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"No hi ha cap alumne d'aquí"
(There are no students from here)

Case Study of a Highly Complex School in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona

Master's Thesis

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Abstract

This master thesis is an ethnographic case study of a highly complex school situated in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. The study explores the socio-cultural dynamics and identity building through different markers such as language, religion, or immigrant background (Barth, 1976) of fifth-grade students in a multicultural and multilingual education setting. The starting point of this case study is the idea that public schooling in democratic societies becomes a "social lift" providing upward social mobility is a pantomime. The educational action takes place in a society structured by class and, consequently, some individuals have more privileges than others. Moreover, as Carrasco *et al.* (2009, p. 22) point out, it is assumed that students with immigrant backgrounds must adapt to a new education system with an unfamiliar language of tuition —Catalan. All the prior factors have already provided worrying ethnographic evidence of the conditioning of students' identity building and academic development (Narciso and Carrasco, 2021; Reyes and Carrasco, 2018; Rodriguez-García *et al.,* 2018).

Data for this study have been collected through participant observation, but document analysis and structured and semi-structured interviews with the different agents involved have also been carried out. Data triangulation and analysis have been organised under the framework emerging from a literature review on migration and education in Catalonia and internationally.

Drawing on ethnographic material I examine how students, particularly those with immigrant backgrounds, build identities and face challenges related to cultural and linguistic diversity. The study findings show that the school's monolingual practices and deficit perspectives on foreign-origin students contribute to identity barriers and stigmatization. Peer interactions and teacher attitudes significantly, and negatively influence the students' sense of belonging and academic engagement in Catalonia, where the pass of time and generations do not seem to improve what was found in studies carried out decades ago. By applying theories of citizenship, national identity, and social construction of ethnic groups, the study highlights the complex interplay of identity, belonging, and exclusion. It

underscores the need for inclusive educational strategies that recognize and value the diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds of students, promoting a more supportive and integrated school environment.

Keywords: *School ethnography; Identity formation; intercultural education; multilingualism; immigrant student*

* All the photos of this work, including those illustrating the cover, have been taken by the author with previous consent of the institution.
* All translation from quotes in other languages have been translated to English by the author.
* All the interviews, informal conversation and extracts of field notes reported have been translated from Spanish or Catalan to English.
* All the names of persons, city and institution have been substituted with pseudonyms to guarantee anonymity.

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1. Introduction

This master thesis draws upon data from one school-focused, ethnographically informed inquiry in Catalonia, Spain, to describe how, despite all the anthropological and sociological knowledge we have, things stay the same or even worse inside this school. Although we have been living in a multicultural society for decades, today's society continues to set the same boundaries between groups as it did almost fifty years ago when Barth (1976) or, a few years later, Spindler (1974b) wrote about it. How is it possible that, despite all the meticulous and valuable ethnographic research available, things seem to stay the same? Is it because there are no real changes with the knowledge we have?

> Les polítiques educatives no paren de canviar... cada vegada que un polític arriba al poder, tot canvia, i tu, ho has d'acceptar. Però mira, tu mateixa ho has pogut veure, les coses segueixen igual. Aquests nens acabaran treballant als mateixos llocs de treball que els seus pares[1]. (Rosa, the school principal, 2023)

Taking the school as a social laboratory where all of society's characteristics, including its hierarchies and inequalities, are replicated on a small scale within the schools, this thesis aims to describe the experiences of students from immigrant backgrounds who come to study in public schools. Following Abu EL-Haj study, I will "examine school as a key context within which these young people grapple with these complex identities and affiliations" (Abu El-Haj, 2007, p. 287). In our new era of globalisation and transnational immigration raises new questions. Suárez-Orozco (2001) proposes three areas of study with immigrant children; "globalization and work, globalization and identities, and globalization and belonging." (Suarez-Orozco, 2001, p. 357).

Consequently, we will expose a case study of one Catalan primary school, exploring the ways in which students build their identity through different markers such as language, religion, or immigrant background (Barth, 1976). Besides, this

[1] Author's translation: "Educational policies keep changing... every time a politician comes to power, everything changes, and you have to accept it. But look, you could see it yourself, things remain the same. These children will end up working in the same workplaces as their parents".

study aims to bring a dynamic approach to the study by considering that these markers may have changed after COVID confinement. The following analysis will help us to better understand the ways in which, in the school where the study was conducted, the idea that public schooling in democratic societies becomes a "social lift" providing upward social mobility is a pantomime. The educational action takes place in a social class society, so, consequently, some individuals are more favoured than others. Moreover, as Carrasco *et al.* (2009, p. 22) point out, it is assumed that students with immigrant backgrounds must adapt to a new educational system with an unfamiliar language of tuition —Catalan. Some consequences have already provided worrying ethnographic evidence (Narciso and Carrasco, 2021; Reyes and Carrasco, 2018; Rodriguez-García *et al.,* 2018) of its impact on secondary school students and adult education: higher risk of Early School Leaving and perceptions of non-belonging.

Courgeau (2014) notes migration is a complex phenomenon that cannot be understood without its contextualization in time and space; it is a process of interaction with other aspects of human life. Consequently, the framework in which the problem to be addressed is set must be introduced.

By the turn of the century, Spain's economic growth, social development, and political standing as an EU member state made it one of the main recipients of the immigration flows associated with globalisation. Izquierdo (1996 cited in Carrasco, 2023, p. 496) coined the concept of “unexpected immigration” in very diverse and geographically distant countries[2].

[2] The foreign population resident in Catalonia was 1,271,810 people on 1 January 2022, a figure representing 16.3% of the total Catalan population (IDESCAT, 2023). The first ten nationalities of foreigners in Catalonia (IDESCAT, 2023) reflect the diversity of origins from Africa — Morocco, in the first place with a difference of 11,7 with the second country, accounts for 18.50% of the total foreign population—, Eastern Europe —Romania (6,80%)—, Wealthy European countries —Italy (6,04%) and France (3,02%)—, East and South Asia — China (4,97%) and

After this shift, in 1994 started the family reunification, which meant the project of migrated people was permanent. Consequently, their children became "unexpected students" in the Spanish education system as well as in Catalonia. "The number of students with a national status other than Spanish (both other EU and third-country nationals) has remained stable, around 10% on average, with important regional differences and a higher concentration in the richest areas (Ministerio de Educación, 2021)" (Carrasco, 2023, p. 496). Suarez-Orozco *et al*. (2010 cited in Carrasco, 2023, p.496) noted how immigrant students' perceptions of social mirroring affect their academic achievement and how having good relationships with their classmates who were born here influences their desire to learn.

> More than 20 years after their arrival, we have identified patterns of failure or success in education trajectories and labour market participation among first- and second-generation immigrant students, and the play of poverty, prejudice, and racism for those who have spent most of their schooling in Spain (Carrasco, Pàmies & Ponferrada, 2011; Pàmies & Bertran, 2018; Narciso & Carrasco, 2021).
>
> (Carrasco, 2023, p. 496)

Following Carrasco (2023) approach, the process of incorporating immigrant students into the Spanish education system will be split into three periods based on the different education responses. "Education policies, with little regional variations, promoted the creation of specific provisions within schools to focus on language learning while developing a well-known, well-intended rhetoric of intercultural education and social integration" (Carrasco, 2023, p.497).

a) *1994-2000: "The emergence of a double school network and a new type of social segregation by national origin as well as class and ethnicity"*. Family reunification and massive immigration coincided with educational reform in a heated dispute between social democrats and conservatives. As a result,

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Pakistan (4,39%)—, as well as South and Central America — Colombia (4,31%), Honduras (4,10%) and Venezuela (2,59%)—.

this led to an inclusive progressive reform that sought to provide schools with an inclusive model to promote linguistic and cultural variety and a novel approach to Spanish pedagogy[3]. Nevertheless, "the 80% of immigrant students were over-represented in public schools" (Carrasco, 2023, p. 497), which were the most under resourced. Thus, "while promoting a message of education as the key to integration, education policy was encouraging the flight of native students from public schools" (Carrasco, 2023, p. 497).

b) *2001-2006: "language and language-based reception arrangements".* Migration had intensified and diversified exponentially. On the one hand, García and Carrasco (2011) cited in Carrasco (2023, p. 497) stress that learning the host society language was presented as the requisite for social cohesion, exactly as education had been presented as the key to integration, while institutional monolingualism was the norm with no exception. In Catalonia, such other regions with their own and unique official language, was particularly contradictory. In Catalonia, migrant families were settling in working-class neighbourhoods, where almost all the population were Spanish-speaking descendants of the rest of the Spanish immigrants, due to the cheaper rents.

c) *2007-2017: "The financial crisis in 2007 and the economic recovery in 2017".* Arrivals for family reunification surpassed those for labour migration due to the sudden decline of mass immigration. This led to an exponential rise in in-year enrolment and placement of new students in school in poorer areas, which were the schools that had more spaces available due to lower demand, which reinforced the existing segregation by origin and income. In-year enrolment became the new concern, replacing the previous emphasis on linguistic integration in educational policy. This period was also characterized by cuts in the language and curricular support for immigrant students in schools; "[…] favoured the transfer of stereotypes and prejudices of the receiving society to the school

[3] See Carrasco (2023, p. 497)

and to new generations of poorly trained teaching staff with no education on migration, social integration, or fair and effective approaches to including immigrant students" (Carrasco, 2023, p. 499)

d) *2020-present: "Covid-19 and the rise of inequality among students".* As presented in the previous sections, and as rightly pointed out by Giroux *et al.* (2020), we are faced with an unequal school system, with large gaps between pupils generated "after years of neglect by governments who, through preferably neoliberal policies, denied the importance of public welfare (particularly health and education)". In a context, they add, of "racism, ultra-nationalism, anti-immigrant sentiment and intolerance [...] as a means to promote shared fears, rather than shared responsibilities". In Spain, and therefore Catalonia, on 14 March 2020, classroom teaching was suspended, forcing the closure of all schools in the country. From one day to the next, the education system had to reorganise itself to provide online teaching. One of the main consequences of the closure, according to Carrasco and Pibernat (2022), Kuric *et al*. (2021), Beltrán *et al*. (2020), Rogero-García (2020) and Tarabini (2020), has been the worsening of the educational and social inequalities of students according to the material and social resources of each family, causing those who were already in a more vulnerable situation to have a greater disengagement with online teaching.

Initially, this study aimed to investigate the impact of COVID-19 on the social and academic development of Catalan primary students, considering their social class and gender, in highly complex schools. However, after spending time in the observation unit, I discovered several interesting emerging topics that prompted me to reconsider the focus and conduct a case study of this school. Consequently, with the agreement of my mentor, I decided to change the research approach. Nevertheless, since my initial approach to the field was based on the first aim, some parts of the study are inevitably influenced by this. Despite the shift in research focus, the insights gained from the observation unit continue to inform the overall analysis of the students' experiences.

Some of the research questions that guide this study are:

- What are the main socio-economic challenges faced by students and their families in this highly complex school?
- How do socio-economic factors impact on the academic performance of students in this school, and has this changed post-pandemic?
- How does cultural and linguistic diversity affect the classroom and how are these issues addressed in this school?
- How are Students' Identities Shaped in This School?
- What Elements Constitute the Identity Barriers in This School?
- How are limited resources in terms of staff, infrastructure and educational materials managed in this school?
- What are students' perceptions of the school environment and how does this affect their motivation and academic engagement? Is there an impact based on gender?

Some of the research objectives are:

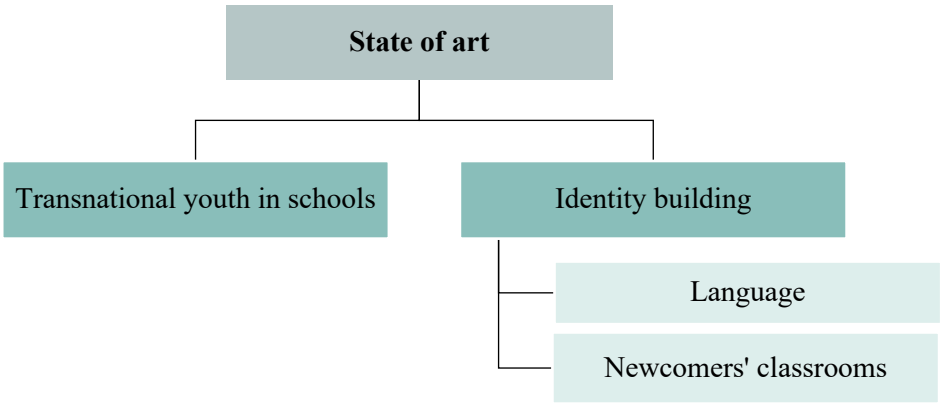
- To investigate and gain an in-depth understanding of the specific socio-economic challenges faced by students and their families in this highly complex school.
- To analyse the impact of socio-economic factors on students' academic performance, assessing whether there have been significant changes after the pandemic period.
- To examine the identity barriers among students and analyse how they shape their identities in this highly complex environment.
- Explore how cultural and linguistic diversity influences the classroom environment and how these issues are addressed and managed in the school.
- Analyse students' perceptions of the school environment and how these perceptions affect their motivation and academic engagement.
- Identify how gender affects academic performance in this school.

To achieve this, the study has been divided into: State of art; Methodology; Findings; Discussion; and Conclusions.

2. State of art

It has been considered appropriate to divide this section to be able to go into more theoretical depth on the most relevant issues that emerged during the case study. Thus, the state of the art is organized as follows:

Figure 1.
Diagram on the sections of the State of art.



Note: Author's elaboration

This structure helps to clearly delineate the various aspects of the research focus.

Therefore, this research is particularly inspired by Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2018), Reyes and Carrasco (2018), Abu El-Haj (2007), Yuval-Davis (2006), Suárez-Orozco (2001) or Castles and Davidson (2000) who focuses the experiences of transnational youth in school context, and highlight how transnational communities are increasingly common, suggesting the limitations of nation-states as organising boundaries for people's sense of personal and political belonging.

a. Transnational youth in schools

Hall (2004), cited in Abu El-Haj (2007, p. 288), argues that most immigration studies have focused on the assimilation and acculturation processes for young immigrants, ignoring the processes of nation-building that are taking place in workplaces, or as far as this study is concerned, schools. Such analyses do not problematize the nation and nationalism, that is, do not explore "the cultural politics through which national belonging is negotiated in relationship to

immigrant communities. This can compromise immigrant students' capacities to participate as engaged and empowered members of their new society" (Abu El-Haj, 2007, p. 288).

Abu El-Haj (2007) also adds that there is a specific relationship between education, citizenship and nation-building. In her study, she exposes how Palestinian American youth shape their national and citizenship identities in relation to two imagined national communities: that of the United States, especially as they encounter it inside schools, and that of Palestine, as they experience it in their families and community. Moreover, this double identity is a complex push-pull dynamic that these youths endure because, through everyday discourses and practices inside their schools and communities, they experience their positioning as outside the "imagined community" of the U.S. nation, which presents them as "enemies within" (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006). As a result, they find it difficult to have a sense of identity within the country of which they are citizens. This triggers, according to Abu El-Haj (2007), as for some young Palestinians, being Palestinian was an essential quality, inherited at birth that is linked to an "authentic" cultural notion, the belief that there are particular immutable cultural practices, especially in relation to religion, which represent authentic ways of being Palestinian, which constitute key markers of Palestinian identity.

To better organized this section, the theories will be presented following these two imagined national communities: the school and the families and community. On the one hand, Carrasco (2023), Sarroub (2005), Valenzuela (1999), Weis (1996), and Gibson and Ogbu (1991) argue that cultural, national, and religious identities, sociohistorical trajectories, and "institutional processes of schooling through which youth come to take their place in the racialized hierarchy of the nation" (Abu-El-Haj, 2007, p. 287), are factors that contribute to how differently groups integrate into society and the differences in their academic achievement. On the other hand, "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006[1983]) holds that a nation is a socially constructed community, that is, imagined by people who perceive themselves as part of this group. Appadurai (2001) reflects on Anderson's

(2006[1983]) theory, and argues that nowadays, it is not the nation-state that arbitrates the relationships between globality and modernity, so it is no longer the borders of the nation-states but goes beyond them. He introduces the notion of how images and representations have become essentials in national identity building and the perception of migration.

Yuval-Davis (2006) and Holliday (2010) offer profound insights into the intricate dynamics of cultural identity and belonging, highlighting their multifaceted nature and interrelated dimensions. Holliday's concept of "cultural reality" underscores the rich tapestry of cultural experiences that individuals navigate, rejecting simplistic categorizations and recognizing the coexistence of diverse cultural realities. This notion aligns with Yuval-Davis's exploration of belonging, which elucidates three key dimensions: "social locations," "identifications and emotional attachment," and "ethical and political values."

Yuval-Davis's first dimension, "social locations," illuminates how individuals affiliate with various social categories, such as gender, race, class, and nation, each carrying significant implications within societal power structures. Importantly, these affiliations intersect in complex ways, defying reduction to singular axes of difference and contributing to the multidimensional nature of social belonging. This perspective resonates with Holliday's concept of "cultural reality," which emphasizes the broad cultural significance embedded in individuals' social contexts. The second dimension, "identifications and emotional attachment," delves into the narrative construction of identity, highlighting the stories individuals tell about themselves and their emotional investments in these narratives. These identity constructions, intertwined with historical continuity, origin myths, and emotional desires, shape individuals' sense of belonging. Holliday's notion of "cultural identity" mirrors this dimension, emphasizing the deeply personal and emotive aspects of cultural belonging. Finally, Yuval-Davis's exploration of "ethical and political values" elucidates how the sense of belonging intersects with ideologies about identity and boundary maintenance. This dimension encompasses attitudes and ideologies regarding the establishment of

identity barriers, ranging from exclusionary to permeable approaches. The continuous process of defining inclusion and exclusion within political communities involves navigating these ideologies, which may be informed by criteria such as ancestry, culture, religion, and language.

Together, these perspectives offer a nuanced understanding of cultural identity and belonging, underscoring their dynamic and multifaceted nature. By recognizing the interplay between social locations, personal identifications, and ideological values, scholars and practitioners can foster more inclusive and equitable approaches to navigating cultural diversity and promoting a sense of belonging within diverse communities. As highlighted by scholars like Abu El-Haj (2007), Sarroub (2005) and Ogbu and Simons (1998), the challenges faced by immigrant students are complex and multifaceted. Their experiences are shaped by a myriad of factors, including cultural, national, and religious identities, socio-historical trajectories, and institutional schooling processes. These dynamics intersect to position young immigrants within the racialized hierarchy of the nation, perpetuating inequalities and barriers to full participation in society, as noted by Lee (2005, cited in Abu El-Haj, 2007) and Valenzuela (1999).

In this context, the educational system has long been envisioned as a vehicle for the social integration of immigrant children into broader society, fostering discourses of shared citizenship and belonging, as demonstrated by scholars such as Carrasco *et al.* (2009) and Abu El-Haj (2007). However, despite these aspirations, the reality is starkly different, particularly in Spain and Catalonia, where a significant proportion of the youth population comprises immigrants. Unfortunately, the educational model has fallen short on multiple fronts, failing to adequately address the needs and experiences of these students.

