the help of the Administration, sometimes with family support and sometimes using technology like web translators. Within the classroom, sometimes children who have been in school the longest translate for their peers. This translation policy applies to conversations, documents, and websites. Sometimes the lack of formal resources is creatively resolved by asking for help from other parents or other students or the collaboration of community members.

### *Collaboration with external organizations*

Some schools have a policy of building partnerships with other external organizations to carry out integration. This can be seen as a policy in some schools where it has been in place for several years. It has been noted, for example, that this external collaboration enables schools to receive support in working with adults, and in teaching the language to adult family members. This policy of collaboration makes it possible to increase the school's capacity for building the educational community.

### *Community, harmony and conflict prevention*

Some of the participating schools are developing a specific policy aimed at conflict prevention, conflict resolution and mutual understanding. Within this framework, conflict mediation projects involving students and adults were observed. One of the approaches of this policy is to anticipate conflict, to prevent an escalation of violence and to equip the educational community with the skills to solve it themselves through dialogue. Also, under this policy can be considered activities that seek knowledge of the others' culture, cultural exchange of food and dance, prevention of racism and those that build a discourse of positive appreciation of the diversity of the school.

#### *3.3.2. Practices addressing migrant children's integration*

In this section we approach practices addressing migrant children's integration, providing concrete examples of projects and activities that are framed in the policies mentioned above.

During the interviews and focus groups teachers, school representatives and parents highlighted some practices, actions and experiences addressed to migrant children integration. Some of them are not only focused on migrant students, but they are beneficiaries too. Here we expose some examples:

### *Reception classroom*

Primary and secondary schools (such as: S1, S3, S4, S5, S6, S8, S9, S12) who have a certain number of newly arrived migrant students have a resource known as "Reception Classroom" subsidized by the Education Department of each region. The main objective is to promote the acquisition of the language of instruction as quickly as possible. In essence it means that the school has one teacher working only with migrant students. Schools have the freedom to decide if the teacher joins the ordinary classes or place the newly-arrived students in one specific classroom (this means that migrant children are located in separate groups for some lessons, usually those which require to master the host language). Teachers value positively those classes in which there are more than one educator (co-teaching). Migrant students are able to have specialized assistance according to their needs. This action enables individualized student knowledge, "it is important to know each child individually. To show interest about his/her life and background" (S2FG1).

### *Communication with families*

In order to facilitate the conversation between teachers and migrant families that don't speak Catalan, schools use different techniques: to hire a translator, to invite mothers who can speak both languages so they can translate everything, to invite intercultural mediators, to invite social integrators, to count on the help of students who speak the language, etc. In certain cases, the school decides to translate some documents into the most spoken languages of the school (S1, S10). In S5 some members of the staff have started Arabic lessons taught by unaccompanied minors so they can communicate in one of the most spoken languages of the school. In some cases (S1, S2) the school offers free Catalan lessons carried out by retired teachers. Families can practice Catalan speaking skills in a natural and relaxed environment. This is important because "this communication is basic, so that they can integrate into the neighbourhood, help their children, even feel part of the school" (S1FG1). S5 and S6 are also promoting a similar project, where language pairs are organized between student volunteers and mothers and teach them Catalan or Spanish. In order to facilitate the connections between migrant families and teachers, some schools organise a meeting with mothers, fathers and relatives of students with the purpose of establishing a space for relationship and trust with the families and exchange ideas and experiences about school's life. For example, S5 and S6 organise once in a month "Coffee with Families" and S9 organises once in a week, "Afternoon Snack with Families".

### *Mentoring between pairs*

This is one of the most common practices carried out in primary and secondary schools. Usually students who speak the same language as the newly arrived children accompany them during the first week. On some occasions, is the class delegate who mentors them.

### *Different forms of communication*

Trying to communicate with more than words is essential to address the language barriers of migrant pupils. For example, S1 has carried out projects from different perspectives (body, music, art). During *Projecte Psicomotricitat* [Psychomotricity Project] children have the opportunity to use their own body, "if the word is not there, there is the body. And through the body children can communicate, do and think" (S1FG1). Another example is the music project, where they try to celebrate diversity. Another is S2, who has one project called *Creart* carried out with an NGO, where through art they explore issues such as social justice, conflict resolution or peace. S12 is working on a dance project, "our body is also a language. So, it is a moment of union, of expression, of coexistence, we are all the same." (S11R).

