

**BETWEEN DIVERSITY AND INEQUALITY:  
CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCES OF LIFE AND SCHOOL  
IN MULTICULTURAL EUROPE**

**CIIMU INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR**

**Barcelona, 22-24 January 2004**

**PRE-SEMINAR PAPERS & CV  
OF PARTICIPANTS**

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## **Aime of the Seminar**

**Dr Sílvia Carrasco, *Institut d'Infància i Món Urbà* and *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*, Spain**

Several dimensions affect the conditions of life and schooling experienced by all the children who live and are becoming citizens in European countries. Among these dimensions, we are especially interested in diversity and inequality because our conceptualisation and managing of diversity, as well as the way we identify and fight against inequality are central in the definition of the kind of future our children will inherit. Certain diversities give way to inequalities, or are used to disguise them. Certain inequalities are understood as the normal outcome of diversities among individuals, or are presented as the responsibilities of parents and communities in a variety of ways. This is not acceptable, and much more research is needed in this very difficult process of European integration where opposite voices are heard about the limits a multicultural construction.

Moreover, social cohesion starts in the way we pay attention to children: the children we are talking about are all the children –and this includes their families and communities-, not other people's children (in terms of Delpit, 1995). Thus, we are not focussing on poor children, ethnic minority children or children of immigrant origin but on those social situations producing worse conditions, discrimination and exclusion in children's experiences of life and school. For the sake of analysis, we insist in keeping life and school as separate instances because although formal education and schooling are obviously part of life, the school is the first institution where children (and their families and communities) from different social and cultural backgrounds meet and negotiate their place in society.

We would like to take some time to start asking questions and looking in depth at these dimensions through the contributions of research from a variety of disciplines. Theory and evidence developed in contexts with different local histories, social models and systems of education in Europe will help us acquire a comparative perspective about how diversity

and inequality shape children's lives and education and how researchers can produce better knowledge to orientate public policies.

Issues of the sessions: Inequality and conditions of life in childrens'experiences; Inequality, schooling and social change; Diversity and Inequality: social models and systems of education; Multilingual matters and experiences in life and school; Minority status and stigmatisation: children's experiences; Social Borders, borders of Europe: impact on children's experiences; The role of the school before Diversity and Inequality.

## **Intercultural Education: principles, theories, models and perspectives**

**Giovanna Campani, Università di Firenze, Italia**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Giovanna Campani has prepared a Ph. D. in Ethnology, University of Nice (France) (1988) on "Family, Village and Regional Networks of Italian Immigrants in France" and a Master of Philosophy, University of Pisa, (Italy) (1974) on "History, Science and Sociology in Max Weber' s Thought".

Between 1992-93 and 1996 she has been Senior Lecturer of Comparative Education at the University of Florence (Italy), Departement of Education; since 1996-97, she is professor of Intercultural Education. Since 1995-94, she is director of a post-graduate course Social Sciences and Intercultural Relations.

Between 1991 and 1997 she has been Coordinator of the ERASMUS Program ICP-91-I-1089/05; ICP-92-I-1089/05; ICP-93-I-1089/05; ICP-94-I-1089/05; ICP-95-I-1089/05 including the Universities of Nice (France), Paris V (France), London, Institute of Education (Great Britain), Manchester (Great Britain), Lisbon (Portugal), Viseu (Portugal), Granada (Spain), Girona (Spain), Umea (Sweden), Reijkiavik (Iceland).

She has participated and has directed different researches for international organisations (European Science Foundation, UNESCO, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working conditions, OIM, DGV of the European Commission, etc...) on intercultural relations, migrations, anti-racist work.

She is actually coordinating a project of the Framework V, on Languages and ethnic mobilization.

She is author of different books and has published many articles in qualified journals. Her last books: (2002) I saperi dell'interculturalità, (2002) Perché siamo musulmane, (2000), Genere, etnia e classe. Migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identità, ETS, Pise;

(1996), *La rosa e lo specchio*, Ipermedium, Naples. In collaboration: (1998) with Besalù, Paludarias, *Educacion intercultural en Europa. Un enfoque curricular*, Pomares Corredor, Barcelona; (1997) with Verma, Woodrow, Trindade, *Intercultural Education: Theories, policies and practices*, Ashgate, London. She has recently become author of children books: (2003) *Ariane e Omid, tre gatte, una cavalletta, otto gabbiani e due aquile reali*, Alberto Perdisa editore, Bologna.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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#### **Intercultural Education: principles, theories, models and perspectives**

In one article published in 1992, Garcia Castano and Pulido Moyano classify the scientific production on multicultural education on the basis of the implicit concepts of multiculturalism authors have. Behind any educational project and practice, there are implicit principles and theoretical basis : cultural assimilation ; recognition of difference ; cultural pluralism ; bi-cultural education ; anti-racist education.

The approach used by the two authors is interesting. What, however, needs to be deepened is the fact that the implicit principles do not only refer to sociological or pedagogical theories, but also to political theories of management of ethno-cultural diversity and conceptions of citizenship.

In the field of intercultural and multicultural education (differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism depend as well from implicit principles and socio-political contexts), the educational debate crosses the political one. Multiculturalism is a policy and it has been applied in Canada (where it has been included in the Constitution), Australia and Sweden.

This inter-crossing between education and policy concerns all levels of schooling, from maternal to University. From the choices in matters of multiculturalism, depend, for example: the respect of linguistic rights (development of bilingualism or focusing on monolingualism); definition of the universal values and the ones of any culture (how to select

globalization in universal values education has to transmit); inclusion and exclusion of groups and individuals in the education systems and in the society.

These debates are touching particularly Europe and North America: after a time when multicultural and/or intercultural education seemed to be the path to follow to answer to the challenges of globalization, today critical voices, in name of shared values, cultural and linguistic homogeneity, civic spirit, are becoming stronger and stronger not only in Europe, but also in Canada, where multiculturalism is official policy since 1971.

In this paper, implicit principles, theoretical basis and practices of multicultural education are compared focusing the relation between pedagogical work and socio-political debate in different contexts.

Considering multicultural education history, we can identify distinct complementary trends which marked its developments in Europe and North America: anti-racist education, focusing discrimination inside the society and pushing towards a general social change and education to tolerance, attempting to modify the education model without questioning it deeply.

Always considering multicultural education history, we can see how the assimilationist approach has been predominant both in Europe and North America to deal with cultural diversity. It was only after long fights (movement of civil rights and ethnic revival) of groups and communities that the model changed for a more open one, appreciating multiculturalism.

Multicultural education and anti-racist education were the consequence of a re-education during the ethnic revival. Anthropology (Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, George Spindler), migration sociology (Glazer, Moynihan), critical education (Banks) contributed to give theoretical basis to an approach putting the critics of racism in schools as a main aspect. One of the first experiences of intercultural education was realized by Jane Elliott in a school of Iowa (the famous game of the division between blue-eyed and brown-eyed children) a few days after the murder of Martin Luther King.

It was in this time of ethnic revival that the assimilationist paradigm was criticized and substituted with the multiculturalism. The critic of the assimilationist model, respect and recognition of differences, deconstruction of prejudices, suggested new pedagogical instruments.

However, these new education instruments and models found different applications according to socio-political contexts: education practices developed more where the immigrant or minority groups could be active in multicultural programs, like in the Canadian case.

In contexts, like the European ones, where the national assimilationist model dominated (with the partial exception of the British and Swiss contexts) intercultural education experiences were limited, shifting between the "pédagogie couscous" and the revival of the idea of tolerance as old as Locke y Voltaire. For the immigrant minorities, integration was always the final goal. Only the so-called national minorities could obtain substantial changes in the education systems.

More in general, the respect of difference didn't mean incorporation of aspects of the dominated cultures (immigrants and minorities) into the dominating cultures.

A partial exception can be considered the model of the "convergence culture" in Quebec. On the other side, the focusing of cultural difference had the consequence of differentiating groups and pupils, provoking perverse effects, in a context where differentialist racism took the place of biologic racism.

These perverse effects were also a pretext for the critics to multicultural and intercultural education in name of an education to citizenship based on participation and civic values.

Today, in front of neo-racism and neo-nationalism, in front of the discourse on the clash of civilization discourse, which has followed the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, the fight for interculturalism should be reinforced. It can represent the only way for the education of the future, with the method of deconstruction of prejudices, the search for common values, not imposed by the West, but a result of negotiation.

*The debate on intercultural education is not more advanced today than in the seventies. Societies are not ready to accept the dominant culture to be modified through a culture of convergence, mixing not only folkloric aspects but deep visions of the world and of political and social organization. In no place in the world school is ready to follow and encourage processes of "transculturation".*

## **What schools ignore about immigrant and minority children. Implications of some research results on basic social knowledge and educational practice in Barcelona**

**Dr Silvia Carrasco, CIIMU and Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Dr. Silvia Carrasco Pons, Convenor of the seminar. Professor of Social Anthropology and a specialist in the field of Anthropology of Education in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. She coordinates a research group about childhood, education and migration (Elima-GIEM) and is the director of the Master in Education and Migration in the same university. In the Institute of Childhood and the Urban World (CIIMU), she is in charge of the area of childhood and immigration within the Barcelona Report on the state of children and families produced every two years.

As a result of her comparative interest and perspective, she has been a visiting researcher in several universities and field areas abroad. Some of her recent publications are: "Harder borders to cross: discourses on social cohesion and educational opportunities for immigrant and minority children in Spain" (2003) *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 2; "Infancia e inmigración: entre los proyectos de los adultos y la realidad de los menores", en *La infancia y la familia a principios del siglo XXI*, VVAA Editorial ARIEL, (2003); *Immigració i diversitat sociocultural a les escoles de Barcelona. Estudi sobre escolartització i concentració escolar als centres públics municipals i de Ciutat Vella*. Observatori de la Immigració, Ajuntament de Barcelona (2003); "La escolarización de los hijos e hijas de inmigrantes y de minorías socioculturales en España", *Revista de Educación del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes*, nº 330 (2003).

## **Pre-seminar paper**

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### **What schools ignore about immigrant and minority children. Implications of some research results on basic social knowledge and educational practice in Barcelona**

Spain has experienced great changes that have conditioned the relationship between immigration and education. We could summarize the most essential of these as follows (Carrasco, S & Soto, P, 2000):

-Changes in migration dynamics. Certain regions of the country have become the destination for immigrants from poorer countries rather than territories for subsequent transit to Central and Northern Europe. Some of these regions were producers of emigrants in the 60's and 70's while others were receiving them, where the category of 'immigrant' or 'Castilian' had been available as a label whenever conflict arose.

-Changes in the content of 'traditional' social and educational resistences towards multicultural identities. The dictatorship took a firm line against historical and cultural diversities (language, law, institutions, expressive culture...), inheriting an ideology that can be traced back to the making of the modern nation-state in Spain, which regarded them as signs of political dissidence. A false image of an average single type of Spaniard was encouraged together with the idea of a unique and homogeneous mother country. Moreover, attitudes varying between uneasiness and intolerance can be detected in different school practices and relations (family/school relations, teacher/student relations, curriculum negotiations...) in the present day context, where the arrival of new immigrant students and the process of recognition of historical rights for autonomous communities coexist. Certain ethnic minority organizations have also started to call for the recognition of particular cultural rights, after obtaining Spanish citizenship in the 1978 Constitution, representing an outstanding example both of exclusion and resistance to assimilation for five hundred years.

-Political and ideological debates in a situation of education reform and 'counter-reform' undertaken at devastating speed during the last ten years. The new secondary education has gathered all the students together in the same classrooms and under the same curricular basis as a result of a comprehensive treatment of diversity (although the subject-

based curriculum is still the dominant organization). The former system had separate vocational and academic tracks which are to be reintroduced by the conservative counter-reform (although many secondary schools have managed to advance it in practice<sup>1</sup>). The influence of families in the schools' decisions has been institutionalized with the emergence of new tensions (imagined and/or real) that add to the increase of discontent among different sectors of teachers. Finally, decentralization of school management is under debate, with two opposing conceptions: local management of schooling based on flexibility and a more accurate knowledge of the territory and its enclaves and a uniform model based on poorly decentralized management and highly centralized decision-making. Both approaches, however, particularly emphasize the 'extra needs of' or the 'extra resources dedicated to' children of immigrant and minority origin in some urban schools, where the socially disadvantaged population is concentrated.

The educational needs of immigrant and minority children are presented in terms of extra budgetary and professional efforts that the system is kindly and freely making on their behalf through the education authorities. The media present them as contributing to lower standards, lagging behind and, finally, becoming increasingly radical in their cultural traditions and rejecting any idea of integration in the host society as they grow up. In fact, radical debates on multiculturalism and national identities as well as the role of Spain as Europe's southern border emerge systematically around news about the 'educational needs' and 'cultural conflict' of immigrant children.

All these are images and representations. Children are experiencing very different situations in our society. This is especially true in relation to school attainment and social relations, although we have very little evidence up to now to state the extent of either dimension because there are no official figures available on school attainment<sup>2</sup> based on

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<sup>1</sup> Ability grouping and early segregation and orientation of students' careers are just two of the major features which will affect those students who join the education system late, i.e. the children of poor foreign immigrant parents.

<sup>2</sup> The Spanish education system does not have students tested at particular stages but there is a report every two years (*ciclo*) on the academic performance of the student which will decide whether he or she has to remain in that stage for another school year. There is a report at the end of primary education and the final certificate of secondary education, both of them expressing the average grades obtained by students in every whole period. There are four different options of college preparatory, post-compulsory education (16-18) and a very long list of options for professional training in two periods or stages, half of which provide a longer path to access certain university courses. Students who fail to obtain the GCSE equivalent have the option of professional training until they are 18 in special units (*Programas de Garantía Social*). Students fill in several

foreign descent, nationality or ethnic affiliation, or records based on indicators of harassment and exclusion within schools.

I have recently (Carrasco, 2003) focussed on the political impact of these representations and tensions, and its contribution to the emergence of a highly conservative position which is hidden behind the discourse about social cohesion and educational opportunities in relation to 'the needs' of immigrant and minority children. In this paper I would like to present some results of a research project carried out since 1998 in 75 schools in Barcelona (from kindergarden through the end of compulsory education), that shows the incredible gaps educational authorities, schools and teachers have in the basic knowledge about the social, economic and cultural context of living of all their children, and the role it plays in lack of articulation and innovation of educational practices, while both policy makers and teachers really believe they are developing extra efforts and better responses.

The dimensions explored in this paper based on the former research will be: conceptualisation of foreignness/minority status of children and their parents, parents' qualification and labour conditions, knowledge about family languages and literacy practices, regular and irregular mobility of students within the city and the different school networks available. The insufficient and distorted 'knowledge' (and unawareness of the situation) found out within the schools about these dimensions will be compared with the results obtained in the making of the first report on the state of Barcelona's immigrant children in 2002 and its implications.

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options for courses at different universities before they take a general admission exam. Places will be available to them depending both on demand and on the average grade they obtain between school marks and the results of admission exam. This system is going to be changed shortly but it is not clear what the new one will finally be.

## **Gypsy culture, children, schooling and life opportunities**

**Ms Maria José Casa-Nova, Universidade do Minho, Portugal**

### **Summary of the CV**

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*Main scientific area of research:* Sociology of Intercultural Education

*Other Scientific areas of interest:* Gender, Social public policies

*Academic degrees:*

January 2000 – Master in Sociology of Education, specialization in education and cultural diversity, by the School of Psychology and Sciences of Education of the Oporto University;

December 1992 – Higher education degree in Sciences of Education, by the School of Psychology and Sciences of Education of the Oporto University;

At present - Developing the doctorate in Sociology of Education, Institut of Education and Psychology of University of Minho, Braga.

*Present position:*

Lecturer of the Sociology of Education and Educational Administration Department of the Institut of Education and Psychology of University of Minho, Braga.

Researcher of the Centro de Investigação em Educação (CIEd), of the Institute of Education and Psychology of Minho University and of the Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Educativas (CIIE), of the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Porto.

*Editorial Projects:* Member of Editorial Council of “Educação, Sociedade & Culturas Review (University of Oporto).

*Some Publications:*

*Books:* CORTESÃO, L., AMARAL, T., CARVALHO, I., CARVALHO, L., CASA-NOVA, M. J. et al (1995) *E Agora tu Dizias Que...Jogos e Brincadeiras como Dispositivos Pedagógicos*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 140 p.; CASA-NOVA, M. J. (2002) *Etnicidade, Género e Escolaridade - Estudo em torno das socializações familiares de género numa comunidade cigana da cidade do Porto*. Lisboa: IIE; CORTESÃO, Luiza, STOER, Stephen Ronald, CASA-NOVA, Maria José & TRINDADE, Rui (2004) *Escola e Comunidade Cigana – Representações recíprocas*. Lisboa: ACIME (no prelo).

*Articles:* CASA-NOVA, M. J. (2001a) "Sociedades e Escolas Multiculturais - Esboço de um quadro teórico para análise das práticas". *Revista de Administração Educacional, Recife (Brazil)* nº 7, pp. 69-90; CASA-NOVA, M. J. (2001b) "Etnicidade e classes sociais - em torno do valor heurístico da etnia como categoria social. *Educação, Sociedade & Culturas*, nº 16, pp. 63-82; CASA-NOVA, M. J. (2002b) "Ethnicity and Social Classes – On the heuristic value of the conceptualisation of gypsy ethnicity as a social category". *Texto policopiado*; CASA-NOVA, Maria José (2003) "Ciganos, Escola e Mercado de Trabalho", in *Revista Portuguesa de Psicologia e Educação*, nº 8, ano 7, pp.252-269.

**Pre-seminar paper**

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**Gypsy culture, children, schooling and life opportunities****Portugal and Immigration**

For the last five years, with particular incidence in the years 2000 to 2002, we have seen an extraordinary increase in immigration in Portugal, fundamentally originating in the Eastern European countries (mainly, from the Ukraine, but also from Moldavia and Romania) and in South America (mainly, from Brazil). This fact has transformed Portugal, traditionally a country of emigration, into a country simultaneously an 'exporter' and

'importer' of a workforce that, in the majority, will work in unqualified functions in the field of agriculture and civil construction.<sup>3</sup>

If, from 1975 to 1999, one saw a gradual increase in the contingent of immigrants (from 30 thousand to 191 thousand, with no great migratory outbreak), between 2000 and 2002, that number doubled, constituting, at present, more than 4% of the Portuguese population (more than 400 thousand legalized individuals in 10 million inhabitants), not including, in that number, the immigrants in an illegal situation (which is estimated at around 50 thousand) and the minority ethnic group of Gypsies (totalling between 40 and 50 thousand). This minority group is not considered an immigrant group, since it has been part of the Portuguese society for more than five centuries.<sup>4</sup>

The first numerically significant immigrations registered between 1975 and 1999 were from the African Countries with Portuguese as the Official Language (the so-called PALOP — Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Príncipe and Guinea-Bissau). Especially, the Cape Verde Islands, up to the end of the year 2000, constituted the exporter of the greatest number of immigrants, totalling, at that time, around 50 thousand Cape Verdeans residing in Portugal, though later surpassed by the Ukraine and, now, by Brazil.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, citizens from almost all the countries of the world are presently part of the Portuguese society, with particular numerical relevance to the citizens from (in a decreasing order) Brazil, the Ukraine, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, the United States, France, S. Tomé and Príncipe,

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<sup>3</sup> One must stress that the Portuguese citizens that emigrate will occupy, in the so-called 'welcoming' countries, the same type of work positions that immigrants occupy in Portugal, but with a significant difference in relation to the wages levels.

<sup>4</sup> Though one has also seen immigratory phenomena of Gypsy citizens from Romania, the numerical expression has been relatively low at present.

<sup>5</sup> During the Seminar, if the participants wish it, maps and graphs, illustrative of the evolution of immigration in Portugal and the number of immigrants by country of origin, can be presented. Maps relative to the number of immigrant children (or descendents of immigrants) and of minority ethnic groups (putting in relief the minority ethnic group of Gypsies) attending what we call basic schooling (9 years) and secondary schooling (3 years) and their respective levels of progress can also be presented.

Romania and Mozambique that, globally, reach more than 300 thousand individuals, making Portugal an ethnically and culturally heterogeneous country.<sup>6</sup>

### **Ethnic Minorities, Status and Life Opportunities**

For several reasons (namely on a cultural and on a social organization order minority/majority), some of these minority immigrants (mainly those from the PALOP) were also transformed into ethnic minorities, fighting, in different ways and according to their own survival strategies, for a *place* (*provisional, because it is changeable*) in the welcoming society, conquered and/or yielded in the unequal struggles and negotiations between socio-cultural groups with different types and amounts of power that, in their turn, originate unequal opportunities and ways of life<sup>7</sup>. These immigrant and ethnic minorities are normally viewed as homogeneous by the welcoming societies. They *disregard their internal differentiations of a classist or cultural scope and the importance that these differentiations assume in the search for/conquest of diversified opportunities of life*.

To the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups originating from immigration, we should add the culture of the Gypsy communities that, though Portuguese, are the ones that have shown more mutual communication difficulties with the Portuguese society in general and with some of its institutions, namely, the school system.<sup>8</sup>

Those difficulties of minority↔majority communication frequently derive from negative social representations (*cf. Afonso et al, 2000*) and from *inter-ethnic relations of power/weakness, based on status differentiation* (economic, cultural) and of *roles* (professional, of gender, generational) played by the different social actors-subjects in their projects and daily lives, influencing, in what Gypsy ethnic groups is concerned, a *marginalized way of*

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<sup>6</sup> One must report that, in professional terms, a significant part of the citizens from the European Union countries and from the United States are qualified workers, superior staff of companies, intellectuals and scientists. The immigrants from the Eastern countries, in spite of partially presenting higher level academic qualifications, get employment where a workforce is most needed, *i.e.*, men in agriculture and civil construction, wo-men in domestic work or in restaurants.

<sup>7</sup> During the Seminar we will present and discuss the governmental policies.

<sup>8</sup> The data and reflections developed here about the Gypsy ethnic group derives from an on-going research project in a specific community, based on ethnographic field work. This work is being realized with recourse to participatory observation with around 150 individuals (in work places — fairs — and residential area — a Town Hall quarter on the outskirts of the city of Porto, in the North of Portugal) and to semi-structured interviews.

*living and an inclusion-excluded.* In fact, the actors-subjects of this ethnic group (in what the studied community is concerned), mainly children and young people, but also adults, are frequently confronted, in a more or less conscious way, with the dilemma of being potential or real socially excluded people (either in terms of access to diversified opportunities of life or in terms of active participation in the diverse spheres of public life), but included in their own group *or* considering themselves socially included, but excluded from their community of origin with everything that this exclusion can imply, namely at the level of intra-ethnic loss of solidarity. Without the support of their own group, these actors-subjects *know and feel* (in a more or less conscious way) that they are alone in a society whose social representations condemn them, to a great extent, to isolation.<sup>9</sup>

The social and cultural status of this minority was gradually constituted by an unfavourable status, subordinated (a specific kind of subordination that we will later explain) with a closure in a certain socially-constructed image: they are problematical, noisy, dirty, aggressive, bad-mannered, with no respect for others... In short, *everyone seems to know what they are like, but very few have actually had relations with them.*

In what intra-ethnic and intra-community experiences of life of the Gypsy children are concerned, one can see, in the developing research, an intra-ethnic inequality of the socialization processes that is shown in a greater inter-ethnic inequality. Indeed, the *intra-ethnic experience of inequality of gender, the family and community protection* they are the target of (that, deriving from the suspicion they feel in relation to the global society, constitutes a *defensive strategy*), and the *Gypsy system of values*, make these children deprived in relation to children of other ethnic groups. Taking into consideration these factors, we believe that these children need<sup>10</sup> (inside their own community) a *double* or

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<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it seems, to us, necessary to jointly think of ways and processes of realizing a "horizontal integration, unsubordinated, of mutual inter-ethnic influences" (Casa-Nova, 2002), that would include "the visions and positions of the interested parties themselves on integration, through a profound analysis of their strategies, relations and projects (...)" (Carrasco, Ballestin, Bertran & Bretones, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> The expression "need" or other similar ones do not have the intention of constituting an imperative of action, nor is viewed as a paternalistic and/or charitable attitude in relation to the "other". Comprising a normative component, but not a prescribed one, of the action of the social actors-subjects, it intends to signify the preconization of a fairer and equal standard. Taking into consideration that the whole discursiveness, though it may be very progressive and transgressive, always encompasses a standard component (that can present different gradations), we consider that what is important to excuse are the discursive and human-action components in what the substitution of a certain social order for another is concerned, which can constitute a factor of human and social emancipation.