Despite the noble intentions of the educational system, the existing structures and practices have failed to effectively address the diverse needs and experiences of immigrant students. Moving forward, it is imperative to critically examine and reform educational policies and practices to ensure that they are inclusive, equitable, and responsive to the realities of a multicultural society. Only through

concerted efforts to dismantle barriers and promote genuine integration can we truly realize the promise of education as a pathway to social cohesion and inclusion. Although many anthropological and sociological studies on the school are based on the premise that it is an emancipatory institution that promotes social mobility, this research adheres to the postulates of Carrasco *et al.* (2009), Weis (1996), Willis (1988) and Spindler (1974a) that problematize this dogma and show how the school not only does not promote social mobility but also serves to reproduce the class society in which we live. Spindler and Spindler (1989) wrote,

> […] the school […] is geared to success, not failure, and because success means a place, a productive, acceptable place in the social, economic and honorific scheme of things. […] The system is self-sustaining. The outcome assures the reduction of dissonance and identification with desired goals; and the cultural system has recruited new members committed to tis maintenance. […] These are precisely the conditions that many minorities do not encounter and the experience they do not have (Jacobs and Jordan, 1987), The school experience early in defines them as potential failures or even learning disable, and there is always the implication that even if they put up with such definitions and endure the school, they are not assured of a positive gain at the end.
>
> Spindler and Spindler (1989, p. 187)

b. Identity building

Talking about identity implies conceptualising the subject and the reality that surrounds them. Therefore, the concept of identity is constructed in at least two dimensions: the personal and the social, both intertwined and mutually adjusted. Consequently, identity always has a side that circumscribes the individual traits, which we believe make us unique and peculiar, and a face that brings together the social characteristics we share with those we consider our group.

From an anthropological approach, social identity is understood as the process of deriving an individual's relevance to a particular society, culture or group and its social interactions. On the other hand, personal identity is defined as a self-concept, based on the traits that a person considers to represent a unique and idiosyncratic character (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Thus, we refer to social identity as the construction of identification processes, as distinct from personal identity

which we refer to as the internalisation of these classifications through self-esteem or self-concept. When individuals come together and form groups, a new collective identity emerges that binds them with other members of the group. One of the pioneering authors to articulate this idea was Goffman, who in the 1959 discussed identity through the lens of 'role,' examining how individuals navigate their various societal roles. In this context, identity is understood as that which distinguishes an individual from other groups while aligning them with members of their own group. In the framework of Social Identity Theory[4] this identity is defined as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 2).

So, during schooling, individuals create meanings and symbols from their interactions with the social environment and specific socialisation processes. These meanings and symbols shape behaviour and therefore determine the way of thinking and acting in that school, i.e. through interactions the forms of understanding that will guide action are generated. That belonging to a group can be determined by belonging to the social institutions that contextualise the group. These institutions can come to represent and determine the world of the group itself, and in such cases, we refer to the concept of "total institutions" understanding that they influence the interests of their members and control their time, as Goffman (1959) express. Joining a school means joining an institutional group that influences the identity of its members, due to the type of organisational system and social context. It is within this framework of total institutions that we could contextualise the world of the school as it presents some of the characteristics that Goffman (1959) identifies in these institutions; All daily activities are strictly programmed, so that the activity carried out at a given

[4] Turner and Brown coined the term "Social Identity Theory" in their work: Turner, J.C., & Brown, R. (1978). Social status, cognitive alternatives and intergroup relations. In A. H. Tajfel (Ed.): *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations.* Academic Press.

moment leads to the next, and the whole sequence of activities is imposed hierarchically, through a system of explicit formal rules and an administrative body; The various compulsory activities are integrated into a single rational plan, deliberately created to achieve the institution's own objectives, among others.

Following this idea, another important aspect for this master's thesis is the construction of identity and how this element generates barriers and groups between students and teachers. Vertovec (2007) speaks of this new scenario of superdiversity, i.e., there are not only differences between people from the host country and immigrants, but there is also diversity within the immigrant group, in the sense that they come from different countries, have different socio-economic backgrounds, speak different languages, etc. The author warns that there is a diversification of diversity that, although it may seem obvious, many language immersion policies do not take into account. Superdiversity has a paradigm-shifting effect on us because it makes us perceive the new social environments we live in as having very little presuppositions about identities, social and cultural behaviour patterns, social and cultural structures, norms, and expectations. As George Simmel (1996 [1908]) rightly pointed out, being a foreigner is a construction in itself, given that people are not foreign because of a demographic fact but because of the projections attributed to them, giving rise to phenomena where a person may feel foreign in the country where he or she was born or in social circles in which he or she is not accepted, such as school institutions. In Barth's terms (1976), it responds to the establishment of frontiers between us in confrontation with others.

Barth (1976) presents the idea that ethnic groups are not objective categories based on race or culture but are social constructs that are created and maintained through social interaction and cultural exchange. He argues that ethnicity is not an inherent or biological characteristic of individuals or groups but becomes the product of social interaction and that, consequently, relations between groups are always dynamic and changing. In other words, Barth suggests that these boundaries are created and maintained by the groups themselves through social interaction, the

selection of cultural symbols, and the negotiation of shared meanings within a particular niche, understood as "the sectors of activity where other communities with other cultures are articulated" (Barth, 1976, p. 23). He adds that ethnic boundaries can be maintained through social exclusion and discrimination, but they can also be permeable and allow for the circulation of people and ideas.

i. Language

Since the new century, Spanish society has suffered an exponential increase in the arrival of immigrants from different regions of the world, with a special incidence in Latin American countries, where their family language (L1) coincides with the official language of the state as a whole. However, the community most affected by this wave of immigration was Catalonia. Currently, the registered foreign population represents 16.3% of the total Catalan population (1,271,810 people) (IDESCAT, 2022). This community has a more developed immigration policy than the rest of Spain, either because of its long tradition of receiving immigrants or for other reasons. Rodríguez-García (2017) describes it as a policy that emphasises mutual dialogue with the aim of managing diversity beyond multiculturalism or assimilation, focusing on language acquisition and education as elements of integration and identification with the territory.

In this way, the sociolinguistic singularity of the territory should be pointed out. Both Catalonia and the Basque Country, from the 1980s onwards, opted for education systems organised under a bilingual education policy, where language immersion programmes based on home-school language switching acquired special prominence. These projects, as Reyes and Carrasco (2018) and Huguet *et al.* (2011) point out, became essential in the process of recovering their respective languages (Catalan and Basque) "while at the same time managing to maintain good levels of knowledge of the Spanish language in schoolchildren, and without prejudice to the development of other curricular skills considered basic" (Huguet *et al.,* 2011, p. 142). However, these proposals for home-school language switching, where pupils are taught in a second language (L2), assume the valuation and social prestige of the L1 and the availability of bilingual teachers with a good

knowledge of both the L2 and the pupils' mother tongue (L1). In other words, these measures were designed according to the parameters of immigration in Catalonia in the 1980s— a migrant population from the rest of Spain whose L1 was Spanish.

Barragán and Fernández (2019) and Martín and Mijares (2007) describe how the school system nowadays is based on monolingual practices based on the idea of monolingual nation-states from the French Revolution. Consequently, as they argue, this practice leads to failure in multicultural and multilingual classes because

> Además de contribuir a que los alumnos terminen infravalorando o no encontrando la utilidad de usar sus propias lenguas, constituye un método poco apropiado para encarar la cuestión del aprendizaje de la nueva lengua. Este método se desarrolla por la falsa creencia de que las lenguas de origen conformarán una interferencia inevitable e insuperable en los procesos señalados[5].
>
> (Martín and Mijares, 2007, p.99).

Cummins (1981) states that in Canada, students of foreign origin require five to nine years to reach the academic linguistic proficiency of their native peers. However, Reyes (2015) describes how in the ethnographic reality ignores Cummins' (1981) findings, asserting that acquiring academic-level proficiency in a second language for newcomer students is a prolonged process, not one that is completed once they can handle informal communicative situations.

Linking this with Blommaert and Backus (2013), in superdiverse environments, patterns of "learning" languages are widely diverse. They argue that for "comprehensive" language learning, there must be full lifelong socialization in a language. This includes access to both formal learning environments and language resources, as well as a wide range of informal learning environments. According

[5] Author's translation: in addition to contributing to learners ending up under-valuing or not finding it useful to use their own languages, it is an inappropriate method of approaching the question of learning the new language. This method is developed in the false belief that the source languages will form an unavoidable and insurmountable interference in the processes outlined above

to the authors, this approach leads to a "maximum" set of resources: different language varieties, genres, styles, and registers, both in production and reception.

Furthermore, the authors differentiate between four categories of competence:

- *Maximum competence*: Oral and literacy skills are distributed across a variety of genres, registers, and styles, both productively (oral and written skills) and receptively (understanding of oral and written messages) in both formal and informal social environments.
- *Partial competence*: Skills are well developed but do not cover the broad spectrum of the first category. This includes genres, registers, styles, production, and reception in both formal and informal contexts. For instance, a person might have a good level of understanding and reception but not in production (oral or written).
- *Minimal competence*: The individual can adequately produce and/or understand a limited number of messages in certain languages, confined to a very restricted range of genres and basic social domains (e.g., shopping routines).
- *Recognizing competence*: The individual can only recognize the language being spoken without understanding or producing it.

Based on this framework, Reyes and Carrasco (2018) explain how, in the formal context of schools, only the first category of Blommaert and Backus (2013) is taken into account. Much of the evaluation of students' linguistic abilities is based on production, both oral and written, which considers only the *"maximum competence"* level. This places students in a situation of being constant language learners (Reyes and Carrasco, 2018; Blommaert and Backus, 2013). In other words, the assessment of production levels applies a deficit perspective rather than a success perspective (Reyes and Carrasco, 2018).

Incorporating the results of Rodríguez-García *et al*. (2021), these policies do not consider the possibilities of social participation of this population for the acquisition of cultural capital, specifically in relation to the learning of Catalan. In this way, and with respect to the linguistic issue, there are markers of prestige and

low status differences (Rodríguez-García *et al.,* 2018). The authors argue in relation to the descendants of mixed unions that there are markers of difference of high or low social status that determine a multiplicity of experiences between individuals. Thus, “non-visible” or “non-minorized” multiethnic individuals are those who have prestigious markers of difference, that is, they are shared with the “dominant group” (white phenotype, upper-middle class, valued foreign languages (European language). On the contrary, the descendants of immigrant parents who belong to a “minorityized” group (particularly if it belongs to a predominantly Muslim country, especially Moroccan, since as Mateo (2018) points out, they have been categorized as the “absolute others”), they are understood to be possessors of low-status difference markers (non-white phenotype, lower class, Islamic religion, unvalued languages...) (Rodríguez-García *et al.,* 2018).

Reyes (2015) and Hélot (2012) argue how minority pupils are often excluded from bilingual projects and the associated benefits, which typically extend only to prestigious languages or are designed to protect national or regional minority languages, such as Catalan or Basque. Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2018) say that knowing several languages is considered by immigrant families to be a form of enrichment that benefits children, helping them to maintain contact with the family of origin and to take advantage of the employment and professional development opportunities that multilingualism offers. Language is a clear example of how the capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, cited in Reyes and Carrasco, 2018, p. 3) of students operates according to their social background through symbolic violence that determines which knowledge is legitimate and which is not. Bernstein (1971), also cited in Reyes and Carrasco (2018, p. 3), says, "Languages are ranked not by their linguistic value, but by their social value", displacing minority language speakers in positions of vulnerability in achieving successful academic trajectories. Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2018) and Reyes (2015) assert that within the school environment, only certain languages are deemed valuable, aligning closely with the languages required for accreditation within the curriculum. These include the language of instruction, Catalan, as well as the European languages incorporated into the school curriculum, such as Spanish, English, and French.

As described in the previous section, the school context responds to an assimilationist logic (Reyes and Carrasco, 2018; Rodríguez-García *et al.,* 2018; Huguet *et al.,* 2011). Reyes and Carrasco (2018) add that there is a whole ideological framework based on linguistic discrimination, where it has been naturalised that to gain access to Catalan citizenship and participate in Catalan society, it is necessary to have access to the language. As Abu El-Haj (2007) found with Palestinian youth in the USA, there is an assumption that migrants must have the ability to speak the language of the host country, a sine qua non condition for their integration into that society. However, Piller (2016) warns how linguistic injustice works with other injustices such as gender, class, or racialization: "those who we condemn to silence and who are excluded from full community participation are rarely excluded on the basis of language alone. Linguistic injustice works hand in glove with the injustices of gender, class, and race" (Piller, 2016, p. 162). In the same way, Holliday (2010) argues how language can be a cultural marker, an artifact that signifies cultural reality, understood as the nation.

Expanding this notion, Reyes (2015) conducted ethnographic research comparing language learning dynamics in two contrasting educational settings: the newcomers' classroom and the mosque. She illustrates how the mosque, being a more informal educational environment, fostered greater flexibility in the roles of teachers and students, resulting in a less hierarchical relationship among languages. Within the mosque, family languages were given equal status based on their active function in Arabic classrooms, evidenced through activities like translating concepts into Spanish or English. Consequently, the diverse linguistic backgrounds of students were actively engaged. In contrast, Reyes observed that within formal school classrooms, linguistic knowledge often remained invisible or relegated to a secondary position, perceived merely as static or folkloric. Moreover, language acquisition primarily relied on mechanical exercises with limited oral practice, emphasizing form over fluency. Conversely, the mosque environment facilitated the active participation of students' linguistic capital, creating a multilingual space that facilitated the transfer of school knowledge to community knowledge. She hypothesized that contexts fostering spontaneous

student participation tend to encourage the development of learning strategies. This comparison underscores the potential benefits of creating educational environments that actively engage students' linguistic diversity, promoting a more inclusive and enriching learning experience.

> […] contextos de fuerte imposición disciplinaria surgen tensiones entre el saber comunitario y el saber escolar que, por un lado, invisibilizan las estrategias del alumnado e imposibilitan la transferencia de conocimientos y, por el otro, provocan reacciones de resistencia, que se expresan en términos identitarios vinculados al saber comunitario[6]. Reyes (2015, p. 730)

Other scholars, such as Valdés (2001), cited in Reyes (2015), and Ogbu (1991) have also examined how the lack of emotional support within educational institutions can foster cultures of resistance among students. Reyes (2015) and Cummins (2002) underscore the potential benefits of integrating community knowledge into the school environment, particularly within newcomers' classrooms. By recognizing and valuing students' linguistic capital derived from their domestic and community backgrounds, the school can enhance its inclusivity and academic rigor. This approach defends the benefits of paying attention to and recording the family and community knowledge of students of foreign origin (Reyes, 2015; García, 2009; Cummins, 2002). Cummins (2002) argues that in L2 acquisition, familiar languages function as a basis for learning other languages, offering the necessary support for this learning to occur. Reyes (2015) advocates for empowering students through active participation in the classroom, facilitating peer learning among individuals with diverse linguistic and academic proficiencies. Thus, Reyes emphasizes the importance of incorporating participatory learning strategies, as advocated by Booth and Ainscow (2002), as a means of fostering inclusive educational practices that align with the principles of interculturality beyond mere rhetoric.

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[6] Author's translation: "[…] contexts of strong disciplinary imposition, tensions arise between community knowledge and school knowledge that, on the one hand, make students' strategies invisible and make the transfer of knowledge impossible and, on the other, provoke reactions of resistance, which are expressed in identity terms linked to community knowledge."

As a consequence, Barragán and Fernández (2019), Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2018), Huguet *et al.* (2011) and Martín and Mijares (2007) are committed to a plurilingual approach, also known as a multilingual approach. This is to focus on the speaker's competence to use different resources in different languages; "the need to adopt a multicultural and multilingual approach to teaching practices, taking into account the background of the pupils as well as good learning of the new language[7]" (Barragán and Fernández, 2019, p. 58). In other words, this perspective emphasizes the development of competencies in multiple languages, recognizing and valuing an individual's ability to use and learn different languages. It is based on the notion that individuals possess linguistic repertoires encompassing several languages, and that these skills can be developed and utilized separately and contextually.

However, García (2009) goes one step further and proposes the translanguaging approach as a sustainable solution. Reyes and Carrasco (2018) and García (2009) criticise how a plurilingual approach is conceptualised as a phenomenon of addition (language 1, language 2, etc.), but this assumes that they must first learn the language to be able to participate in its integration. On the contrary, García (2009) defines translanguaging

> as the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential. It is an approach to bilingualism that is centred, not on languages as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable in order to make sense of their multilingual worlds.
>
> (García, 2009, p. 140)

It focuses on the practice of how people exposed to different languages make sense of their world and communicate. It is based on the competences of the speakers; it implies losing respect for language as a product of another culture that allows for exclusion and hierarchisation. It makes it possible to build repertoires that place

[7] Author's translation: The need to adopt a multicultural and multilingual approach to teaching practices, taking into account the background of the pupils as well as good learning of the new language.

the language in a specific context for speakers. This means that translanguaging is an approach that recognizes the fluidity and interconnectedness of languages in the minds of multilingual speakers. Rather than viewing languages as separate compartments, translanguaging considers that speakers can utilize their entire linguistic repertoires to communicate and learn. It involves the flexible and dynamic use of multiple languages within a single discourse or activity.

The main differences between a plurilingual approach and translanguaging are:

- Separation vs. Integration: The plurilingual approach tends to keep languages separate in terms of teaching and use, whereas translanguaging integrates all languages and allows their simultaneous use.
- Language Perspective: Plurilingualism treats languages as independent systems and assesses competence in each separately. On the contrary, translanguaging sees languages as part of a single linguistic repertoire, where all languages and varieties are combined and used dynamically.
- Educational Objectives: Plurilingualism seeks to develop separate skills in each language. However, translanguaging seeks to harness the learner's full linguistic knowledge for effective learning and communication.

In summary, while the plurilingual approach values and encourages competence in multiple languages separately, translanguaging promotes an integrated and dynamic use of an individual's entire linguistic repertoire, challenging traditional language divisions.

ii. Newcomers' classrooms

Another element of identity construction that was identified in this case study was the newcomers' classrooms.

Merino *et al.* (2008) make it clear that the prevailing pedagogical tradition in multicultural contexts can be stated under the postulate of socio-cultural handicap. The notion of socio-cultural handicap of the 1960s and 1970s founds a form of cultural differentialism that supports the principle of positive discrimination and a certain therapeutic value (remedy, re-education, compensation). From this point of view, the difference is equated to an impairment, so support and recovery courses are implemented, compensatory pedagogies that seek to rebalance a starting situation defined as deficient (Merino *et al.,* 2008, p. 378). According to Castejón (2017), compensatory education is inspired by Rawls' (1971) principles of "fair equality of opportunity". Since the subjects start from different circumstances, resources should be provided, preferentially, to those who need them most, with the aim of compensating the "undeserved" or unfair inequalities, because the "final, fair inequalities" are "explained only by the merits, efforts, and responsibilities of each individual" (Castejón, 2017, p. 25). In this way, the importance of compensatory education is raised to guarantee social justice and equal opportunities while respecting individual differences.