### *Conflict prevention*

In order to promote peaceful spaces and ensure more inclusive institutions, in some cases schools carry out projects addressed to conflict prevention. These "Coexistence plans" are executed in primary and secondary schools. For instance, S2 carries out a workshop of 13 sessions, where they study the mediation process, the conflict, how to prevent it and how to solve it. S4 is implementing a similar project, its main aim is to propose actions and protocols in order to solve conflicts generated from coexistence and addressed to inevitable tensions of everyday life. Finally, S10 has the 'coexistence committee', who offers training and activities for teachers and students about coexistence.

#### *3.3.3. Teaching material resources*

We have found two types of discourses during the focus groups and interviews. On the one hand, explanations and examples of teaching material resources used for the integration of migrant pupils. On the other, thoughts and reflections about if the teaching materials of the school (textbooks, photos, maps, illustrations, etc.) reflected the high cultural diversity seen at the institution. First of all, we present some examples of teaching materials resources:

- Materials created by the Department of Education: Teachers from schools such as S14 or S2 use teaching materials created by the Department of Education of their regions (usually used in the reception classroom). For example, in the specific case of Catalonia the Department offers initial tests in 22 different languages, teaching material adapted to newly arrived students (from different areas of the curriculum: Catalan and Spanish language, mathematics, history, geography, etc.), papers and lectures about reception processes, cultural and linguistic diversity, examples of experiences with migrant children carried out in primary and secondary schools, etc. Interviewees also explain that in some cases they adapt this created material to the specific needs of their pupils.

- ICT tools in the reception classroom: Some schools do not have any technological equipment during these sessions (S2). In other cases (S3, S4, S5, S6, S8, S12) teachers use ICT tools such as online visual dictionaries or online translators and dictionaries.
- Visual books. All interviewees used material with repetitive linguistic structures, with many images and few parts of text. Specifically, textbooks for language learning produced by commercial publishers. Usually the leading roles were kids from different nationalities explaining their country, history and traditions (folkloric point of view). In some cases, schools had native language books in the most spoken languages of the school (although only in pre-school and first stages of primary school, not seen in secondary schools).
- Linguistic games. Such as poems, riddles or tongue twisters. An easy way for practicing pronunciation and learning new vocabulary (S5 and S6). In some cases, teachers used commercial games as mediators of learning activities (S2).
- Voxprima. It is a program focused on drawing-writing to teach written expression and creative thinking. This material is not specific for migrant children, but it incorporates illustration as a key element, so it helps students that have language barriers and do not master the Catalan language. In the classroom, teachers work with illustration and writing professionals.

When we asked about culturally diverse teaching materials, there were differences of opinion between teachers, even educators from the same school disagreed. For example, there were teachers who thought that diversity was not reflected either in the walls of the school or in the materials used (for example S7, S9, S12). In some cases, they told us that they did not try to hide it but that they lived it with “spontaneity” and “naturalness”. Most secondary and primary schools had at least one specific poster and image (usually maps) reflecting the cultural diversity of their students. In some cases, they had murals and posters written in different languages.

There were also schools (S1, S4) with opposite points of views. For example, in S4 during the interview with school representatives one participant said that culturally diverse materials were “anecdotal” and “rarely seen”. On the contrary, another teacher disagreed, explaining that “they had Arabic poems hanging on the walls”. Something similar happened in S1, while one of the teachers explained that “we try to have all the students reflected in the materials: we have books in different languages, dolls from different nationalities, etc.” (S1T1), another one expressed that they did not, “we need to explore how to incorporate other cultures. We have a euro-centrist point of view” (S1T2).

Most of the interviewees thought that textbook editors did not take into account cultural diversity. Even so, teachers try to incorporate it when they create the teaching materials, “each tutor includes it according to their group, vision of integration and education” (S9R).

### 3.3.4. *Training and accompaniment*

In the vast majority of cases, teachers agreed that their initial training did not contemplate topics such as diversity, migration, racism, integration, interculturalism or multiculturalism. In fact, teachers highlighted that they have learned how to manage diversity through practice (learning by doing) even though they feel to have a lack of skills to support the integration of migrant children. Some parents are aware of this issue, for example one from S2 said that "teachers work in a pluri-national, pluri-lingual, pluri-social context (...) I believe it is complicated and that they do not have the tools. This is what teachers say, we don't have the appropriate training to manage diversity or know how to solve conflicts in the classroom" (S2P1).