*triple liberation* (relative to gender) that would make them, at least, equal in the inequality experienced by children of other disfavoured socio-cultural groups in what concerns to the wider society. It would be a liberation enabling the construction of "utopias, whilst places of construction" (Casa-Nova, 2002), that diminish the distance between the *dream* (what I would like to be) and the *reality* (what I have the possibility of being).

Some of these subjects-actors live an *internal process of tension between structure and agency* (on the part of the children, of *agency, sometimes, without consciousness*) in what the necessity of obedience to the so-called *Gypsy Law*<sup>11</sup> and the desire to change are concerned; one witnesses intra and inter-generational conflicts in what the preservation and the changing of values are concerned. Children, young people and adults try to protagonize some of those changes.

On the mourning level:

"In mourning, there are certain things that don't make, or ever have made, sense, never. They never made sense. Certain things, like not being able to eat meat, watch television, hear the radio, going out for entertainment, take a bath. A person also seems to die. It doesn't make sense. I don't follow this in this way."<sup>12</sup>

In the choice of a male or female companion:

"I am promised. [He] is 15 years old. If I liked [a non-Gypsy boy], I would marry I wouldn't mind at all. (...) I don't like him. (...) I am wooing another, but my father doesn't know. (...) He is also wooing another girl of your race. (...) I don't know why some commit themselves to others. If they don't like them

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<sup>11</sup> This *Gypsy Law* constitutes a kind of *conduct code* that is orally transmitted from generation to generation, structuring the socialization of children and young people of a Gypsy ethnic group.

<sup>12</sup> A Gypsy man, 47 years old, married, considered the official "spokesman" of the community with the exterior.

and they can't talk; afterwards, they grow up and undo everything (...) I don't like this law."<sup>13</sup>

"When, sometimes, a young Gypsy man is committed to a young Gypsy girl and the families really want them to marry and he doesn't want to, he runs away with the girl he likes and, then, the parents end up accepting things, after much strife."<sup>14</sup>

The desire for change is manifested in constant speeches, also in relation to the female gender:

In matrimonial commitments:

"It should be permitted like with you [divorce]. That rarely happens here. It is not accepted for the woman. But, I'm used to it. Twelve years have gone by."<sup>15</sup>

"Here, separation is still not accepted, principally for the woman. But, there are already women that are separated. If there are strong reasons, she isn't going to remain her whole life attached to her husband!"<sup>16</sup>

In relation to school:

"I wanted to be a teacher, you know. Mathematics teacher. I wasn't able to. My sister was born, my mother needed me at home and she also didn't want me to study. She has those ideas. She was afraid I would be talked about."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> A young Gypsy girl, at present, 19 years old, married to a young Gypsy man that is not the young man to whom she was promised. She has a three-year-old daughter. At the time she said those words, she was 14 and was attending the 5th year of schooling. She abandoned school in that year (school year of 1997/98).

<sup>14</sup> Young Gypsy girl, 15 years old, single.

<sup>15</sup> Gypsy woman, 45 years old, married, with four children, living with her husband in the same house, but like two strangers. In schooling, she only attended the 1st year.

<sup>16</sup> Young Gypsy girl, 15 years old, single, engaged to a young Gypsy man of 18. In schooling, she attended the 4th year.

For reasons related to constraints derived from the system of values of the *Gypsy Law* in what the feminine gender is concerned, her mother did not let her remain in school:

“It wouldn’t do. She would be talked about by the Gypsies. I would have liked it, but it wouldn’t do. I considered it, but, when it became time to... [change schools, leave the Quarter] Someone has to break with this, but no one [in the community] wants to be the first.”<sup>18</sup>

“I liked school, I wanted to continue, but I knew that my father wouldn’t let me. He would only let me do the 4th year. I didn’t pass the 4th grade for three years to be able to continue in school. The teacher perceived that I was failing on purpose. I knew things, but, when I did the exam, I made mistakes on purpose in order not to pass. She [the teacher] told me: ‘I already know that you know and you’re making mistakes on purpose. But, if next year you do the same, I will pass you anyway.’ So, I passed and my father took me away from school. When I passed to the 5th year, he took me away. (...) If I were able to study, what I would like to be would be a lawyer.”<sup>19</sup>

The adopted strategy by this young girl, when a child, like others that she used “to skirt (without confronting) parental authority” (Casa-Nova, 2002) is the expression of a desire for change which, in the impossibility of concreteness for herself (since her way of acting constituted, at the present time, a *resistance without production*), it may happen in the future of her children.

This desire and attempt at change does not signify, however, a loss of Gypsy identity. It only signifies the *reconfiguration of its primary habitus, i.e., a constantly restructured structure, that, in its turn, constitutes the basis of a new or renewed structure that*

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<sup>17</sup> Young Gypsy girl, 14 years old, single. She attended school up to the 6th year and was considered a good student by her teachers.

<sup>18</sup> Gypsy woman, 33 years old, married, with two daughters and one son. She attended the 4th year of schooling.

<sup>19</sup> Young Gypsy girl, 15 years old, recently married. In schooling, she has the complete 4th grade (1st cycle of basic education). We were present at her first failure and, even then, we knew, like the teacher did, that that failure was intentional.

*originates security for action*, enabling adaptations to social changes and to individual interests and expectations.<sup>20</sup>

The heterogeneities and homogeneities that one finds in this community seem, to us, explainable *through* and explainers of *what* we designate as *ethnicity as place* (Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002), *movable places*, according to the dynamics, the diversity of individual strategies and local contexts, national or supra-national ones. These *ethnicity as place* are constructed, starting from an intra-ethnic differentiation, having as a basis a self-differentiation realized by different actors-subjects, constituting intermediate places (*not necessarily hierarchised or producing hierarchy*) within what we designate, already in 1999, as *ethnic habitus* (Casa-Nova, 1999, 2002).<sup>21</sup> These *ethnicity as place* seem, to us, to be constructed from the *existence of different levels of consciousness relative to the ethnic group* that, in their turn, originate reconfigurations of the *primary habitus*. This *gradual consciousness* would present successive and gradual approximations of what Giddens (1984) "called 'discursive consciousness', which refers to everything the actors can express orally or in written form. Giddens differentiates 'discursive consciousness' from 'practical consciousness', the latter including all that the actors are aware of and capable of doing in social life, without, however, being able to express what they know and do in a discursive way" (Casa-Nova, 2002b)<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> In Bourdieu's conception, *habitus* can be either structuring of the individual's thought and action, or structured, which means that the unchanging character of *habitus*, presupposed by the concept not to exist, makes it thus possible for this concept to be altered throughout the actors-subjects' existence. In the author's words, *habitus* is "the product of history, a system of open dispositions, continually confronted with new experiences, and, so, continually affected by them. It is durable but not unchanging" (1992: 108-109), although, in the author's perspective, this mutability does not imply any degree of consciousness by the social actors-subjects, being rather the result of a certain maladjustment between past embodied mental structures and present social structures (*cf.* Bourdieu, 1977). "In Bourdieu's perspective, the primary *habitus* is structured on the basis of the unconscious incorporation of rules and norms carried out by subjects during the process of primary socialisation. In our perspective, this *habitus* (past) is later manifested in a non-rationalised way (which doesn't mean in an unconscious way), undergoing changes on the basis of the actors-subjects' life experience. The changes that may result from the construction of a gradual "discursive consciousness" and/or of a "practical consciousness" give rise to the restructuring (in the sense of updating) of the *habitus*" (Casa-Nova, 2002b).

<sup>21</sup> We will later explain the concept. For now, we will limit ourselves to referring to the fact that, in the un-folding of the field work, the overlapping of an *ethnic habitus* over a *class habitus* has been gradually seen, since the latter has not revealed itself as a conditioner of social and cultural practices of the researched actors-subjects.

<sup>22</sup> In this study, we considered that the reconfigurations of the *habitus* can have a conscious origin or a non-consciousness or, yet, a gradual consciousness.

The *ethnicity as places* would be explainers, in this specific case, of the differentiations of positioning of the Gypsy families in what their sons' and daughters' schooling is concerned and also of the different ways of being facing the global society.

### **Gypsy Ethnicity and Schooling<sup>23</sup>**

If it is true that the Portuguese Gypsy communities have generically shown a certain suspicion and distancing in relation to the school institution,<sup>24</sup> the first question that appears in this analysis on schools as an institution and, as an organisation, is: *whom does school serve at the present time?*

In view of the actual "reconfigurations of the labour market (Casa-Nova, 2003), originating in the transition of the Ford regime to the "flexible accumulation capitalism" (Harvey, 1992 [1989]), the structuring of the school organisation and the transmission of knowledge that it effects does not seem to satisfy none of the socio-cultural groups, including the favoured social classes (with regard to the new mandate of the middle class, see Magalhães & Stoer, 2002).

At present, those social groups are conscious that the knowledge they need to maintain their socially privileged situations is not found in school, though the latter continues to be necessary to guarantee certification that they need. But, the *(un)suitability of school to the different publics that attend, it presents a hierarchy expressed in terms of distancing/approach to the different socio-cultural categories* (social classes, ethnic groups and genders) *that classify the students*. Though some groups are presented socially and culturally closer to school culture (favoured social classes and ethnic minorities), and other groups are presented socially and culturally more distant, with the

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<sup>23</sup> Ethnicity is understood by the author as "ways of expressing in an ethnic group, *i.e.* an ethnic group in action" (Casa-Nova, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> In spite of this observation, one can record the fact that, *from the school year of 1992/93* (the time when Portugal began to have a state organism responsible for the gathering of this type of data — the Inter-Cultures Secretariat) *to the year 1997/98* (the last year in relation to which the treatment of the gathered data exists, up to this time, in what the school attendance of Gypsy children and young people is concerned), there has been a gradual increase in school attendance in the diverse cycles of Basic and Secondary Schooling (with the exception of the school year of 1997/98 in relation to the 2nd cycle and Secondary Schooling) (see Chart 1 annexed). However, the number of Gypsy children and young people with the right age to attend Obligatory Schooling and Secondary Schooling is unknown.

Gypsy ethnic group placed at the extreme end of that distancing, we, nowadays, also verify an approach or a distancing in relation to the significance that school has for the different socio-cultural groups, though these, as we saw above, in relation to Gypsies, also *do not present an internal homogeneity in the way of viewing and of relating to school.*

However, *parents and teachers seem to structure, more than to agency, the possible field of action of the Gypsy children and young people* in their daily social and school life, with the teachers constructing *classifying systems, facilitators and justifying their pedagogical activity:*

“Everyone knows that one of the flaws that Gypsies have is lying, they have an imagination... let me tell you! (...) they all suffer very much from the head, they suffer from the head all the time and they have to leave to take care of their heads, (...) She [a Gypsy girl] did not want to work because they are outdoor little birds (...)”<sup>25</sup>

The teachers, as other socio-professional and cultural groups, seem to ignore or neglect the fact of *lying*, in the Gypsy ethnic group, being constructed as a *survival strategy* that originates a necessary discursive capacity to confront situations of disadvantage and social and cultural inequality experienced by them. It is not an innate category, as it is frequently presented; it is socially constructed, functioning as an *ethnic marker*<sup>26</sup> of the Gypsy population as a whole, including children, either in what the establishment of relations of inter-ethnic sociability is concerned or in relation to the schooling processes of which they are the target. That is, the children *experience the consequences of the negative social representations associated with the group they belong to*, either in relation to the global society or in contact with specific institutions, principally, the institution of school.

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<sup>25</sup> Teacher of the 1st cycle of basic schooling (first four years)

<sup>26</sup> We were inspired in the expression “an apparently irreducible marker” by Silvia Carrasco (2002), when the author refers to what the so-called welcoming societies designate as “language problems” presented by minorities.

In the teachers' perspectives, the children do not constitute good students, because they are not induced through their families.<sup>27</sup> School rarely appears referenced, by the teachers, in the heterogeneous universe of constitutive reasons of the unadaptation of the children to school. They neglect the importance of *understanding how the experiences of schooling are processed in these children* and see them as deficient systems, as needing "compensatory education" or "alternative curricula" that, frequently viewed as positive discrimination measures, are nothing more than ways of deepening the pre-existent and educational social stigmas and inequalities, revealing the absence of "official school justice" (Estêvão, 2002).

These children are considered *difficult in school*, because *they provoke noise, even when they are silent or silenced, because they disturb people in their unadaptation to school*; this disturbance is disguised, by the teachers, through the attribution of failure to the children, to the families and to the socio-cultural context in which they live and develop relations of intra-ethnic sociability.

More than curricular contents, we believe it is the form of school organisation that greatly underlies the disturbance of the Gypsies in the presence of school. This disturbance motivates them to construct a multiplicity of pretexts and strategies to abandon the school-room in the middle of a class, or to miss classes the next day: headaches, sick relatives, a younger brother, etc.. It is not perceptible to the teachers that *these strategies of running away from school hide a deeper problem, related to the uneasiness these children feel in school, the way it is found shaped at the present time*.

And, if we can consider, as Enguita (2000) refers, that school, whilst a foundational idea, was not thought of as a construction hostile to new groups that attend it (disfavoured social groups, female gender and ethnic minorities), "but was simply previously shaped to measure for others (...): the middle and high classes, male gender, and the ethnic

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<sup>27</sup> We will later proceed in the analysis of the meanings of school for the Gypsy families. At this moment, we would only like to refer that we consider that the families that demonstrate the least interest in school (beyond the reasons that derive from the educational policies and the form of school organization) also do so because "they still haven't found, in it, the necessary meaning and interest in their own system of values and life styles. This is so, because there exists a valuable gradation of mass activities that they develop, expressed in a hierarchy, in which school frequently appears as a residual form, in the lowest levels of that hierarchy" (Casa-Nova, 2003).

majority”, the fact is that *school was naturally constructed as a belonging-territory for the socially dominant groups and as a maintenance strategy of that domination.*

Having gradually opened to all social classes, genders and ethnic minorities, more for the necessity of modernization of the different countries rather than for equalitarian ideas, school is still an institution and a fundamental organisation whilst a “tool of change, in spite of the recognition of its key role in the reproduction of inequality” (Carrasco, 2002). This is so, because, *for certain socio-cultural groups* (disfavoured social classes and ethnic minorities), *school continues to be the only possibility of access to a certain type of knowledge*, to make the construction of diversified opportunities of life possible.

For that reason, one should ask: *what mimics and what contrasts does school need to become an agency of a gradual approach to social and cultural democratization* and to the construction of citizenships simultaneously critical, emancipatory and plural.

It is important to think of a school change and not so much of an alternative to school.

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Chart 1

Attendance evolution of Gypsy children and young people in Basic and Secondary Education in Portuguese schools

Education cycles	1st Cycle (4 years of schooling)	2nd Cycle (2 years of schooling)	3rd Cycle (3 years of schooling)	Secondary (3 years of schooling)
Ano lectivo				
1992/93	4072	156	47	-
1993/94	4294	167	27	-
1994/95	4671	210	66	4
1995/96	4753	259	66	12
1996/97	5026	327	78	22
1997/98	5354	269	78	16

Source: Inter-Cultures Secretariat

## **Early indications of the impact of the governance of immigration in Italian schools**

**Dr Jonathan Chaloff, Fondazione Censis, Rome, Italy**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Jonathan Chaloff has been a researcher for the Foundation Censis (Centre for the Study of Social Policy) since 1996. He has coordinated a series of international and national research projects on immigration, including the Child Immigration Project (1998-2000) and Children in Communication about Migration (2001-2004). He ran a commission on education for foreigners at the National Council for Economics and Labour from 1998 to 2001, as well as a working group on the same topic for the Prime Minister's Office in 2000-2001. He is the SOPEMI correspondent for the OECD for Italy. He holds a degree in human development from the University of Chicago.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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## **Early indications of the impact of the governance of immigration in Italian schools**

This paper provides an overview of the Italian findings of two European research projects, the Child Immigration Project (CHIP)<sup>28</sup> and Children in Communication about Migration (CHICAM)<sup>29</sup>. CHIP concentrated on the state of the art of settlement systems and parameters and indicators of well-being for their evaluation. CHICAM involves field research with a group of immigrant-origin middle school students. These research projects have shown how on the one hand policies for settlement have not aimed at providing real social inclusion and on the other hand how the current generation of immigrant kids is at risk in school because of shortfall and neglect in response and allocation of resources to the appropriate areas.

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<sup>28</sup> funded under Framework Programme 4

<sup>29</sup> funded under Framework Programme 6

The Italian school system has been by nature slow to react to changes. There is a low turnover among teachers and schoolmasters. Teaching is a position highly sought after, especially by women, and foreign citizens are excluded from the exam process. Continuous education generally counts for little except among substitute teachers. Schools, even with the new so-called autonomy, have little funding for special initiatives. Extracurricular activities tend to be private and outside the school, so that the school has little influence on the leisure time of its students.

Starting in the mid-1990's immigrant students started attending Italian public schools, especially at the lower levels, in significant numbers. While the numbers remain relatively small compared to other European countries, the recent nature of the migration phenomenon and the fact that all students come from non-Italian speaking countries and rarely have Italian language skills. Further, some schools have a large number of such students, reaching 20% or more in some elementary schools in some northern industrial areas.

The response by the school system to these changes has been piecemeal. On the one hand, the Italian Ministry of Education started, in 1994, to publish guidelines on intercultural education and tolerance. On the other hand, a myriad of private organisations began to offer courses of all kinds promoting interculture, multicultural, globality, peace, development and so on. These courses were open to teachers and sometimes promoted by scholastic institutions such as the Regional Teacher's Institutes (IRRSAE). The concentration was on attitudes and intercultural mediation.

At the same time, teachers in these schools were faced with a new school population and no resources for addressing their needs: teacher training had never including teaching Italian as a second language (IL2). Some pedagogists met this demand with useful publications and material, and schools with over 10% of foreigners were granted microgrants for additional teachers, but most attention remained centered on the more philosophical and anthropological aspects of intercultural communication.

The CHIP research revealed widespread "intercultural initiatives" around the country, but most of these initiatives appeared superficial, sporadic and driven by forces external to the school.

The CHICAM research involved a single middle school in Rome, where a group of 12-15 year old middle school students spent a school year in a multimedia laboratory filming, editing and producing their own video and multimedia documents.

The qualitative research done so far raises some critical points about the school system and its response to immigration. The results and the critical issues can be summarized as follows.

**Shallow multiculturalism.** The CHICAM research took place in one of the most famous “multicultural” schools in Rome, a school which is widely known for its welcoming attitude, and which attracts many Italian parents who wish to send their kid to a “multicultural” school. The cheerful and confident multiculturalism turned out to be limited to the surface. Little is done to empower the foreign kids. The school is not formally hostile and does offer extra language classes but tends to see the foreign kids as an added benefit for the Italian kids as a bearer of a foreign culture.

One symptom of this is the limited possibility for participation given to the parents of foreign students, who rarely meet teachers because the school does not schedule meetings or events so that working parents can attend, and because the immigrant students themselves are reluctant to involve their parents with the school, in contrast to their Italian peers.

This is particularly significant in a middle school, when kids must decide where to attend secondary school, whether to choose a professional or a university school. Immigrant kids at the model school were shunted by teachers towards less qualified secondary schools, in some cases despite a clear interest in university students. Certainly, performance by immigrant kids is worse than by their peers. Nationally, failure rates for immigrant students are 3-5 times as high as the Italian rates. Yet there is much that is discretionary in the grading system and it is impossible to exclude discrimination as a factor in both school performance and secondary school choice. The exclusion of parents from these processes reduces the chance that the kids will be defended.

**Hybrid youth culture as a potential factor of integration.** The kids in the research were in between two cultures, but squarely identified themselves as urban youth. This peer

group may well be the place to start when working on integration without assimilation. Youth culture is seen as an alternative to the culture of the host country and is strongly associated with glocality. The passage from childhood to adulthood is similar in this to the passage from one country to the next, producing a hybrid culture. Urban hybrid culture is based on redefinition and appropriation, and allow migrant kids to find their own voice without entering into opposition with either the home or the new society. Yet the kids in the research were socially excluded from interaction with Italian kids. The domination of the Italian family or private fee-based extracurricular activity means that their richer Italian peers are busy in the afternoons; the immigrant kids were often required by their timorous family to stay at home, or else they lacked mobility in the vast city. Other kids, not involved in the research, fell into deviant behaviour for lack of after-school activity.

In other countries migrant communities have offered something to their kids in this situation, often in religious contexts such as mosques. This means a risk of reinforcing segregation and keeps Italian kids from mixing with foreigners in their private social lives.

**Second generation at risk.** Italy has a vast labour market for domestic work, regulated or unregulated but invariably poorly paid and attracting women. More than 500,000 women work taking care of Italian elderly and children. The shadow effect of this is that many of these women cannot care for their own children and place them in private boarding houses, usually run by Catholic bodies. In Rome alone there are dozens of such boarding houses, and around Italy there are some which have more than 200 residents. These kids are at very high risk for exclusion, since they have limited parental resources. While their integration is facilitated, they are integrated to the lowest levels of Italian society. No attention has been given to this question.

**Active citizenship and media skills.** The media play a vital role in social and civic integration. While television should be the most important determinant, it is important to know how to interpret what is shown, to watch TV with some degree of scepticism. Social participation requires such an attitude towards TV; nonetheless, media education is practically unheard of in Italy. There is an assumption that visual language is universal, especially since the media are considered to be globalised and easily understood.

The exclusion of migrant children from full comprehension of television confers a serious handicap, since they need to interpret the implicit instructions from the society they now live in. Much research has been done on the image of foreigners in the Italian press: various content analyses conducted from 1999 through 2002 have shown that foreigners are depicted either as criminals and deviants or as impoverished creatures needing assistance. Further, the language of the media excludes foreigners through continuous use of “us” and “them”, of “our country” or “home” to describe Italians and Italy.

**Media Access.** While there is an assumption that kids have access to new media as well as old media, there is a clear digital divide separating immigrant kids from their peers at the same school. Internet access is unavailable and computer skills are poor. Even access to old media is limited: the kids rarely go to the movies or watch Italian TV as much as their Italian peers. They much prefer their cell phones.

There are currently more than 250,000 immigrant kids enrolled in Italian schools – about 3% of the total school population – and about 100,000 will be entering the system in the next few years. These kids are going into a school system that has not been able to guarantee their success and is not particularly troubled by their failure. Lengthy distraction over intercultural approaches has been accompanied by increasing rates of failure and a lack of funds for language support. No mention of institutional discrimination has been made. There appears to be cause for concern and it is important that it be addressed before larger problems are created.

## **The knowledge of non accompanied foreign undocumented minors in Catalonia: state of the question**

**Ms Marta Comas Sàbat, Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Geography and History graduate, specialized in contemporary history and anthropology. Universitat de Barcelona. (1986 and 1989)

Doctorate in anthropology, *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*. I obtained a master's degree (2002) with the thesis: "1975: the resumption. A new myth of origin of Catalan nationalism", directed by Dr. Joan Prat i Carròs.

I have worked for years as a social educator with disadvantaged young people, and afterwards I have engaged in research and teaching in this field. I have carried out the rationalization project of the IPEC (Inventory of the Ethnological Heritage of Catalonia) and the launching of the Observatory of ethnology, commissioned by the Centre of Promotion of the Catalan Popular and Traditional Culture of the Catalan Government (CPCPTC). I have been part of the programming team of the Jaume Bofill Foundation, coordinating research and reflection projects on the areas of education and immigration.