Precisely, Bernstein would address the previous approach in *Una crítica de la educación compensatoria (A critique of compensatory education)* (1999) to distract attention from the internal organization and educational context of the school, directing it towards families and children. The author criticizes the idea that the very concept of compensatory education implies that something is missing in the family and, consequently, in the student. Therefore, the school aims to compensate for the lack of families and students that are presented under pedagogical categories such as cultural deficiency, linguistic deficiency, or social disadvantage (Bernstein, 1999). It is therefore not a question of blaming the families and the children, since this only succeeds in diverting attention from the real causes of what are considered educational disadvantages instead of addressing

the structural and organizational problems of the school and the educational system. Recalling Muñoz (2000), in the compensatory model, students are separated into groups for certain activities or classes in a more permanent way, and the curriculum is adapted to their linguistic possibilities in the hope that, overcoming their handicap, they can be incorporated into normal education. In Catalonia, in fact, the education of immigrant children is being entrusted, in many places, to compensatory education programmes and teachers or attention to students with special needs (Muñoz, 2000, p. 92).

Rodríguez (2009) collects the opposing positions around the newcomers' classrooms. On the one hand, the most critical of them underline the risk of isolation due to the lack of knowledge of the language, isolation that influences the difficulty of the relationships between the newcomers and the rest of the students. Therefore, these classrooms are considered a segregating measure, understanding that it is through the companies that the language is learned, and stressing that the newcomers' classrooms do not favour the integration of immigrant children who have just been incorporated into the system (Rodríguez, 2009, p. 9). In the same way, the ethnographic studies of Reyes (2015), Carrasco *et al.* (2012) or Simó *et al.* (2010), have analysed the possibilities and limits of newcomers' classrooms, reaching the conclusion that these are designed to solve the educational disadvantages of a group interpreted only from the perspective of deficit and that furthermore, these programs have not produced the results desired (Reyes, 2015; Carrasco *et al*., 2012). Carrasco *et al*. (2012) and Rodríguez (2009) argue that far from providing resources to achieve trajectories of success, they collaborate in a process of segregation that conditions educational possibilities. McDermott (1974) adds how this division is an example of the social organization of status and identity in a classroom when teachers break their classes into ability groups in order to simplify their administration of the classroom. At the end the teacher is organizing the statuses and identities of the children in the class.

Barragán and Fernández (2019), Reyes (2015), Carrasco *et al.* (2012), Simó *et al.* (2010), Martín and Mijares (2007) and Pàmies (2006) collectively emphasize how

the educational strategies employed to integrate students of foreign origin, particularly through newcomers' classrooms, are rooted in a deficit-oriented approach focused on what these students lack. This approach, they argue, results in the construction of foreign-origin students as deficient and channels them into predetermined pathways of inequality by segregating them into spaces that limit their access to the full school curriculum. Moreover, their placement in newcomers' classrooms exposes them to processes of stigmatization. García (2009) extends this critique to the North American context, highlighting how the failure to recognize the potential of multilingual students leads to the conception of compensatory educational pathways as the only solution.

In *Anuari 2020: L'Estat de l'educació a Catalunya (Yearbook 2020: The state of education in Catalonia)* (2020), on the other hand, they highlight how newcomers' classrooms have been successful initiatives for dealing with cultural and linguistic diversity. Not only that, but they also claim the need to evolve the model and not skimp on the resources allocated to language support because these classrooms are limited both in terms of the number of pupils and the permanence of pupils in the use of this resource. According to Serrarols (2020), specific attention is needed for all those pupils who, once they have overcome the label of newcomers, continue to present linguistic needs and deficiencies in our education system. In parallel, the principles related to intercultural education that are described in education policy documents should be taken into account in practice to include the immense and rich baggage of the students' cultural backgrounds. In this sense, Carrasco (2005) sustains that intercultural education must be linked to genuine inclusion in schools, facilitating a straightforward evaluation of school organization, teaching practices, relationships within the school community or curricular content. From the perspective of interculturality, this approach is not merely about fostering positive intercultural relationships within schools and the broader social environment among individuals of diverse cultural backgrounds. It also involves critically examining organizational structures, content, and procedures through the lens of non-hegemonic representations of diversity. This means avoiding ethnocentric perspectives and making visible sociocentric and classist attitudes and

behaviours in order to modify them. In essence, it requires both a real and symbolic recognition of the value of cultural diversity, and a revaluation of how belonging and inclusion are perceived.

From the perspective of inclusion, the focus should be on identifying and overcoming barriers to learning and participation for students of immigrant origins, which hinder genuine learning. Additionally, it involves fostering sociability, understood as the commitment to promote positive affective relationships within the learning and social participation processes. By implementing intercultural education that ensures the true inclusion of all students, we can move beyond the deficit paradigm.

To sum up, the reviewed literature reports:

Transnational youth in schools

- There is a specific relationship between education, citizenship and nation-building (Abu El-Haj, 2007)
- Two imagined communities exist: the school, which serves as an institution that reproduces social inequalities (Carrasco *et al.,* 2009; Weis, 1996; Willis, 1988; Spindler and Spindler, 1974a) and presents students with immigrant backgrounds as enemies (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006), and families and communities (Anderson, 2006 [1983]; Appadurai, 2001).
- The dynamics of cultural identity and belonging are multifaceted and interrelated (Holliday, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Identity building

- Ethnic groups are not objective categories based on race or culture; rather, they are social constructs created and maintained through social interaction and cultural exchange. As a result, the boundaries between these groups are dynamic and constantly changing (Barth, 1976).

a. Language

- The linguistic proposal for home-school language switching assumes the valuation and social prestige of both languages (L1 and L2) and the availability of bilingual teachers. This measure was designed in response to the migration flows in Catalonia during the 1980s (Reyes and Carrasco, 2018; Huguet *et al.,* 2011).
- These policies do not consider the possibilities of social participation (Rodríguez-García *et al.,* 2021).
- The school system is based on monolingual practices and assimilation, leading to failure in multicultural and multilingual classes. School staff often view students' native languages as a handicap (Barragán and Fernández, 2019; Martín and Mijares, 2007).
- There are four categories of linguistic competence (maximum, partial, minimal, recognizing) (Blommaert and Backus, 2013). However, schools typically only consider the first category, evaluating students' linguistic abilities based on their production. This places students in a position of being constant language learners (Reyes and Carrasco, 2018).
- Markers of prestige (e.g., European languages, white phenotype) and low-status differences (e.g., minority languages, Muslim religion) affect the school's valuation of students' family capital (Rodríguez-García *et al.,* 2018).
- Applying a plurilingual approach, which focuses on the speaker's competence, aids in the social and academic development of students with immigration backgrounds (Barragán and Fernández, 2019; Rodríguez-García *et al.,* 2018; Huguet *et al.,* 2011; Martín and Mijares, 2007).

- Applying a translanguaging approach is a sustainable solution because it focuses on linguistic practice and the competences of the speakers. Conversely, a plurilingual approach assumes that students must first learn the language to participate in integration (Reyes and Carrasco, 2018; García, 2009).

b. Newcomers' classrooms

- Newcomers' classrooms operate on the assumption that immigrant students' socio-cultural capital is a handicap to their social and academic development (Merino *et al.,* 2008). In other words, the school assumes that something is missing in the family that needs to be compensated for. These students are often viewed as having cultural, linguistic, or social deficiencies (Bernstein, 1999).
- There are opposing positions on this issue. Some highlight the risk of isolation due to the physical separation of these classes, arguing that they are designed solely from a deficit perspective (Rodríguez, 2009; Reyes, 2015; Carrasco *et al.,* 2012; Simó *et al.,* 2010). Conversely, the Catalan government emphasizes that newcomers' classrooms have been successful initiatives for addressing cultural and linguistic diversity (Serrarols, 2020).

3. Context & Methods

The unit of analysis refers to subjects (students with an immigrant background) and contexts (a high complexity school) for whom the study aims to generalize drawing on its specific results, in this case, the students of fifth grade and school staff of the Wave School. The unit of observation, in this case, is the actual group of students and the school where data are collected.

The school and the fieldwork in context

The case study was carried out in a highly complex school[8] in the Valles Oriental region, Catalonia, between February and June 2023. This school, which I will call Wave School, is located in a town 25 km from Barcelona. This town is famous for having been a recipient of immigration since the 1960s, thanks to the construction of an industrial park. In the following years, the population built houses adjacent to this industrial park, thus forming a satellite town, a complex 1 kilometre away from the urban centre, where factory workers from the south of Spain settled. Nowadays, although it belongs to the municipality of Senot, this urban complex is known as "El Polígono" (The zone). According to municipal census of Senot (IDESCAT, 2023), 36.67% of the population was born outside Catalonia, specifically 21.45% from the rest of Spain, while 15.22% was born abroad. The main country of origin by far, as shown in Table 1, is Morocco (representing 40.19% of the foreign population). It is followed by Romania (6.76%), Argentina (3,62%), Colombia (3,46%) and Senegal (3,07%). Unfortunately, the data is not segregated by second generations.

[8] It is a school classified as CAEP — "Centres d'atenció educativa preferent" (Highly Complex Schools) —. For more information about the general characteristics of these schools visit: Departament d'Educació. (2021). *Nova classificació dels centres educatius segons la complexitat.* Generalitat de Catalunya. http://csda.gencat.cat/web/.content/home/arees-actuacio/activitats-consell/jornada-equitat-2021/classificacio-complexitat-centres.pdf

Table 1.
Population by sex and country of birth of Senot.

Population by sex and country of birth					
Senot					
	Total	**Male**	**Female**	**% of total foreign population**	**% of total population**
	1 January 2022	*1 January 2022*	*1 January 2022*	*1 January 2022*	*1 January 2022*
Total	16.707	8.423	8.284	—	—
Spain	14.164	7.067	7.097	—	84,78%
Foreign	2.543	1.356	1.187	—	15,22%
Morocco	1.022	588	434	40,19%	6,12%
Romania	172	91	81	6,76%	1,03%
Argentina	92	44	48	3,62%	0,55%
Colombia	88	39	49	3,46%	0,53%
Senegal	78	55	23	3,07%	0,47%
Dominican Rep.	73	32	41	2,87%	0,44%
Ecuador	70	27	43	2,75%	0,42%
Venezuela	55	21	34	2,16%	0,33%
Pakistan	53	44	9	2,08%	0,32%
Peru	48	19	29	1,89%	0,29%
France	47	19	28	1,85%	0,28%
China	47	23	24	1,85%	0,28%
Uruguay	42	21	21	1,65%	0,25%
Cuba	41	16	25	1,61%	0,25%
Bolivia	38	11	27	1,49%	0,23%
Chile	32	14	18	1,26%	0,19%
Germany	27	15	12	1,06%	0,16%
Paraguay	23	6	17	0,90%	0,14%
Ukraine	19	6	13	0,75%	0,11%
Brazil	18	6	12	0,71%	0,11%
Poland	15	7	8	0,59%	0,09%
Italy	11	7	4	0,43%	0,07%
United Kingdom	11	7	4	0,43%	0,07%
Russia	11	4	7	0,43%	0,07%
Bulgaria	9	2	7	0,35%	0,05%
Algeria	9	5	4	0,35%	0,05%
Portugal	8	5	3	0,31%	0,05%
Nigeria	0	0	0	0,00%	0,00%

Note: Author's elaboration based on INE (2022).

Another characteristic feature of this municipality is its high residential segregation. Thanks to the information collected by Donat (2021), it is reported that Senot has different vulnerable areas away from the urban centre that coincide with the location of the Polígono, and consequently, the school. Likewise, according to the report of El Síndic de Greuges (2022) for the 2020/2021 academic year, Senot was among the top Catalan municipalities with more than 10.000

inhabitants with the most internal school segregation of foreign students in primary school. However, as it is a town with less than 45,000 inhabitants, there are no official data that collect the demographic profile by neighbourhoods and/or municipal areas. Consequently, this study will provide a qualitative estimate based on the profile of pupils in the school, the different observations made, as well as the analysis of documentary sources.

From the different field observations, it was possible to observe the presence of a mosque 500 metres from the school, different shops advertised as "halal", a "locutorio" (phone booth), as well as different ethnic shops[9]. In the same way, the presence of a great multicultural variety was observed within the student body of the school studied, especially among students of immigrant descent from other Spanish communities and Morocco. However, there is also a large presence of pupils of Latin American (Peru, Colombia, Dominican Republic...), Asian (Pakistan, China, India...) African (Senegalese) or Eastern European (Romania) origins. In the same way, we can also find, although to a lesser extent, pupils of immigrant descent from European Community countries, especially from Italy and France. It should be noted that most pupils at this school were born in Spain, i.e. they are considered second and even third generations. However, we also find students who are considered generation 1.5 (immigrants between the ages of 6 and 12) and generation 1.75 (immigrants between the ages of 0 and 5).

To better understand the socioeconomic situation of this school, the Senot school meal grants during the school year 2021/22 have been analysed. Senot Town Council awarded a total of 412 school meal grants distributed among the 5 infant and primary schools in the municipality. 166 students from the Wave School received a school meal grant for that academic year, representing 40,29% of the scholarships awarded during that period in the whole municipality. It should be noted that the percentage of grants awarded to other schools ranges between 12%

[9] See Solé, C. & Parella, S. (2005). *Negocios étnicos. Los comercios de los inmigrantes no comunitarios en Cataluña.* Edicions Bellaterra – Fundació CIDOB. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=282700

and 17%. Moreover, according to the 2020 report on the state and evolution of school segregation in Catalonia by the Jaume Bofill Foundation, the municipality of Senot ranks among the top municipalities with high or very high segregation. This situation, according to the report, has deteriorated over the last five years.

Table 2.
School meal grant awarded in Senot during the school year 2021-2022

Senot school meal grants – School year 2021/22		
School	**Scholarships awarded**	**% of total scholarships awarded**
School A	67	16,26%
Wave School	166	40,29%
School B	74	17,96%
School C	55	13,35%
School D	50	12,14%
Total	412	100,00%

Note: Author's elaboration based on Ajuts menjador CCVO – Curs 2021-22. Source: Official website of local council.

The Wave School is a public infant and primary school classified as a highly complex school. Consequently, it offers an extra hour of teaching time each day. The school schedule is from 8:30 am to 1 pm, with a break from 11:00 am to 11:30 am, and from 3:00 pm to 4:30 pm. The duration of each class is 1 hour.

In each line, there is one teacher from the staff serving as a classroom tutor. With the exception of one man in a 6th-grade line, all the tutors were women.

The school routine, particularly in these courses, involved 30 minutes of guided lecture in 6th grade and 30 minutes of free lecture in 5th grade, where occasionally 5th-grade students collaborated with 1st-year students who were learning to read. After the reading time, the students proceeded to their next class, whether it was in Catalan, Mathematics, Social Science, or other subjects. Generally, most classes were conducted as lecture classes, especially in the fifth-grade. Teachers have a certain level of freedom in organizing their classes, choosing how to teach the mandated curriculum. It is noteworthy that tutors of each line coordinate with the other tutor of the same grade to plan activities.

Except for specialized subjects such as English, music, physical education, or French, classes are taught by the same tutor. Twice a week, after the reading time,

students attending "Aules d'acollida" (Newcomer's classrooms) spent an hour there, returning for the second hour after the break. Furthermore, on some days of the week students with special needs attended a separate classroom with a special needs teacher to receive assistance with the and follow the course.

After two hours of lectures, students have a break to enjoy some snacks. The school enforces a rule that requires students to bring healthy snacks. After the pandemic of 2020, students consumed their snacks in their classrooms. When most students finished, they were allowed to go to the primary playground. Once a week, each class line had the opportunity to play football on the football pitch. This rule was implemented to address conflicts that arose among male students during football games. At 11:30 am, the bell signalled the end of the break. Immediately, students lined up by class in front of the entrance to the building, awaiting the teacher, who will taught the class after the playground, to indicate they could return to their classrooms. Once in the classroom, students had 30 minutes to discuss any incidents during the playground, and relax in order to cool down, and prepare for the following class. Depending on the class, different relaxation routines were employed; some played relaxing music on YouTube while students remained in their chairs in silence, others formed a circle and stretched together, and some designated one or two students to provide massages to those seated quietly. After the relaxation time concluded, another hour-long class began, followed by a two-hour break for lunch. The school provided a canteen service, allowing some students to eat there while others went home for lunch.

The school community consists of a team of professionals including teachers, one tutor per classroom, specialist teachers in English, Music, and Physical Education, the management team, a psychologist, counsellors, a caretaker, administrative staff, and, as of a year ago, a social worker joined the school. The school conducts classes in Catalan, its language of tuition, and has various facilities including a computer and language classroom, a music classroom, a library, a science classroom, newcomers' classrooms, a garden, a kindergarten playground, a primary playground, a sports court, and a dining room with its own kitchen.

Photo 1.
Newcomers' classroom (Wave School)

Note: Author's authorship

Photo 2.
Computer classroom (Wave School)

Note: Author's authorship

Photo 3.
Fifth grade classroom (Wave School)

Note: Author's authorship

Photo 4.
Fifth grade classroom (Wave School)

Note: Author's authorship

The academic year is divided into three terms (September to December; January to Easter holidays; Easter holidays to June). Typically, students remain at the same school for the entire academic year. However, as highlighted by Carrasco *et al.* (2012), various factors such as migratory dynamics, family regrouping processes, changes in productive structures, and residential patterns lead families to adopt different schooling strategies. This phenomenon is commonly known in Catalonia as "matricula viva" (live enrolment), and it notably impacts municipalities in the province of Barcelona, such as Senot. The term live enrolment refers to the group of students who join or leave schools once the school year has already commenced[10].

For the research of the Master's thesis, fieldwork was carried out in the two lines of fifth and three lines of sixth grade of primary school, with a sample of 77 pupils. However, for pragmatic reasons, detailed background information was only collected in the two lines of fifth year.

Fifth grade:

- Line A – tutor Antonia: 16 pupils. The presence of pupils of foreign origin - both second and first generation - represents 81.25% of the class (1 boy from Colombia, 1 boy and 1 girl from Senegal, 6 boys and 4 girls from Morocco, one of which is an Amazigh girl). Of these 13 pupils with migrant backgrounds, 4 pupils are first generation (1 boy from Senegal, 1 boy from Colombia and 3 boys from Morocco). The remaining pupils are made up of one boy from a mixed couple (Brazilian mother and Catalan father) and two boys whose parents are both Catalan.
- Line B – tutor Rosario: 17 pupils. The presence of pupils of foreign origin —both second and first generation— represents 94.11% of the class (1 boy from Peru, 1 boy from Pakistan, 1 boy from Senegal, 7 boys and 6 girls from Morocco, two of which are an Amazigh boy and an Amazigh girl). Of

[10] See Carrasco, S., Pàmies, J., Bereményi, B. Á., & Casalta, V. (2012). Más allá de la «matrícula viva»: la movilidad del alumnado y la gestión local de la escolarización en Cataluña. *Papers. 2012; 97*(2), 311-41. http://hdl.handle.net/10230/53976

these 16 students with migrant backgrounds, 7 pupils are known to be first generation (1 boy from Peru, 1 boy from Senegal, 1 boy from Pakistan and, 4 boys and 1 girl from Morocco). The remaining girl, both parents come from Spain, with the particularity that they are of Roma ethnicity.

Table 3.
Demographic profile of fifth grade students and their pseudonyms (Line A).