Some teachers claim that the Department of Education and the city councils offer courses related to the topic of integration. Nevertheless, some of them reported that they even need more specific professional development programmes related to fulfil the educational needs of migrant students. One of the teachers from S1 noted that "this is something we have asked our school. We need training about integration and student behaviour (...) we need help" (S1T2). Educators who have attended this kind of activity have done it voluntarily and in some cases outside the regulated framework (informal events). Some teachers also pointed out as useful tools joining education networks and the reflections generated from dialogues between colleagues.

The type of continuing professional development activities that teachers regarded as the most effective ones were a series of conferences organized by the city council (even though they are not implemented anymore). According to the educators, representatives from different communities explained the characteristics of their educational system (laws, human resources, role of families, teachers and students, etc.). A teacher from S1 said that "it was from the students' point of view. They taught us tools that helped us to attend the families. They helped to empathise with families from different origins and made us reflect about how we conceived everything through our point of view. Sometimes it is difficult to understand some actions, but it is because we see it from our perspective" (S1T3).

Some specific cases (such as S2 or S7) also have developed school-based training courses (this means that it involves all school staff) related to emotional education, grief and conflict resolution in schools.

### **3.4. Obstacles, difficulties and weaknesses**

Throughout the interviews and focus groups in the different schools some obstacles and difficulties emerged.

#### 3.4.1. Difficulties related to the school policies

A problem that arises frequently is the ratio of students per classroom. Teachers consider having too many students in the classroom. For this reason, in some cases (mainly in schools S1, S2, S3 and S4) teachers cannot attend properly each student.

In addition to this, the live registration (*matrícula viva*) appears as a problem repeatedly in all cases. The fact that students can be enrolled in school during the whole school year means that new students can arrive and join the school at any time during the academic year. Although this is part of the policies and philosophy of the institutions, it entails some difficulties, which we develop below.

#### 3.4.2. Difficulties related to newly arrived students

The fact of having live registration and the fact that new students are incorporated during the whole academic year, on the one hand, it makes the group change frequently, so it is difficult to create group cohesion. On the other hand, students with very different curricular levels coexist in the classrooms.

In addition, there are many newcomers who do not have knowledge of the local language, which creates communication problems between teachers and students. It also makes it difficult for students to follow the lessons (S4T1). In certain cases, teachers relate this impossibility of communication to aggressive behaviour in students (S2FG1).

One of the most important issues is the emotional processes that newcomers go through, caused by migratory grief, and all the changes in their life. It is common for some students to be raised in the countries of origin by their grandmothers or aunts and when they arrive in the host society, they do not even know their mothers. This creates great emotional instability and very complex situations for them.

#### 3.4.3. Difficulties experienced by teachers in relation to students

In some cases, teachers experience a lack of interest and appreciation of studies in their classrooms. They also detect problems in the emotional state of their students. In all interviews and focus groups arose common questions such as that some of the students have hard lives, complicated situations and they carry difficult life backgrounds. In addition, some of them have low self-esteem and low future expectations (S5FG1).

Among these difficulties also appears the relationships between students, since sometimes they treat each other with physical or psychological violence. This entails that teachers have to spend time working on these behaviours and solving conflicts. In some cases, within the conflicts between the students, micro-racisms have appeared. In the case of S5 and S6 this fact is especially associated with the *gitano* population.

One of the issues that have appeared frequently is the lack of resources to manage these types of situations. Teachers mention that they lack psychological tools to manage some cases, such as painful students' personal situations or migratory grief. They also mention that they lack training to manage the big diversity they have in the classroom and to resolve some of the conflicts that arise.

Mainly in high schools, the absenteeism of the students appears as a problem, the majority within the *gitano* population. As they are close to the age of 16, students don't go to school. The family wants them to stop going to school to start working if they are boys, or to get married and have a family if they are girls. Although little by little there are changing and happening less, it is a reality that still exists.

#### *3.4.4. Difficulties related to families*

It is very common to find barriers to access and communicate with family members. Often, these have little involvement with the school, for instance by not attending school meetings. In some cases, in the family environment, there is a poor valuation school education, which they transmit to their children.

Sometimes the difficulty is given by a question of language, since as the family members do not master the language of the host society, they cannot have good communication with the school, or they do not dare to go to the meetings. In two cases (S2 and S14) it is mentioned that in certain cultures, the father does learn the language and mothers do not, because they stay at home. Other times there is a cultural shock regarding the educational project. There are newly arrived families who have not understood the functioning of the educational system of the host society, perceiving that this is not authoritarian enough or that their children only play in school.