I currently work as adviser to the city councillor for education and fifth deputy mayor, Marina Subirats, in the Barcelona City Council.

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### **Pre-seminar paper**

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#### **The knowledge of non accompanied foreign undocumented minors in Catalonia: state of the question.**

The Jaume Bofill Foundation is an institution which works on social, cultural and political issues within the territory of Catalonia since 1969. It has been promoting the analysis of various aspects of the social reality, it has guided action proposals and it has given support to initiatives coming from the civil society. When the problem of the non accompanied foreign undocumented minors arose in Barcelona, the Foundation in line with its tradition pulled together the different actions that took place in our territory, making it easier to create an area for exchange and contact between praxis and theoretical thinking.

Thus, in 1999 a first debate was organized which showed a great lack of knowledge about the subject, as well as the awareness of social alarm and of crisis within the protection system. Among other initiatives, during these four years a permanent seminar has been carried out, conferences on technical debate have been organized and various lines of research have been consolidated. In this way the initial situation has improved enormously. Also during this time, in parallel both with the coordination of a public network of services to guarantee the assistance to minors (more or less successful), and with the approval of a new and controversial minor law, a number of initiatives which contribute to a better knowledge and analysis of the question and help to advance towards more

adequate action proposals have been launched<sup>30</sup>. It is worth as well to emphasize the work of the People's Platform in Defense of Unprotected Immigrant Minors (PCMID), the participation of several Catalan institutions in a European programme Daphne, and the organization of different meetings for reflection and exchange of ideas that have allowed the consolidation of an exchange and support network for minors.

This new social group has gained a sudden importance, linked to their social image between commiseration and stigma, and has become the object of many studies and of new public policies. Their real situation nonetheless has not yet succeeded in escaping from the spiral of social isolation in which it is trapped. I am going to analyse first of all the state of the question as regards the different investigations and secondly, I intend to take the case of the minor immigrants in Catalonia as a paradigm of some circular<sup>31</sup> institutional dynamics and of the existing discourses about child protection, immigration, immigration laws and social inclusion in our country.

The current state of the question of the research on minors in Catalonia has the following strong points:

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<sup>30</sup>We have currently the following lines of research:

- Irma Rognoni and M. Angeles Martínez (FICAT): *routes description* of immigrant minors from 1999 to 2001, from the monitoring of 50 *dossiers/files* from a social and legal perspective.
- Manel Capdevila and Marta Ferrer (Centre d'Estudis Jurídics): Quantification and profile of foreign minors assisted by the Justice Department from 1998 to 2002.
- Isabel Sánchez together with PROGRESS: systematization of the data of the *administration report/memoria de gestión* of the Ayuntamiento de Barcelona (City council of Barcelona).
- Marta Poblet and Pompeu Casanovas (GRES-UAB): project for a video documentary which presents three retrospective life stories told by adolescents who are now adults.
- Eliseo Aja and David Moya (GEDI-UB): study on legislation about minors from a social and legal perspective.
- Violeta Quiroga (anthropologist URV): doctoral thesis on immigrant minors from Morocco.
- Lorena Camaño (master's degree in Criminology CEJ): investigation about the criminal activity and the institutional response to it, from a series of interviews with inmates of the centre for juvenile delinquents l'Alzina.
- Vicenta Santonja (psychologist): survey of the migratory routes of a group of minors from the North of Morocco towards the Valencian Community.
- Mercedes Jiménez (2003): Transnational study on Moroccan minors who emigrate from Morocco to Spain.
- Marta Comas, Violeta Quiroga and Mercedes Jiménez (agreement between the Bofill Foundation and UNICEF-Morocco): Transnational analysis of the Moroccan minors who emigrate to Catalonia. (Research in progress until March 2004).

<sup>31</sup> I use the term circular or spiral as a translation from the Portuguese word "viração", used among the Brazilian *meninos de rua* (children of the street). Maria Filomena Gregori (2000) *Viração. Experiências de meninos nas ruas*. Ed, Companhia das letras, Sao Paulo, Brasil.

1. Interdisciplinarity: we have pieces of work written by jurists, anthropologists, sociologists, educators and psychologists. The sum of all of them shows the complexity which is necessary to understand the phenomenon. In spite of it though, they do not work together in interdisciplinary teams. They are professionals of different disciplines which listen interestedly to each other and want to learn from one another (which is also very important), but they do not yet share any methodologies or common work spaces.
2. Applicability: most of the studies are carried out with a view to having a public use and improving the knowledge in order to optimize the action. It is debatable, however, to which extent the technical reports influence the programmes.
3. Interconnection, at least within Catalan territory. The problem of lack of coordination and lack of knowledge, so common in other fields and also at the beginning as regards the MEINA<sup>32</sup>, has been successfully overcome. The reduced dimensions of the social phenomenon and the fact that the people involved know each other face to face, makes possible to cover all its aspects. For this same reason it is quite easy for researchers, technicians, educators, and even politicians, to get in touch, to share their results and to be mutually informed.
4. The quality of qualitative approximations. Given the scarcity and the little reliability of official records, most of the studies have had to make their own empirical approximations (ethnographic observation, contrast groups, interviews, life story reconstructions, etc.). Thanks to this qualitative work, the homogenizing and distant image of the "street children" has been overcome, the human importance of this social phenomenon has been recognized and there has been a significant improvement in fundamental questions. Among others, it has been dealt with the following issues: the motivations of early emigration, the profile of teenagers who emigrate and that of their families, the socioeconomic and political context of the Moroccan cities they come from, the routes and the difficulties that, once they arrive at destination, end up frustrating the migratory project imagined at home.
5. The difficulty of the qualitative analysis. Due to the dispersion of the registration systems, the constant mobility of the group, the fact that a few individuals submit a great number of applications to the public authorities, and to a certain tendency of

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<sup>32</sup> MEINA: Menor Extranjero Indocumentado No Acompañado/*Non accompanied foreign undocumented minor*.

the minors to conceal their identity or their real age to get over some legal barriers imposed by the immigration laws, the numbers considered have been exaggerated. Even the administration discursive strategy, based on the idea of avalanche and saturation of the services, or of the PCMID, intending to give publicity to the case, have also increased the figures upward tendency. Against such complexity, it is relevant to mention the study carried out by Manel Capdevila and Marta Ferrer (2003 Centre d'Estudis Jurídics i Formació especialitzada), which quantifies the non accompanied foreign undocumented minors who had contact with the Catalan public authorities between the years 1998 and 2002. They make up a group of 1659 individuals of which on the 31/5/02 there were 268 with an existing record in the DGAIA (General Office of assistance to children and adolescents), 448 were counted as offenders (196 of which were serving their sentences in penal institutions).

6. The pedagogic function in the perception of the social phenomenon. Little by little a more realistic and less stigmatizing conception of the actual situation has gained ground among public opinion, and especially among educators. The pedagogic function has helped to spread a dignified image of these adolescents, of their aspirations and their troubles.
7. The systemic vision in the approach. It is important to mention that the object of study has been widened: the objective is not just to study the individuals, non accompanied undocumented foreign minors, but also the contexts and their relation to the institutional responses.

Apart from the achievements related to the MEINA, there are still some gaps in the knowledge of their situation which the Jaume Bofill Foundation and the European project CONRED are beginning to fill.

1. The paucity of studies which work from a transnational, or transregional perspective. Taking into account the circularity of the routes and the itinerancy as distinctive elements of this social phenomenon, the different investigations should have to retrace the steps of the minors. They should analyse the reality of the north of Morocco as a starting point, then their way through the various autonomous communities in Spain, and their travelling to other countries of the European Union.

The notion of route has already been included in the reports that several European universities are carrying out at the moment for the virtual net project CONRED. Furthermore, the transnational investigation which is being carried out by the Jaume Bofill Foundation, in agreement with UNICEF Morocco<sup>33</sup>, aims to reconstruct the minors' bonds with their families, both in the moment of their departure as all along their wanderings through Spain and Europe, and to explore which is the protagonists' perception of their return to Morocco as a possible "end of journey".

2. The lack of studies which evaluate the impact of public policies. Even though we can affirm that in Catalonia during these four years a quick work has been done, up to 200 new places for this group have been created, we cannot be so optimistic as regards the quality of these resources.

Regarding the institutional responses, we start having doubts when we realize that most of the services created to assist the MEINA do not belong to the normalized protection network, they depend directly on the emergency area of the DGAIA. Thus, a parallel network of resources only for Moroccan teenagers has been consolidated. To evaluate the effects of such segregation<sup>34</sup> (which is being justified by the supposed special needs of this group) would be a good subject of study. On the other hand, a series of intervention methods which had fallen into disuse in the Catalan system of protection of minors since the socioeducational and communitarian perspective affected the public policies of child assistance is now being applied to this group. With the arrival of immigrant minors there have reappeared assistential or low standard resources, emergency resources of partial assistance and resources with new control formulas and "preventive restriction on liberty". These are innovations in the assistance system which involve the need to evaluate their effects, as well as the adjustment of the diagnosis instruments which justify one kind of intervention or another.

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<sup>33</sup> We hope to be able to put forward some results during the CIMU seminar from the 21<sup>st</sup> to the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 2004.

<sup>34</sup> In the recent Instrucción del Fiscal General del Estado (investigation of the Director of Public Prosecutions) (3/2003) on the origin of the return of foreign minors who try to enter Spain illegally, considered "emancipated" and not legally *desamparados/unattended*, the discriminating and segregating treatment between foreign and native adolescents is evident.

This turn in the perception of the social phenomenon we have just referred to means that there are a number of minimum points of agreement, upon which, hypothetically, the interventions have been based. We have listed them as follows:

- No-one shares today the pessimistic view that associates these minors with "street children", or that considers that "there is nothing to do with them". We can affirm that educational measures in reduced and ruled spaces, and which allow a personalized service, are possible. The majority of these adolescents, including those who were very deteriorated, has shown a great capacity for short-term recovery.
- The potential of these young people, who come to our country with plans for the future and with the will to improve their situation, is the key to initiate socioeducational projects which make their social integration easier. Integration experiences based on the adolescents' autonomy and responsibility prove this point. It is fundamental, however, to act swiftly in order to prevent that the dynamics of isolation caused by living on the streets destroy those initial projects. We can state that those who come here are no street children, it is in our cities where they end up assuming the street as their *modus vivendi*.
- The presence of these minors has revealed some existing dysfunctions in the Catalan system of protection of minors and, in a more general approach, it has shown significant gaps in the youth and immigration policies of our country.
- The cultural bias is gradually being abandoned, and the idea that it would be a mistake to ascribe all the difficulties in the action to a "culture shock" is becoming widespread. The circumstantial factors related to the migratory process (the fact of neither having a home, nor papers, being alone and, in short, enduring a situation of social exclusion) are decisive in the integration process, much more so than any cultural factors.
- It is crucial to stress the importance of the people's reaction to this issue because it has put pressure on the institutions to speed up their proceedings, and because of the way in which the existing social fabric has offered immediate responses to these minors.
- It must not be forgotten, nonetheless, that the other side of the social reaction has been the sensation of lack of safety in the cities connected to the "street children", which we think has caused an excess of repressive policies when, in fact, there is still

a need of educational measures of social improvement. The abovementioned Law 8/2002 is a case in point.

- The reports written by jurists have contributed greatly to clarify the duties of the administration. The immigrant laws for minors establish a special preventive measure: once the competent public entity takes on the tutelage of the minor, it becomes its responsibility to regularize their residence. After two years of being a ward of court, the minor acquires the right to become a naturalized Spaniard. Once again, the text does not always correspond with reality; the cases of minors who, after being under the tutelage of the administration for months, finally come of age without having their documents in order are frequent, as well as those in which the administration exhausts the six-month period without tutelage (planned to gather social information about the minor in the country of origin and provided for in the immigration laws), leaving the minor obviously unprotected.
- Likewise, the spreading of numerous legal reports which insist on the illegal nature of repatriations or expulsions of minors without their explicit consent has been all-important in order to tackle the issue with greater guarantees.
- Finally, a greater knowledge of reality allows us to say that these minors do not constitute a homogeneous group in any case. Moreover we believe that, in the same way that the autochthonous youth has access to the protection and support network, immigrant minors must be offered a wide range of resources: from those which involve a greater autonomy and the possibility of social insertion to the most intensive ones, which exert a stronger control in order to ensure a successful social integration.

We have so far presented a summary of the technical and scientific contributions of the last four years. We hope that they have been incorporated into the administrative and political programmes. I am convinced of the value and the necessity to go on carrying out researches, and of the importance of transmitting this knowledge to the authorities responsible for intervention.

## **Intercultural Education Facing the Challenge of Diversity: towards a comparative framework**

**Dr Gunther Dietz, María García-Cano & Esther Márquez, Universidad de Granada, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Gunther Dietz has studied Anthropology, Hispanic Studies, Philosophy and Sociology at the Universities of Granada (Spain), Göttingen and Hamburg (Germany), M.A. and Dr.phil. in Anthropology at Hamburg University; has been teaching at the Universities of Hamburg, Ghent (Belgium) and Aalborg (Denmark), currently *Profesor Titular* of Social Anthropology at the University of Granada (Spain). Ethnographic fieldwork on handicraft and *indigenismo* policy as well as on indigenous communities and ethnic movements in Michoacán (Mexico) and on migrant communities, non-governmental organizations and "multiculturalist" social movements in Hamburg (Germany) and Andalusia (Spain).

Selected publications: *Teoría y práctica del Indigenismo* (Quito & Mexico 1995), *Intercultural Education Materials: a selective guide to good examples within the European Union* (co-author; Ghent 1997), *"La comunidad purhépecha es nuestra fuerza": etnicidad, cultura y región en un movimiento indígena en Michoacán, México* (Quito 1999), *El desafío de la interculturalidad: el voluntariado y las organizaciones no-gubernamentales ante el reto de la inmigración* (Granada & Barcelona 2000), *Frontier Hybridization or Culture Clash? Trans-national migrant communities and sub-national identity politics in Andalusia, Spain* (CCIS Working Paper, San Diego, 2001), *Multi-Level Discrimination of Muslim Women in Europe* (co-author, ed. by J. Blaschke; Berlin, 2002), "Door to Door With Our Muslim Sisters": *intercultural and inter-religious conflicts in Granada, Spain* (co-author; journal "Studi Emigrazione/Migration Studies", Rome, 2002), *Multiculturalismo, interculturalidad y educación: una aproximación antropológica* (México & Granada, 2003).

## Pre-seminar paper

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### **Intercultural Education Facing the Challenge of Diversity: towards a comparative framework**

Multiculturalism has met the European educational systems in a rather late and recent stage of their contemporary development. As a strictly controlled and successfully defended core domain of the nation-state, even at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century public education remains hierarchically and institutionally rooted in the disciplinary apparatus of 19<sup>th</sup> century “nationalizing nationalisms” (Brubaker 1996). Consequently, in a wide range of European nation-states and throughout rather diverse majority-minorities relations as well as autochthonous-allochthonous, native-migrant configurations, the multiculturalizing of education is not perceived as an institutional challenge to the continuity of the educational systems as such, but as a mere appendix, suitable for compensatory measures and extraordinary situations.

Consequently, we start from the thesis that the diverse models and practices of intercultural education first of all have to be traced back to the origins of multiculturalism as a particular kind of social movement and its process of institutionalization and academization, in the course of which it entered the pedagogical field. On the basis of this diachronic approach, the project we are currently involve and of which this paper forms part aims at critically and comparatively analyzing the different educational “solutions” implemented in the last fifty years to cope with the challenge of ethno-cultural diversity. This analysis is being realized from an anthropological and ethnographic perspective – based on the contrastive study of inter-cultural vs. intra-cultural dimensions of educational practices and institutional structures. Apart from the comparison *per se*, as a major result of this project a “heuristic model” aimed at analyzing and evaluating multicultural strategies in education from a multidimensional and cross-disciplinary approach will be developed and applied.

## The Pressing Need for Interculturality

The so-called “intercultural education”, the claim of “interculturalizing” both the school curriculum and the educational praxis in Western societies, does not mean that school and educational systems merely adapt to the “*de facto* multiculturalization” of these societies in reaction to migratory movements (Glazer & Moynihan 1963). Instead, multiculturalism is part of a broader and deeper process of re-defining and re-imagining the nation-state of European origin as well as the relations which articulate the state with contemporary society. Multicultural discourse, which had originally emerged in societies self-defined as “countries of immigration” located mostly in North America and Oceania (Kymlicka 1995), has since then become the principal ideological basis of intercultural education, conceived as a differential approach towards the education of allochthonous, immigrated minorities (Verlot & Dietz[in print]). As the long-standing tradition of *indigenism* illustrates, however, in the Latin American context and under nationalist, not multiculturalist ideological premises, very similar policies of differential education have been targeting autochthonous, indigenous minorities, not allochthonous ones (Aikman 1997, Dietz 1999).

This paradoxical similarity between mutually opposing approaches reveals the necessity of analyzing intercultural, multicultural, bilingual and/or *indigenist* educational responses from a larger perspective than the disciplinary pedagogical one. The closely-knit network of normative, conceptual and empirical inter-relations which are perceivable between “interculturality” and “education” is therefore not reducible to the educational sciences, but requires a contrastive and interdisciplinary analysis. It is this perspective from which we propose to study “intercultural education” – not as a mere subfield of an anthropology or sociology of education, of migrations or of multicultural society, but as an anthropological and pedagogical analysis of inter-group and intercultural structures and processes which constitute, differentiate and integrate contemporary society.

In order to embark on this enterprise, the point of departure shall be the “identity politics” that characterizes the collective actors who make up these supposedly “postnational” (Habermas 1992) societies and states as well as their respective educational systems. In recent years, above all in the Anglo-Saxon debate on intercultural education a pressing need for “multiculturalizing” the educational systems has been claimed through

mechanisms of “affirmative action” and “positive discrimination” which would allow for an “empowerment” of certain ethnic minorities, both autochthonous and allochthonous, in the course of their process of self-identification, ethnogenesis and “emancipation” (Giroux 1994, McLaren 1997). In the continental European arena of the debate, on the contrary, the need for interculturality in education is not claimed on the ground of the minorities’ identity necessities; the struggle for intercultural education is here justified by the apparent inability of majority society of meeting the new challenges created by the increasing heterogeneity of the pupils, by the growing socio-cultural complexity of majority-minority relations and, in general, by diversity as a key feature of the future European societies (Gogolin 1997, Verlot 2001, Díaz-Aguado 2003). In this sense, whereas in the United States, in the United Kingdom and lately also in Latin America a minority empowerment education is being developed, continental Europe is shifting towards an education which mainstreams the promotion of intercultural competences inside both the marginalized minorities and the marginalizing majorities.

Bearing in mind this emerging conceptual and programmatic divide, the choice of the *topos* of “interculturality and education” directly targets the core of contemporary processes of collective identification in Western societies. In order to holistically analyze the range and significance of these processes, anthropology can contribute both its conceptual tools – mainly its still particular notion of culture and the relationship between this concept and those of identity and ethnicity – and its empirical chasis, ethnography. The combination of both will enable us to critically study the discourses on multiculturalism and interculturality as well as their relation to their respective praxis, as reflected in supposedly intercultural education.

### **Towards a Comparative Model**

Due to the current importance given to multiculturalism in politics and pedagogy, a huge variety of publications exists, which includes theoretical and philosophical treaties, pedagogical models of intercultural education and concrete empirical proposals for educational intervention <sup>35</sup>. We still lack, however, an integrated, both theoretically grounded and empirically informed analysis of the nearly omnipresent concepts of

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. the extensive bibliographical reviews included in García / Granados / García-Cano (2000), Gogolin (2002) and Dietz (2003).

“culture”, “identity”, “ethnicity” and “interculturality” as they are used and operationalized in the different prototypes and models of educational diversification. Instead of presenting and contrasting the theory and praxis of interculturality in different educational systems, as Glenn & Jong (1996) have accomplished, or in different national political frameworks, as has been Todd's (1994) and Favell's (1998) option, our main objective consists in analyzing these culture- and institution-specific processes of educational “interculturalization” both synchronically and diachronically.

As a first step in this overall project (Dietz 2003), we have tried to prove that the differential treatment – be it assimilationist, integrationist or segregationist – provided by official educational systems to certain minority groups is an integrated part of the respective nation-state's own “identity politics” and as thus has to be analyzed and compared. The perception of alterity is simultaneously a product and a producer of identity. This intimate relation between “us” and “them” is not only evident in the already classical nineteenth century pedagogy of “nationalizing nationalism” (Brubaker 1996). Even the current pedagogy of multiculturalism, both in their orthodox mainstream and heterodox critical versions, have to be analyzed not as mere “responses” to the internal diversification of the classroom, but as contemporary expressions of the West's identity project (Gogolin 2002).

Accordingly, the path of the analysis of intercultural education should not start from the classroom nor from academia, but from “the street”. The origin of discourse and practice of interculturality in education lies in multiculturalism, understood as a set of precariously and always provisionally integrated discursive field which claims to assemble the wide range of dissident social movements under a common political and societal horizon. It is precisely this origin of multiculturalism in the new middle classes, in the ethnic, cultural and sexual minorities' own emerging *intelligentsija* which explains why the movement's first and foremost addressee and antagonist is the institutionality established by the nation-state. Multiculturalism's strategically chosen focus on the academic and school arena, on the one hand, weakens the counter-hegemonic strength of its claims, but, on the other hand, strengthens its institutional impact and widens its professional room for manoeuvre.

Since the very beginnings of this process of pragmatic institutionalization, multiculturalist movements have been generating their own academic theorization. Above all in the Anglo-

Saxon context, the dialectical and increasingly contradictory relation between the praxis of multiculturalism and its conceptual self-analysis is revealed in the evolution of the so-called Ethnic Studies – the academic self-empowerment by one's own ethno-cultural minority -, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in the emergence of Cultural Studies, as a heterodox and critical “culturalization” of the academic discourses which dominate the bulk of Western social sciences and humanities. Starting from this project of academic and political rupture as well as from its struggles against old-fashioned civilizational and disciplinary boundaries, multiculturalism definitively settles down inside educational sciences. In the course of this process of institutionalization and academization, the initially radical discourse of claims of collective rights re-appears in the eighties and nineties as an innovative contribution to the management of educational diversity. Supposed “school problems” distinctive of particular minority communities are now re-interpreted as expressions of cultural and ethnic diversity (Dietz 2003). The resulting multicultural view on educational phenomena therefore expresses a culturalist bias – a bias which appears precisely when anthropology desperately seeks going beyond an all too simplistic cultural relativism!

Accordingly, we aim at formulating and elaborating an “anthropology of interculturality” as a model grounded on the already classical notions of culture and ethnicity, defined from a non-essentialized, constructivist perspective, which are applied to the comparative analysis of contemporary phenomena of educational interculturality (Dietz 2003). In order to achieve this aim, we claim that only a contrastive and mutually inter-related definition of culture and ethnicity allows for conceptually and empirically distinguishing between intra-cultural, inter-cultural and trans-cultural phenomena. Habitualized cultural praxis and ethnicized collective identity discourses (Bourdieu 1980) have to be both synchronically delimited from each other and diachronically de-constructed as culturally hybrid products of ongoing and closely-knit processes of intracultural ethnogenesis and routinization (Giddens 1984).

These distinctions enable us to analyze the striking coincidences and similarities which on the structural level are perceivable between hegemonic nationalisms and counter-hegemonic ethnicities. As illustrated in Dietz (2003) for nationalist as well as multiculturalist pedagogy, both discourses sustain identity politics which rely on the same

strategies of temporalization, territorialization and substantialization (Smith 1991, Alonso 1994) in order to install, maintain and legitimate the boundaries between “them” and “us”. As a conclusion drawn from the comparative analysis of similarities between supra-national, sub-national and trans-national challenges which the nation-state of European origin is currently facing, we hold that these structural coincidences are shared not only by state-sponsored nationalizing nationalisms and by “bottom-up” contentious ethnicities. The frequently used distinction between phenomena of indigenous ethnogenesis, on the one hand – which leads to ethno-regionalist or nationalist movements -, and phenomena of migrant ethnogenesis, on the other hand – which constitutes diasporas and transnational communities -, once more recreates the biased gap between “them” and “us”, while it neglects the evident similarities shared by both kinds of ethnogenesis: both are movements of collective identification which appropriate the claimed space, time and substance of its respective “imagined community” (Anderson 1988) and which transform habitualized hybrid cultural practice into a network of markers and signifiers of identity and alterity.