Line A (Antonia)		Spain	Pseudonym	Morocco	Pseudonym	Amazigh (Rifians)	Pseudonym	Senegal	Pseudonym	Colombia	Pseudonym	Other	Pseudonym	Total
First generation	1.75 generation (0-5 years)			1 *(boy)*	*Mohamed*					1 *(boy)*	*Nixon*			2 *(boys)*
	1.5 generation (6-12 years)			2 *(boys)*	*Marian* *Ismael*			1 *(boy)*	*Mamadou*					3 *(boys)*
Second generation	2.0 generation (both parents foreigners)			6 *(3 boys - 3 girls)*	*Islam, Osman, Hakim* *Nadia, Noor, Yara*	1 *(girl)*	*Anir*	1 *(girl)*	*Aissatou*					8 *(3 boys- 5 girls)*
	2.5 (one progenitor foreigner)											1 *(boy - Brazil and Catalonia)*	*Marcel*	1 *(boy)*
—	Both parents born in Catalonia	2 *(boys)*	*Mario* *Adrià*											2 *(boys)*
Total		*2 (boys)*		*9 (6 boys - 3 girls)*		*1 (girl)*		*2 (1 boy - 1 girl)*		*1 (boy)*		*1 (boy)*		*16 (11 boys - 5 girls)*

Note: Author's elaboration.

Table 4.
Demographic profile of fifth grade students and their pseudonyms (Line B)

Line B (Rosario)		Spain	Pseudonym	Morocco	Pseudonym	Amazigh (Rifians)	Pseudonym	Senegal	Pseudonym	Peru	Pseudonym	Pakistan	Pseudonym	Total
First generation	1.75 generation (0-5 years)			1 *(boy)*	*Asraf*			1 *(boy)*	*Demba*			1 *(boy)*	*Ahmed*	3 *(boys)*
	1.5 generation (6-12 years)			3 *(2 boys - 1 girl)*	*Hassan, Ibrahim* *Laylah*					1 *(boy - he arrived from Peru during the fieldwork - middle of the second term)*	*Ángel*			4 *(3 boys – 1 girl)*
Second generation	2.0 generation (both parents foreigners)			7 *(4 girl - 3 boys. One was born in Galicia but came to Catalonia at the age of 3 months)*	*Salma, Zulema, Naima, Samira* *Naim, Bilal, Kamal*	2 *(1 boy – 1 girl)*	*Ali* *Sarah*							9 *(4 boys – 5 girls)*
—	Both parents born in Catalonia	1 girl *(Roma)*	Estrella											1 (girl)
Total		*1 (girl)*		*11 (7 boys - 6 girls)*		*2 (1 boy – 1 girl)*		*1 (boy)*		*1 (boy)*		*1 (boy)*		*17 (10 boys - 7 girls)*

Note: Author's elaboration.

The staff sociodemographic profiles recollect in the interviews are:

Table 5.
Demographic profile school staff and their pseudonyms

School Staff			Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Place of birth
Class tutors	Fifth grade	Line A	Antonia	Female	*55*	Catalonia (Spain)
		Line B	Rosario	Female	*45*	Catalonia (Spain)
	Sixth grade	Line A	Estela	Female	*28*	Catalonia (Spain)
		Line B	Mario	Male	*33*	Catalonia (Spain)
		Line C	Sofia	Female	*33*	Catalonia (Spain)
School Principal			Carme	Female	*53*	Catalonia (Spain)
English teacher			Olivia	Female	*46*	Valencia (Spain)
Teacher of Special Needs			Lorena	Female	*44*	Catalonia (Spain)
Social worker			Marisol	Female	*37*	Catalonia (Spain)

Note: Author's elaboration.

Together with the collection of quantitative data to describe basic indicators regarding the population, the local community and the school, this work is essentially based on techniques of school ethnography. The main techniques used were participant observation, analysis of documentary sources and bibliography, and structured and semi-structured interviews with the different agents involved.

Participant observation

During the period from February to March 2023, participant observation was carried out with the prior approval of the school principal. Following the school's timetable was deemed the most convenient option for both the teaching staff and pupils. Consequently, my observation sessions commenced at 8:30 am and concluded at 1:00 pm, aligning with the two-hour break for pupils to have lunch. Although students were expected back at 3:00 pm, my observations were confined to the morning sessions. To minimize gaps between sessions, participant observations were scheduled for two days per week, specifically on Mondays and Thursdays, with each session involving a different line.

Most observation sessions, totalling 40 hours and 30 minutes, were concentrated in the months of February and March. However, in June of the same year, I conducted an additional 5 sessions, each lasting 3 hours, bringing the total observation time to 55 hours and 30 minutes.

In terms of my participatory observation routine, I entered the school at the same time as the students with them since there was only one entrance. I viewed this as an opportunity to make myself visible to the families, who had been previously informed of my presence in the school. During the reading time in the 5th-grade classrooms, I engaged in conversation with the teacher while the students read silently. However, in the 6th-grade classroom, where guided reading was taking place, I actively followed along with the reading. Once the reading time concluded and the class began, I sat next to a student and followed the lecture as they did. During independent activities, I moved around the tables, assisting students while engaging in conversations.

During the playground period, I sometimes participated in activities with the students, and at other times, I conversed with the staff.

Semi-structured and structured interviews

After observant participation was completed, in the month of June, I conducted 9 semi-structured interviews with:

- 2 tutors of fifth grade: Antonia and Rosario
- 3 tutors of sixth grade: Estela, Mario and Sofia
- School principal: Carme
- Teacher of special needs: Lorena
- Social Worker: Marisol
- English teacher: Olivia

Although, there was a plan to interview the teacher of the newcomer's classroom, unforeseen circumstances beyond my control prevented it from taking place.

Additionally, I carried out 27 structured interviews with 5th-grade students. Due to pragmatic reasons, I was unable to conduct interviews with the sixth-grade students.

It is worthy to note that I conducted semi-structured interviews with the school staff and structured interviews with the students due to both pragmatic and methodological reasons. On the one hand, semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility in conversation flow, which is essential when engaging with busy school staff. It enables the interviewer to adapt to the availability and schedules of teachers and administrators. Also, these interviews allow for in-depth exploration of complex topics, as the school staff possess comprehensive knowledge about the educational environment and student interactions. This format helps capture the nuanced and contextual information that structured formats might miss. On the other hand, structured interviews are more time-efficient, which is crucial when working with students who have limited attention spans and time constraints due to their school schedules. Likewise, the sample of students was much higher, which this type of interview format allowed reaching all fifth grade students. Furthermore, a structured format provides clear, straightforward questions that are easier for students to understand and respond to, reducing confusion and ensuring that the interview stays on track. Also, these interviews allow for the collection of comparable data across different students, facilitating the analysis of patterns and trends in their responses. And, finally, this format ensures consistency in the questions asked, which is particularly important when dealing with a diverse student population. It helps maintain a uniform approach, minimizing interviewer bias and variability in data collection.

By choosing these interview formats, the research effectively balances the need for depth and flexibility when engaging with staff and the need for clarity, efficiency, and consistency when interviewing students.

The ethical criteria established in the UAB's Code of Good Practices in Research is followed, governed by the principles of freedom of thought, honesty, rigour towards the research subjects and the research topic, and responsibility. Likewise,

the present study follows the recommendations proposed by IV Action Plan for gender equality at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. 2019-2023 where the gender perspective is incorporated in all phases of the project; the approach to the problem is structured on the basis of gender analysis; the theoretical and conceptual framework is not androcentric; the selection of the sample contemplates both males students and female students.

It is important to explain some ethical aspects considered during the fieldwork:

- My role as a researcher: To establish transparency with both students and teachers, I introduced myself as a researcher who would be observing and assisting with certain tasks in their classes. Given the potential risk of students perceiving me as a teacher due to my adult status, I implemented strategies to clarify my role on the first day with each class. My relatively young age (23 years old) worked in my favour, as it prevented them from associating me with the staff (who were over 30) or other authority figures like their parents. Another crucial aspect was my language flexibility. Unlike with their teachers who required communication in Catalan, or Spanish, English, or French during specific subjects, students could speak to me in any of the languages I know: Catalan, Spanish, or English.
- Multi-stakeholder informed consent: In the school context, obtaining consent is not only necessary from the child participants but also from their legal guardians. Following Felzmann's (2009) considerations, recognizing that children's decision-making differs from that of adults. While children cannot provide binding consent, their assent was sought, so the document was adapted to their cognitive capacities. Furthermore, aside from obtaining assent from the students and consent from their legal guardians, I sought consent from the school principal.
- Confidentiality and Anonymity: Throughout the research process, the anonymity of both the school and the participants will be safeguarded by using pseudonyms that prevent their identification.

4. Findings

This section presents the research findings, in this sense, firstly the socio-economic situation of the students will be described in order to understand the nuances of the following sections. Next, to establish an order, it is pretended to follow the same structure as the theoretical framework. Consequently, the results concerning the construction of identity are presented first, with emphasis on markers of distinction such as language or the host classroom. However, in as many sections as possible, it will be interrelated with the possible impact that Covid had.

The results presented here are based on the triangulation of participant observation with the information obtained from various interviews with pupils and teaching staff. Our findings shed light on how these theoretical frameworks manifest in the everyday experiences of students in this highly complex primary school. By examining the interactions, perceptions, and institutional practices within the school, we aim to provide a nuanced understanding of how identity and belonging are negotiated by transnational students. We will discuss how the physical and social separation inherent in newcomers' classroom influences students' sense of self and their integration into the broader school community. Additionally, we will explore the power dynamics and hierarchies that emerge based on linguistic proficiency and cultural background, and how these dynamics align with or diverge from the state of the art in existing research.

a. Economic challenges

The students' families usually are composed by mother, father and one or more children. Only Nadia's family is an exception, as she belongs to a single-mother family. Despite it was not possible to recollect data directly from the families, in the interviews students were asked about the employment situation of their parents just before Covid and at the present time (June, 2023). To analyse the data, it has

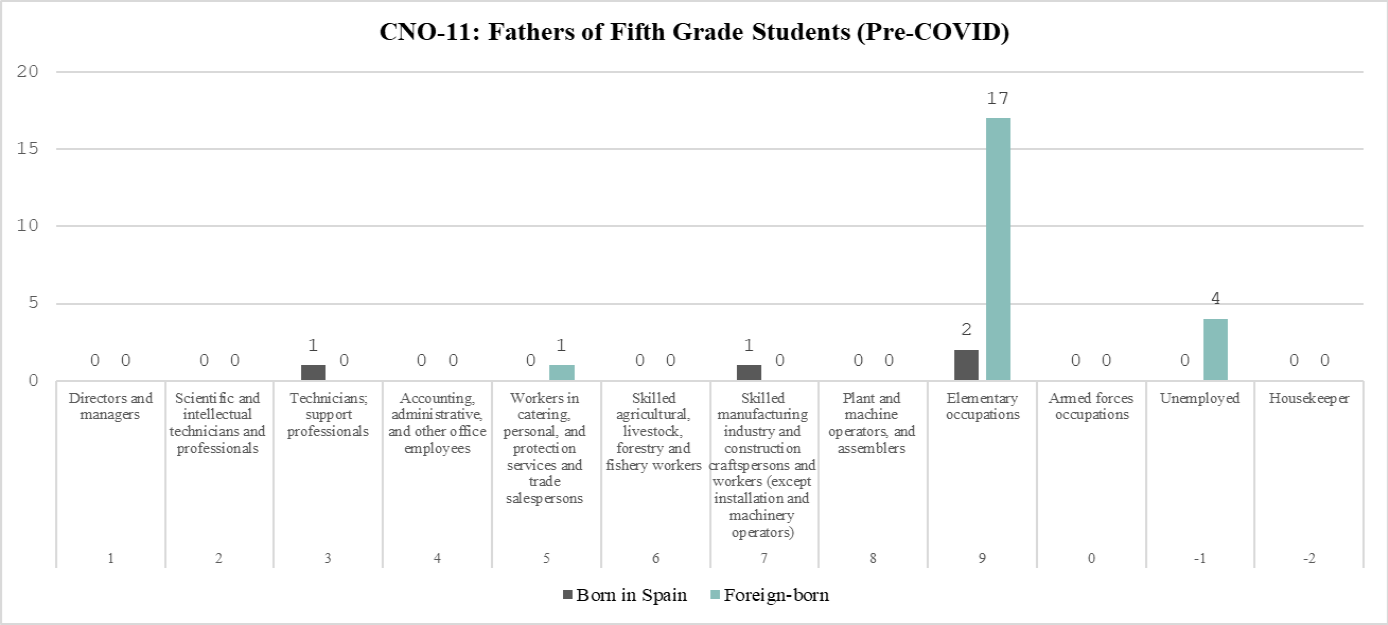
used the National Classification of Occupations (hereinafter CNO-11[11]) from National Institute of Statistics of Spain (INE). The classification criteria used are the type of work carried out and competencies, and it allows to group homogeneous units, according to defined criterion, in a single category. With this, a set of information can be treated, facilitating statistical analyses and the interpretation data. Nevertheless, for a more appropriate classification, two specific categories to the study have been added (-1 Unemployed; -2 Housekeeper). Also, it was divided between fathers and mothers born in Spain (total=7; fathers=4; mothers=3), and fathers and mothers foreign-born (total=46; fathers=22; mothers=24), because as it is described above, all the students with immigrant background are first generation or second generation[12].

[11] For detailed information visit INE (2024). *National Classification of Occupations. CNO.* INE. https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/en/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736177033&menu=ultiDatos&idp=1254735976614

[12] For detailed information go to Annex 1.

Graphic 1.

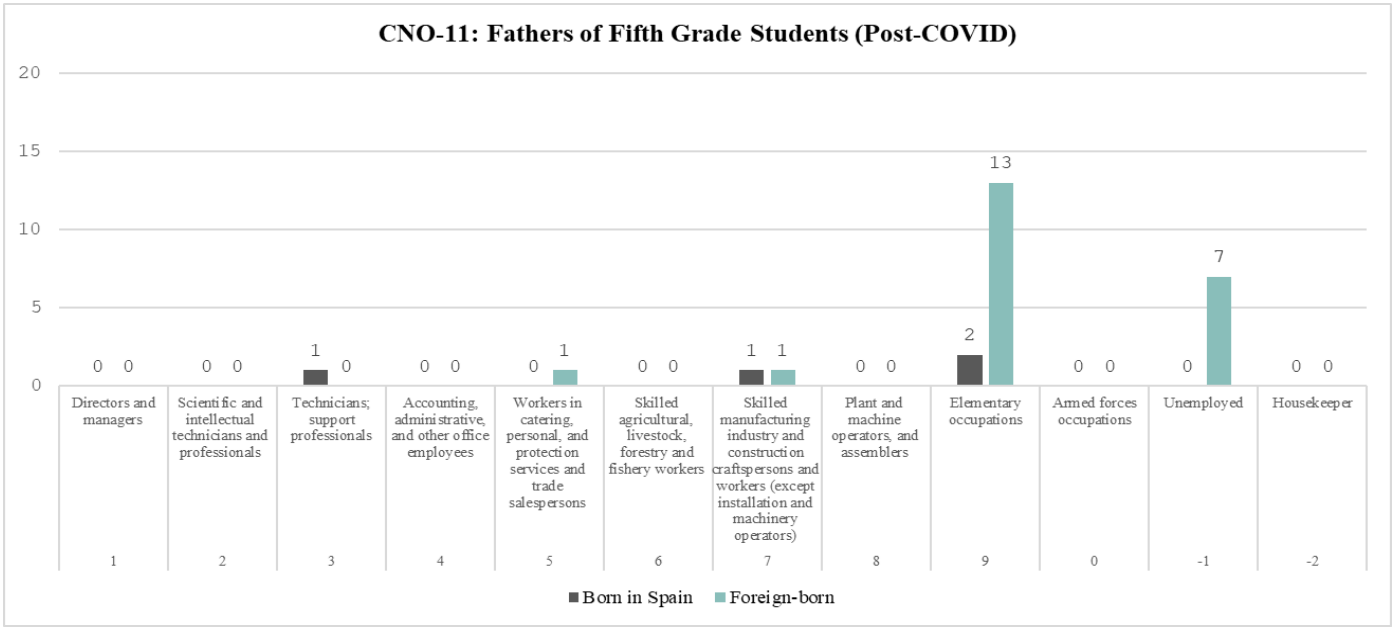
List of occupations of fathers of fifth grade students according to the CNO-11 before COVID.



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews.

Graphic 2.

List of occupations of fathers of fifth grade students according to the CNO-11 after COVID.



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews.

The Graphic 1 shows how the occupations of the fathers of fifth-grade students at this school before COVID are primarily grouped under category 9, Elementary Occupations. However, upon analysing Annex 1, differences between parents born in Spain and those born abroad are observed. It is found that among parents born in Spain, the one belonging to the Roma ethnicity worked in street vending, and the other worked in a factory. However, within those born abroad, there is a segregation of occupations by origin. Nevertheless, this characteristic cannot be generalized due to the sample's limitations. Regardless, concerning this unit of observation, it is found that out of 17 individuals, the 12 men were working as building construction labourers were Moroccan. One Senegalese man worked as a street sweeper, one Colombian man as a car cleaner, and the remaining 3 (1 of Senegalese origin and the other 2 Moroccan) worked in a factory in the industrial area of the municipality.

Another noteworthy feature of the Graphic 1 is that the only parents occupying a profession requiring a certain level of education, and thus jobs attributed to a higher social status, are those born in Spain. However, by probability, it should be someone born abroad as they represent 84.61%. On one hand, described within group 7 was an employee as an adjuster operator of machine tools, and on the other hand, within group 3, we find a computer programmer. Turning to individuals born outside of Spain, it is worth noting that the man within group 5, of Pakistani origin, was a shop salesperson. Finally, in the specific category for unemployed individuals, it is found that all 4 persons were Moroccan; however, this could be attributed to the fact that it is the majority ethnic origin.