Finally, a phenomenon that is common to all cases is that a high percentage of families are unstructured or with disadvantaged social conditions.

#### *3.4.5. Problems related to the Administration*

One of the most recurring issues is the lack of resources by the administration. Schools have needs that are not covered. One example is the Reception Classroom, that has been limited in recent years and most schools consider it insufficient. Meanwhile, other schools directly would need this resource, but the Administration doesn't give it to them. Another similar case is the access to cultural mediators and translators.

In the cases of S1, S2, S3, S5, S6, S9, S10, S12 and S13, the participants have noted the problem of the school's segregation: "ghetto schools are an absolute mistake. Why are there some



schools that have 80% immigration and others have 1 percent? Why should they all come to a stop here?" (S2T1).

#### *3.4.6. Problems arising from the relationship between the school and the community*

In the cases of S3, S5, S6, S9, S12, S14 and S15 teachers have mentioned that the community has a bad perception of their schools. They have the stigma of being "the school of the immigrants", or "the school of the gypsies." Moreover, they have noted that this prejudice makes invisible all the qualities and merits that the schools have, and that it is hard to take off this image and make the prejudices towards the school disappear.

### **3.5. Possibilities for doing it better**

This part of the report examines the main improvement points underlined by the members of the primary and secondary schools. The contributions arising from the focus group sessions and interviews conducted can give some key points for rethinking institutional and educational policies and practices.

#### *3.5.1. The improvement of human and material resources*

In order to improve their capacities to act in a diverse context, all schools have agreed that more material/economical, pedagogical and human resources are needed.

Regarding the material/economic resources, the school principals of S3, S7, S12, S13 and S14 claim that the resources have to be given in relation to the needs of the schools: "Look at each case, school by school, and give them what they need. It is not about equality but equity" (S7R). Hence, other members from the educational community of S8 and S4 and a teacher from S1 think that the resources have to be focused on diversity (S1T4, S8R and S4R).

Teacher training is a resource that some schools see as necessary to improve the attention to diversity (S4R, S1T3, S9R, S15R). For example, one teacher (S1T4) explains that these training programs have to fill the gap of knowledge about other countries' cultures. Moreover, training can also help to improve the relationship among teachers (S4C). S4R, S13R and S3R add the need for training for families to overcome the language barrier and improve communication with them.

However, the school representatives from S7, S9, S3 and a teacher from S5 argue that beyond training, there is the need of having more specialized professionals to attend diversity: "Ideally, there should be a person with you who advise you on the spot, who make observations and can tell you how to do it" (S5FG1). For example, school representatives from S4 proposes a mediator; S5T1 and S12R a translator; S11R ask for more special education teachers and S7R ask for a psychologist.

Focusing on the human resources, the school representatives of S4, S7, S11, and S13 believe that more teachers are needed. In the focus group with teachers from S4 the need for more flexibility in hiring teachers was underlined, as they are an open enrolment school. One of the school representatives of S7 also says: "Schools of maximum complexity have more resources. [...] However, if you ask us if we think it is enough: not at all". On the other hand, teachers of S4 (S4FG1), S2T1 and S14R recognise that although it is important to have more teachers, the most important thing is to have more stable teams in order to have group cohesion and to be able to maintain the school project over time.

### *3.5.2. Initiatives and proposals*

All the schools have contributed with proposals and initiatives focused on how to improve their work under the context of diversity in which they are.

#### *Improving the relation with families*

Most of the schools (S1R, S2R, S3R, S4R, S10R, S15R) agree on the need to increase their relationship with families. They explain that language can be an obstacle for communication. As a consequence, they cannot present the school's pedagogical system (S4FG1, S1T4, S3R). The school representative of S3 points out that some families "do not see the importance nor do they fully understand the need and function of the educational system [...] they do not see the importance of involving themselves in the education of their children". For this reason, one of the proposals is working to families in the activities of the school (S1T4, S1P1) and even in the evaluation (S2R).

#### *Reducing ratios*

Most of the school members of S1, S7, S11, S12, S13, S16 expose the need of having a lower rate of children in the classroom as a way to improve the attention to each child and to be able to better follow their learning process.