### **From Multiculturalism to Intercultural Education: ethnographic methodology**

A comparative dimension resulting from primary and secondary data collection is therefore essential in order to ground the international and national debates on intercultural education, debates in which all too often prescriptive and abstract proposals, taken from different national and regional contexts, proliferate, that lack any previous empirical and critical assessment of the transferability of educational models from one country or region to another. Therefore, the above sketched theoretical framework is being applied empirically through a methodological model of how to analyze from a social sciences perspective, in general, and from an ethnographic approach, in particular, multicultural and intercultural phenomena in educational domains. For this purpose, ethnography, in its characteristic oscillating between *emic* – inward looking, actor-centred – and *etic* – externally comparative and structure-oriented – visions of educational, social and cultural realities, is conceived as a reflexive endeavour which retrieves from within the social actors’ own discourses while contrasting it externally with their respective habitualized cultural praxis. In the case of intercultural education, this concatenation of discourse and praxis evolves in highly institutionalized and hierarchical contexts. Thus, an ethnography of

education in intercultural constellations will necessarily have to widen the analytic scope of these discursive and praxis dimensions towards a third axis of analysis: the particular institutional structurations (Giddens 1984) which result from the role played by the “pedagogies of otherness” in the corresponding nation-state’s identity politics. In conjuncting these different research perspectives, a three-dimensional ethnographic model emerges, which combines:

- a) a “semantic” dimension, centred on the actor, whose identity discourse is studied – basically through ethnographic interviews – from an *emic* perspective and is analyzed in relation to his/her strategies of ethnicity;
- b) a “pragmatic” dimension, focussed on the cultural praxis as particular modes of interaction, which are studied – above all through participant observations- from an *etic* perspective and are analyzed in relation to their functions both as intracultural habitus and as intercultural competences;
- c) and a “syntactic” dimension, centred on the institutions inside of which these identity discourses and interaction practices are developed; these institutional settings are analyzed and “condensed” starting from the classical “epistemological windows” (Werner & Schoepfle 1987) of fieldwork, i.e. the systematic contradictions that emerge when contrasting *emic* versus *etic* types of ethnographic data and that have to be interpreted not as mere data incongruities, but as those “coherent inconsistencies” (Verlot 1999) which reveal the underlying particular logic of the analyzed institutions and its respective nation-state in question.

### **The transferability of models of intercultural education: CLIEC**

In order to apply this analytical-empirical model, the current stage of our project aims at comparatively and systematically analyzing the data which will be and/or is being collected for the different intercultural education systems. In this effort of putting into practice this methodological approach, one of the “pilot projects” we have chosen is currently being carried out in Spanish schools, which consists in “importing” a particular model of intercultural education originally developed in Belgium and in “adapting” it to the local

institutional and educational context. This model, coined “Cooperative Learning in Multicultural Groups” (CLIM) and applied since 1995 by Ghent University’s *Steunpunt Intercultureel Onderwijs* in primary schools in the Belgian region of Flanders, is based on the pedagogical principles of “complex instruction” and “co-operative learning”, developed by Elizabeth Cohen’s team at Stanford University to promote multiple intellectual and social skills through horizontal interaction through group work (Van den Branden & Van Gorp 2000).

In its adoption to intercultural education in Flanders, CLIM’s co-operative learning perspective aims at increasing heterogeneous patterns of interaction which cross-cut cultural, ethnic, national and gender delimitations among pupils, thus avoiding the artificial consolidation of exclusive group frontiers among and between peer interactions (Batelaan & Van Hoof 1996). Therefore, dealing with cultural heterogeneity and ambiguity in identity processes becomes a central educational task, which therefore necessarily implies a re-definition of the traditional role played not only by pupils, but also by teachers, who have to cope with new expectations of intra- and inter-group moderation and with open-ended learning processes. Heterogeneity and open-ended, non-directive learning are features which may be characteristic of Flemish primary education, but which are still rather new and external to mainstream Spanish school culture.

This methodology is currently “imported” and adapted from the original Flemish context to three different European regions – Andalusia in Spain, Warsaw in Poland and Reykjavik in Iceland -, which vary completely with regard both to institutional traditions of education and dealing with diversity and to the multicultural composition of the respective societies. In the course of this project on “Cooperative Learning in European Contexts” (CLIEC)<sup>36</sup>, the Spanish case study is conducted in close co-operation with the regional government’s teacher training centre *Centro de Profesorado Bollullos/Valverde* and is implemented in three public primary schools in Almonte, Moguer and Bonares, in the western Andalusian province of Huelva (García-Cano & Márquez 2003).

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<sup>36</sup> CLIEC is funded under the EU Socrates-Comenius scheme, through its action 2.1 on “Training of School Education Staff” (project nº 106053-CP-1-2002-1-BE-COMENIUS-C21), and is being carried out from October 2002 through September 2005; the Andalusian part is co-ordinated by Maria García-Cano, Esther Márquez and Gunther Dietz, *Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales (LdEI)*, *Universidad de Granada*.

As former, nominally “intercultural education” activities, based on anti-racist and/or “education for tolerance” as well as on “language and culture of origin” approaches had often resulted in an over-emphasis of cultural and ethnic differences, in the essentialization of “otherness”, which resulted in minority stigmatizations, and in an all too superficial and folklorized view of cultural diversity (García / Granados / García-Cano 2000), the attractiveness and novelty of the CLIEC perspective consisted in the new and unknown emphasis on:

- 1) both majority and minority pupils;
- 2) modes of interaction and didactical devices such as role playing instead of culture-specific content and cognitive pedagogical “solutions”.

As a first step, a group of teacher trainers have acquired and applied the methodology in a series of workshops offered by Ghent University, while the guides and didactical materials have been translated into Spanish and adapted to the local context (Paelman 2002). Afterwards, in the three participating schools teachers of nine to twelve year-old pupils have been invited to join the project by step-by-step introducing the didactical units into their daily teaching practice.

As this approach does not completely substitute “normal” curricular-guided teaching, but complements traditional teaching through cross-cutting topic-units – “Celebrate Together?”, the first unit translated, adapted and used, focuses on different ways of holding festivities -, the method of working in stable, but internally differentiated groups, in which the pupils periodically rotate their respective roles of facilitator, spokesperson, harmonizer, planner, and resource acquirer, and mutually share their results among each of the groups (Paelman 2002), generates learning habits and experiences which first “interrupt” conventional teaching; however, these experiences and skills slowly start to spread through other classes taught in the same grade and classroom (García-Cano & Márquez 2003).

In the remaining two years, while the teachers continue to apply and adapt the method and the respective material, accompanying school ethnographic research – which is being carried out both by the participating teachers and teacher-trainers themselves and by LdEI

researchers – will focus on the changing modes and patterns of intra- and inter-group interaction and on the teacher's behaviour with regard to the new methodology (the "pragmatic" dimension mentioned above) as well as on the different participants' discourses, reflections and attitudes towards "otherness", diversity, collective identities and ethnicities (the "semantic" dimension). Although it is obviously still too early to draw broader conclusions on the "syntactic" dimension of the underlying institutional logic of Spanish or Andalusian school culture *vis-à-vis* interactive, co-operative learning in multicultural contexts, in the process of presenting, negotiating and gradually initiating this project inside the interested schools we have already perceived several "obstacles" which reveal some decisive and structurally-rooted "coherent inconsistencies":

- Firstly, the participating teachers initially ask for mere "tools" to solve rather specific "problems" related to pupils of minority origin (with Roma or immigrant backgrounds), whereas the implemented methodology ends up mainstreaming and cross-cutting not only different subjects, but also their teaching practice as such.
- Secondly, the emphasis on heterogeneity and ambiguity, which goes beyond simplistic majority/minority, autochthonous/allochthonous or Roma/Gadjo (in Spain *gitano/payo*) dichotomies, ends up challenging not only the pupils' identity and alterity discourses, but also the teachers' own didactical strategies, which are transformed into more participative, inclusive, dialogic and open-ended ways of teaching.
- And, thirdly, these experiences still remain rather limited to certain classroom environments and teacher personalities, as their possible spreading throughout the school institution as such would entirely challenge the established hierarchies of the dominant Fordist and "industrialist" model of teaching and learning.

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## **The schooling process for students of African origin in the Girona Region**

**Dr Judit Fullana Noell, Universitat de Girona, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Judit Fullana is professor of Department of Pedagogy at Universitat de Girona. During the last ten years she has been teaching subjects related with educational research methodology in Social Education and Pedagogy studies as well as some several doctoral courses about qualitative research in education.

She achieved the doctor degree in 1995 with the study titled *Research about school success and failure from risk factors perspective. Consequences for educational research and practice.*

She is member of the Research Group on Diversity Attention and Social and Work Integration of Department of Pedagogy at Universitat de Girona. One of the main research areas of this group is the *work integration of disabled people by means of supported employment in Spain.* The research in this area has been conducted by Maria Pallisera. Since 1998 other research area of the group has been the *school process of students of African origin in Girona region.* Judit Fullana conducted a study on this subject which ended in 2001 and a book was published: Fullana, J.; Besalú, X.; Vilà, M. (2003): *Alumnes d'origen africà a l'escola.* Girona: CCG Edicions.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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## **The schooling process for students of African origin in the Girona Region**

In 1998, the Research Group into the attention to diversity and social and occupational integration of the Department of Pedagogy of the University of Girona received from the

GRAMC association<sup>37</sup> the assignment to carry out a research with the aim of studying the range of school success and failure amongst children from families of African origin<sup>38</sup> at school, in state and private schools in the Girona region.<sup>39</sup>

We developed the study in two phases which I summarize here in order to provide a general idea about our research.

The first phase, with the aim of obtaining a general description of the results of the academic achievement of students of African origin at school in the Girona region, consisted of collecting data about school achievement and other data that was given in the students' academic records. This phase provided us with a valuable information, because we did not have an analysis of this kind concerning students of African origin in our region. It was carried out based on the data of students who during the 1997-98 academic year were in the 6<sup>th</sup> and final year of primary school and in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years of compulsory secondary school at state and subsidised private schools in the Girona region. We collected data about 103 students in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of primary school, 114 doing 2<sup>nd</sup> year and 73 doing 4<sup>th</sup> year of compulsory secondary education.

The data analysis gave us an image of school context in which schooling processes take place. Thus, data showed the considerable and constant increase, since the end of 90s, of students of African origin, the most of whom were registered in state schools, mainly from Maghreb but also a notable increase of students from Central America and South America, as well as from non-community European Countries. The constant streaming of students throughout the academic year into some primary and compulsory secondary schools, that make registering and planning tasks difficult, as well as the presence of a considerable number of students that join the education system after the third year of primary school education are other relevant characteristics of this school context.

Concerning academic achievement, the percentage of students who did not pass the course or cycle is around 60%, percentage that practically doubled this for the total

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<sup>37</sup> Grups de Recerca i Actuació en Minories Culturals i Treballadors Estrangers (Groups of Research and Action into Cultural Minorities and Foreign Workers)

<sup>38</sup> In our piece of research, we decided to call students from North Africa as well as those from sub-Saharan Africa "students of African origin". In addition, not only did we include students born in Africa, but also children born in Spain to families of African origin.

<sup>39</sup> The Jaume Bofill Foundation, through the GRAMC, offered the financial support to this study.

number of students. There are about 60% of students of African origin who started compulsory secondary education with significant academic difficulties as they were given the mark "Needs to Improve"<sup>40</sup> at the end of the primary stage and 45.5% moved up to the second cycle of compulsory secondary education also with difficulties that were clearly detected as, despite being moved up, they had not passed the objectives for the cycle.

In this context we have just characterised briefly, we *developed the second phase of our research. This piece of research is where we have been able to extend our perception about the schooling processes for students of African origin.* The fact that we have focused our attention on a few students, specifically five girls and four boys, helped us to get a much more overall vision of their schooling at the same time as methodologically helping us to focus the discourses of the various people who were the "informants" for the piece of research: heads of schools, teachers, students themselves and their families, people who were familiar with the school setting in which the student was found and other social agents who had influenced the schooling process. This has been complemented with the analysis of institutional documents of the schools. This phase of research served to start a reflection about the set of questions related to the family, social and school setting and with the aspects of the student that are in play in the schooling process of students of African origin and about the complex nature of achieving the objectives of the various educational stages. Based on all these reflections, I only can offer in this paper some lines of action that we believe could influence the educational action at school as well as outside.

In short, the incidence of family factors on the success of the schooling process of students depends more on how the family setting is articulated to provide a setting that strengthens and favours learning than on the presence of more structural features relating to the cultural origin of the people. In this sense, the capacity of families to offer their children a stable, organised and affectionate setting; to transmit to them a positive attitude about school, teaching staff, learning and the requirements involved; to explicitly value the school achievement of their children; to establish relationships of knowledge and trust in the teaching staff, to trust in the work and the possibilities of their children and to have a

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<sup>40</sup> In Primary education only two qualification marks are used: Needs to improve for those students who don't achieve the stage objectives and "Progresses suitably" for those who achieve the level required.

positive and realistic expectations about their professional and vital future, to transmit a positive attitude towards the culture of the integrating society, and a willingness to dialogue and to change will, without no doubt, foster positive attitudes in the students towards the school institution and school learning.

However, we cannot ignore the fact that for these conditions to be able to occur, the more "objective" conditions of the family and of the social context must favour these processes. The lack of economic resources, of a dignified home, the difficulties in understanding the language of the integrating country and the cultural differences of how the receiving society functions, may mean that some families do not find enough resources to support their children in school matters or that they give priority to other matters much more directly related to their daily survival. If we add to this the mistrust and sometimes the rejection by part of the local population towards the immigrant population, we are able to have an idea about the complexity of the phenomenon of immigration and of the complexity of the social mechanisms that should favour integration process.

Concerning the school system, the incorporation of students of African origin has generated distortions in the educational planning, in the organisations for the centres and in the processes of integration, pre-registering and registering. Planning with sufficient time of the registration processes to prevent artificial concentrations of students of African origin in certain state centres and to favour the co-existence and school and social integration in the municipality should be the starting point for all the rest of the actions to be carried out to ensure the correct schooling of all students.

The schooling of students of African origin is the basis of some innovative projects that have been set up in some schools and involve educational community, with the aim of favouring the knowledge and exchange between culturally different people and to undo stereotypes and prejudices. However we have noticed that the elaboration of institutional documents is often seen as a bureaucratic requirement instead of a real opportunity to discuss the educational framework of school action. So we have highlighted that an urgent action to be carried out is the need to remove the bureaucracy form writing up institutional documents that should guarantee their assumption by the entire educational community.

Concerning the curriculum, we believe it is important to remind teachers that it is relatively easy to introduce changes into the Centre's Curricular Project and in the classroom programming, introducing intercultural perspectives and visions that are more intercultural and universal of matters dealt with in practically all areas of the curriculum. It would also seem to be a good idea if all Catalan schools were to propose a plan for working in a systematic and sustained way on education values, attitudes of integration, dialogue and co-operation and social habits to prevent or correct, if relevant, the latent racism in our society and amongst young people.

It is also necessary to reinforce the pedagogic dimension of students' evaluation. This means that despite the fact that certification and achievement level of final objectives of each educational stage is important we should not forget that, from primary and compulsory secondary school we need to find resources and strategies that are more suitable for guaranteeing that all students –including those who have more difficulties– leave with the knowledge that society considers minimal and essential in order to become free and autonomous citizens. The levels of school failure amongst students of African origin are, at present, a reason for concern that needs to be faced with decision and resources.

On the whole, it would seem that it is less complex to accept changes in the organisational and methodological aspects of the classroom rather than the curricular and organisational approaches of the centres. We believe this is because to review and adapt didactic and organisational procedures is not required a transformation of the background of pedagogic conceptions, that is, of the approach about what is meant by education and what are the main theoretical and ideological principles that should guide educational activity. In contrast, the curricular and organisational innovation of a centre would mean, going beyond a methodological adaptation, a review and a modification of the current pedagogical perspectives.

Despite recognising that the inclusion of students of immigrant origin has been one of the points that has caused schools to have to reflect on the organisation of the centre and the classroom and on the methodologies used, despite the fact that official educational discourse is clearly inclusive, inertias of the past and a certain level of permissiveness in

educational inspection have favoured the belief that working in homogeneous groups of students is the best way to intervene with supposedly greater ease and efficiency. However if we accept that one of the inherent characteristics in class groups is their heterogeneity, their diversity of students in all aspects, and that this, in addition, is a positive asset that is enriching and challenging for improvement and educational innovation, then the educational approach in general and specifically the methodological one, must necessarily make an effort to respect and combine, as much as possible, the objectives and processes that are common to each social and cultural group of students each with their own individual characteristics. In this sense, many studies corroborate the goodness of co-operative learning to adjust the educational response to the diversity of needs of the students. On the other hand, segregationist measures can only make sense if they are understood as absolutely one-off and transitory and as long as they ensure the co-ordination between the staff involved and it is attempted that his measure does not take up the whole of the school timetable.

The official resources for external support in infant and primary schools and secondary schools are the professional staff of the Psycho pedagogical Assessment Team, of The Catalan Language Teaching Service and of the Compensatory Educational Programme. The Catalan Language Teaching Service works basically by means of School Adaptation and Basic Instrumental Learning Workshops which existed in some secondary schools, and the language Workshops (after the 2003-2004 academic year) which are organised in both primary and secondary schools. Without devaluating the actions of these support bodies, the idea would not be so much working to widen and diversify reliable resources of the services and programs of the Catalan Ministry of Education, but to organise the incorporation of the staff necessary to be able to carry out coherent, systematic, integrated and quality action on a full-time basis. Apart from the official external support, the link with social, cultural and health care services in the community is one of the needs we have detected, and it is necessary to be promote their inter-relationships as all of them could form part of a support network. Educational action is an overall, community fact and schools form a part of this, not in an exclusive way; therefore educational responsibility should be shared in the form of collective projects between institutions, with the aim of favouring the intellectual, social and emotional growth of all students.

Concerning students features it appears that establishing positive, constructive relationships with other schoolmates may be an important indicator that the adaptation to the environment and educational integration is developing in a satisfactory way, a fact which means that progress at school and academic achievement both benefit. In this sense, school support in the first steps of their schooling would help students to set positive relationships and to develop good attitudes towards learning.

Moreover students from immigrant families find themselves living between two cultures: the family culture and the culture of receiving society, with the consequent conflicts of identity which are derived from this, and which are evident above all in adolescence. In the majority of cases there is a will to maintain the culture of origin without this meaning a rejection of the culture of the receiving society. In the measure that the receiving society is capable of transmitting that the matter involves not choosing between one culture or another, but of constructing a new framework of intercultural relationships together, we will be favouring integration and preventing the appearance of conflicts. This is neither easy nor quick to achieve.

Finally, studying schooling processes of students from families of immigrant origin means approaching complex processes in which multiple factors influence and interact with each other. The educational success or failure of the student is conditioned therefore by all those aspects to which we have summarised throughout this presentation. The student is placed within this enormous complexity. The more the students have personal resources the more they will be able to face school, social and personal situations that shape their personal and educational career. Therefore it is necessary to connect family, social and educational support to help the development of these resources.

## **Enculturation, schooling and the future: the nomadic children's experiences**

**Dr Francesca Gobbo, Università degli Studi di Torino, Italia**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Francesca Gobbo teaches Intercultural Education and Anthropology of Education at the University of Turin (Italy). She studies and researches the cultural changes obtaining in Western societies and in their multicultural school systems from a comparative and interdisciplinary perspective which combines educational theory with the theoretical approaches from the field of cultural anthropology and anthropology of education. She has carried out ethnographic research about the Albanian speaking minority of Calabria, the Waldensian religious minority of Piedmont and the travelling fairground and circus groups in Veneto. Research about the Italian Waldensians is one of the few that explores the meaning and role of education within a religious minority from the point of view of anthropologist John U. Ogbu's theory; its findings and interpretation were presented at international conferences and then published in their proceedings. Research into so called internal minorities is important from a multicultural and intercultural point of view because it (1) underlines the existence of a multicultural society well before migratory flows, (2) points out at problems of power balance (or lack of it) and at the political as well educational strategies that foster the idea of a homogeneous national culture while continuing to produce minority cultures' persistence.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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## **Enculturation, schooling and the future: the nomadic children's experiences**

Today, most European countries are perceived and described as multicultural because of the thousands of newcomers who were born in places different from the ones where they

have come to live and work. Italy is no exception to this phenomenon and the country has eventually realized that diversity will characterize its future. It is a prospect that intercultural education started to address almost twenty years ago by promoting and supporting an approach centered on knowing the different cultural, religious, linguistic traditions in which the new pupils had been inculturated, on developing interaction along pupils of such different backgrounds in the belief that these two objectives would foster mutual understanding, enrich intellectual and social life, fight prejudice, xenophobia, and racism in classrooms and everyday life.

The emphasis on diversity has led many teachers (and a good number of university professors of education) to focus mostly on the *other* children's life and school experience, and to pay less attention to the issue of equality of opportunities in school and in society. However, such effort to affirm a non-hierarchical view of cultures and people, though firmly grounded in the anthropological tradition, might not be totally appropriate when it comes to everyday interactions and educational experience. The risk is that of not taking into full account the low social status and even stigma attached to other cultures and, consequently, to the persons whose identity has been mostly shaped by the process of inculturation in their own culture. The treatment of Sinti and Roma people in various countries of the European Union is an example of policy-making based on the belief of the other's inferiority.

It is true that in Italy a number of sociological and educational researches has been carried out on the prejudices and racism those different young persons must grapple with, but the latter's *own* future prospects in terms of school success, further education and a good job have prodded only limited discussion – mostly of the descriptive kind. On the contrary, at the international level, problems of educational performance among immigrant and non immigrant minorities have been studied since the end of the sixties (especially in the United States) and different interpretations of low school results have been put forth, such as the continuity/discontinuity theory, classroom/school culture and organization, and the late John U. Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory (cfr. Emihovic 1996, Florio-Ruane 1996, Hill 1996, Ogbu 1996, 2003, Gobbo 2003a).

Students' ethnographic research in geographical areas and schools now currently defined as multicultural and multireligious that I have coordinated along the years makes reference to these interpretative approaches and applies the one considered the most relevant to the context. Such research is aimed at understanding how immigrant children succeed (or do not succeed) in becoming pupils or students, what part does their inculturation play in the process of learning and in school socialization, how they understand the educational experience in general, and theirs in particular, and if teachers respond to the changing situation and how (through curriculum innovation, new educational strategies such as cooperative learning, modifications in the way they teach, and so on). Fieldwork's findings point out that recognition of diversity (and even its educational use) is usually not seen as connected, or relevant, to the issue of educational equity.

The educational emphasis on immigrants' diversity can refer to sociological studies of immigration and how the latter has changed during the last twenty years, but educators seldom explore empirically how immigrant children's identity and enculturation change or are enriched by the learning and socialization experiences so that we now have reasons to state that these children also learn to switch or alternate between different cultural realms (Gobbo 2000a; cfr. also Soenen 2003). On the contrary, when empirical research is lacking, diversity is defined in more rigid terms than it would be expected if empirical studies were carried out (*idem*).