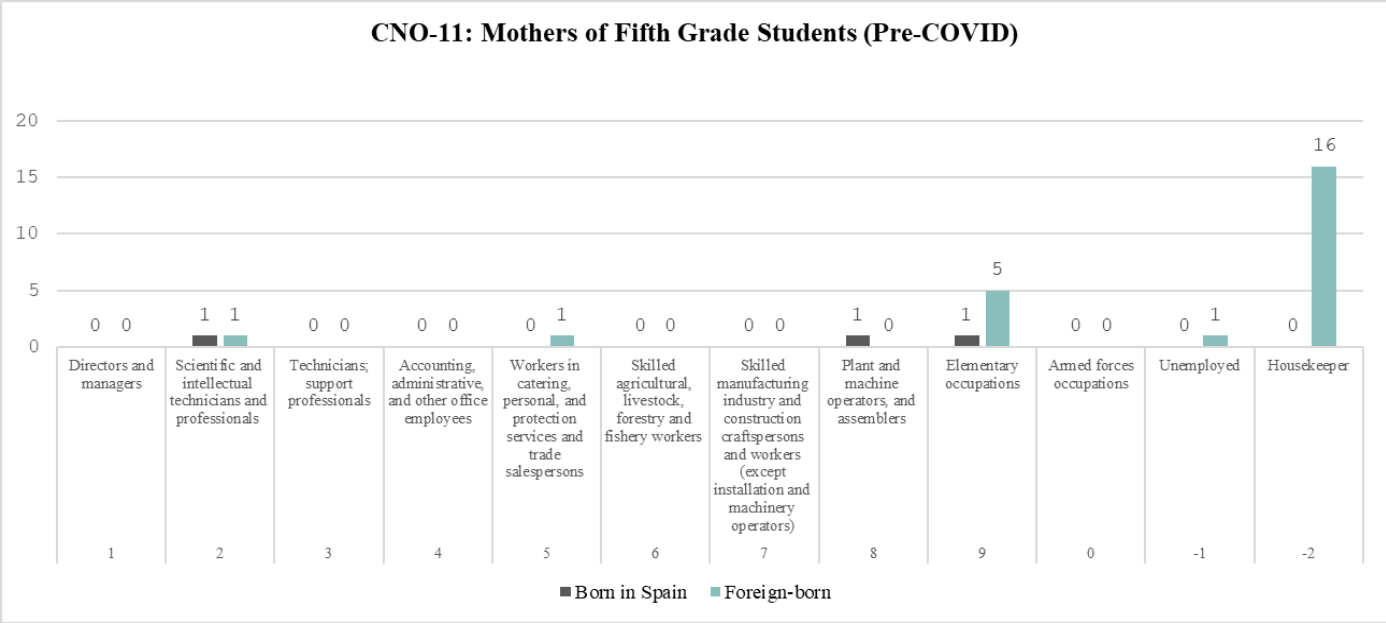
Comparing these results with Graphic 2, which captures the possible impacts of COVID, it is noteworthy that no parent born in Spain within this school line had lost or changed their job. However, the same does not hold true for those born abroad. The sector where the most changes are observed is in category 9, where there had been a decrease of 4 points. Upon closer examination of the occupations, it is observed that the most affected is that of building construction labourers, which had decreased by 4, with the peculiarity that all 4 of these individuals were

now unemployed. In the case of factory workers, there had been a decrease of 1 person, as he was currently working as a carpenter. However, in the street sweepers category, there had been an increase of 1 person who was previously unemployed before COVID. This is attributed to job aids, as captured in the interview with your daughter: "ara el meu pare ha començat a treballar com a 'barrendero' per a l'ajuntament, perquè hi ha com unes ajudes per a persones que estaven al 'paro'[13]" (Aissatou, 2023).

[13] Author's translation: "Now my father has started to work as a sweeper for the city council, because there are some job aids for people who were unemployed.

Graphic 1.

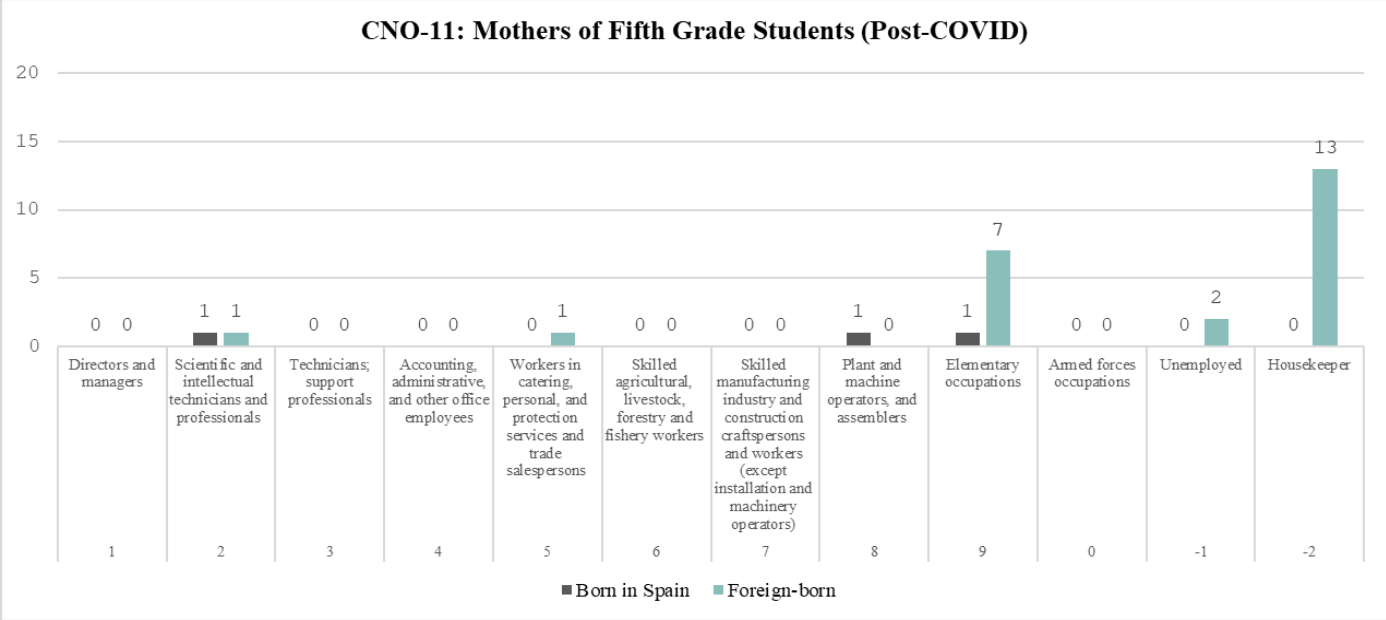
List of occupations of mothers of fifth grade students according to the CNO-11 before COVID.



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews.

Graphic 4.

List of occupations of mothers of fifth grade students according to the CNO-11 after COVID.



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews.

The Graphic 3 shows how the occupations of the mothers foreign-born of fifth-grade students at this school before COVID are primarily grouped under the category of housekeeper, therefore, they did not receive any salary. The majority of them, except for 2 women of Senegalese origin, were Moroccan. Within the categories specific to the study, it is noteworthy that the only woman who was unemployed, meaning she was actively seeking wage employment, is a Moroccan woman. It is worth mentioning that this woman was precisely the only separated woman in the entire fifth-grade group.

The second group where more foreign-born women are found is in category 9, Elementary Occupations. Upon detailed analysis of the information in Annex 1, it is observed that the majority of this group is divided into domestic employees (2 Moroccan women) and office, hotel, and similar establishment cleaning workers (2 Moroccan women). As captured in the interview with their son, "mi madre trabaja en la limpieza del ayuntamiento[14]" (Osman, 2023)", "Mi madre trabajaba en la limpieza […] limpiaba donde está el alcalde de Senot[15]" (Naim, 2023). Within group 9, we also find that a Senegalese woman worked in a factory near the municipality. Another notable element is that within the group of women not born in Spain, the only woman of Brazilian origin who forms a mixed couple with a man born in Spain is found within group 2, Scientific and Intellectual Technicians and Professionals, as she worked as a librarian at the municipal library.

Within the group of women born in Spain, we find a fairly diverse group as each one belongs to a different category. On one hand, there is a woman in group 2 who worked as an actress, as she visited schools as a storyteller. On the other hand, a woman worked as a worker in a pharmaceutical production factory, and finally, the woman belonging to the Roma ethnicity worked as a kitchen assistant in a school cafeteria.

[14] Author's translation: "My mother works in the cleaning of the town hall"
[15] Author's translation: "My mother used to work in the cleaning […] she cleaned where the mayor of Senot is"

Comparing these results with Graphic 4, which captures the possible impacts of COVID, it is noteworthy that within the housekeeper group, 3 women had started working; 1 Moroccan woman in a factory and 2 Moroccan women as household employees or caregivers for the elderly. The group of unemployed had increased as one woman who had worked as a town hall cleaner lost her job. The other categories have remained the same. On the other hand, women born in Spain, just like men born in Spain, within this school line had not lost or changed their job. However, the same does not hold true for those born abroad.

In conclusion, what we can glean from this information is that the economic situation of these families, despite internal diversity, is quite sensitive. There majority of the families only the man of the couple worked. However, it is known that in some families, where the siblings of these students are older, they also work and could be contributing income to the family nucleus. Nevertheless, this variable has only been collected in two interviews. Similarly, for a more reliable analysis of the economic reality of the families, all official and unofficial income should be tracked, as well as remittances sent to other family members.

Despite this, this economic vulnerability has been corroborated by the collection of scholarship allocations from the municipality, where the school with the most scholarships awarded is this school. In the same way, thanks to the data obtained in the participant observation, the teachers were aware of the family economic situation of the students. As a result, they ended up limiting the school's teaching activity. As exemplified in the following conversation with the fifth grade tutor:

> Hi ha activitats que jo abans feia a l'altra escola on treballava i que funciona molt bé que aquí per la situació econòmica de les famílies no les podem fer [...] com per exemple, ara que estem treballant el relleu físic de Catalunya, els hi demanaria la construcció d'una maqueta 3D amb cartolina, fusta... però ja sé que sí aquí demano dues cartolines, al dia següent ja t'ho dic jo que no vindrà ningú amb el material[16]. (Rosario, field notes, 2023)

[16] Author's translation: "There are activities that I used to do at the other school where I worked and that work very well that here because of the economic situation of the families we cannot do [...] as for example, now that we are working on the physical relief of Catalonia, I would ask them

Consequently, due to the family economic situation, the teaching staff was forced to limit teaching activities, coinciding with the reduction of those dynamics that are more playful or that can generate binding experiences between the students and the school institution or the curriculum.

i. Covid impact

After analysing the economic situation of the families and it changes after Covid, it can be concluded that the situation has likely worsened after Covid. On March 14, 2020, face-to-face academic activity was suspended, leading to the closure of all educational centres. Overnight, the educational system had to be reorganized to teach online. The success of this transition depended on both the prior incorporation of the new technologies by each school and the material and human resources available to families.

The economic disparities outlined above have directly impacted the academic and social development of fifth grade students. Not all students had access to the necessary technological devices to attend classes during the lockdown. Data collected from interviews with students, school staff, and fieldwork revealed varying economic situations among families. Some households had Wi-Fi connectivity, while others did not. Some students had to share their parent's mobile phones with their siblings, while others had their own devices. It is not unsurprising to note that students from families with limited material resources during the pandemic tended to be those whose parents were either employed in unskilled jobs or were unemployed.

Within the fifth-grade cohort of this school, among students whose both parents were born in Spain, all but one had access to a computer or tablet. The exception was a girl of Romani ethnicity who had to rely on her mother's cell phone, as she recounted, "Yo me conectaba a veces a las clases con el móvil de mi madre, pero

---

to build a 3D model with cardboard, wood... but I know that here if I ask for two cardboards, the next day I will tell you that nobody will come with the material."

claro cuando ella lo necesitaba no podía conectarme… así que no siempre me conectaba[17]" (Estrella, 2023). Among students from second-generation Moroccan families, eight lacked a suitable device, forcing them to share their parents' cell phone with siblings during the initial weeks of confinement. This arrangement required coordination among siblings to determine who would attend each class, as schedules often overlapped.

> Yo con mi hermano pequeño tenía que compartir el móvil porque él también tenía clases, esto antes de que nos dieran los ordenadores el ayuntamiento. Entonces lo que hacíamos era que cuando las clases eran a la misma hora mirábamos que clase era la que nos gustaba más [¿Y qué asignaturas eran las que te gustaban más?] Pues tutoría, naturales, música…
>
> (Bilal, 2023)

Fortunately, within a month, all these students received computers or tablets from the city council, the Catalonia administration, or another agency. However, within the same group, it was also noted that one student had a computer because her sister, who attended the institute and had purchased it a year ago, lent it to her. Similarly, four second-generation Moroccan students had a tablet almost exclusively for their own use because their siblings were very young. Still within the second-generation group, students with Amazigh parents all had tablets, with only one having to share it with her sister. Aissatou, the girl whose parents are from Senegal, had a family computer, which she had to share with her older brother.

On the other hand, we continue to observe a range of situations within the first-generation group. Among the two boys from Senegal, one had a tablet for himself, as his younger brother utilized their mother's cell phone for entertainment, while the other lacked access to a computer or tablet. Five students born in Morocco had no tablet or computer, while the other two shared a tablet. The student from Colombia shared a computer with their parents, while the student from Pakistan had a tablet and a family computer, which was shared with his brother. Consequently, no discernible differences by gender or origin were identified

[17] Author's translation: "I sometimes connected to the classes with my mother's cell phone, but of course when she needed it I could not connect... so I did not always connect"

among the students in these cohorts. However, it is essential to note that these findings cannot be generalized due to the particularity and limited scope of the sample, where nearly all students, with only three exceptions, are either second or first-generation immigrants.

As Carme, the director of the centre, explains, they were aware that their students did not have adequate technological devices, whether tablets or computers, that would allow them to follow the online teaching during the confinement. In addition, she recounted how those families who initially maintained contact with the school through mobile devices, a large percentage did not have a Wi-Fi connection, which meant that after a week they consumed all their mobile internet data and could not connect again. In the same way, the adaptation of new technologies of the students was significantly different between courses due to the organization of content. In fourth grade, students are introduced to ICT by creating a school email domain for each student. In this course they begin to submit some homework via Gmail. From fifth and sixth grade onwards, they work more often on the Google Digital Platform "Classroom". Therefore, in general terms, most students did not know how to use Gmail or classroom.

> Teníem coneixements que els nostres alumnes no disposaven d'ordinadors o tablets. Potser sí que tenien els mòbils de les famílies. Tot i que algun alumne sí que podia tenir algun ordinador o alguna tablet, la majoria no. I amb els de quart sí que teníem el correu electrònic però just s'estaven iniciant en utilitzar el correu electrònic... amb els de cinquè i sisè ens resultava més fàcil però poder no tenien dispositiu i amb la resta de l'escola, es clar, eren 350 alumnes que era molt difícil[18]. (Carme, 2023)

In consequence, as it has been recollected from fieldwork and interviews, the school implemented measures during the pandemic to mitigate the adverse effects of families' economic hardships and prevent the disengagement of students during

[18] Author's translation: "We were aware that our students did not have computers or tablets. Perhaps they did have their families' cell phones. Although some students might have had a computer or tablet, most did not. And with the fourth graders we did have email, but they were just starting to use it... with the fifth and sixth graders it was easier but they maybe did not have a device and with the rest of the school, of course, there were 350 students that it was very difficult".

the lockdown. Initially, it was noted that many students lacked even basic supplies like paper, pencils, and pens at home. In response, the school assembled a kit of essential office supplies for each student and distributed them during the initial weeks of the pandemic, thereby ensuring that all students had the necessary materials at home.

The school's annual objective shifted towards prioritizing the maintenance of the connection between students and the institution, alongside gaining insight into the physical and emotional well-being of their students. Given the high complexity of the school and the challenging family situations many students face, this objective became paramount. As described by Sofia, the sixth-grade tutor, efforts were made to maintain daily communication with students, ensuring they remained connected and did not lose touch with the Catalan language, as their primary exposure to the tuition and learning language occurred within the school setting, "[…] perquè no perdessin el contacte amb la llengua catalana perquè l'únic contacte que tenen amb la llengua vehicular i d'aprenentatge és l'escola […] enviàvem vídeos ... per exemple, de lectures de contes perquè escoltessin en llengua catalana[19]" (Sofia, 2023).

To accomplish this, the school leadership team first organized the provision of computers or tablets and Wi-Fi to families lacking access. Within a month, through collaboration with local administration, the education department, various organizations, political parties, or other entities, all families were equipped with a device and internet connection Simultaneously, Carme, the school head, said that she created a WhatsApp group, sharing her private number with the mothers representing each class. This allowed her to send essential information directly to them, which they could then share within their respective class groups. Before initiating this, Carme ensured no family was excluded and confirmed their presence in at least one WhatsApp group. Additionally, teachers permitted families

[19] Author's translation: "so that they would not lose contact with the Catalan language because the only contact they have with the tuition and learning language is at school [...] we used to send videos... for example, of story readings for them to listen to in the Catalan language".

to add them, along with their private numbers, to the class WhatsApp group. However, this measure, while beneficial, also had drawbacks, as articulated by most teachers in interviews and fieldwork, as families now possess their contact information, making it difficult for them to disconnect from work.:

> Clar, el haver donat el meu número a la pandèmia, doncs ara, de tant en tant, em segueixen trucant… però es que a vegades ho fan a les deu de la nit… que dius quina barra, jo també vull descansar, i per més que els hi expliqués que estic fora del meu horari laboral sembla ser que no ho entenen[20]. (Rosario, field notes, 2023)

Regarding academic organization, the school conducted short online classes every day to prevent complete disconnection among students: "els dilluns les tutores tenien classe amb els seus grups, però els dimarts era la mestre de música o d'anglès... així cada dia de la setmana tenien contacte amb alguna mestra. Eren petites estones que permetien que no es desvinculessin del tot de l'escola[21]" (Carme, 2023). Despite the Wave School's efforts, as the confinement progressed, many students became disengaged. They logged in less frequently, experienced worsening moods, and found it increasingly challenging to concentrate during online classes: "Quan va començar a fer més calor ja no em connectava tant perquè m'agradava més jugar a videojocs amb els meus amics [...] jugava a l'Among us" (Hakim, 2023); "La veritat que sí que em notava que no em concentrava alhora de fer els deures, era com que trigava el doble" (Noor, 2023). Briefly, during the interviews, an attempt was made to determine how fifth-grade students spent their leisure time. It was noted that there is a noticeable trend among students, with gender segregation. Girls reported enjoying face-to-face games with family members such as board games, hide-and-seek, and crafts, while boys indicated spending most of their time playing online video games with friends. Although

[20] Author's translation: "Of course, having given my number in the pandemic, now, from time to time, they still call me... but sometimes they do it at ten o'clock at night... you say what a nerve, I also want to rest, and no matter how much I explain to them that I am out of my working hours, they don't seem to understand it."

[21] Author's translation: "On Mondays the tutors had classes with their groups, but on Tuesdays it was the music teacher or the English teacher... so every day of the week they had contact with a teacher. They were small moments that allowed them not to be completely disconnected from the school."

girls also used the internet, they primarily engaged in social media applications like Instagram and TikTok. Both groups highlighted the use of video calls or WhatsApp, though their usage was limited as they had to rely on their parents' mobile devices due to not having their own phone numbers.