#### *Co-teaching*

One of the proposals for doing it better pointed by emotional educator from S5 and the school representative from S11 is the possibility of being more than one teacher in the classroom. They affirm that this practice allows them to deal better with the learning process and the teaching practice in a diversity context.

### *Working on cultural diversity*

- S2P1 proposes that it should be done more work on cultural diversity, not only addressed to migrant children but involving local children. Therefore, it is important to work together and without taboos on tools for questioning identities.
- The S5C2 suggests working on inclusion by thinking about how to reconcile the school with the realities of non-dominant cultures.
- The S7 and S15 school representatives propose to rethink the learning contents from a multicultural point of view, putting aside the Eurocentric point of view.

### *Avoiding the ghettoization of schools*

The school representatives of S13 and S15 underline that it is necessary that the Administration generates strategies to stop ghettoising the schools. For example, "when children arrive and they are enrolled in a school, it has to be done in a more equitable criteria, distributing them better " (S15R).

### *Rethinking diversity as a richness*

Members of schools and high schools such as S2C, S8R, S4R stress that, in order to do it better but considering the lack of resources already mentioned, the schools have to work with their own possibilities within the complexity of their contexts: "seeking new strategies and methodologies in order to deal with diversity" (S4R). For example, the social worker of S2 (S2C) proposes to generate slower inclusion processes for attending the whole community. For this reason, S2C, S1T5 and S10R agree that it is necessary to understand diversity as a richness, although "this is a challenge that we have in multi-ethnic societies" (S2C).

## **4. Other issues**

### *Uses of ICT*

For some teachers, using ICT tools help them in translations and to achieve better communication with their students (S1FG1). In addition, the social worker from S2 gives two reasons why migrant children use digital technologies: to gain social status and as a tool for communication.

- *To gain social status:* Although the first reason leads to a surprising situation in which children whose families have financial difficulties have several digital devices. The social worker from S2 explains this as follows:

"That's what it's like to have something like everyone else at that moment. In short, it is to want to put oneself on a par with others in terms of what is visible. And in this case, the iPad allows you to play online games, stay connected with friends, skype with I don't know who..." (S2C).

- *Communication tool:* As a tool through which they can communicate with their families who live in other countries. This helps them to cope better with their migratory grief (S2C).

### *Teachers identity and motivations*

In most of the schools, teachers have in common a social engagement and have a special sensitivity to diversity and migrant issues. They chose the school they work at because they believed in it. One teacher places special value on work with migrant children:

"What is true is that I have not felt as loved and appreciated by the students as I do here. Recently I had a meeting with a colleague saying that I had doubts and did not know what my role was here ... and he calmed me down... he told me 'here we come to love the students and to be loved by them and then it will come'. Here you also get a lot of hugs, which in another school you don't" (S5FG1).

In addition, normally schools that perform well is because they have a very cohesive teaching staff, in which they support each other for any difficulty or conflict. Actually, when a school doesn't have this kind of teachers, usually most of them end up asking for sick-days or looking for another type of school (S5R).

### *Migrant considerations about 'the self' and society*

Some teachers interviewed acknowledge that migrant children are different than local ones, so their needs are different. They are children that need attention, care, physical contact, and recognition. The school representative from S5/S6, for example, comments:

"It is not a handicap to be a migrant and it is not a disadvantage to learn, but it is true that the position of these students towards learning is different. They place themselves on the basis of empathy, understanding, from a more open viewpoint..." (S5/S6R).

Teachers from S4 also talk about the duality of identity that some migrant children have to face in order to accomplish their parents' culture and religion traditions in the context of their local identity. Moreover, there is a decalage between how local children with migrant parents feel about their identity and which identity society and school make them feel. For instance, a mother from S2 speaks from her own experience and of the differences between being a migrant and being born in the country:

"My upbringing in Sweden was... in an area that it was like: 'ok guys, you are the refugees, you live outside the city and we don't want you to be... I instantly felt like we were not part of that. So, it took a really long time for me to just work with it ... I have the right to feel as Swedish as I want to, or as Syrian as I want to, or as European as I want to. It's something that nobody can define. But it's easy to do as an adult. It would have been easier if I had these tools. My parents came just refugees and they were so grateful, like 'Sweden took us in, we were allowed to escape war'... I am completely different. I am like 'I was born here; I shouldn't be like this'. But for them it is still like 'we are still so blessed to be in a country like Sweden... They are just grateful. But I don't have that'" (S2P1).