Besides coordinating students' research in multicultural schools and qualifying my own intercultural education discourse through an interdisciplinary approach that assigns anthropological theory and ethnography a crucial role, my own contribution in terms of research has concerned Italian internal minorities (Gobbo 2000b, 2001, 2003b, 2003c). As I said in my curriculum, I made this choice since I believe that such research reminds us not only of the existence of a multicultural society well before the migratory flows, but also of the way it existed (mostly confined in the private realm or at the margins of mainstream society). Additionally, taking internal diversity into account raises questions regarding power balance (or lack of it) and the political and educational strategies that, while supporting the idea of a homogeneous society, produce minority cultures' persistence. I would like to be able to discuss the above mentioned points during the Barcelona Seminar, using findings from, and reflections on, my most recent fieldwork experience that regarded

a nomadic occupational minority which is present in various countries besides Italy, namely fairground (or showmen) and circus people.

More specifically, if we nod with approval when a Chinese child states that he doesn't want "a career as a Chinese" (Omodeo 2002), or we express concern in learning that immigrant Chinese high school graduates go back to the sewing machine of the family enterprise (Omodeo 2003; for the Lombardy Sikhs see Galloni 2002) (presumably because society does expect them to do so and they don't feel yet ready for a different choice), then why is it that we seem much less concerned when a fairground or a circus youth follows the family steps after having completed compulsory schooling?

Through such ethnographic research I aimed at understanding if, and how, their right to education is realized, by asking (1) how schooling is experienced by fairground and circus people's children and how it is interpreted both by them and their families; (2) how schooling is related to their nomadic everyday life and to their prospects for the future; (3) how children's process of enculturation succeeds in making them acquire and receive the fairground people's culture and (4) in what way (if any) are enculturation and schooling related. The families I met along their work circuit and later interviewed, travel from one town to another, where they stop for about a week (two weeks at the most). They are on the move for at least 10 months a year. Consequently, almost every week fairground and circus children attend a different school, and meet different teachers and classmates. Because families tend to do the same fairs every year, their children will enroll in the same schools year after year, and become a recurrent, familiar presence for teachers and peers in a particular classroom. To pursue their education in as many different schools as it is necessary has long since been made possible by the Italian Ministry of Education, as multiple attendance is intended to enact these children's right to education (until only a few years ago these children would have had to stay at a boarding school). This arrangement lasts until the completion of compulsory education, since instances of high school attendance by these students are very few.

These pupils' teachers who were also interviewed seemed to have difficulties to visualize and to remember fairground and circus pupils owing – according to my interpretation - to the their lack of residential, interactional and schooling continuity that are not only

constitutive aspects of the school organization and culture but also of educational relations and learning. However, teachers praise fairground and circus children for their good manners and because they know how to behave as pupils and they admit that they have little time to check what those pupils have learned previously and to bridge the learning gaps they inevitably have. Consequently, it becomes the pupils' duty to keep up with what it is taught and with the pace of teaching and learning.

One of the major educational functions – concerning the relation between schooling and qualification, i.e. access to better jobs and individual social mobility - presents fairground and circus people with at least two dilemmas: (1) sending their children to high school, and perhaps to university later on, means to separate them from their family which will suffer from the long absence of their sons and daughters, boarding in someone else's home, in another town; (2) attending high school or the university should presumably lead to a future away from the family enterprise and the nomadic life and culture where one can be his/her own boss. All these factors seem at the origin of what makes fairground and circus people “choose” *continuity* with the occupational sector and “choose” a *career* as a fairground or a circus person. Such a choice is also based on the recognition that economic rewards are still somewhat satisfactory. The majority of those I interviewed claimed that that was the reason for having remained in this work sector.

However, younger fairground fathers are aware that working in the sector of “travelling attractions” has become more and more difficult. Though the 1968 Italian law acknowledges “the social function” carried out by circuses, merry-go-rounds, roller coasters and so on, today all this machinery (or “craft”) must compete not only with discos, but also with a hunger for parking lots which covets the areas once dedicated to fairground. As I said, fairground and circus families fear that it will be difficult – if not impossible – for most of their children to lead the life they consider as their own. But if they think that more education is needed to be able to know one's rights especially before the local administrations and to defend one's right to work, I just illustrated the dilemmas they are faced with. If it can be hypothesized that nomadism shapes both their daily life, their social interactions and their future prospects as well, what strategies do the nomadic families enact to provide their children with the possibility to choose a different career? Furthermore, what opportunities does society provide so that diversity does not contribute

to lock *others* into it because mainstream society does not offer equality of opportunity to them nor they can see, or find, alternatives. So one of the main theoretical questions arising from this ethnographic research – and addressing both this occupational minority and other minority and immigrant groups – would be whether or not there is in fact a choice for young generations.

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## **Towards inclusion and equality for London's children: the first State of London's Children Report**

**Dr Suzanne Hood, Institute of Education, London, UK**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Dr. Suzanne Hood has more than eight years of policy-relevant research experience, working as a researcher and Research Project Director at the Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, in London. She combines this research experience with a background in family centre management and social work practice.

Her principal research interests are in: parental participation in schools and education; childhood and children's daily lives; children as active participants in service planning; multi-agency working and the history and development of public policy in relation to children; and she has published in a range of academic, policy and practitioner journals.

Since researching and writing the State of London's Children Report in 2001, Dr. Hood has also carried out consultancy work on the development of the Greater London Authority Children and Young People's Strategy. She will be teaching on a new MA in Childhood Studies at the Institute of Education in the Spring 2004.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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## **Towards inclusion and equality for London's children: the first State of London's Children Report**

More than a decade after the widespread international ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child<sup>41</sup>, children and their status are receiving a higher profile on the public policy agenda. In line with this higher status, there is a growing recognition too, that

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<sup>41</sup> United Nations (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child, United Nations, Geneva.

regular reports on the state of children are an essential tool in raising public awareness, achieving political support for improving children's living conditions, and promoting and ensuring children's rights<sup>42</sup>.

My talk will be based on an example of such a report: the State of London's Children Report<sup>43</sup> - which I researched and wrote in 2001.

Published by the Office of Children's Rights Commissioner for London, this report draws on both quantitative and qualitative data to document the position and circumstances of London's children; and it focuses on London's children by discussing their socio-political position within the broader national (and international) context. It also seeks to document their circumstances and experiences more specifically by identifying 'pan-London' issues, by exploring variations within and between London's 33 boroughs, and by drawing on the voices of London's children themselves.

The report is structured around eight themes:

- Child Poverty
- Health and Wellbeing
- Education
- Play, Leisure, Culture and Out-of-School Lives
- Transport
- The Family, Social care and Protection
- Housing, Neighbourhood and Environment
- Crime and Justice

These themes were chosen to reflect, as far as is possible, the totality and complexity of London children's lives. They were also chosen because it seemed possible to do justice too, to the views and experiences of London's children within the comprehensive framework that the themes provide.

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<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Barnes H (2000) What can we learn from how other governments monitor child well-being? In Bradshaw J (ed) Poverty: The Outcomes for Children, Family Policy Studies Centre, London.

<sup>43</sup> Hood S (2001) The State of London's Children Report, Office of Children's Rights Commissioner for London, London.

However, the categories or schemes which we employ to organise data about children also say something, I believe, about our ideas and goals for children – and the status that we accord to different elements of their lives; and there are, of course, alternative structures that might have been used.

My talk will draw on the process of writing the report, its findings, and the wider political or public policy process of which it is part - as a starting point for wider reflection about the key themes for our seminar - diversity and inequality in children's lives. My focus will be principally on London – and London's children. However, I will touch on some international comparisons too.

What follows below is a brief outline of some of the key areas covered in my talk - and by the report.

London's children can be characterised by 'diversity' and 'inequality'. Indeed, they can be understood as unique, in terms of their diversity in relation to other children nationally; and in terms of the specific inequalities and challenges which they, their families and their communities face.

London has 1.62 million children and young people under the age of 18. This represents more than a fifth of the capital's total population and a higher child population than in the majority of European cities. As many as forty-one per cent of London's children belong to a Black or minority ethnic (BME) group<sup>44</sup> and population predictions suggest that the proportion of Black or ethnic minority group children in London is set to grow. London's children are more highly represented (than children nationally) in many religious groups and they speak as many as 300 languages<sup>45</sup>.

London is a thriving as well as a diverse city. It is a key player in the globalised economy. Yet there are huge variations in wealth in the city; and children in London continue to

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<sup>44</sup> Census data, 2001.

<sup>45</sup> Baker P and Eversley J (eds) (2000) *Multilingual Capital: The Languages of London's School Children and their relevance to Economic, Social and Educational Policies*, Battlebridge Publications.

experience the highest levels of poverty and inequality of any region in the UK<sup>46</sup>. London has proportionally more children who are at 'high risk' from poverty - those in single parent families, those who live in the socially rented housing sector, as well as those – just discussed - from ethnic minority groups.

London is also home to large numbers of children who face multiple forms of disadvantage, including child refugees and asylum-seekers, runaways and homeless children, disabled children, children who are 'looked after' or in the care of the State, teenage mothers, young carers and children who have been excluded from school. Many of these children and their families experience high levels of mobility, interrupted experiences of schooling, and difficulties in access to London's health, housing and social care services.

The State of London's Children Report describes how – despite government intervention - child poverty plays a critical role in determining the quality and experiences of many of London's children's lives – and it provides evidence to show that inequalities in health and education, in access to play and leisure services and to public space itself are all linked to and a product of poverty and income inequality.

The report sets out the way in which the lives of London's children are shaped, therefore, and influenced by diversity and by inequality – and it provides clear policy pointers towards the twin goals set out in the title of my talk - of inclusion and equality.

The report shows that there are complex inter-relationships between public-policy making and London children's lives; and, further, that children's experiences and expressed needs do not fit readily into established categories of service provision.

Thus, policies which are designed to have effects in one area of children's lives (be it education, health or housing) will almost inevitably have effects on another; and children's concerns about, for example, street security and safety can only be addressed by co-ordinated policy-making across several policy arenas. (for example, transport; education; housing, neighbourhood and environment; crime and justice).

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<sup>46</sup> DSS, Households Below Average Income Data.

The report also points to the processes by which adult society excludes and marginalizes *all* children simply because *they are* children.

- children are denied equal access with adults, to public space;
- children's rights of participation continue to be denied in many areas of their lives, despite recent progress;
- many children describe their experiences of an adult world which treats them with little respect: a world where they are negatively perceived by virtue of their age alone; and where adults fail to listen to them and to take them seriously.

These processes of social exclusion are clearly inter-related and they can be understood to affect *all* children in varying degrees. However, the adverse impacts of *some of* these forms of exclusion are most clearly evidenced in relation to those groups of children who are *already* disadvantaged by poverty and discrimination.

The State of London's Children Report concludes that very little can be done to improve the lives of London's children, without doing still more to address *child poverty*.

It also points to a need for a *new kind* of policy-making which:

- Involves children as active participants in decision-making *in all areas* of their lives;
- Recognises the *complex inter-relations* between children's lives and public policy;
- Focuses on *improving children's time-present* as well as their time-future;
- Tackles *negative stereotyping of children* head on – so that children are perceived as competent citizens and not as victims or as villains;
- *Faces up to the suffering* which is caused by pervasive *adult violence to children* – and looks at the relationship between adult violence and children's behaviour;
- Prioritises and promotes *child-focused statistics and research*;
- Develops holistic and child-focused *indicators of children's well-being*, and
- Establishes sound and effective systems –for the continued *monitoring of children's well-being* in partnership with children themselves.

The State of London's Children Report has made an important contribution to the wider public policy process.

The Office of Children's Rights Commissioner for London has worked together with the Mayor of London and the Greater London Authority (GLA) to develop a Children and Young People's Strategy for London; and this Strategy draws extensively on the data and key policy messages from the report.

The Strategy sets out a vision for a child-friendly London, where all London's children have opportunities to:

1997            influence decisions about their city

- express their opinions on the kind of city they want
- participate in family, community and social life
- benefit from good quality, child-focused services such as health, education, social care, and housing
- be protected from exploitation, violence and abuse
- walk safely in the streets on their own
- meet friends and play
- enjoy green spaces for plants and animals
- live in an unpolluted environment
- participate in cultural events

live as equal citizens of their city with access to every service, regardless of ethnic origin, race, religion, income, gender, disability or sexuality<sup>47</sup>.

And it includes a range of policies and proposals relating to three overall objectives – to work towards this vision:

- ensuring we listen to and provide a voice for London's children and young people;
- developing a better understanding of the diversity of London's children and young people's lives; and
- delivering improvements in five priority outcome areas<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> UNICEF, Child-Friendly Cities Secretariat.

Being healthy  
Staying safe  
Enjoying and achieving  
A positive contribution  
Economic well-being

The Strategy also recognises the role that research, evaluation and monitoring has to play in making real improvements to children's lives; and it sets out a range of measures to ensure that the strategy implementation will continue to be informed by research and consultation. These measures include the production – in 2004 - of a second State of London's Children Report.

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<sup>48</sup> These outcome areas are derived from those of the national Government.

## **Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London**

**Dr Tahera Arju, Dr Eve Gregory, Dr John Jessel, Dr Charmian Kenner and Dr Mahera Ruby, Department of Educational Studies, University of London Goldsmiths College, UK**

### **Summary of the CV**

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**Tahera Arju** is currently based at Goldsmiths College, University of London where she is working as a researcher on an ESRC project involving grandparents and their relationship with their grandchildren in the 'learning context'. Tahera has an MA in Education and is a qualified teacher of English as a second language. She is also a freelance trainer and consultant in parent/family education. Tahera has designed and delivered various parenting courses. By running such courses she has gained invaluable insight into a range of issues affecting families such as language and generation barriers between parents, grandparents and children, family breakdown, school attendance, health issues and cultural barriers facing women and their families.

**Eve Gregory** is Professor of Language and Culture in Education, Goldsmiths College, University of London. Her main research interests are family learning in multilingual communities, with particular reference to early literacy learning. She has recently directed projects supported by the Economic and Social Research Council 'Family Literacy History and Children's Learning Strategies at Home and at School' and 'Siblings as mediators of literacy in two East End Communities' as well as co-directed the Leverhulme funded project on Home and School Literacy Learning in Three Communities. She is currently co-directing an ESRC funded project on 'Intergenerational Learning between grandparents and young children in East London'.

**John Jessel** is a lecturer in education at Goldsmiths College, University of London. His research activities focus on the mental processes that underlie learning and cognitive development, particularly within the context of ICT-use. He is interested in the insights on

learning and curricular issues that can be gained from different cultures and has worked on some within-school initiatives in different national contexts. John has instigated and been involved with a number of funded projects which involve detailed observation, typically within the classroom setting, of individuals or groups engaged in activities such as talking and writing, early mark-making, drawing and the use of ICT. He is currently co-directing an ESRC funded project 'Intergenerational Learning between grandparents and young children in East London'.

**Charmian Kenner** is a researcher and lecturer on bilingualism and literacy, based at Goldsmiths College, University of London. Her research on early writing in a multilingual nursery class resulted in the book 'Home Pages' (Trentham, 2000). From 2000-02 she directed a Government-funded project 'Signs of Difference' on how children learn to write in more than one script system. Charmian is currently working on the project 'Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London' with Eve Gregory, John Jessel, Tahera Arju and Mahera Ruby. She also evaluates family learning projects for local Councils in London.

**Mahera Ruby** is based at Goldsmiths College, University London and is currently a researcher on the ESRC project 'Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London' with Tahera Arju, Eve Gregory, John Jessel and Charmian Kenner. She has an MA in Education and is a qualified secondary science teacher. She is actively involved in various community education regeneration projects involving parents and families.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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#### **Intergenerational learning between children and grandparents in East London**

##### *Abstract*

This reports on work carried out as part of a one-year Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded project which aims to investigate the exchange of knowledge and

skills between grandparents and young children (from three to six years of age) in a variety of learning events including activities involving the use of information and communications technology (ICT). Six families from each of two main linguistic groups with children attending an East London primary school will be studied; those who are Sylheti/Bengali-speaking of Bangladeshi origin, and those who are primarily monolingual English speaking. Ethnographic methods will be used, including surveys and interviews to collect data along with field notes from participant observation and audio and video recordings of activities taking place in homes and communities. The video recordings will also be used for stimulated recall so that participants' views can be noted and triangulated with the data derived from the other sources. Patterns of interaction will be analysed in detail and considered in relation to questions concerning the ways grandparents and children take the lead in learning interactions, the ways learning interactions are co-constructed by the participants, the kinds of knowledge exchanged between younger and older learners, and, the role of the computer in cultural, linguistic and technical aspects of learning.

#### *Rationale and overview*

In the UK grandparents now play a significant role in childcare. This is also occurring at a time when the importance of home support for the achievement of children, regardless of their socioeconomic background, is gaining recognition (DfES 2003, Cassidy, 2003). The benefits of providing an enriched educational experience in the early years have been endorsed through Sure Start and the Foundation Stage Curriculum (DfEE, 1999a; 2000) and in the above context the investigation of intergenerational learning which involves children in the younger age group takes on considerable importance.

A major theme in current Government policy is concerned with the widening of educational opportunity, with the interlinked aims of developing a 'learning society' and fostering social inclusion. In the wake of an increasingly elderly population this links with the agenda for lifelong learning (DfEE, 1999b). Interaction between older and younger members of society has the potential to promote learning on both sides and this is the focus of the present study. In particular, this one-year ESRC funded project aims to investigate: a) the ways grandparents and children take the lead in the learning interactions; b) the ways the learning interactions are co-constructed by the participants; c) the kinds of knowledge that

are exchanged between younger and older learners; and d) the role of the computer in cultural, linguistic and technical aspects of learning.

The study aims to investigate learning events taking place between children and grandparent's in The London Borough of Tower Hamlets in London's East End. The Borough is ideally placed for a study of language and literacy learning in a multilingual context. Of its pupil population of approximately 36,000, 22,000 are pupils for whom English is an additional language. 86 per cent of these children speak Sylheti/Bengali. The Borough is strongly committed to raising achievement for all pupils and support of mother-tongue classes through its Mother-Tongue Section is part of that commitment. The Borough supports a number of mother-tongue schools, attended by 5,000 children. There are also other mother tongue schools, which do not receive financial support from The London Borough of Tower Hamlets. Families from two main linguistic groups with children attending an East London primary school will be studied; those who are Sylheti/Bengali-speaking of Bangladeshi origin, and those who are primarily monolingual English speaking. Work with these groups is carried out in order to gain understanding of learning interactions in different cultural and linguistic contexts. Because very young children have the most evident need of help from their grandparents the focus on children in the early years (from nursery to Year 1, ages three to six) should give particularly rich insights into the potential for intergenerational learning. Six families from each group will be studied in detail through activities where older people have traditionally provided support (e.g., storytelling) and activities in less traditional areas such as those involving the use of ICT where children could have skills which older people may not have.

### *Conceptual framework*

Although the part played by family interaction in children's learning is widely recognised, studies have generally involved parents rather than grandparents with the effects on children being the main focus. More recently family interactions have been conceptualised on terms of a mutual exchange where, for example, parents can learn from their children when helping with English homework (Duran, 2001). The present study seeks to develop this in terms of interactions involving grandparents and will draw on sociocultural theories of learning (Tharp & Gallimore, 1998; Pollard with Filer, 1996) based upon the work of

Vygotsky (1978). Key concepts used in looking at learning in family settings will include 'scaffolding' provided by older members (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976), the transmission of knowledge or 'prolepsis' between generations (Cole 1996), the 'syncretising' of knowledge and experience from different generations (Gregory & Williams, 2000) and the mutual benefits arising from the unique bond or 'synergy' between children and their grandparents (Gregory, 2001). A further theoretical dimension offered by educational gerontologists takes account of disjunctures between biography and experience arising from present day demands for people to continually take on new challenges arising from rapid social and technological change (Glendenning, 2000; Jarvis, 2001). This is contrasted with earlier social formations where learning development tended to slow down with age as older people relied on a stock of already-gathered experiences and a relatively stable sense of self. One focus of this study is on the intergenerational learning opportunities around the use of ICT. A sociocultural approach to learning presented by Crook (2001) views the co-ordination of human action through the intervention of cultural tools and ICT now has considerable importance as a source of mediating artefacts. The use of new technologies redefines problems and poses new questions and challenges and the study examines the learning agendas arising from children and grandparents as they interact around ICT.

### *Method*

This will comprise a combination of approaches drawn from survey research, ethnographic research and action research. Survey, interview and observational methods will be used to find out about the spread of existing activities taking place in families with children attending an East London primary school. Interviews (audio taped) will take a life history approach to give more detail on the learning interactions which might be occurring and how these draw on grandparents' previous experiences. Based on the interviews, twelve families will be chosen for detailed study: six from those who are Sylheti/Bengali-speaking of Bangladeshi origin, and six from those who are primarily monolingual English speaking. Two intergenerational learning events (one involving activities other than ICT, and the other around a computer) will be video recorded for each family.

Triangulation of participants' views with those of the research team will be obtained by inviting children and grandparents to watch the video material with the researcher and

comment on aspects of the events. The video material is to be used as a springboard for more general questions on what participants felt older and younger people could contribute to each other's learning. This approach extends that used by other researchers who have used retrospective investigation and stimulated recall to encourage reflection on learning, mainly with older students in a more formal educational setting (Smagorinsky, 1994).

### *Analysis*

This will be addressed in the following ways:

a) Exploring patterns in interaction: This will involve a detailed analysis of the videotaped material to find out how participants build upon each other's meanings through talk and non-verbal interaction. It will also look at how the bilingual participants use both English and Bengali to co-construct learning interactions.

b) Exploring the kinds of knowledge exchanged: This will involve forming an inventory of the different concepts and skills featuring in the discussions and activities shared by participants. This includes the language which is learnt and ICT-related knowledge gained.

c) Exploring the particular role of the computer as a learning tool: This will involve identifying the characteristics of interactions around the computer as a mediating artefact such as the dynamics where each generation needs to access the other's knowledge in order to effectively accomplish learning. The ways in which the conceptual and practical knowledge gained through ICT activities overlap with or differ from that gained through other learning events.

In each of the above approaches the videotaped material will be used in conjunction with the participants' comments, and issues arising from these data will be related to material from the initial interviews and observations. The involvement of the participants will create an iterative process going beyond the immediate videodata, enabling children and grandparents to make further comments about their everyday learning experiences.

### *Relevance of the findings to life and schooling*

By analysing the ways in which each generation can contribute to the knowledge of the other, the project will identify the characteristics and the results of such learning exchanges. The study will thus enhance theoretical understandings of the sociocultural aspects of learning in an area where little research has previously been conducted. It will also suggest how initiatives in lifelong learning, schooling and family learning could draw upon and support the role of grandparents as carers in different extended family structures. At this stage the main body of data is only beginning to be gathered and it is therefore too early to predict results of the work with any certainty.

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## **Endogamy in the Tower of Babel: Marriage practices among Moroccan descendants in Europe**

**Dr Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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**Current position:** Post-doctoral RED researcher of the Social Anthropology Department, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

**Education:** Sociology (1991, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Master in Applied Anthropology (1996, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Doctor in History (2002, European University Institute, Florence).

**Relevant publications:** 1) Books: *El "moro" entre los primitivos: el caso del Protectorado Español en Marruecos*, Barcelona, Fundación "la Caixa", 1997; *La "hermandad" hispano-marroquí. Política y religión bajo el Protectorado español en Marruecos (1912-1956)*, Barcelona, Edicions Bellaterra, 2003.

2) Book chapters: "Los paraetnógrafos militares y su visión del Marruecos rural", B. López / A. Ramírez (eds.), *Antropología y antropólogos en Marruecos*, Barcelona, Edicions Bellaterra, 2002, pp. 113-133; "La oficina de Intervención como espacio de interacción socio-política entre el *moraqib* y la *cabila*: de la ideología colonial a las prácticas cotidianas", H. de Felipe / F. Rodríguez Mediano (eds.), *El Protectorado Español en Marruecos: gestión colonial e identidades*, Madrid, CSIC, pp. 139-180.