In conclusion, the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated existing disparities among families, significantly affecting the academic and social development of fifth-grade students. The sudden shift to online learning highlighted disparities in access to technological resources, with some students lacking devices or internet connectivity at home. Economic hardship was particularly pronounced among families with parents employed in unskilled jobs or facing unemployment. While efforts were made to provide necessary devices and support, challenges persisted, such as the need for coordination among siblings sharing devices and limited access to Wi-Fi. Gender differences were also observed in leisure activities, reflecting varying preferences and access to technology. Despite the school's efforts to maintain engagement through online classes and communication platforms, many students struggled to adapt, experiencing disengagement and difficulty concentrating. The pandemic underscored the importance of addressing economic disparities in education and implementing measures to support students and families facing hardship.

b. Identity building

The formation of identity within these classes, and consequently the alignment with one group or another, hinges on three primary factors: language, migrant or non-migrant background and religion. These aspects are dynamically engaged or disengaged by individuals based on the situation. Thus, to gain deeper insights into how students and teachers construct barriers of identification and exclusion, each category will be examined separately, despite their interconnected nature.

i. Languages

Through participant observation, it became evident that students' language choices were not arbitrary; rather, they reflected a deliberate process of exclusion or affiliation with a particular identity group in specific contexts and aligned with particular interests. This underscores the significance of examining the languages comprehended, spoken, and written by both students and school staff. However, before delving into the specifics of each language, it is crucial to elucidate the nuances within the category of "speaking." Through participant observation and interviews, it became apparent that within Catalan, Spanish, English, and French—the languages evaluated within the school—students and teachers differentiated between levels of proficiency, ranging from "basic" to "proficient," based on their oral fluency in each language. Thus, the actors within the educational setting perceived:

- A Little: While the individual is able to communicate in the language, their fluency, grammar, and vocabulary remain somewhat limited. They frequently employ barbarism[22], particularly from Spanish, and occasionally integrate words from other languages such as Spanish, English, or Darija into their speech. Constructing sentences in the past and future proves challenging for them.
- A Quite: It becomes evident that the individual is capable of engaging in conversations with greater fluency. Their grammatical accuracy notably advances, particularly in mastering various tenses (past, present, and future), and they demonstrate proficiency in employing more intricate grammatical constructions. Additionally, their vocabulary expands, encompassing a wider range of terms. While occasional barbarisms persist, they tend to diminish, and the individual shows a preference for using terms

[22] It is called “barbarism” those errors or inaccuracies when pronouncing or writing a word or a phrase, or when using certain foreign words (loanwords) not yet fully incorporated into the language. It is a type of linguistic error that is often very common in colloquial and popular speech, but from the point of view of language norms, it is considered a sign of lack of culture or education.

within the language of conversation rather than incorporating words from other languages.

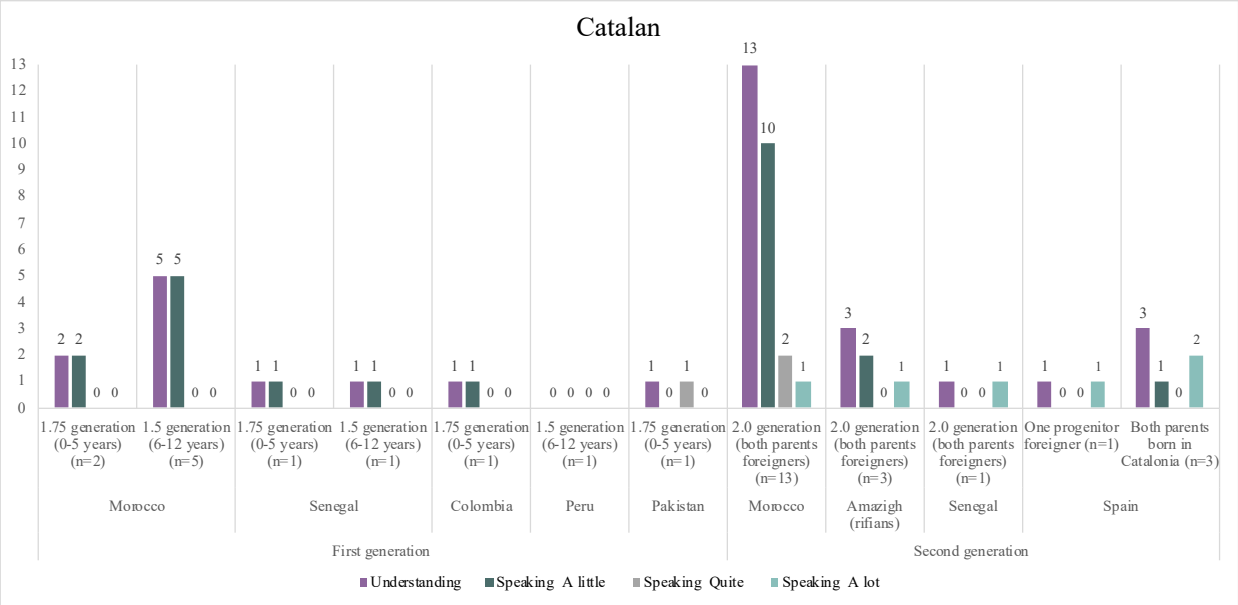
- A Lot: The speaker exhibits near-native proficiency in the language, communicating fluently and with precision. They engage effortlessly in various conversations, employing an extensive vocabulary. Grammatical structures are consistently utilized with accuracy, and instances of barbarisms are nearly absent in their speech.

However, this categorization is generally applied by the stakeholders and differs between Catalan (a co-official language) and French and English (considered foreign languages), depending on the socially and educationally expected proficiency levels. Consequently, for foreign languages, there is a tacit acceptance of lower oral communication standards[23].

Similarly, while the fieldwork and interviews sought to ascertain the students' writing proficiency in a certain language, the lack of available documents hindered a comprehensive analysis of individual levels. Consequently, it was opted to exclude this category from the graphs, given that all students, except for Ángel, the newcomer student from Peru, are currently in the process of learning to write in some languages. Moreover, no discernible disparity was observed between male and female students, prompting the decision to present the graphs without gender segregation to enhance clarity. However, it is important to note that these categories have been included in the "Standard Modern Arabic" dataset, as only male students are currently engaged in learning to write in this language.

[23] For more information on evaluation criteria for the Catalan language and foreign languages established by the Department of Education of the Government of Catalonia see: Generalitat de Catalunya (2022). *Decret 175/2022, de 27 de setembre, d'ordenació dels ensenyaments de l'educació bàsica.* Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya, *8762,* 1-491. https://xtec.gencat.cat/ca/curriculum/primaria/curriculum-175-2022/

Graphic 5.
Catalan language - Understanding and Speaking (Students) - Catalan



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews and observant participation.

Graphic 5 illustrates that all fifth-grade students, barring Ángel, who recently arrived in Catalonia, possess a comprehension of Catalan. However, upon closer examination of their speaking proficiency, it is evident that the majority fall within the "a little" category, with the exception of two children from the second-generation Moroccan group, who demonstrated an intermediate level. Notably, within the "a lot" category, a trio of friends from Line A—Nadia (second-generation Moroccan), Aissatou (second-generation Senegalese), and Anir (second-generation Amazigh)—had taken to conversing in Catalan to enhance their fluency. While engaging in a game of skipping rope with them in the courtyard, the following conversation was overheard:

- Nadia *[while jumping on the rope]*: Saps què?
- Researcher *[while spinning the Rope for the girls to jump]*: Digue'm
- Nadia: Jo, l'Aissatou, i l'Anir vam decidir començar a parlar en català entre nosaltres per millorar a l'escola.
- Anir *[interrupts her]*: Sí. Abans parlàvem en castellà, però volíem practicar el català perquè fora de l'escola no el podem parlar perquè els nostres pares no ho parlen. I l'Aissatou ens va explicar que ella havia començat a parlar amb el Mamadou *[her brother who is in the second year of ESO]* per millorar.... i vam començar també nosaltres
- Researcher: Aissatou, com es que vas començar a parlar amb el teu germà en català?

- Aissatou: Perquè volia parlar amb català fora de l'escola però els meus pares no el parlen... i aquí al barri ningú parla català, només a l'escola. On jo vivia abans (Osona region) tothom al carrer parlava català.
- Nadia: Jo també li estic ensenyant a la meva mare perquè s'ha apuntat a un curs per aprendre català[24].

(Nadia, Aissatou and Anir, field notes, 2023)

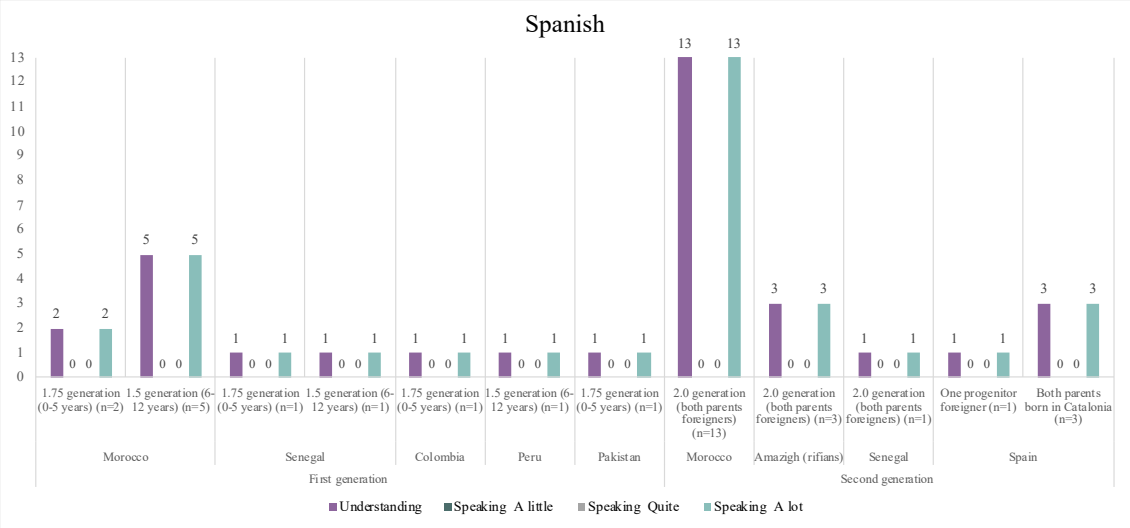
Thus, within these classrooms, it becomes apparent that certain students were cognizant of the limited social usage of Catalan in their neighbourhood, which consequently limits their opportunities to practice and enhance proficiency in the language. Recognizing the potential ramifications of this limitation within the school environment—where Catalan serves as the medium of instruction for all subjects except foreign languages— a group of girls was observed employing a variety of strategies to mitigate the impact of the low social use of Catalan.

As detailed in Annex 2, the majority of students primarily converse in Catalan with school staff members. Only those who demonstrate an intermediate level of proficiency – "quite" - are observed to extend their practice to interactions with siblings, as gleaned from interviews and participant observations, particularly evident during playground activities where siblings usually engage. However, the consistency of Catalan use with siblings fluctuates, often intertwining with Spanish, Catalan, Darija, and Amazigh among students proficient in a third language. Only Adrià said he speaks Catalan with his parents.

[24] Author's translation:
- Nadia [while jumping on the rope]: You know what?
- Researcher [while spinning the Rope for the girls to jump]: Tell me
- Nadia: Me, Aissatou, and Anir decided to start speaking Catalan to each other to get better at school.
- Anir [interrupts her]: Yes. We used to speak Spanish, but we wanted to practice Catalan because outside of school we can't speak it because our parents don't speak it. And Aissatou explained to us that she had started talking to Mamadou [her brother who is in the second year of ESO] to improve .... and we also started to speak Catalan with him.
- Researcher: Aissatou, how did you start talking to your brother in Catalan?
- Aissatou: Because I wanted to speak Catalan outside of school but my parents don't speak it... and here in the neighborhood nobody speaks Catalan, only at school. Where I lived before (Osona region) everyone in the street spoke Catalan.
- Nadia: I'm also teaching my mother because she has signed up for a course to learn Catalan.

It is also worth noting that Nadia, a second-generation Moroccan, and Marcel, a boy with a Brazilian mother, mentioned that they began speaking Catalan occasionally to help their foreign mothers in learning the language.

Graphic 6.
Understanding and Speaking (Students) - Spanish



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews and observant participation.

In contrast to Graphic 5, all students demonstrated a comprehensive understanding of Spanish, with proficiency levels predominantly reaching the highest tier, "A lot", as the Graphic 6 shows. What distinguishes Spanish is the extent of its social utility, evident in the findings presented in Annex 2, where students unanimously report conversing in Spanish with their peers and certain teachers at school. However, disparities emerge in extended familial usage across different student groups. Notably, within the first-generation Moroccan cohort, only Mohamed acknowledged speaking Spanish with relatives residing in another autonomous community in Spain. In the same way, both Mohamed and Asraf agreed that they refrain from using Spanish with family members in their country of origin.

Furthermore, within the second-generation cohort, it is notable that those students who said they spoke in Spanish with their families reside in Catalonia, particularly within proximity to their neighbourhood or in the municipality of Senot. Additionally, it is worth highlighting that among second-generation Moroccan students, seven conversed in Spanish with their fathers, while only one girl also communicated in Spanish with her mother. When queried about this discrepancy,

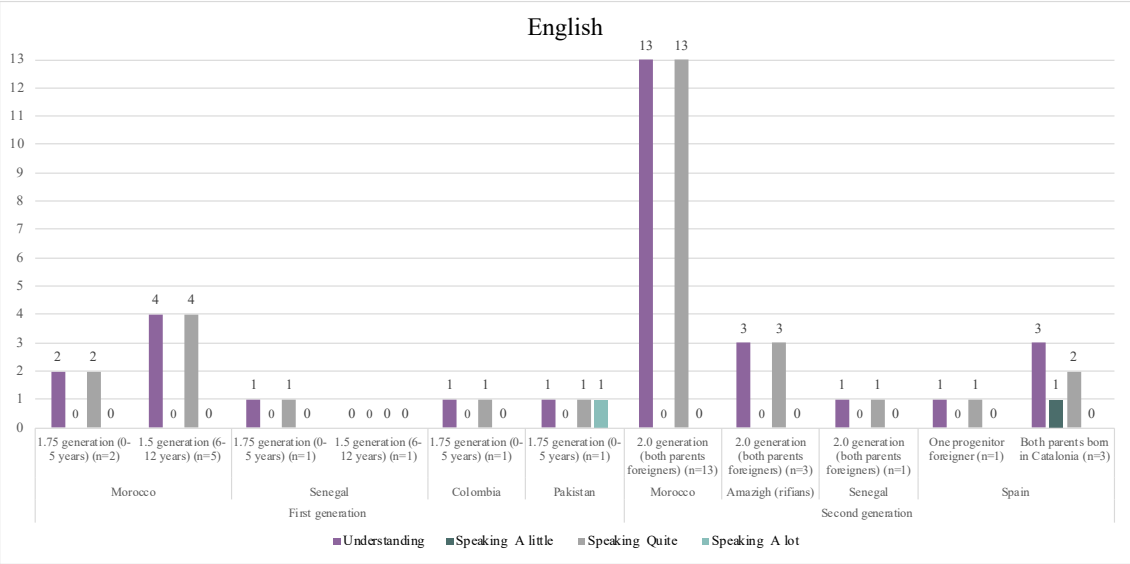
students answered that it was because their mothers did not know how to speak Spanish “Esque mi madre no sabe hablar castellano, si que entiende un poquito[25]” (Noor, 2023). This aligns with the discussions gathered during fieldwork, wherein a significant portion of the teaching staff lamented the prevalent scenario during family meetings: typically, it was the mothers who attended, yet many of them lack proficiency in both Catalan and Spanish. Consequently, teachers often encountered considerable challenges in effective communication, leading to a palpable sense of frustration among the teaching staff,

> Clar, elles venen a les tutories, i tu els hi expliques com va el seu fill, que hauria de millorar la lectura a casa, que a vegades es porta malament… i elles només et diuen sí, sí. I tu els hi preguntes si ho han entès i elles sí, sí. I després fan el que volen perquè no t’han entès[26] (Rosario, 2023).

This aspect was also noted within the Amazigh and Senegalese student groups. Additionally, observations revealed that students occasionally conversed in Spanish with their siblings, showcasing their adaptability in language usage based on the context of the conversation. It is noteworthy that at home, they typically communicated among themselves in their family language, according to what they said.

[25] Author’s translation: My mother doesn't speak Spanish, but she understands a little bit.
[26] Author’s translation: Of course, they come to the tutorials, and you explain to them how their child is doing, that they should improve their reading at home, that sometimes they don't get along well... and they just say yes, yes. And you ask them if they understood and they say yes, yes. And then they do whatever they want because they didn't understand.

Graphic 7.
Understanding and Speaking (Students) - English



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews and observant participation.

As previously mentioned, the expected proficiency level for Catalan among students is lower compared to the other languages studied at school. It is important to note that while the majority may fall within the "quite" category for English proficiency, this does not necessarily indicate a higher level of English compared to Catalan. Rather, it reflects a normative standard expected for children of their age across schools. The social use of English within the neighbourhood is likely similar to that of other public schools in the metropolitan area. Furthermore, upon analysing Annex 2, it is evident that, apart from Ahmed, the students primarily engage in English conversation solely with the school's English teacher.

Interviews conducted revealed, that before the pandemic, ten students participated in extracurricular English classes organized by the school outside of regular hours. However, after the Covid, this initiative was discontinued due to budgetary constraints, resulting in the cessation of financial aid scholarships. Consequently, students no longer had access to these classes and ceased attending. Hence, this suggest that families prioritized their children's English language education, recognizing its utility for their future careers, "Jo 'antes iba' a anglès d'extraescolar

perquè els meus pares volien que aprengués anglès perquè a la universitat ho necessitaré[27]" (Sarah, 2023).

It is particularly significant to examine the case of Ahmed; whose family originates from Pakistan. Both in the interview and during fieldwork, Ahmed displayed a remarkably high level of oral English proficiency, surpassing that of his classmates and the majority of the interviewed teachers, with the sole exception of the English teacher. This proficiency can be attributed to the considerable efforts exerted by his family to facilitate his English learning. Their motivation stems from the necessity for Ahmed to communicate effectively with various family members residing in England, including his paternal aunt, his maternal uncle and her husband and his cousins "I needed to learn English cause' my cousins speak English" (Ahmed, field notes, 2023).

Paradoxically, despite his proficiency surpassing expectations for his age, his tutor undermined this achievement due to his comparatively lower level of Catalan, as observed during the fieldwork,

[The conversation takes place within the context of a writing and presentation activity focused on a news item in Catalan. Ahmed patiently waits his turn to be reviewed and corrected by the teacher]

> Ahmed: Lo he hecho sobre que ha nacido una estrella. Bueno no sé cómo explicarlo bien. Dos estrellas que estaban juntas, pues una explotó y entonces podía crear un… un… es que no sé cómo decirlo en castellano. He visto la noticia en un vídeo de YouTube que estaba en inglés.
>
> Researcher: Puedes explicármelo en inglés si quieres.
>
> Ahmed [In fluent English]: Okay. There were two stars very close to each other. What happened is that one exploded, which is called a supernova. Now what scientist are studying is that it could generate a black hole or a white hole.

[It is his turn, and the teacher starts correcting the text in Catalan]

> Rosario: Ui Ahmed mira quantes faltes, ja hauríem de saber escriure millor [continues reading] Ui a veure crec que has volgut fer una cosa massa complicada. Què és això de la supernova?
>
> Ahemd: És el naixement d'una estrella...

[27] Author's translation: "I used to go to English after school because my parents wanted me to learn English because I will need it at university."

> Rosario [Interrupting him]: Doncs perquè et compliques tant [cross out the sentence in red and write above it "el naixement d'una estrella"]. Mira fes fins aquí perquè t'has embolicat massa i no s'entén [le tacha la última parte de la creación de un agujero negro]. [Ahmed goes to his seat resigned]
> Researcher: L'Ahmed m'ha dit que aquesta noticia l'havia vist en un vídeo del YouTube en anglès… deu tenir un bon nivell d'anglès no?
> Rosario: Sí només parla perquè veu vídeos, no ho sap escriure. Has vist com li costa l'expressió escrita, no té el nivell que hauria de tenir a 5è. No sap expressar-se.[28] (Ahmed and Rosario, field notes, 2023)

This example illustrates how the school context undervalues families' efforts to invest in linguistic and cultural capital beyond Catalan proficiency. What is even more remarkable, as it will be shown in Table 6, is the comparison with the language proficiency of the teaching staff. With the exception of the English teacher, the other educators and staff either lack proficiency in English (3 individuals) or possess only basic skills (5 individuals), rendering them incapable of engaging in English conversations, "Jo l'anglés el 'chapurreo'[29]" (Mario, 2023); "Podriem dir que sé parlar anglés nivell usuari, molt bàsic[30]" (Estela, 2023).