### *Intersectionality*

There are differences among cultures and migrant communities. Differences in dealing with migratory processes, in facing and solving difficulties and conflicts, in encouraging children to schooling, and in getting involved in school activities and educational community.

If we look at gender dimension, there are communities that are women who work and sustain the family, whilst other cultures are men. Regarding expectations in school performance, parents often have higher expectations on their daughters than on their sons (S2C, S15R). The social worker of S2, gives an explanation:

"It's as if the boys lack more identity references. There are no male migrants in parliament, nor in schools as teachers. What are our models?... How many migrants appear on television? and when they appear, why and how they appear? On the other hand, some women have done a lot of work in terms of empowerment: writing, going to university, giving testimony, doing mentoring... all this natural networking (and it is a hypothesis) I think has given more perspective and empowerment to girls than to boys" (S2C).

But also, teachers have to do work with students and their families trying to introduce different gender perspectives in order to foster a better coexistence in school. They achieve inside the classroom, whilst some teachers accept that it is more difficult to achieve it in the playground (S5FG1, S5T2).

Looking at socioeconomic status, there are differences even between migrant children from the same country or community. Social worker from S2, explains a case in which children from the same community and country of origin reproduced in them the working and power relationships of their parents.

## **5. Conclusions and discussion**

Diversity affects schools in various ways and from different levels. It is a complex issue with many layers, local particularities and permanent fluctuations of diversity. Educational communities face the challenges of migratory diversity within the framework of national and local educational policies for educational inclusion and social integration. Although they use

the available resources, they are sometimes considered insufficient. They also develop their own policies, programmes and practices, according to their possibilities, to solve day-to-day problems. Here are the main ideas that come out of this research.

For participants, integration in the migrant education context is understood within the framework of principles and values of educational inclusion. Some schools understand integration as a whole, not only for migrant children, but for newly arrived teachers and also for the families of these children. They understand that integration should cover the whole educational community and they present initiatives and programs to receive and accompany these different collectives.

At the administrative level, there are several issues that still need to be solved. On the one hand, there is an uneven distribution of enrolments. The current system allows those schools that at the beginning of the year have not covered all their places to receive students throughout the year. On the other hand, families can choose schools, so that schools with a high percentage of migrant children are the last ones to be chosen by local families, because of an unresolved social issue of stigma and invisible micro-racism. This means that schools that already have a high percentage of migrants do not cover all the places on offer, so they receive more migrant children over the school year. That leads to an unsolved problem of school segregation. In addition, there is a lack of resources available to this type of schools, which are considered as high complexity schools.

The integration of migrant children is complex due to different causes:

- Cultural clash between the educational system in the country of origin and the host country. Moreover, language is often presented as a barrier, as many families speak other languages than the official one in Catalonia, and school members don't speak the different families' languages and don't have enough translation resources.
- The necessity of teacher's professional development in order to deal with high percentages of migrant children in the classroom.
- Families and children go through very strong migratory duels and changes at all levels. And it takes time to overcome them.
- Most migrant families live in very disadvantaged situations.

At the educational level, the biggest difficulty is not the newly arrived migrant children, but those children of migrant families who are legally local (they were born in the country and have all the documentation in order) but socially are considered as migrants. Also, most of them present behavioural difficulties and emotional deficiencies in school.

Regarding the reasons why migrant families bring their children to schools with high percentage of cultural diversity, mainly two have been detected, and they are related to socio-economic issues:

- Newly arrived migrant families do not choose a school but are assigned those that have free places. These end up being schools with a high percentage of migrant children.
- Settled families, with certain socio-economic well-being, choose such schools for their children because they want their children to grow up in cultural diversity. They see diversity as a richness.

Finally, there are different initiatives on the part of administrations and schools to facilitate integration. Most of them are focused on the linguistic issue and perhaps there is a lack of strategies aimed at a curriculum that includes cultural diversity. We have not found any textbook recognising sources of knowledge beyond Western-centred culture. The current programmes and initiatives remain on the surface of cultural diversity, such as festivals, food or traditions, although teachers interviewed have shown interest to learn how to enact a cosmopolitan curriculum.



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## Researchers involved

### **Authors:**

Judit Onsès, Paula Estalayo, Paula Lozano, Miguel Stuardo, Marina Riera-Retamero, Silvia De Riba, Sandra Soler.

### **Collaborators:**

Fernando Hernández-Hernández, Juana M. Sancho.