3) Articles: "'Pourquoi tu ne m'écris plus?' Les rapports mixtes et les frontières sociales dans le Protectorat espagnol au Maroc", *Hawwa. Journal of Women in North Africa and the Middle East*, Leiden, 1: 2, 2003, pp. 241-268; "De los "remendados" al Hâjj Franco: los españoles en el imaginario colonial marroquí", *Illes i Imperis*, nº7 (2003).

**Research interests:** Anthropology of North Africa: Politics, Religion, Colonialism, Kinship; Spanish-Moroccan relationships; Moroccan migration.

## Pre-seminar paper

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### **Endogamy in the Tower of Babel: Marriage practices among Moroccan descendants in Europe**

The purpose of this article is to discuss some hypothesis about marriage practices among Moroccan descendants in Europe starting from secondary sources and exploratory fieldwork among Moroccans in Catalonia. My particular aim is not to answer to this question with definitive data but to generate a debate about the role played by kinship structures and marriage expectations in a society composed by different groups in terms of religion or language. These reflections make part of a research that I am currently carrying out on matrimonial and intimate relationships between Spaniards and Moroccans in colonial Morocco (1912-1956).

#### *1. What's in a group?*

The political debate about cultural diversity in Europe should avoid an exclusive definition of culture as a symbolic universe, separated or independent from social structures and hierarchies. It must be observed as well that this metaphor of culture does not necessarily refer to a whole social group. This culturalism also presumes that the group is essentially conformed by the need of an identity, excluding other dimensions like economical strategies or status obligations.

In this paper, I want to emphasise the pertinence of taking into account one of these structural and strategic aspects of social action, in order to understand how the production, reproduction or transformation of the notion of "cultural" or "social" group is historically managed. Matrimonial practices (endogamy-exogamy in terms of class, religion, ethnicity) will conform the social affiliation of individuals, their social expectations and the definition of the person in a European space crossed by different kinship systems.

This articulation between kinship-alliance and the political definition of social or cultural groups is not new in European history. In this sense, one group "is different" (or forms a group) because of its matrimonial strategies. This apparently simple equation may be

better understood by quoting a brilliant question posed by E. Porqueres in his study on Mallorcan Jews ("Xuetes") converted compulsively to Christianity:

Did they marry each other because they were "Xuetes", or were they "Xuetes" because they married each other?

## *2. Alliance practices and the persistence of endogamy*

The classical studies about kinship in the Arab-Muslim region have remarked the existence of a relevant degree of endogamy in terms of kin proximity (*qarâba*), based on an ideal pattern of marriage with the father's brother's daughter (*bint l-'aam*) which does not necessarily coincide with the practice. In Morocco this kin proximity between matrimonial candidates is quite important, even in urban and modern areas like Casablanca. The question here is: what happens to these practices after the Moroccan diaspora to Europe?

Apparently the socialisation of Moroccan descendants in Europe does not reduce endogamy in terms of geographical origin, linguistic practice, religious affiliation or even consanguinity. The statistics concerning the marriage strategies of people of Turkish and Moroccan ascendance living in Belgium reveal that the matrimonial election patterns based on notions of proximity and consanguinity are not only reproduced but even reinforced in the new context. This proximity concerns the category of the person chosen for marriage as well as the actors involved in the matrimonial negotiation. The preferential kin marriage which is 22% in Morocco, reaches 27% in Belgium, while this percentage for Turkish people is 29% in Turkey and 35% in Belgium.

The marriage of Moroccans with Belgians is more frequent for men than for women (16% vs. 6%), but in any case this practice is much less important than the marriage with Moroccans living in Belgium (26% for men, 37% for women) and specially with people proceeding from the Maghreb (57%). This kind of marriage merits a special comment on transnationality as a phenomenon which affects the socialisation and the social networks of these European-born generations. For European Moroccans, identity, material culture and social networks are somehow "liminar" (in the sense of Victor Turner's definition) and hybrid (as Bennai-Chraïbi describes urban Moroccan youth), as shown by the song texts

of the Euro-Maghrebian rap and *raï*. During the summer visit to Morocco they are attractive candidates on the matrimonial market, labelled by local people as Dutchmen, Spaniards or Frenchmen, while in Europe they are considered as “immigrants” or a cultural, religious or ethnic minority.

In terms of sexual life and marriage expectations, modern ideas of love and autonomy are competing with other patterns like collective alliances or marriages negotiated by the group. This tension is taking place not only in Europe but also in Morocco and it forms part of a long discussion about modernity, tradition and the family in the Muslim world since the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century.

This approach to marriage should not forget that such “cultural” practices differ according to the social position occupied by both candidates. The pre-eminence of an endogamic marriage means in fact an homogamic marriage, in terms of social class, language or geographical origin. This is why I presume (from my observation of the Catalan case, not supported by statistical data) that the cases of exogamy do correspond as well to an homogamic principle: these mixed couples cross the frontiers of the groups in terms of “ethnicity” or kinship rules but not in terms of educational capital or social class.

### *3. Explanations of endogamy/exogamy*

Bonte and Copet-Rougier have showed that the ideal model of “Arab marriage” (between patrilineal or classificatory cousins) is not the most frequent one. However, the marriage with a more or less near kin is still important. This preferred partner is somebody belonging to “the group”, either born in Europe or in Morocco. It is not unusual to find many young men engaging a non-Muslim girl-friend, who finally marries a girl in Morocco, in order to satisfy the expectations of the kin group or a personal election to maintain gender hierarchies.

Looking into the ethnographic literature, many explanations have been given to kin endogamy, depending on the historical context which defines the power relationship between the groups in question:

- Economical explanations: patrimonial concentration in the lineage, reduction of the cost of the *sadaq* (the amount paid by the groom's family to the bride depends on the genealogical distance between the two groups).
- Geographical explanations: endogamy is more frequent in rural areas, but migration to Moroccan cities or Europe transforms the kin network into a vital source for obtaining jobs, residences or other multiple advantages thanks to marriage strategies.
- Socio-political explanations: endogamy is more frequent in groups maintaining certain privileges (religious privilege: descendants of the Prophet; economical or political privileges: elites of the Saud family in Saudi Arabia, etc.), in groups living as a minority (Palestinians in Israel, Kurds in Iraq) or in groups occupying low or stigmatized positions (musicians, descendants of slaves).
- Ethnic, cultural or identity explanations: proximity is supposed to ensure the family honour, the "blood purity" and the cohesion of the group.

In the European context, we can apply some of these models at the same time, representing the matrimonial choice arena as a concentric circle where people establish marriage preferences according to their religion (Muslim), origin-nationality (Moroccan), ethnic affinity (Riffian), social status (good family, employed), etc.

From the 1980<sup>es</sup> we assist also to a re-appropriation of Islam by youth of Muslim origin, using it as an instrument of protest, as a vehicle of solidarity or as a new European way of conceiving "to be a Muslim", as a personal election (O. Roy thesis).

These strategies introduce a definition of endogamy which hides ethnicity under a religious rethoric which tries to "islamise" modernity. Its cultural consumption includes Internet Muslim Marriage links or virtual *fatwas* answering questions about marriage, abortion, sexuality or relations with non-Muslims.

#### *4. Transnational marriages / transnational socialisation*

The song of a Lebanese pop singer of the 1980<sup>es</sup> tells how a girl rejects an arranged marriage with a paternal cousin and she asks for a love marriage. With this example, I suggest that it should be a mistake to identify the notion of matrimonial election as a unique European phenomenon. Moreover, homogamy is also a common practice in

European contemporary society, so that the idea of “free choice” or “love” is obviously not neutral in terms of social position.

In the transnational *topos*, matrimonial practices are not strictly “traditional” because new strategies are developed in order to avoid the barriers of the European states or the European Union, or to establish new links in a non-Muslim society.

The restrictive migration laws have transformed marriage in a clear socio-economic strategy, in comparison to the 1960-1970<sup>es</sup>, when the number of unmarried migrant women in Europe was very limited.

The significant practice of transnational marriages shows the existence of a dynamic exchange of persons, objects and ideas which can not be only explained by the study of inter-communitarian relationships in Europe. The majority of these transnational elections are collective strategies marked by clientelisms and exchanges among families which maintain links and obligations in spite of spatial distance.

One of the interesting questions raised by the Belgian statistics is that people born in Belgium chose this kind of transnational marriage for many personal reasons. These decisions are conformed by gender, age and the status of the family. Some families prefer a girl grown up in Morocco, who will follow a pattern of submission and modesty, rather than a girl educated in Europe. In the case of the girls, their choice is not a simple return to “tradition” but a decision that may be influenced by domestic power relationships; the election of a husband coming from Morocco allows her to avoid the presence of the mother-in-law at home, and to master the social and linguistic aptitudes that her husband as a newcomer ignores.

##### *5. Exogamy and miscegenation: which mixture?*

The idea that mixed marriages are a sign of integration is not always true. The social effects of miscegenation are diverse. They depend on notions about status and identity transmission, as E.R. Leach and F. Héritier have well shown. In a bilateral system, the child is the product of both the mother and the father, but in some patrilateral systems, the child is basically considered as a produce of the father. In Islam for instance, the child of

an Arab emir and a black slave was an Arab; the sons of the Moroccan *sharif* of Wazzan and lady Emily Keen (end of XIX<sup>th</sup> century) remained *sharif-s*; two babies (male and female) nursed by the milk of the same woman may never marry and they are considered as brother and sister, because they have been nourished with the same milk, and this substance is actually considered to be a transformation of the man's semen, so that they share the same substance.

Muslim religion is also transmitted patrilaterally (and Muslim women are prohibited to marry non-Muslims): this is why couples with a he Muslim partner are more frequent than the other way round. In this last situation, some men convert to Islam in order to be accepted by her family, or in other cases the particular status of the women explains this prohibited practice: women in a marginal condition or having broken their links with the family, or women belonging to high educated or secularised families. The case of Algerian women in France is very illustrative: in 1990, 20% of the Algerian women with children were married to a Frenchman or lived as a single mother.

In terms of comparison, the case of Antillians in Britain is very illustrative of the ideological meaning of miscegenation and mixture. The son of a "white" and a "black" does still remain "black", being labelled as mixed or *mulato*.

#### *6. European models of diversity and the context of endogamy*

The personal or collective marriage strategies are not only conditioned by cultural, religious or economic factors, but also by the different political and juridical models implemented by European countries, like the policy of nationality acquisition and the dominant notions about diversity or mixture and its management. We find different ways of becoming "national" (*ius solis*, *ius sanguinis*) and different conceptions of assimilation (France) and segregation (Great Britain). In certain terms, these policies are a historical continuity of the models implemented in the ancient colonies, and the people affected are in many cases descendants of those old colonised. In some cases endogamy is celebrated as a mechanism which permits to avoid contact and maintains "cultural" differences, while in others it is refused as an explicit sign of self-exclusion against assimilation and a universalistic doctrine.

**Experiences of children from Ecuadorian migrant families in Spain: expectations, myths and realities**

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**Summary of the CV**

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Bachelor Studies in Geography at Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Mendoza, Argentina (1991).

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Postgraduate studies "Estudios sobre Cuba: Historia, Economía, Sociedad y Cultura", Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona-Universidad de La Habana, Barcelona, España, marzo-junio de 1998.

Ph.D in Human Geography, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Research areas: social geography, gender and geography, migration, education-migration, agriculture modernisation, latinamerica.

**Pre-seminar paper**

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**Experiences of children from Ecuadorian migrant families in Spain: expectations, myths and realities**

Current migratory processes have become a transforming process with deep implications for families. Within international migratory context gender and generational relations are

redefined. These relations not only take part in negotiations of links within domestic groups but in experiences of children from migrant families at destiny places as well.

Since migratory projects contemplate family reagrupation as a step before final settlement, access to social services such as health and education is one of their main aim. In this sense, children access to a better quality of education and obtaining economic resources are the most significant achievements of migration.

Within the context of globalization economic processes and current international migrations, from the ends of 1999 to the beginnings of 2000, historical, political and socioeconomic situations converge and Ecuadorian migratory flux to Spain turn to be massive. Socioeconomic and political crisis in Equator arrives at its highest point and submerges the Andean country in the most serious financial and political chaos of its history. To face this crisis one of the strategies of Ecuadorian families has been migration towards some european countries mainly, Spain and, in smaller degree, Italy, Germany, Belgium and Holland.

Agudization of Ecuadorian crisis, changings in social representations, circulation of information connected with labour requirements within migratory networks provoke feminisation of Ecuadorian flow. In this sense, Ecuadorian migratory flow suffers structural transformations: women become the first link of migratory chain. Thus, the family appears as a space of conflict and negotiation within transnational context. In this way under economic causes that hide other migration causes underlie gender inequities. Analysis of these inequities offers elements to understand renegotiations of remittances, children care and family reagrupation, redefinitions of return or definitive establishment on destiny places.

In this migratory process Ecuadorian women are responsible of the articulation of transnational social spaces. The importance of Ecuadorian women is situated in construction of transnational maternity. Creation and consolidation of transnational network means a hard activity and highly qualified. It requires the developing of certain tasks where members of domestic groups situate lots of expectations

Inside this context, transnational Ecuadorian mothers and their families begin to build new spaces, expanding national limits and improvising strategies of maternity, actually an odyssey with high costs. Although women could be physically distant from their children, in most cases, they maintain maternal links and economic obligation for around two years. Regular sending of money is a sample of their strong links with original domestic groups. But transnational mothers also carry out strict controls over children studies. Moreover, school performance turns to be an element of negotiation between children and mothers, since obtaining good marks mean shipment of superfluous consumption goods for them together with remittances.

Children's everyday life has been deep transformed not only by parents departures but by remittances as well. In this way, new links built by their parents with families and places of origin and shipment of money situate them in a difficult situation to be carried on.

At present children play a central place in domestic groups practices of consumption. One of the most surprising example could be found in the unusual quantity of money, time and energy spent on children parties.

Nevertheless, one of mothers greater worries are that children, specially, daughters, can suffer domestic violence during their absence; this is one of the causes by which women promote family reunification. Moreover, in certain occasions, transnational maternity provokes disaffect problems and significant changes in children's behaviour. This information circulates quickly through chains and migratory networks and, in this way, children reunification becomes a priority. Within this context mother should develop strategies to assure dwelling and cares, to relate to health assistance and education at arrival places.

Because of complex family plot of situations and socioeconomic contexts, reagrupations are not always harmonious, on the contrary, significant number of

women and Ecuadorian males, carry their children to destiny places without adequate socioeconomic conditions.

In recent years the increase of Ecuadorian children in Spanish educational system shows us the acceleration of reagrupations processes. That situation verifies the strong feminisation of Ecuadorian migration movement.

Within this context, our paper will analyse expectations and attitudes of migrant families in relation to education and functions of educational centres in different steps of migratory process. We will develop issues such as family reagrupations, renegotiations of family links in destiny places and school as a space of encounter or exclusion.

**World-Wide Walls: Children of El Ejido under pressure. Notes on school experience, cultural identity and social exclusion**

**Dr Rafael A. Pulido, Universidad de Almería, Spain**

**Summary of the CV**

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Rafael Pulido Moyano, Ph.D. (Córdoba, Spain, 1967) is a senior lecturer in education at the University of Almería. He has participated in several research projects on interculturalism and educational issues since 1990. A visiting researcher at Stanford University (Palo Alto, U.S.A.) and Institute of Education (London, U.K.), his research interests range from anthropological approaches to education (he is co-author of *Antropología de la Educación*, Eudema, 1994) to issues of curriculum design in intercultural education and, more broadly, cognition and society. His research works have been carried out within the framework of ethnography. He was one of the founder members of the *Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales Research Group* (University of Granada). Currently he is Director of International Student Mobility at his university.

**Pre-seminar paper**

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**World-Wide Walls: Children of El Ejido under pressure. Notes on school experience, cultural identity and social exclusion**

My presentation will address the relationships between school, construction of identity and social exclusion of children. I will use some empirical evidence provided by my own research and, more extensively, by several studies where authors analyzed the social conflicts that occurred in El Ejido (Almería, Spain). The aim is to depict, so to speak, some lines of thought about the complexity of this theme (actually, a composite of themes).

I do not intend to recapitulate the "El Ejido events" (see Azurmendi 2001, Checa 2001 or Martínez 2001). My intention is to explore some of the multiple meanings of social

exclusion, as a theoretical concept, and its impact on children who are growing up in scenarios like El Ejido. In my discussion of social exclusion -using some data about El Ejido-, I will briefly refer not only to issues of ethnicity, cultural identity and school experience, but also to issues of globalization and "informational age". In relation to the latter, suffice to say that top companies and farming organizations responsible of the economic growth of El Ejido have introduced new informational technologies throughout the processes of production and distribution of their products.

### **El Ejido, February 2000**

Four years ago, the town of El Ejido appeared on the front page of news in media all over Europe. On Saturday 22nd of January 2000, two local Spanish green-house farmers, aged 41 and 53, were killed by a Moroccan immigrant worker, aged 24 on. Two weeks later, on Saturday 5th of February, a local Spanish woman, aged 26, was killed by another young Moroccan immigrant worker (who was reported to be mentally-ill). These two killings triggered an spiral of riots and social convulsion for three weeks or so.

As a consequence of those events, El Ejido has suffered a process of stigmatization. In people's minds -including social scientists-, the town and its district (the so called "Comarca del Poniente Almeriense") are associated not only to the extraordinary growth of economies based on "plastic-agriculture", but also to racism, interethnic conflict and social exclusion.

The Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary defines "border" as the part or edge of a surface or area which forms its outer boundary. In such a topological -geographical- sense, El Ejido is *on the border* of Spain and Europe. But, in the sense of social functioning of communities or political management of conflicts, we could think of El Ejido not as being *the border* -at least for those terrible weeks of February 2000- but as being *outside*. Outside what? What surfaces or areas did El Ejido traspas, placing itself outside their outer boundary?

For a few hours, El Ejido was isolated -physically speaking- after the blocking of the motorway and secondary roads that give access to the town. Martínez (2001: 197) has emphasized the "symbolic density" of this act. According to his interpretation, the road-

blockade stimulated the already existing mentality of isolation and vulnerability in coping with the "immigrant invasion", thus reinforcing a sense of local identity and internal unity against the "outer world".

### **El Ejido children: Web, Self, School**

El Ejido children are growing up in quite a complex environment. On the one hand, most of Spanish children in Ejido are in some way or another related to the "plastic agriculture". Either their parents or other members of their extended families are local farmers, that is, owners of "invernaderos", pieces of land under a plastic cover. On the other hand, most of non-Spanish children in El Ejido -Morrocan children being the most significant national group- are equally related to the "plastic agriculture". Their parents or other family members are workers -as far as I know, there is no Morrocan owner of land- in the so called *invernaderos*. Those who were successful enough to leave the *invernadero*, own shops clearly oriented to immigrant customers, like Muslim groceries, phone call shops, international money-transfer shops and similar.

Spanish and non-Spanish children go to the same schools of El Ejido. Apparently, the *ones* and the *others* should have quite different experiences and even opposed views on the problems of their community. My feeling -actually, the idea that I will try to transmit with this presentation- is that, in essence, ones and others share some basic life conditions or, stated in a more precise way, they are constructing their lifes under the same types of pressures:

- a) the still unnoticed (by them) pressure of global dynamics based on informational technologies -which is increasingly becoming the main source of social exclusion all over the world-;
- b) the pressure of families and local community forces to develop a sense of cultural identity -based on religious, ethnic or national frames of reference-; and
- c) the pressures of school system to success in their academic life, in order to avoid school failure -the first step of social exclusion in many cases.

Although these three types of pressure operate on different logics, they are intertwined in some very complicated ways, creating a maze where children, all children, are trapped. The walls of this maze are too high for most children. I would like to think that schools can do something to help children to overcome the walls, but I am not very optimistic. After all, schools are adding new lines of bricks.

### **From culture as a "web" to *the* web as a "culture"**

In the opening chapter of his very influential book *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz adheres himself to Weber's position by claiming that "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" (1973: 5). Years later, Scholte reminded us that such a definition should include an important remark: "a select few do the actual spinning [of those webs] while the vast majority is simply caught" (1984: 540). In our days, webs are more than a *metaphorical resource* to visualize the concept of culture, as intended by Geertz. Today, there are *real-physical* -electronic to be precise- webs covering all the world. Today, if you are not caught by this world-wide web (www), you are simply excluded, or autoexcluded.

Manuel Castells's impressive work (Giddens compared it with Weber's *Economy and Society*) is considered to be the best scientific picture of how the world has been deeply transformed by the new informational technologies (see Castells 1996, 1997, 1998). Unfortunately, Castells did not consider the role of schooling in this world-wide process. In his extremely interdisciplinary approach, almost all aspects of the XXIst century socio-political realities have been treated. Unfortunately, education is missing.

### **Do schools play any role at all?**

According to Castells, it is required a deep change in culture and institutions of a society in order to disseminate the new technological discoveries all over the economy:

This general assertion applies particularly well for the case of a technological revolution centered around knowledge and information, embodied in symbol-processing operations that are necessarily linked to the culture of society and

to the education/training of its people" (2000: 120. 2nd Spanish edition. My own translation)

These is one of the very few paragraphs where Castells mentions schools or education in his trilogy. In my view, he assumes that educational systems, instruments of nation-state structures as they are, are expected to operate in ways that contribute not only to disseminate the new technological discoveries but also -and more importantly- to create, in citizens' minds (children and adults), the cultural requirements for this supra-state (world-wide) info-tech revolution to triumph. In other words, Castells possibly does not consider the possibility that schools can emerge as spaces of resistance where "www tendencies" can be contested or, at least, critically reflected upon.

### **The official European discourse**

Some warning is necessary here, as info-tech revolution introduces new social inequalities among children and widens some old ones. The informational technologies (Internet being the strongest example) not only have woven a myriad of webs all over the earth, they have also created new walls, that is, new categories of exclusion that fuel the gap among population groups. According to the European Commission (EC), the gap between the educational *haves* and *have-nots* gets wider; progress is enhanced for some while held back for others:

There is therefore a risk of a rift in society between those that can interpret; those who can only use; and those who are pushed out of mainstream society and rely on social support: in other words, between those who know and those who do not know (EC 1995: 9).

The consequence is social exclusion for the latter and full participation in citizenship for the former. The statuses through which such citizenship is expressed include occupation, income, family life, housing, health and community (including social and political participation). The social exclusion process may be conceived as one in which the probability of access to such outcomes is much reduced or disappears altogether.

According to the European Commission's point of view, the question is -quoting a document by the Committee of the Regions- how to promote equal access to education for men and women alike, and to ensure that disadvantaged groups (rural communities, the elderly, ethnic minorities and immigrants) do not become second-class citizens as regards access to the new technologies and opportunities.

However the case, the EC deeply believes in the info-tech *mana*. According to EC, the possibilities offered by the information society must be fully used to reduce inequality in the access to training and to the labour market (p. 19)

"Positive discrimination in favour of those at a social disadvantage is essential, particularly in the problem suburbs and inner-city areas. Otherwise, the risk is that the social rift widens even further (...) Naturally, everything starts at school, which is where the learning society has its roots (...) School has to adapt, but nevertheless remains the irreplaceable instrument of everyone's personal development and social integration. Much is asked of it because it has such so much to offer" (pp.27-28).

### **Naturally, everything starts at school**

If "naturally" everything starts at school, why do Castells ignore it? how is it that school is not a central focus of current debates about issues of wwww and internationalization of economy, wwww and global politics and similar ones? It could be the case that schools are not as important as European official rethorics says. However, schools are necessary to teach children that "being European is to have the advantage of a cultural background of unparalleled variety and depth" (p.54), a good example of the eurocentric arrogance of some europoliticians.

I will explore the role of school experience in the mapping of socio-cultural diversity in children's minds as this mapping constitutes the mental (cultural) software necessary for the supra-state info-tech revolution to triumph. School experiences contribute to create in children's minds a map of Human *Diversity* (HD), which I will define as a set of natural and

cultural facts embodied in a vast array of variables. Variables embodying biological HD are natural variables, like sex or skin colour; (ii) variables embodying psychological HD are pseudo-natural variables, semi-natural or semi-cultural, like personality or intelligence; (iii) variables embodying socio-cultural HD are historically, socially, culturally and politically constructed variables. Hidden curriculum practices help children to a) perceive HD in terms of 'differences', which I define as the cognitive representation / construction of 'diversity'; and to b) translate differences into 'inequalities', by which I mean the affective, judgement-based and value-laden construction of 'difference'. By 'discrimination' I mean any action taken against -or in favour of- any individual or group on the grounds of any assumed inequality.