---

[28] Author's translation:

- Ahmed: I made it about a star being born. Well, I don't know how to explain it well. Two stars that were together, so an exploitation and then I could create a... one... I don't know how to say it in English. I saw the news in a YouTube video that was in English.
- Researcher: You can explain it to me in English if you want.
- Ahmed [In fluent English]: Okay. There were two stars very close to each other. What happened is an exploded, which is found in supernova. Now what scientist in studying is that the could generated in black hole or in white hole.

[It is her turn, and the teacher starts correcting the text in Spanish]

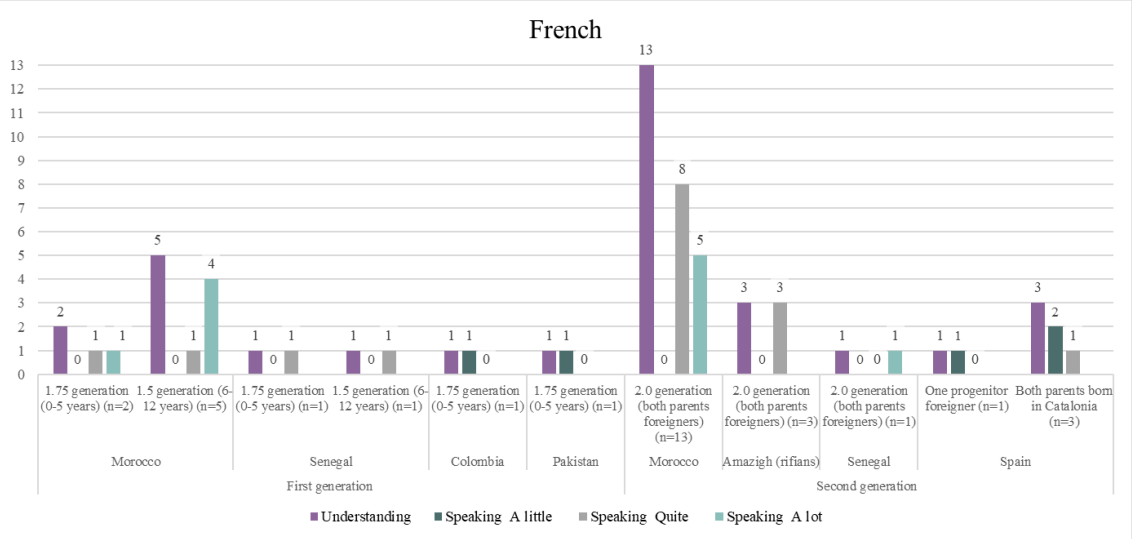
- Rosario: Ui Ahmed look how many mistakes, we should already know how to write better [continues reading] Ui let's see I think you wanted to do something too complicated. What is this about the supernova?
- Ahemd: It's the birth of a...
- Rosario [interrupting him]: Well why are you getting so complicated [cross out the sentence in red and write above it "the birth of a star"]. Look, do this far because you have become too involved and it is not understood [he crosses out the last part of the creation of a black hole]. [Ahmed goes to his seat resigned].
- Researcher: Ahmed told me that he had seen this news in a YouTube video in English... he must have a good level of English, right?
- Rosario: Yes, he only speaks because he watches videos, he doesn't know how to write. You have seen how hard it is for him to express himself in writing, he doesn't have the level he should have in 5th grade. He doesn't know how to express himself.

[29] Author's translation: "I only have a basic grasp of English"

[30] Author's translation: We could say that I can speak English at a user level, very basic"

Graphic 8.

Understanding and Speaking (Students) - French



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews and observant participation.

Graphic 8 describes how Moroccans of 1.5 generation show a relatively higher level of proficiency, with all individuals understanding French and the majority speaking it "a Lot". Other groups in the first generation are observed to have varied levels of proficiency, with some individuals having only basic understanding and speaking abilities. In other first-generation African countries like Senegal, the majority of respondents comprehended and spoke French "quite." Conversely, students from Colombia and/or Pakistan exhibited only a basic proficiency in French, as their exposure to the language is primarily limited to school, as indicated in Annex 2. However, it is noteworthy that students from African countries predominantly communicate in French with family members.

Between second generation, Moroccans showed a high level of understanding, with all individuals in this category having at least a "quite" or "a lot" speaking of French. Referring to Annex 2, we notice that those with elevated oral proficiency in French were the ones who claimed to converse not only with the French teacher at school but also with relatives at home, particularly with peers of the same generation, such as their cousins. Similarly, this applies to Aissatou, the girl from Senegal who exhibits a high level of French proficiency. This can be attributed to the summer seasons she spended in Senegal in order to "aprendre la cultura dels meus pares. Els meus germans i jo, algunes vacances, anem a Senegal amb la meva

família d'allà per aprendre la cultura dels meus pares. Aleshores, allà molta gent parla francès[31]" (Aissatou, field notes, 2023). Among the Amazigh (Rifians) in the second generation, all individuals have a "quite" level of speaking, as they declared not speaking French with any member of their family.

Within the Spanish group, I found that most of them had an "a Little" oral level of the language, with the exception of Adrià, who, seeing that some of his Moroccan classmates were fluent in French, asked his friend Osman to help him with French vocabulary. In return, he helped him with Catalan.

[Osman and Adrià are sitting on a bench during the playground, each one writing in his notebook. I approach and ask them]

- Researcher: Què feu?
- Osman: Els deures [he shows me a Catalan homework sheet that he has between the sheets of his notebook].
- Researcher: Tu també fas els deures Adrià?
- Adrià: Sí, però jo els de francés [he shows me a homework sheet of French vocabulary]
- Researcher: Aa i els feu junts?
- Osman: Sí, jo li ajudo a ell i ell m'ajuda a mi [he continues writting in his notebook]
- Researcher: Anda i això?
- Adrià: Perquè a ell li costa el català i llavors jo li ajudo…
- Osman [interrupting him]: I ti' el francés, i jo t'ajudo a tu.
- Researcher: Qué bé! Així sortiu guanyant els dos![32]

(Osman and Adrià, field notes, 2023)

[31] Author's translation: learn my parents' culture. My brothers and I, some holidays, we go to Senegal with my family there to learn my parents' culture. So many people speak French there

[32] Author's translation:

- Researcher: What are you doing?
- Osman: Homework [he shows me in Catalan homework sheet that he has between the sheets of his notebook].
- Researcher: Do you do your homework too, Adrià?
- Adrià: Yes, but I do French homework [he shows me a homework sheet of French vocabulary].
- Researcher: Aa and you do them together?
- Osman: Yes, I help him and he helps me [he continued writing in his notebook].
- Researcher: Anda and this?
- Adrià: Because he has a hard time with Catalan and so I help him....
- Osman [interrupting him]: And you French, and I help you.
- Researcher: That's great, so you both win!

In conclusion, Graphic 8 illustrates the variance in language acquisition based on language accessibility. Moroccan students and some from Senegal demonstrated higher proficiency in French compared to their peers, likely due to having family members with whom they could converse in the language. Conversely, students originating from countries where French is not widely spoken in society exhibited lower proficiency levels.

The following Graphic 9, 10, and 11 pertain to the languages "Standard Modern Arabic," "Darija," and "Amazigh (Rifian)". I have compiled data based on self-reported knowledge of these languages, as I lack the expertise to independently verify this information. Unsurprisingly, all speakers were among Moroccan groups, both first and second generation, and Amazigh community (Rifian). Therefore, only the most relevant aspects of each language will be described.

The Darija, also known as Moroccan Arabic, is a dialect of Arabic spoken in Morocco. It is part of the Maghrebi Arabic dialect continuum and is characterized by significant influences from Berber, French, Spanish, and Portuguese due to Morocco's history of colonization and cultural exchange. Darija is primarily a spoken language and differs significantly from Standard Modern Arabic in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar, making it sometimes unintelligible to speakers of other Arabic dialects.

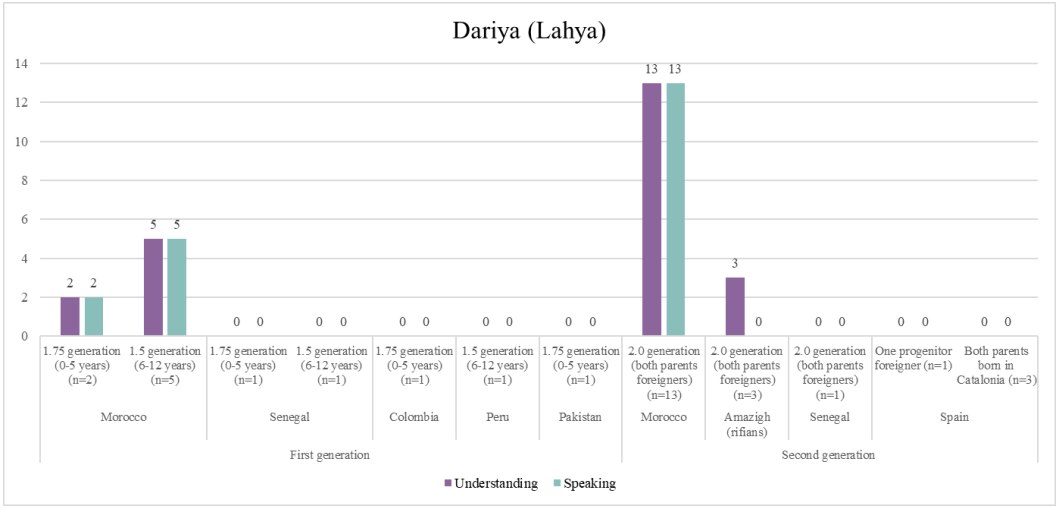
On the contrary, Amazigh, also known as Tamazight or Berber, refers to the family of languages spoken by the indigenous Berber people across North Africa, from Morocco to Egypt. Amazigh languages have gained official status in some countries, such as Morocco, and efforts are being made to revive and promote them through education and media. In these classes, all the students are Rifians, so they speak Tarafit –also known as Rifian or Rif Berber-. This is one of the main varieties of Amazigh languages spoken in Morocco, and it is predominantly used by the berber population in the Rif region –the northern part of the country-.

Finally, Standard Modern Arabic (hereinafter SMA) is the standardized and literary form of Arabic used across the Arab world. It is based on Classical Arabic, the language of the Quran and early Islamic literature, but has been modernized to

accommodate contemporary needs. SMA is the official language of all Arab countries and is used in formal settings, including education, media, literature, and law.

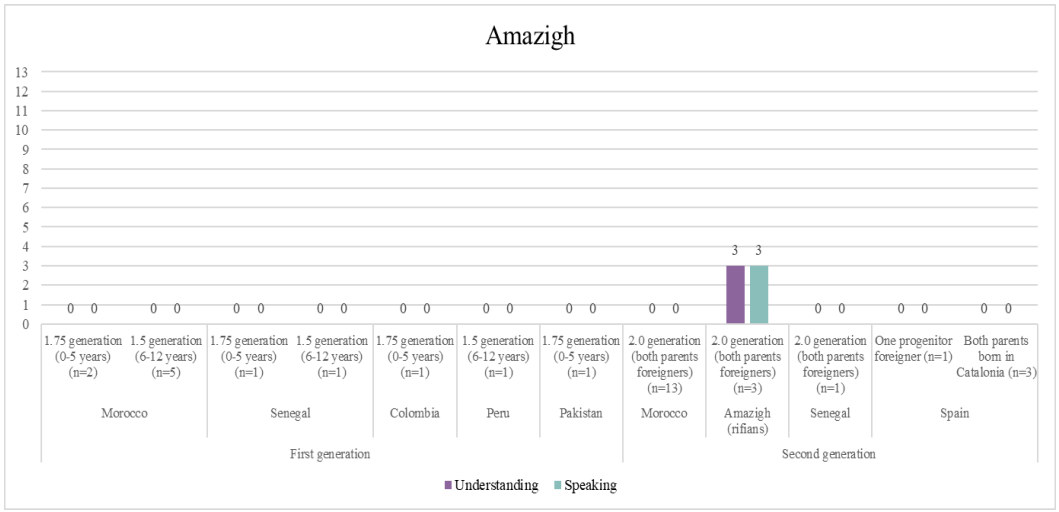
Each of these languages plays a vital role in the cultural and social landscapes of their respective regions. However, some teachers lack knowledge of this diversity and group them all together under the same category.

Graphic 9.
Understanding and Speaking (Students) - Darija.



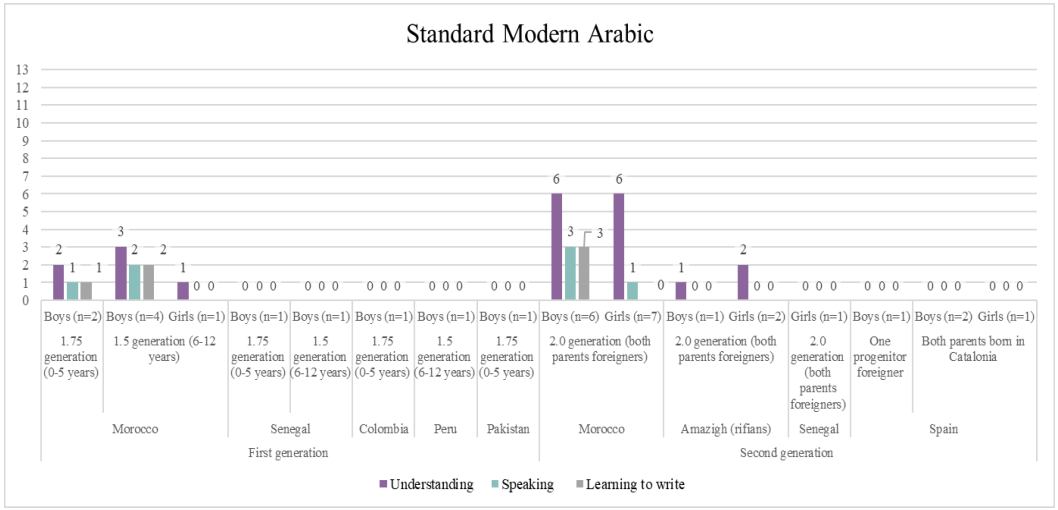
Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews and observant

Graphic 10.
Understanding and Speaking (Students) – Amazigh (Rifian).



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews and observant

Graphic 11.
Understanding and Speaking (Students) - Standard Modern Arabic.



Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews and observant

Analysing Graphic 9, it is evident that all students of first- and second-generation Moroccan origin reported a high proficiency in understanding and speaking Darija. This is supported by data in Annex 2, which indicates that the vast majority of these students frequently used "Moroccan Arabic" when communicating with their parents, siblings, extended family members (especially grandparents), and classmates, “yo en mi casa hablo marroquí con toda mi familia[33]” (Hakim, 2023).

If we examine the Amazigh group in Annex 2, we find that although their mother tongue is Tarafit, as shown in Graphic 10, they said that they had learned Darija due to being in a context where most of their peers spoke it. However, they did not use it in conversation. This phenomenon, as will be explained later, might be attributed to a need for disassociation between Moroccan and Rifian students in certain contexts. Specifically, Moroccan students used Darija as a mechanism of exclusion to deliberately exclude Rifian individuals from the group.

> *[Ibrahim and Ali are having lunch at adjoining tables. They begin arguing about the soccer teams they have organized for their playground game. Ali wants to join Ibrahim's team, but Ibrahim doesn't want Ali on his team, claiming that Ali is too bad]*
>
> - Ibrahim: Tu no juegas con nosotros porque eres malísimo y entonces vamos a perder
> - Ali: ¡¿Qué dices?! Si en el equipo está Mohammed que no sabe ni chutar la pelota *[Mohammed hears this comment and enters the conversation]*
> - Mohammed: Anda, anda, tu cállate la boca que no te queremos en nuestro equipo, pesado.
> - Ibrahim: Sí, además es un equipo de Marroquíes, que somos mejores que vosotros y os vamos a ganar *[the other team is made up of students from different backgrounds*]. Además, tú no eres marroquí, tu eres *Jbala*[34] *[Mohammed and two Moroccan colleagues laugh and start shouting. “Ali Jbala, Ali Jbala].* Además, tu no hablas marroquí [Darija], tu no eres de los nuestros…
>
> *[Ibrahim, Mohammed, and two Moroccan classmates begin speaking Darija among themselves. Ali, feeling excluded, angrily gets up from his chair and leaves the classroom, slamming the door behind him. Concerned, Antonia follows Ali to find out*

[33] Author’s translation: “I speak Moroccan at home with my whole family”.
[34] A derogatory term to refer to Rifians. It refers pejoratively to someone from the mountains, suggesting they are rustic or uneducated.

what happened. When they both return to class, Antonia punishes Ibrahim, Ali, and Mohammed by taking away their playground time]

- Antonia *[speaking in a raised tone of voice and addressing the whole class]* Esque no pot ser… què no sabeu conviure? Es que a vegades sembleu animals. Ali, tu veus normal que si et molesten has de fer el què has fet? Què no saps parlar? *[Ibrahim mumbeling]*
- Ibrahim: No, no sabe *[Mohammed and other colleagues laugh at Ibrahim's comment]*.

- Antonia: Què fa tanta gracia Mohammed? A mi no em fa ni gens ni mica ee que sembleu bebès, potser es que hauríeu d'anar amb i4 *[fourth year of initial cycle]*. Ali, Ibrahim i Mohammed us heu quedat sense pati. Ja podeu utilitzar aquesta estona per pensar en el que ha passat i després del pati m'ho explicareu[35].

(Ali, Ibrahim, Mohammed and Antonia, field notes, 2023).

Thus, within this school context, the (dis)knowledge of Darija and the knowledge of Tarafit became markers of distinction between different groups of students, which were particularly activated or deactivated during times of conflict.

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[35] Author's translation:

[Ibrahim and Ali are having lunch at adjoining tables. They begin arguing about the soccer teams they have organized for their playground game. Ali wants to join Ibrahim's team, but Ibrahim doesn't want Ali on his team, claiming that Ali is too bad]

- Ibrahim: You don't play with us because you suck and then we will lose.
- Ali: What are you saying? If in the team there is Mohammed who doesn't even know how to kick the ball [Mohammed hears this comment and enters the conversation].
- Mohammed: Come on, come on, you shut your mouth, we don't want you in our team, you nuisance.
- Ibrahim: Yes, besides it is a team of Moroccans, we are better than you and we are going to beat you [the other team is made up of students of different origins]. Besides, you are not Moroccan, you are Jbala [Mohammed and two Moroccan teammates laugh and start shouting. "Ali Jbala, Ali Jbala"]. Besides, you don't speak Moroccan [Darija], you're not one of us....