### **A program for future research**

I will insist on the need to inquire into the processes through which children manage daily life and themselves. This inquiry should address an array of crucial issues. In children's experience, each of these issues presents itself as a combination of the three "pressures" aforementioned: web-global society, cultural identity and schooling.

*Issues of power.* Who make the distinctions? Do schools contribute to the legitimization of such a classification? What interests are served by these distinctions? Can schools change these classifications in children's minds? In talking about the conceptual difficulties in the concepts of inclusion and exclusion applied to schooling, Popkewitz (2001) indicated that the categories of differentiation, marginalization and exclusion have shifted to include ethnicity, gender and race, including more detailed categories about family and delinquency to identify and target educational programs, such as single parent families and teen-age prenegancy. The importance of the overlap of the new categories with that of poverty and socio-economic is that the excluded groups become defined through new social categories of deviance

*Issues of identification of variables.* Some variables are, roughly speaking, visible (skin colour -as the main trait of racial definition-, age, gender), but among the rest there are some variables that are, to a greater or lesser degree, inferred or derived (like language competence and social class) and some which can be completely unknown until a question is asked (like nationality, ethnic background, religion or political ideology).

*Issues of objectivity versus subjectivity of variables.* Some of these variables appear to be natural or naturalised, while other are clearly artificial or invented. To what extent does everybody -within a given community or society- agree about the objectivity status of each variable? How is it that a child think of herself/himself as having a position along a given variable and, at the same time, other children can think of her/him as having another one?

*Issues of discretization and polarisation of variables.* Why -and by whom- are some continuous variables -racial definition, age, ethnic background- pieced into discrete values? Why is it that school does not question the fact that some continuous variables are polarised so that there appears to exist only two values presented as opposed values? (White-Black, Left-Right)

*Issues of plasticity of variables.* Under which circumstances, why, how or when can a child move herself/himself on the "map" by changing any of her/his positions in which variables? Which variables are most flexible, and which are most rigid?

*Issues of salience, centredness and embeddedness of variables.* Why do some children take one of the variables as the most prominent of all? Why is it that some children tend to perceive some variables as being part of or subordinated to other variables? What makes a children use these distinctions?

I will show some examples from El Ejido children and schools to illustrate the arguments outlines in this pre-seminar paper.

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## **Valuing diversity and fighting inequality: an impossible dilemma? Classroom practice and social models in England and France**

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### **Summary of the CV**

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#### *Qualifications and academic positions :*

2003-4 Lecturer at the Université du Maine (Le Mans, France)

2002-3 ESRC postdoctoral fellowship at the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol

2003 PhD : « From the child to the citizen : socialisation and models of citizenship in French and English primary schools »

1998 Agrégation : qualification as a secondary school English teacher in France

#### *Current research projects :*

With Agnès van Zanten (CNRS) and Stephen Ball (London Institute of Education) : parental values in education compared, in London and Paris

With Marilyn Osborn (University of Bristol): learner identity in France and England

#### *Publications :*

(2003) Minorités, ethnicité et citoyenneté : les modèles français et anglais sur les bancs de l'école, *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, 144

(forthcoming) Assessing the work or the person ? Assessment in French and English schools, *Assessment in Education*

## Pre-seminar paper

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### **Valuing diversity and fighting inequality: an impossible dilemma? Classroom practice and social models in England and France**

School or pre-school is often the first collective structure which a child becomes a member of. The *child* changes status, becoming a *pupil*. In this change of status, certain facets of the child's identity are left aside and new ones constructed: amongst the multitude of factors which make each human being unique, which are the forms of diversity among pupils that are to be taken into account at school? The pupil is a culturally situated concept, which involves a selection of those characteristics which are deemed legitimate at school, and an exclusion of other aspects of the child, relegated outside school, to the private sphere. Different cultures operate the construction of the pupil in different ways, according to their pedagogic approaches and conceptions of society.

This paper compares French and English conceptualisations of diversity and strategies to fight inequality. These two countries present an interesting comparison as their education systems are built on different views of diversity and inequality. France and England are often presented as opposed social models, with traditionally contrasting views on fundamental issues such as the role of the state, the ideal balance between the individual and the collective poles, or the basis of social cohesion. The French *republican model* can be compared to the British *multicultural model*.

Nowadays official policy either side of the Channel expresses a double commitment to equality of opportunities on the one hand, to respecting individuals and valuing diversity on the other. Upon closer inspection, however, it seems clear that one is given priority over the other: while the English emphasis is on diversity, the French system is geared at fighting inequality. In fact, one may wonder how far these two aims are compatible.

This paper explores the implications of these social models in educational practice using empirical data from a Ph.D. Ethnographic observations were carried out in twelve classes of four to seven-year-old pupils, between 1998 and 2001, for two weeks in each class.

This paper begins with the construction of pupil identity. From observations of children learning to write, it examines how pedagogic choices in England and France lead to different aspects of diversity being recognised in the classroom. The second section takes the case of minority ethnic children to consider how religious, ethnic and cultural diversity is dealt with in relation to issues of academic underachievement and discrimination. The final section relates classroom practice back to social models of integration and examines the implications of the French and English education systems on children's social identities.

### **I. Learning to write and constructing the pupil**

A mission statement of education in England claims the following values:

a belief in education, at home and at school, as a route to the spiritual, moral, social, cultural, physical and mental development, and thus the well-being, of the individual. (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p. 10)

This description of the "whole child" is in sharp contrast to French calls for equality:

Now, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, primary education must remain faithful to the great inspiration of the Republican school: offering all children equal opportunities and a successful integration in French society. (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 2002: 46)

How far do these ideals translate into practice and shape the way children are taught?

[two case studies will be included, describing a typical teaching situation in a French and English classroom]

Most of the work English children were set was differentiated by attainment with tasks adapted to children's needs and understanding. In the French classes, identical tasks were given to all children, regardless of their attainment. Differentiation in England meant that the diversity in pupils' previous attainment was legitimised and taken as the basis for establishing new expectations. In France, prior attainment had little influence over the work children were required to complete. Teachers in both countries acknowledged diversity

among children and described it by referring to the same criteria (such as maturity, language spoken at home or ethnic background), yet they chose different paths to manage this diversity.

Secondly, practice differed according to the extent to which it related teaching to children's personal experience. English children were more likely to be asked to relate their own experience than their French peers, particularly in their writing. Reading and writing tasks in French classes emphasised spelling and grammar. Children were required to dissociate their home and school experiences. In England, children were more likely to be encouraged to produce personal texts, dealing with their experience, or drawing upon their imagination. The school filtered some aspects of the child's life, selecting those which were relevant to the educational world, but left other individual characteristics to the playground or the home.

In terms of assessment, similar contrasts were to be found. French teachers gave marks which teachers claimed to make as "objective" as possible, that is to say, based solely on the value of the work produced, not taking into account the characteristics of the pupil who produced it. In England, teachers wrote comments instead, and these dwelt on the progress accomplished by the child and or the effort put into the task. It was sometimes hard to distinguish whether the work or the child was being assessed.

Overall, English schools adopted a more holistic approach than French ones. English teachers encouraged expressions of individuality and recognised diversity in achievements by differentiating work, and assessment criteria. In France, pupils learnt to distance themselves from their personal interests and experiences. Teachers acknowledged diversity, but were reluctant to let it influence their teaching. Thus more of the English child than the French child was to be found in the pupil.

## **II Ethnicity and the construction or deconstruction of difference**

Ethnicity is an issue where educational concerns and wider social models of integration meet. Either side of the Channel, there is an shared concern that children from ethnic minorities are underachieving. However, divergences appear in the conceptualisation of the problem, its analysis and the explanations put forward in each country.

British researchers have blamed “institutional racism” for schools “failing” black children and letting them fall behind (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000). But in France, statistical regressions suggest that the underachievement of children of immigrants is due to socio-economic factors only, not to their foreign origins or distinct culture (Vallet and Caille, 1995).

It is difficult to determine whether the determinants of academic success are actually different in both countries, or if the divergences in sociologists' explanations are due to the concepts and tools they use. Indeed, categorisations of ethnicity are different, and make it impossible compare like with like: while the UK uses the concept of “ethnicity” to identify non-white populations, French official categories only recognise the official criterion of “nationality”(Afiouni, 1999). The research results described above also reflect national models of integration: the French republican model does not allow for a recognition of communities, unlike the British multicultural conception of society.

These traditions translate into different educational policies. In particular, targeted funding and staffing for ethnic minority children exists in England only. While positing that underachievement is not *caused* by ethnic origin, English policy rests on the assumption that minority ethnic pupils form a sufficiently coherent category, with specific characteristics and needs, to make targeted interventions for the whole ethnic population legitimate. Support in France is only defined in terms of educational needs, not pre-defined categories of pupils. Targeted policies, just like any other reference to ethnic background, are suspected of discrimination and considered incompatible with Republican principles(van Zanten 1997).

In practice, inside the school, observations in England were in line with education policy. Some schools employed bilingual support staff to work with minority ethnic children, and teachers occasionally drew upon the diversity of their pupils to sensitise all pupils to differences of language, culture and religion. Major non-Christian festivals were celebrated in assembly as part of school policy for raising awareness and promoting tolerance.

Similar initiatives were less systematic in France, and usually the result of a personal initiative. Some teachers went against republican traditions and valued cultural diversity. But even then, children were invited to talk about their home lives or to speak their native

language at specific times of the day such as circle time, or during special activities such as an annual event when North African parents came into the school in traditional dress, bringing photographs and home-made food. All these occasions are peripheral to formal learning, as if they belonged to the warmth of personal exchanges and constituted a set of relationships parallel to the egalitarian principles that dominated the rest of the school day.

### **III Systems of social education and social models**

Whether one considers teaching practice in terms of differentiation, or educational policy regarding ethnic minorities, French and English pupils encounter diversity at school under significantly different guises. Despite increasing pressure on targets and testing in English schools, teachers remain highly concerned to teach the “whole child”, to see pupils as children first and foremost, and to value and respect the communities they belong to. In French schools, many aspects of the republican model of education are to be found, in particular a distancing of personal characteristics.

Children at school do not encounter “equality” or “inequality” in the abstract, but socially situated versions of these concepts. This complicates comparisons, as an understanding of cultural and historical traditions is necessary to make sense of teaching practice. In fact, mutual criticism reveals taken for granted assumptions each person holds about their own system. For instance, British observers of French education may consider it as regimentation which disregards the individual. Yet the French explanation for the theoretical separation between the child and the pupil rests on republican ideals and a clear distinction between public and private spheres. Conversely, a French observer may reproach the English system with reproducing social inequalities and hindering integration. Does differentiation, for instance, not constitute a capitulation before inequalities formed outside school? Children may be protected from the experience of failure, but at what cost?

The imaginary dialogue between our French and English observers hinges on the following question: to what extent should the pupil adapt to the school, or the school to the pupil? Is the schoolchild first and foremost a *child* or a *pupil*? English infant teachers insisted on educating the “whole child”. French views of the “pupil” are more complex. The “pupil” can be defined negatively, as an amputated “child” from whom individuality,

emotions, social and community ties have been subtracted. But a more positive view depends on seeing pupils as persons who rise above their initial fetters: the distance between the child and the pupil then becomes a necessary condition to achieve liberty. What is subtracted is the barriers to freedom and full citizenship. In refusing to seek the child, the republican school frees the man.

All is well at the level of ideals. However, observations in actual classrooms reveal a picture that is more complex and sometimes far removed from the happy "whole child" or the liberated citizen. Both education systems face persistent inequalities in terms of gender, social class and ethnicity. However, one may suggest that the persistent inequalities in both countries can be ascribed to different causes. In France, promoting equality is a central mission of schools, and justifies a certain blindness to many aspects of diversity. Yet they are unable to dismantle the hierarchies that structure society beyond their walls. In England, fighting inequalities has not traditionally been the key mission, and must be compatible with the commitment to recognising and valuing cultural and ethnic diversity. This suggests a degree of fatalism as to the reproduction inside school of the social divisions outside it. Diversity in France is relegated to the private sphere, as its recognition in the public sphere would be seen as a renunciation of republican and egalitarian ideals. English schools seek to increase equal opportunities, but the steps they take are contained within the broader multicultural imperative. Yet seeking to recognise diversity between individuals and communities is likely to entail a reinforcement of social divisions and inequalities, as if the price to pay for valuing diversity were a reduced ability to combat inequality.

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## **The languages and their uses in the Chinese community in Catalonia**

**Dr Amelia Sáiz López, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Amelia Sáiz López, sociologist, member of the Centre for International and Intercultural Studies, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Her work is focused on gender studies in China. She spent a number of years in the People's Republic of China where she conducted research into Chinese women students in higher learning institutions in the University of Beijing. She has been involved in several research projects on gender, education, work, in relationship with the Chinese migration in Spain and in Catalonia. She has given many lectures, seminars and formation courses on Chinese migration, gender, education and health.

Her publications include several articles in specialized journals and chapters of books on topics related to China, gender, and education. She is also the author of *Utopia y género. Las mujeres chinas en el siglo XX* (Edicions Bellaterra, Barcelona, 2001); and coauthor of *Els xinesos a Catalunya. Educació, família i integració* (Altafulla, Barcelona, 2001); *Comunidades asiáticas en Cataluña* (CIDOB, Barcelona, 2002); *La comunidad china en Santa Coloma de Gramanet* (Diputació de Barcelona, 2002); *La internacionalización de la educación superior. Estudiantes asiáticos en Cataluña* (CIDOB, Barcelona, 2003); *Género y familia en Asia Oriental* (UOC, Barcelona, 2003).

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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## **The languages and their uses in the Chinese community in Catalonia**

Since the 1990s, the ethnic Chinese students in the Spanish and Catalan schools have increased steadily their numbers as a consequence of new migrations and family reunion

processes. The official statistics said that during the course 2001-2002 there were 201.518 foreign students enrolled in the pre-universitary education in Spain. 5.003 of them were Chinese, and 951 were enrolled in the Catalan primary and secondary education institutions. The total Chinese resident population at the end of 2002 were 45.815, of which 6.416 people had less than 15 years old.

In accordance with the age that they have at the moment of enter in the Catalan schools, there are two kinds of students: (1) those who began their enrolment in school in Catalonia, and (2) those who before enter Catalan schools have been enrolled in Chinese education institutions. They form the group of "later enrolled students", as use to be named in Spain. The members of the later tipology must adaptate to a different education system, which a linguistic logic diametrically opposed to the linguistic policies implemented by the Chinese nation-state and government.

The Chinese language, and their dialects, have a common written language for the whole territory of Mainland China –The People's Republic-, but with different pronunciations in different regions. The official language (*putonghua*, literally "the common language"), known in the West as "Chinese Mandarin" (*guanyu*, literally "the language of the officials"), is the language spoken in Northeastern China. The official language is used in the official, public circle: administration, education, and mass media at national scale. Besides, there are, at least, six other languages, classified by the Chinese state as dialects, mutually unintelligibles among them, with similar differences to the romanic languages.

The language of prestige is used to communicate all the people in this vast country, as well as with all the people that reside outside the country, but understand it. The Chinese language is also the main teaching and communicative language in the Chinese education system, at least, in theory.

The majority of the Chinese people that reside in Spain and Catalonia came from the South Zhejiang province: the Qingtian district and other districts of its neighbourhood Wenzhou Municipality. In this region, the people speak several variants of the Wu language, known under the name of *Oujiang fang* ("local languages of the Oujiang", the name of the river that cross the region), as the *Qingtianhua* ("the language of Qingtian"), *Wenzhouhua* ("the language of Wenzhou"). So, the "later enrolled students" coming from

this part of the world are bilingual at the moment to enter in the Catalan education institutions.

In Catalonia, one Autonomous Community of the Spanish nation-state, there are two official languages: Catalan and Castillian (usually known in other contexts as "Spanish"). The linguistic policies of the Catalan government during the last twenty years has supported the use of the Catalan language as the normalized language in the Catalan territory. The education in Catalan language is one of the basic pillars of the Catalan Autonomous Community's linguistic policy implementation. The Catalan language can be learned in the regular and non-regular education. The Catalan language is the teaching and communicative language in the school; the Castillian language (the official language of all the Spanish nation-state), is learned as a second language, with independence of the students' mother tongue.

In general, the Chinese collective settled in the Catalan Autonomous Community, has no idea of the linguistic peculiarities of Catalonia before arriving there, and maintain the same criteria and logic to the multilingual Spanish nation-state (Castillian, Basque, Galician, Catalan) that they applied to the multilingual China, and so, for them, the Castillian language (they used to say "the Spanish language") is the most prestigious language. The Chinese consider the Castillian (Spanish) as the language that all the Spaniard citizens can speak and understand (in a sense of national-state unity/identity), and is also the language that many millions of people in the other side of the Atlantic Ocean speak and understand. The weight of the Spanish in the world is bigger than the weight of some other language of the Spanish nation-state, and has the status of one of the languages more spoken in the world together with English and Chinese.

From the point of view of the Chinese community, the language of prestige (Spanish) doesn't coincide with the main teaching and communicative language in the Catalan schools (Catalan language). By other hand, the language in the school and the language in the streets, sometimes are not the same, especially in the metropolitan area of Catalonia capital, Barcelona, and also in some neighbourhoods within the capital where the use of Spanish is similar to the use of Catalan.

The Chinese students enrolled in Catalan schools must learn two languages. For those who enter at school with five or six years old, the learning of the Catalan and Spanish language follow a natural pace, and, although they are not in the same conditions of their native classmates, because the mother tongue, the street language and the school language, if they are not just the same, they are much closer for them, than for the Chinese students. Anyway, at the end these Chinese students used to get a good linguistic command of both languages (Catalan and Spanish), with a special emphasis in Spanish.

For the "later enrolled students", especially those enrolled to the Catalan education system when they are 13 or 14 years old (the Spanish compulsory education finish when the students are 16 years old), have at their disposal very little schooling time (two or three years) to learn two unknown and strange languages very far from their own linguistic system. It is usual that they don't get a minimum middle proficiency level in the two languages, and they give priority to the Spanish.

The parents of the Chinese students don't use to have a good proficiency in neither of the two languages. Only those who are living in Spain many years have a good command of Spanish. The Chinese people who speak Catalan are those who have got married with Catalan people, or that are living in Catalonia during many years, and these cases are very few. The migratory project of the Chinese families is based in the geographical mobility looking for new opportunities, and for this reason, the Spanish language is seen as more useful than the Catalan.

The Chinese parents want that their children get a good proficiency of the most important languages in the world, because for many of them the economic and social success ideal is got when you can bring economic and linguistic resources into play: big import/export companies with operation in several places of the world, at least, in Asia and Europe. From this perspective the English and the Standard Chinese have the same consideration as the Spanish. A criterion used by the Chinese parents to determine the learning quality of an educative centre is the English proficiency level that you got in it. The better-off economic parents enrol their children in private schools where the main teaching and communicative language is Spanish and have a large curricula in English language.

The parents' linguistics shortcomings in the host society languages knowledge show the communicative limitations of their mother tongues, or family used languages. As their children grow up and get a large and better proficiency of the school and the street languages, the parents move away their children learning process: they can not help them in their schoolworks, and they don't know the contents that their children are learning. They have not any control on the values and patterns of behaviour that their children learn in the host society schools. The later doesn't mean that the parents lack confidence in the Catalan teachers' educative work, neither in the school at a whole. The unknown territory that their children learn in the school is feeled as a force that move away their children, sharpening the usual generational gap and conflict. It is usual that the children speak each other in Spanish, and speak to their parents in Standard Chinese, or their mother tongue, And so, the parents don't understand all the things that their children are speaking about.

The study of the Chinese language simbolicly represent the Chinese culture, and when somebody learns the language, in some way, understands the culture. For the Chinese parents is very important that their children could read and write Chinese. The curricula of the Spanish education system doesn't include the learning of Chinese language as a subject, and it is not possible to learn as an extra-curriculum subject, neither.

Given the importance of the Chinese learning in order to communicate with all the Chinese people –the lingua franca among the Chinese in Spain and in Catalonia is the Standard Chinese, the official language of China-, and the national identity meaning that it has, the Chinese community has opened private schools in order to teach Chinese language and culture. There are Chinese schools in Madrid, Barcelona (one established by the People's Republic with more students, and other managed by Taiwan people), and Santa Coloma de Gramanet (metropolitan city of Barcelona), the later opened in the autumm 2002, among other places in Spain. There are also private academies that teach Chinese, some of them managed by Catalan people, and other by Chinese (from Mainland, or Taiwan). They operate as other languages private academies.

The Chinese schools are located in public education centres. The schools centre buildings use to have township proprietorship, that means, they are schools that from Monday to Friday give classes in the regular education system, and on Saturdays are used to teach

Chinese language and culture. The Chinese schools are settled by agreements between Chinese associations with the cultural function of manage the Saturday school, and the Township Council of the cities where they are located.

The schools are opened to every people that want to learn Chinese, independent of their ethnicity. The students are distributed in several levels of Chinese language proficiency. In order to get a middle proficiency level is necessary to spend several years of schooling. Besides the language, there are also subjects on history, calligraphy, and so on. This kind of subjects only are teaching when the students' number is large enough. The teachers are Chinese, generally they have superior studies in China, that means, with a good command of Chinese language spoken, written and reading.

The position of China in the world, and in the mass media, is day by day more important. The Chinese language has began to be value by the non-Chinese people. Actually, Catalan parents with up-the-middle social and economic status are looking for private professors of Chinese to teach their children. The Chinese learning offer in Barcelona has increased during the last years because, among other reasons, the opening of Casa Asia (a institution from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and the beginning in the University of a regular graduate Studies on East Asia.

Finally, in order to complete the scope of the language uses, the Chinese adult persons, singles or just married, with a little time of residence in the host society, and working for Chinese employers in Chinese food restaurants –recently there are also young Chinese of both sexes working in cafes and restaurants non-owned by Chinese-, or other shops, and in textil sweatshops, go to learn Spanish to Adult Schools. In Barcelona, and Santa Coloma, two of the Catalan cities with more Chinese residents, there are several Adult School centres, where besides the subjects to get regular basic studies certificates, they teach also Spanish and Catalan languages, and informatic. The Chinese students are the largest foreign students collective enroled in these Catalan Schools in order to learn Spanish.

For the adult Chinese students, the Spanish is an instrument very helpful to the upward social mobility, to get the economic success, the expectative that they have when they took the decision to migrate. The knowledge of the host country languages is another

strategy in order to get the economic independence, and in this context it means to be the owner of their own business.

**The effect of inequalities in everyday life of individuals and households: the case of Catalonia. Results of the first wave of the Panel Survey on Inequalities in Catalonia (PaD Catalonia)**

**Dr Cristina Sánchez Miret, Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona, Spain**

**Summary of the CV**

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Prof. Cristina Sánchez (1965) holds a PhD. In Sociology from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB). From 1994, she is Professor in Sociology at the Faculty of Economics and Business of University of Girona.

Currently, she is the Director of Contents and Analysis of the Catalanian Panel Survey of Social Inequality (PaD) at the Jaume Bofill Foundation (Barcelona). Cristina Sánchez has extensive experience in the analysis of survey data on social conditions and lifestyles. Her main research areas are gender, inequalities and social class.

**Main Publications:**

SÁNCHEZ, C. (2003) Les desigualtats socials i la salut a Catalunya. (Social Inequality and Health in Catalonia) Les dades del Panel de Desigualtats a Catalunya (2001-2002) en NAVARRO, V. (Coord.), L'Estat del Benestar a Catalunya, Col.lecció Perspectives. Diputació de Barcelona

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## Pre-seminar paper

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### **The effect of inequalities in everyday life of individuals and households: the case of Catalonia. Results of the first wave of the Panel Survey on Inequalities in Catalonia (PaD Catalonia)**

This presentation aims to point out the fundamental axes of inequalities in Catalonia from the analysis of the differences in the life of its citizenship both from the point of view of individuals and families.

We are becoming more and more used to talk about diversity and about differences between individuals, leaving aside which of these diversities or differences are a sign of inequality. It is not the same *to do different things* as to *have to do different things* or as not to have the same possibilities as others to do some things. It is elementary to understand which social circumstances settle the life conditions of individuals and their families in order to give a social answer –especially an institutional one, with adequate public policies– to inequality. At the same time, the knowledge of its existence enables to understand what happens in all social fields, for instance, what happens to our sons and daughters and their education, what happens with unemployment, with housing, with private life in the households, with leisure time, etc.

The main results of our research show how the classical axes of social structure are the ones who still determine the opportunities of individuals –gender, age, place of residence, geographical origin and social class. What changes as time goes by is the kind of opportunities we are talking about, because life conditions and lifestyles of people have changed. For instance, 50 years ago, the most striking inequality in the field of education was that there were children who went to school and others who did not go. Today, the main difference between Catalan families is whether they take their children to a school run with government's funds or to a private school. This fact which in a egalitarian society would be a matter of ideological inclination or of familiar or personal preference, is directly related to the social class of families: it is the working class that has less possibilities to choose the school.

The living conditions of people

The analysis of our data concerning this first edition of the panel survey (2001-2002), points out the main concerns of the Catalan families and also the key aspects in our lives. We may not all see ourselves represented in this data in the same way, because we may be at present undergoing a different period in our life or because our circumstances are different, but we can recognise in them other moments in our life, the lives of people we know or the life of relatives, because the data we will look through in this presentation point out the main characteristics of what living in Catalonia means for the whole of us.

In the first place, one of the main themes from which derive some key aspects of what happens in the households and lives of individuals, is that of children. To take care of the children during their social and personal growth is one of the fundamental tasks in the households of our society and so it takes most of the lives and efforts of all kinds from the family members, both living in the household –usually parents– or not living in the same household –grandparents. This care of the little ones from their birth until they do not need us so much is not an easy task for different reasons. Thus in order to combine the care of children with the jobs, in 1 out of 3 households women have to reduce the hours of work, and both men and women in 1 out of 4 households have difficulties to combine their working hours with the schooling hours of their children. Besides, in Catalan households the schooling of children implies quite an effort: in 8 of every 10 households they are satisfied with the education their children receive and only 4 of every 10 households do not consider they have to make an effort in order to pay for this schooling; so for the majority the education of children supposes a considerable expense, up to the point that 1 of every 10 households admits it supposes a big effort. The average amount of money households pay for the schooling of their children is 161,13 euros per month, but we have to point out that differences between households are considerable. These differences are not spread at random. The working class households are the ones that have to make a bigger effort to afford the schooling of their children, despite they are the ones that take their children to schools run by the government, that is free, and despite they had to abandon at a higher rate than the rest of the social classes some school they liked because they could not afford the expense it supposed.

The leading role in the process of accompanying the children in their growth is played by mothers much more than by fathers. We have already pointed that women are the

ones to reduce their working hours and they are also the ones to help the children to do their homework, to go to school meetings with teachers and to plan the everyday life of children with all its particulars. This inequality increases if we talk about the whole of the household and family work. Only 10% of household tasks are shared by both members of the couple in the same conditions<sup>49</sup>. On the other hand, if we look at the job market, the situation for women is not better: it is true that there are men and women in all kind of jobs, even in the most unlikely twenty years ago, but there are still «men's jobs » and « women's jobs», even at their most generic level of classification, and men still hold the posts with more power and responsibility in the companies. Thanks to the higher level of education between young women, they are having better jobs, if we consider better jobs the ones attached to a high level of educative qualification; but this betterment does not go together with their qualifications, neither does it break the division between women's jobs and men's jobs.

The largest number of women occupying the lowest positions in the labour market means that they are more exposed than men to situations of negative working conditions, for instance the kind of contract, the hours of work and the remuneration. At the same time, 13,3% of women belonging to the youngest generations (25 to 34 years old), left their jobs involuntarily when they had one baby: 7% because their contract expired and 6,3% because they were dismissed.

Let's go to another fundamental theme: housing. The star answers to the question of «what would you like to have that you do not have?» are two: a better economical situation and a new or a better house. It is clear that most of the desires of all of us in one moment or another in our lives is to have a house, and if possible a nice one – more or less big, with or without a garden, in one place or another– depending on everyone's priorities, but mainly we want to own it (78,1%). The case is that nearly 1 out of 3 households surveyed is still paying for it. In most cases (86%) mortgages have been paid for about 10 years and most households will still be paying for many years. The average of years to pay a mortgage is around 18 and the monthly amount paid is around 616,88 euros.

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<sup>49</sup> In our survey all members of the household answer the question about their share in the household and family work.

It is more than obvious for all of us that housing is very expensive and that it requires a big effort to have a house. We do not always make this effort on our own. Family help is usual in the acquisition of houses, in 1 out of 10 households there has been a gift of money, and in 5,7% of cases money has been lent. Despite this family support, housing has still a lot of weight in family economies and more than one half of Catalan households consider that in order to cope with the expense of housing they have to make an important effort. During year 2001-2002, only in 2 out of 10 households housing did not suppose an effort or supposed a small effort. Here social class is again a key element, and despite housing is an important expense for a vast majority of family economies, it is the working class the one that has more difficulties to acquire a house, to keep on with the payments, to do works in it, or to change the placement of their residence if they do not like where they live. At the same time, we must bear in mind the age variable and the community of immigrated people who are the ones having at present more problems to gain access to housing.

This is not the only element of complain within the Catalan families concerning the housing: 1 out of 10 surveyed households live in houses with important deficiencies. The main problems are dampness, bad installation of water, gas and electricity, the cold due to the dreadful conditions of the houses and the cracks in the walls, and in 9 out of 10 cases these problems cannot be solved because households cannot afford their cost. The social group more affected by this is the group composed by immigrants coming from outside Spain. This group concentrates the largest number of problems although this problems are also characteristic of the more aged working class households.

Finally, we cannot avoid to mention the amount of money needed to live in Catalonia today. The impression derived from the surveys is that the answer to this question is mainly one: a lot of money is needed and we do not always have it. The average of households in Catalonia says that the amount needed is 1663,48 euros to reach the end of the month and if 1 out of 3 families was left with no income they could not support themselves one month, 2 out of 10 could support themselves between one and three months. Only 1 out of 4 households could live with no income for more than one year. We believe that only one half of the households have savings. Considering this, it is normal procedure among Catalan households to have one or more loans to face the expenses of the family unit (37,3%). 1 out of 10 households says that reaches the end

of the month with many difficulties, 3 out of 10 with difficulty and more than one half of the people surveyed are not satisfied with the level of their economy. Up to here we have described differences in the economical level of the households and individuals of Catalonia, but these differences are supported by the relationships of inequality established between the different social groups: they are the eldest, the women, the immigrants and the working class the ones who represent the worst economical situations.

## **Multilingual matters. Linguistic diversity in school.**

**Dr Elisabet Serrat, Universitat de Girona, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Elisabet Serrat (born 1965) is currently assistant professor of Psychology of language and thought at the Educational and Psychological Faculty, Girona University, Spain. She studied Psychology at the University of Barcelona, and received her Ph.D. (Psychology) from the University of Girona. Her Ph.D. Thesis was about first language acquisition. Her research interests involve first and second language development, and recently methodology for language teaching. She has published scientific papers in these fields as well.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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## **Multilingual matters. Linguistic diversity in school.**

This paper introduces issues related to the multicultural and multilingual classroom. The main purpose is to comment on some issues about language use in schools. Comments which will be based on observations, research findings and reflection.

Today there is a continuing inflow of people from many different parts of the world. What is now the European Union has allowed free movement for citizens of the member states. Moreover, large numbers of people from other countries have also added to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the European Union.

Given these changing demographics, all educators must face the reality of culturally and linguistically diverse students in today's classrooms. Schools which never before had to instruct these students are now finding they must meet this need. How to manage linguistic diversity in schools, with students speaking different languages? Many conflicting influences and interests interact to shape people's feelings and choices about this question; rarely do opinions stem from one source or reflect and

isolated belief. Our perspective avoids the pretence of providing a quick and a simple resolutions to the issues explored.

Some teachers assert that using other language –not national language- to assist immigrant students in class deprives them of opportunities to practice national one, thereby diminishing their chances for academic success. Simultaneously, other teachers discuss how communicating with students in their home languages at school is pedagogically and ideologically justified and appropriate.

Language is, indeed, a critical mediating component in effective long-term education. According several authors the effective use of language as an instrument of instruction makes the difference between scoring at a low or a high percentile. In other words, many studies points to the benefits of mother tongue education, and it seems that the best models of bilingual education also bring strong positive benefits in terms of vertical social integration and positive attitudes towards minority languages and cultures. Models of education which bypass, deny, or denigrate mother tongues create a large reservoirs of animosity, ambivalence, and identity loss on the part of minority languages communities.

However, in most cases are not possible to apply a full mother tongue educational model. Think about this example –which is real:

A classroom –In Catalunya, Spain, first course of *Primaria*- with twenty seven students, Catalan it is not their mother tongue. These children are from seven different countries, and their mother tongues are five languages typologically very different among them. There is only five children born in Spain. Thirteen students start in school at three years of age, fourteen students start progressively at four or five years of age. Three of them start in the school this course.

In contexts like this, there are difficulties to apply a mother tongue educational model because, among other reasons:

- There is too many languages.

- The number of bilingually trained personnel in these areas is limited, making it difficult to provide a full program of bilingual education or mother tongue education.
- There are languages which have never before been used in formal education and which may not even have a written form.

However, on one hand, all students regardless of their mother tongue should have equal opportunities to learn in school. On the other, the question is how finding alternatives to exclusionary schooling practices in this situation.

Our proposal advocate and illustrate practical strategies for fostering teaching and learning practices inclusive of students' home languages.

Similarly, our perspective advocate and illustrate specialized training for the classroom teachers who attempt to instruct these students for most of the school day. There must be appropriate components relevant to this need included in teacher education programs in order to prepare all teachers to provide more effective instruction for culturally and linguistically diverse students. These instructional programs must incorporate information on cultural sensitivity, linguistic diversity, and teaching strategies.

The rapidly changing demographics make it imperative school restructuring models developed specifically for multilingual, multicultural contexts. Linguistic diversity must be a crucial issue in education, and all teachers must be prepared to be effective instructors of culturally and linguistically diverse students populations.

## **Diversity and Inequality: The role of schools and local government**

**Dr. Antoni Tort i Bardolet, Universitat de Vic, Barcelona, Spain**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Antoni Tort, before being a university lecturer, worked in several educational contexts as a Primary teacher, as an organiser of social and cultural events and as a pedagogue in a team of psicopedagogical advisor ship. In 1,990 he starts working as a Head teacher of the Teacher Training College "Balmes", and in 1,997, he becomes the Dean of the Faculty of Education of the University of Vic. He is PHD in Pedagogy by the University of Barcelona, (UB). With his thesis "The social representation of school education in the mass media" he obtains the maximum qualification, as well as, the Extraordinary PHD Prize by the University of Barcelona. He is also the director of the collection "Textos Pedagògics" of EUMO publishing house. This collection publishes about well-know names of universal pedagogues of all times. He has published many articles and books about sociology, politics and history of education and about teacher training. The last book published, in Catalan, is *Magribins a les aules. El model de Vic a debat. (2.002)* Is a study about educational politics in the city of Vic (Barcelona), immigration and schooling. It is written together with two other lecturers of his University and it will appears in Spanish in 2.004.

### **Pre-seminar paper**

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## **Diversity and Inequality: The role of schools and local government**

In recent times, the most controversial aspect of the policy in regard to education has been the distribution of students from an immigrant origin among the public and concerted private schools. In the Spanish state, two networks of primary/secondary schools exist: the public schools (that depend on the central government or on the autonomous communities such as Catalunya that have their own powers in education), and the private schools (which are dominated by centers with some kind of religious

background). However, the latter are concerted schools, which means, to explain it briefly, that the government pays the salary of the teachers working in the obligatory grades (6-16 years old) because it is considered that these schools perform a public service. Only a small sector (at both extreme ends of the spectrum: elite schools and low level academies) are not concerted with the State. In the face of the phenomena of intense immigration in only a few years, precisely the lack of a real educative policy has favored a great contrast between the two education networks: on one hand, the public schools absorb the great majority of boys and girls from immigrant families, and on the other hand, the private schools which are subsidized with public money are predominated by students from native families with a middle to upper class social level. Although the law requires the same obligations in the admission of students in both types of centers, the reality, however, is quite different.

In 1997, the process of merging four Primary Schools to produce two larger schools was begun in Vic (a city of more than 30,000 inhabitants, 70 km north of Barcelona). This step was taken in order to deal with the increasing concentration of school children from immigrant families in two of the merged schools. It has led to drastic changes in the distribution of the educational centres in the city. At the same time all the city schools, both public and state-maintained private (supported with funds from the public purse), agreed to accept a similar number of pupils from immigrant families.

The modification of the makeup of the schools was done in a double dynamic of imposition and negotiation and this fusion together with a balanced distribution of the students in all the schools was a process that had different aspects worth mentioning. In this paper we analyze the experience of the city of Vic. Although it is not possible to come to all the final conclusions about the aforementioned for another few years, at this time it is probably safe to make certain observations:

*a) Strengthening the role of local government.* The role of the local government in the area of education is generally of a secondary nature. In reality, however, there is no law prohibiting municipal governments from taking on more responsibility in developing new initiatives. This is what has happened in the case of Vic where it has been proven possible for a local government to take more efficient action in the quantitative and qualitative planning of diverse educational aspects which with the increasing flow of immigration have become more and more diverse and complex.

*b) The balanced distribution of students among public and concerted private centers.*

As a result of the fusion, which was an urgent measure that had to be taken in order to put an end to the ghetto situation of the city schools and because of a prior lack of planning about the state of education, students of an immigrant origin are distributed equally among the different public and private schools at the beginning of their schooling. This decision has meant an advance in the balanced sharing of all the immigrant students in all publicly financed centers in the city. Up to now, the putting into practice of quotas related to the balanced placement of immigrant students into the schools has been well accepted, although all the centers involved are asking for more economic assistance. There have also been critical voices that point out the artificiality and insufficiency of this measure, and feel that the whole student body should be distributed among entire school districts or at least much more ample zones than in the current situation.

*c) The model of a comprehensive school facilitates integration.*

In these new centers it has been necessary to make the maximum use of the instruments and measures that are involved in the current educative reforms which try to join two basic principles of education: that of inclusiveness, which avoids the labeling and classification of the student body as well its distribution into segregated groups, and that of attention to diversity, which respects and pays attention to the diverse rhythms of learning by means of curricular adaptations, intensive tutorial sessions, reinforcement groups, etc. In spite of these advances, there needs to be better training of the teachers and other personnel who work in education. The lack of coordination among the different Administrative services also needs to be pointed out.

*d) The fusion process has generated new educational innovations.*

The crises obligated a rethinking of the didactic and organizational models. This can only happen, of course, in a center with a cohesive teaching staff and project. In this way, the classroom and other spaces are transformed in order to favor the communication processes among the students and the teachers; the tutoring sessions are reinforced as an instrument of self awareness and conflicts are resolved by means of dialogue and negotiation; relevance is given to the overall culture of the student body as an instrument that permits relating academic knowledge with the every day diversity present in real situations. This means trying to construct an intercultural curriculum, something that is still in a distant horizon.

Despite the criticism directed towards the educational institution, it currently constitutes one of the few public socialization scenarios. However, the integration that is achieved in the classroom is undone in the street. In the everyday city life, the people live separate lives: some pass more time in the street and watch a lot of television while others enjoy a much richer and more diversified leisure time. The situation becomes more complicated in Secondary Education, when the model becomes, in general, more instructional than educational. In addition, in adolescence, manifestations of discrimination in the different social environments (leisure, housing, employment, etc.) become more evident.

## **The impact of local educational action on social inequality and social exclusion in France**

**Dr Agnès van Zanten, Observatoire Sociologique du Changement, CNRS-Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, France**

### **Summary of the CV**

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Agnès van Zanten is a Senior Researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. She works at the Observatoire Sociologique du Changement which is a research centre of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques and teaches at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris. She is also the director of RAPPE (Réseau d'Analyse Pluridisciplinaire des Politiques Educatives), an international network on educational policy.

Her main research areas are the reproduction and transformation of social advantage in education, the schooling of working-class and immigrant children, the organisational and professional dynamics of schools and local public action in education. She is also interested in qualitative and comparative research methods and in international comparisons.

She has published several books on the sociology of education such as *Sociologie de l'école* with M. Duru-Bellat (Paris, Armand Colin, 1999) and *L'école. Etat des savoirs* (Paris, La Découverte, 2000). Her most recent publications include *L'école de la périphérie. Scolarité et ségrégation en banlieue* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2001), *Quand l'école se mobilise. Dynamiques professionnelles dans les établissements d'enseignement* (Paris, La Dispute, 2002) and *Les politiques d'éducation* (Paris, PUF, coll. « Que sais-je ? », in press).

## Pre-seminar paper

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### **The impact of local educational action on social inequality and social exclusion in France**

The importance of schooling has considerably increased in most Western nation-states in the last fifty years. However, the expansion of educational systems and the restructuring of capitalist economy has created a very complex situation whereas credentials have become indispensable to be authorised to participate in the distribution of social opportunities but by no means sufficient to get an actual job, to keep it and to enjoy a prestigious social position (Beck 2001). There is thus a strong structural link between access to education and social inequality and social exclusion. Meanwhile, the nature of educational inequalities has also changed. The actual problem is less that of access to various levels of education (secondary or tertiary), than to different types of schools, tracks and careers. Not only are these more “qualitative” inequalities more difficult to observe but they are also linked to exclusionary process that start very early, inside schools, and lead not only to objective difficulties in professional and social integration but to subjective feelings of “desaffiliation” from society (Castel 1995).

These processes result from an interweaving of global and national policies and of local educational action. France provides an interesting case of this complex interrelationship for at least three reasons. The first is its position on the international scene. Having been for a long period a world leader in the cultural and educational spheres, it has now come to play a minor role as regards the global liberal trends promoted by the United States and the United Kingdom. This has given way to an interesting process of dealing with world influences, namely the claim for “exceptional” status. The second reason is the fact that, as opposed to less articulated national positions on the role of schools, France developed a very strong and consensual educational model in the 19<sup>th</sup> century of the schools as agents of social equality and social integration that has only started to be questioned in the last twenty years. However, the French case also provides a good perspective for the study of the interaction between transnational, national and local levels of educational policy making and change for a third reason, that is the growing gap between official policy and local action by educational agents (van Zanten, 2002a).

In fact, without any strong public announcement, a radical transformation of the educational arena, implying changes in the power relations between various groups of actors, has taken place. The Central State lays down essential principles and leaves the burden of connecting them to social environments to local agents at the periphery who are forced to reconstruct their identities, forge new alliances and invent new organisational and pedagogical responses to crucial problems (van Zanten, 2001). This unofficial decentralisation of the decision-making process contributes to excessive responsibility being thrown on local actors, especially in urban areas. Many researchers have pointed out that because of their specific position, both as regards accumulation of resources and integration into exchange networks, metropolitan areas are more likely to be affected by globalisation processes. At the same time, because of their importance, both numerical and symbolic, at the national level, these metropolitan areas — especially, in France, Paris and its suburbs — are seen as sites where national policies are formed, experimented with and transformed. Education policy has in fact become essentially, urban policy. However, metropolitan sites differ greatly in terms of their social class and, in many cases, ethnic configurations and in school provision, in both quantitative and qualitative terms. They can also differ as concerns policy orientations from local educational and political authorities. Some consequences of these differences on processes of inequality and exclusion will be briefly explored here on the basis of three research projects conducted in the Parisian periphery.

A main hypothesis leading these three research projects was that the term policy should not be used only to refer to the formation and launching of official decisions at the international and national levels, but also to analyze policy-in-practice, that is the re-enactment of policy at the local level of communes, schools and classrooms. From this perspective, it is possible to see parents, teachers and head teachers, as well as local authorities, as policy-makers (van Zanten and Ball 2000, van Zanten, 2002b). Parents play an important role in French policy-in-practice although they are neither officially allowed to choose a school in the public sector, nor encouraged to have much voice in school affairs. This is especially the case of middle and upper class parents who live in urban heterogeneous areas. Feeling threatened by the arrival of massive numbers of working-class and ethnic minority children in comprehensive local schools, these parents have become much less confident in the schools' capacity to provide their children with a good education and started to develop external and internal "closure" strategies. These strategies entertain a dynamic relationship with teachers'

and head teachers' responses. Again, although schools do not enjoy considerable autonomy as compared to their counterparts in other European countries, they profit from lack of strict supervision from above to adapt to the demands and opportunities of their local environments.

We analysed two local processes based on the interaction between parents and schools that have considerable implications in terms of social inequality and exclusion. The first process has to do with the indirect but powerful effects of parental efforts to avoid local public schools which have a more or less important proportion of working-class and immigrant pupils. In schools located in predominantly working-class areas, two main changes were observed. The first one was an emphasis on discipline based on constant surveillance, repression and effort to hide "disruptive incidents" when they took place inside schools. This reassured some middle-class parents but did not have any important long-term effect on causes and tended to divert teachers and head teachers from teaching concerns. The second one was the setting of ability classes to retain the best middle-class pupils. Sometimes but not always successful in this respect, this response clearly reinforced segregation by ability, social class and ethnicity in the other classes. Schools located in the predominantly middle-class commune, which had more material and symbolic resources, were able to produce more proactive responses. Five of the six secondary public schools we observed elaborated a collective project to set up an European English option in each school in 2002 in order to counter-attack the attractive influence of similar sections set up in the two more prestigious private secondary schools. This option was to be reserved to the "best" pupils in each school and was thus an instrument both for external competition and for internal differentiation.

Parental direct intervention in school affairs through discussion with staff and head teachers and participation at meetings and councils also exerted an important influence on schools despite teachers effort to keep parents at a distance. One main effect of this was that in predominantly working-class schools teachers and head teachers felt torn between attending the needs of working-class children and responding to the pressing demands of the small group of middle-class parents. In predominantly middle-class schools, parents exerted an even more important influence. One area in which this influence was clearly visible was that of evaluation. The number of written and oral tests and the amount of homework appeared

considerable higher in primary schools attended by a majority of middle-class children.. This was a response to stronger parental instrumental pressure on learning results and on accountability but was also presented by some parents and teachers as a way for preparing children to the supposed requirements of selective secondary private schools. On the contrary, we observed that in predominantly working-class schools teachers tended to give little or no homework, to evaluate children less and to measure effort or compliance to school rules rather than results. The consequence of this is of course an increasing gap in educational capital between children according to the school they attend.

Local educational authorities seem presently unable to limit the negative effects of these local dynamics for several reasons. One has to do with the fact that they have to manage, on a local daily basis, the internal contradictions of public discourses and official decisions and to produce a local acceptable interpretation of them. Another has to do with the weight of bureaucratic procedures and the vertical division of work between the different state levels of intervention in French education (Ministry, Rectorats, Inspections Académiques) which does not allow a global and coherent treatment of problems at the local level. A third one still has to do with the fact that meanwhile, many local political bodies — regions, departments and municipalities — are using their new competencies in the area of education to develop educational policies that may sometimes complement State policies but more frequently compete with them. As local political bodies are more sensitive to pressure from influent sectors of the population and as their investment in education tends to be proportionate to local taxes, their participation in education may also, in the long run, increase inequalities and reinforce exclusionary processes between social groups and between areas.

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