[Ibrahim, Mohammed and two Moroccan companions start speaking Darija among themselves. Ali, who feels excluded, gets up angrily from his chair and slams the door of the classroom. Concerned, Antonia follows Ali to find out what has happened. When they both return to class, Antonia punishes Ibrahim, Ali and Mohammed by taking away their recess time].

- Antonia [speaking in raised tone of voice and addressing the whole class] It can't be... you don't know how to live together? Sometimes you seem animals. Ali, do you think it's normal that if they bother you, you have to do what you did? You don't know how to talk? [Ibrahim mumbeling]
- Ibrahim: No, he doesn't [Mohammed and other colleagues laugh at Ibrahim's comment].
- Antonia: What's so funny Mohammed? It's not even funny to me, you look like babies, maybe you should go to i4 [fourth year of initial cycle]. Ali, Ibrahim and Mohammed are punished without playground. You can use this time to think about what happened and after the playground we will talk about it].

Continuing, it is interesting to observe how, in this context where the majority were Moroccan, Darija became a marker of prestige among students. There was a noticeable tendency, especially among male students of Moroccan origin, to assert their Muslim identity through the use of Arabic. An example from the field diary illustrates this: during a discussion between Mohamed, a Moroccan-origin student and Ángel, student from Peru, Mohamed began speaking in Arabic, which provoked laughter from the other classmates because the Peruvian boy did not understand. However, this predisposition has not been observed among the girls of Moroccan origin, who appeared to be more receptive to learning and using Catalan or Spanish. In this setting, Darija also took on a "secret language" dimension, as students used it among themselves when they did not want to be understood by others for various reasons. This dynamic highlights how language serves both as a tool for inclusion within a specific group and as a means of exclusion from the broader student body.

On the other hand, Graphic 11 shows that SMA is understood by almost all students of Moroccan and Amazigh (Rifian) origin. However, differences in communication ability reveal interesting nuances. Among the Moroccan 1.5 generation—students who were socialized in Morocco until at least the age of six and attended school there—many reported being able to speak and write in SMA. In contrast, within the second-generation Moroccan group, only three children reported being able to speak SMA, and these were the same children who were learning to write in Arabic at the mosque. Notably, interviews with students indicate that only male children were allowed to attend the mosque for this purpose "A mi padre me lleva a la mezquita a aprender el Corán y el árabe […] sólo vamos los chicos y nos enseñan a escribir y eso[36]" (Hassan, 2023). Despite this constraint, Nadia, the second-generation Moroccan girl who was assisting her mother in learning Catalan, mentioned that she was learning to write in SMA as her mother

[36] Author's translation: "My father takes me to the mosque to learn the Koran and Arabic [...] only the boys go and they teach us how to write and stuff".

taught her at home. Finally, it should be noted that within the group of Amazigh people (Rifians), they only claimed to understand the SMA.

While the languages mentioned above represent those spoken by at least more than two individuals in these classes, some students possess additional language skills. For instance, Ali mentioned that he communicated in Urdu with his parents and was currently teaching himself Japanese alongside his brother, "amb el meu germà estem aprenent japonès a través de veure vídeos[37]" (Ali, 2023). Conversely, Mamadou and Demba, the first-generation Senegalese boys, stated proficiency in Wolof and Fula, respectively.

Table 6.
Linguistic knowledge of teachers and school staff

School Staff				Catalan			Spanish			English					French				
				Understanding	Speaking	Writing	Understanding	Speaking	Writing	Understanding	Speaking			Writing	Understanding	Speaking			Writing
											A little	Quite	A lot			A little	Quite	A lot	
Class tutors	Fifth grade	Line A	Antonia	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
		Line B	Rosario	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sixth grade	Line A	Estela	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
		Line B	Mario	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
		Line C	Sofia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
School Principal			Carme	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	X	-	X
English teacher			Olivia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Teacher of Special Needs			Lorena	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Worker			Marisol	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: Author's elaboration based on the interviews.

Table 6 shows the linguistic knowledge of teachers and school staff interviewed, and as mentioned earlier, their linguistic diversity is noticeably lower than that of the fifth-grade students. While they demonstrated a higher proficiency in Catalan and Spanish, likely due to their training as primary school educators and their older age, their knowledge of "foreign" languages was significantly lower. Despite this discrepancy, they were not evaluated based on what they did not know, from a deficit perspective. Conversely, it was observed that with students from migrant backgrounds, all their linguistic knowledge was often undervalued and side-lined because their proficiency in Catalan was lower than it should be. Rather than

[37] Author's translation: "My brother and I are learning Japanese by watching videos".

adopting a perspective of success and acknowledging the additional knowledge that fifth-grade students bring, they were often evaluated based on what they lack.

It is crucial to consider here the reflection on how the evaluation criteria for linguistic competencies in subjects considered "foreign languages" for native students take into account the specificities of their family environment. For instance, a native student whose mother tongue is not English or French will likely have a lower proficiency level in these languages, as they are learning them for the first time in school. In other words, native students are afforded a wider learning margin in relation to "foreign languages" as it is understood that they are in the process of acquiring them. Conversely, it is often overlooked that Catalan, in contexts where it is neither spoken nor socially used, as is the case in the neighbourhood of these students, could be considered a "foreign language" for students of migrant origins. As discussed earlier, both "native" and "second-generation" students have similar opportunities to practice English or French— in the case of "natives"—and Catalan—for the children of immigrant families. Would not it be more equitable to regard Catalan as a foreign language for those students whose language acquisition primarily occurs within the school environment, similar to how French and English are treated for "native" students?

Returning to the deficit and success perspective, it was noted that although the production level of Catalan among fifth-grade students was lower than expected, their comprehension level was remarkably high. Nevertheless, some teachers in the school persisted in applying a deficit perspective to these students due to their lower production skills, consistently labelling them as "learners": “Clar aquests nens passaran a l’ESO amb un nivell de català justíssim, i ja veurem allà com s’ho fan, perquè van molt malament, encara estan aprenent a escriure i formar frases més complexes... que això ja ho haurien de tenir assumit[38]” (Rosario, 2023).

[38] Author’s translation: “Of course, these children will go to ESO with a very poor level of Catalan, and we will see how they do there, because they are doing very badly, they are still learning to write and to form more complex sentences... they should have assumed this”.

Despite this, teachers were aware of the socioeconomic constraints faced by these children, which ultimately restricted their language acquisition opportunities. These limitations included the absence of social exposure to Catalan in their residential neighbourhoods or the fact that during the pandemic, these students had minimal contact with Catalan for almost a year, as other languages were predominantly spoken in their households,

> Quan va ser la pandèmia, aquests nens i nenes pensa que estaven tancats sense gairebé escoltar ni una paraula en català. Només estaven en contacte amb la llengua quan ens connectàvem una hora a fer classe, i amb això no és suficient. A més, amb ells *[fifth grade students]* els hi va coincidir que era l'etapa on havien de consolidar la lecto-escriptura en català[39] (Antonia, 2023).

The persistence of the idea of group formation based on what is not known can be observed in different contexts and levels within the educational and social environment. This phenomenon manifests itself both vertically, in the relationship between teacher and student, and horizontally, between peers. Below, this idea is expanded on in both axes:

Vertical Group Formation: Teacher-Student

In the teacher-student relationship, group formation based on unfamiliarity was observed to present itself in several ways:

Knowledge distribution

The teacher, in his or her role as an expert, possesses the knowledge that the students need to acquire. The dynamics of teaching was based on the teacher identifying what knowledge and skills the learners lack and organizing his or her teaching to fill those gaps. Within this section we observed what have been termed "good language practices" and "bad language practices".

[39] Author's translation: "When it was the pandemic, these children were locked up without hardly hearing a word in Catalan. They were only in contact with the language when we went online for an hour to teach, and this is not enough. In addition, with them [fifth grade students] it coincided that this was the stage in which they had to consolidate reading and writing in Catalan".

As evidenced by photographs 5, 6, and 7 captured during participant observation, the school corridors are adorned with the poster depicted in Photo 5. This poster, created by the Department of Education of the Generalitat de Catalunya, promoted a multilingual, plural, and inclusive school environment. It purported to embrace linguistic diversity by designating Catalan as the tuition language of instruction, while purportedly respecting the linguistic diversity of all students. However, contrasting practices was observed between the fifth and sixth grade cohorts.

On one hand, what has been categorized as "good linguistic practices" was observed during participant observation with the sixth-grade teachers. On several occasions, it was noted that if a student struggled to understand a concept in Catalan, the tutor encouraged their classmates to translate it into other languages, including Spanish, Darija, Amazigh, or French. Additionally, the promotion of the linguistic value of mother tongues was evident in various activities. For instance, in the sixth-grade A classroom, as depicted in Photo 7, students were tasked with composing a sentence in the languages they known. Similarly, in sixth-grade B, while studying Al-Andalus[40] in history, for homework, the tutor assigned students the task of translating various Catalan terms of Arabic origin with the assistance of their parents into their respective mother tongues. In class, each student verbally shared their translations. Through these straightforward exercises, students recognized the practicality and significance of their familiar linguistic knowledge, "*[A girl says to Mario, the sixth grade tutor]* La meva mare i jo ens ho em passat molt bé fent els deures, perquè ella en sabia molt i m'ha enssenyat. I ha sigut guai' escoltar els idiomes dels altres companys perquè molts s'assemblen molt[41]" (Yamila, field notes, 2023).

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[40] Al-Andalus was the name given by Muslims to the part of the Iberian Peninsula that was under Islamic rule from 711 to 1492. During this period, Al-Andalus experienced a notable cultural, scientific, and artistic flourishing, with influences from Arab, Jewish, and Christian cultures. It was a place of coexistence and conflict among the three cultures, leaving a lasting architectural, linguistic, and gastronomic legacy in the region.

[41] Author's translation: "My mom and I had a great time doing the homework, because she knew a lot and taught me. And it was cool to hear the languages of the other classmates because many of them are very similar to each other".

On the contrary, "bad linguistic practices" were observed, particularly in the fifth-grade classrooms, those that did not allow linguistic flexibility among students. Upon analysing Photo 6, explicit signs were evident in the fifth-grade classrooms, instructing students to "speak in a language that everyone knows," referring to Catalan. While these classroom directives did not explicitly devalue other languages, teachers often reprimanded students whenever they heard them speaking "Arabic," grouping Darija, Amazigh, and SMA together under the same category. This reproach implied that students had to refrain from speaking these languages at school because their teachers could not understand what they were saying, “Hakim ja saps que a l’escola no es parla àrab perquè després venen els problemes i us baralleu i no sabem que ha passat[42]” (Antonia, field notes, 2023). Another example of bad linguistic practices is the persistent application of a language deficit approach. When I queried about the languages spoken by their students, the fifth-grade teachers responded with... “Es que no saben parlar…. Anem super malament de temari, encara estem donant coses de primer perquè no tenen el nivell[43]” (Rosario, field notes, 2023).

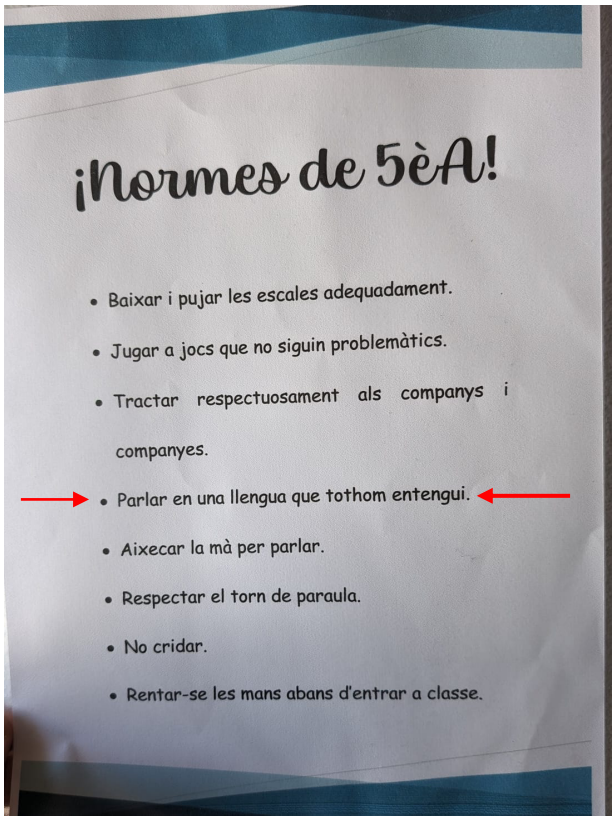
In conclusion, as the poster in Photo 5 shows, while linguistic diversity seems to be celebrated within school, it often operates under the monolingual ideology of Catalan, occupying hierarchical positions, as illustrated in the image. However, there remains a degree of flexibility within the classrooms, which ultimately results in what has been categorized as both "good linguistic practices" and "bad linguistic practices".

[42] Author’s translation: “Hakim you know that in the school you can't speak Arabic because then problems come and we don't know what happened”.
[43] Author’s translation: “They just don’t know how to speak… We're really behind in the curriculum; we're still covering first-grade topics because they don't have the level".

Photo 5.
Poster of "L'escola en català" (School in Catalan) made by the Department of Education of the Generalitat de Catalunya and hung in the corridors of the Wave school.

Note: Author's authorship

Photo 1.
Fifth line A class rules



Note: Author's authorship

Photo 7.
Mural of sixth line A "les nostres llengües properes" (Our close languages)

Note: Author's authorship

Group differentiation

Students were sorted into groups according to their level of knowledge or skills. For instance, students with lower proficiency levels were assigned to another classroom with an assistant teacher to receive instruction separately. This grouping was determined by identifying what the students did not know and what they needed to learn at each level. On one hand, this approach offered benefits, as it allowed for a reduction in the number of students per classroom, enabling the class tutor to provide more individualized attention to each student. However, on the other hand, it leaded to stigmatization and division among student groups. Similar dynamics were observed in newcomers' classrooms, as outlined in the subsequent section, where reinforcement groups were also formed based on the identification of students in need of additional support in specific subjects.

Horizontal groups formation: Peer to peer

In peer dynamics, group formation based on unfamiliarity also played a crucial role.

Collaborative learning

Students often formed study groups where they shared what they knew and, more importantly, what they did not know. This collaboration allowed students to learn from each other, filling knowledge gaps collectively.

The dynamics of peer tutoring is an example where students more advanced in some subjects helped their peers with subjects that the latter had difficulties with, with the counterpart that the latter then helped them in other subjects. Such as the ethnographic example described above of Osman and Adrià helping each other with their French and Catalan homework, or the group of friends who decided to start speaking Catalan among themselves.

Exclusion from membership through lack of knowledge of language

Within the classrooms, students assumed specific roles based on their strengths and/or weaknesses. By identifying what skills or knowledge certain members

lacked, the group excluded that person. Previously described was the example between Ibrahim and Ali, that how Ibrahim considered that Ali did not have the soccer skills necessary to go in his group, he used the card of language, specifically lack of knowledge of Darija, combined with other identity elements, to exclude him from his team. It should be noted that in all the ethnographic examples collected, this mechanism of inclusion and exclusion of members was always activated in moments of conflict between members.

Thus, the formation of groups based on what is not known was a frequent phenomenon in the learning and socialization process of the school studied. Both in vertical relationships, such as teacher-student, and in horizontal ones, among equals, this dynamic facilitated the generation of groups where different members could be linked, but at the same time generated mechanisms of exclusion and hierarchization among members.

ii. Religion

In these classes, a fascinating intersection between religion and cultural identity was observed, where students used religion as a category to construct identity groups, but this category was intertwined with other aspects of identity. In particular, one could notice how students from different religious backgrounds, such as Moroccan, Pakistani, and Spanish, approached and negotiated their identity in relation to their religious faith. It should be explained that at the time this fieldwork information was collected, Angel, the Peruvian child, had not yet arrived, so he has been excluded in this section.

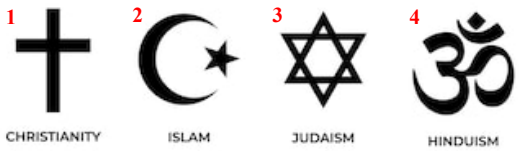
In the case of Moroccan students, religion, Islam, played a central role in the construction of their identity. For all of them, identification as Muslim was an integral part of who they were. Religious practice, such as observance of Islamic rituals and mosque attendance, was an important aspect of their daily lives. However, it is important to note that Moroccan identity was not limited to religion alone; it was also influenced by the country's culture, language, and shared history. In addition, some Islam students, such as Rifian, did not identify with Moroccan students due to their specific ethnicity, which added another layer to their identity.

Especially for Islamic students, their identification with religion played a crucial role in shaping their identity. This was evident from observations during fieldwork, such as during the half-hour of free reading before class, when Ibrahim, Salma, Estrella, and Mamadou were looking at a book on symbolism. Specifically, they were examining the page of symbols representing major religions.

- Researcher: Què feu?
- Salma: Estem mirant les religions que som a clase.
- Ibrahim: Mira nosaltres [Moroccans] *somos [points to the symbol of the Islamic religion (symbol 2 of photo 8)]* aunque Mamadou, que es de Senegal, també. L'Estrella i la Rosario són aquest *[points to the symbol of the Christian religion (symbol 1 of photo 8)]*.
- Estrella: Y el Ahmed es *este [points to the symbol of Hinduism (symbol 4 of photo 8)]*.
- Ibrahim: I tu Laura, també ets aquest *[points to the Christian symbol]*.
- Researcher: Però jo no crec en cap religió.
- Ibrahim: No pot ser. Tu has de ser aquesta *[again pointing to the Christian symbol]*.
- Mamadou: Todos tenemos somos alguno[44].

(Ibrahim, Salma, Estrella and Mamadou, field notes, 2023)

Photo 2.
Symbols of major religions



Note: Photo from Freepik

[44] Author's translation:
- Researcher: What are you doing?
- Salma: We are looking at the religions we are in class.
- Ibrahim: Look we [Moroccans] are this [points to the symbol of the Islamic religion (symbol 2 of photo 8)] although Mamadou, who is from Senegal, is also this. Estrella and Rosario are this [points to the symbol of the Christian religion (symbol 1 of photo 8)].
- Estrella: And Ahmed is this one [points to the symbol of Hinduism (symbol 4 of photo 8)].
- Ibrahim: And you Laura, you are also this one [points to the Christian symbol].
- Researcher: But I don't believe in any religion.
- Ibrahim: No way. You must be this one [again pointing to the Christian symbol].
- Mamadou: We all have some.

In the classroom, these religious identities were intertwined with other aspects of identity, such as nationality, ethnicity and language. Students formed groups based on their shared religion, but they also found affinities with other students who shared specific aspects of their cultural or linguistic identity. In addition, religious identities in these classrooms were not seen as flexible and negotiable, as students could not adapt or choose their religious affiliation based on their environment and social interactions. This affiliation responded to the religious stereotypes attributed to the national identity, thus, for "Moroccans", "Rifians" and "Senegalese" students took for granted that they were Muslims, for "Spaniards and/or Catalans" and "Colombians" they must have been Christians, and for Pakistanis they must have been Hindus. In this sense, religion acted as an important but dynamic component in the construction of students' identity in this multicultural and diverse context.

In closing, the section on identity construction reveals that both students and teachers activate various identification mechanisms depending on the context and their immediate need for bonding, leading to the formation of flexible identity groups. While some categories, such as religion, gender, or age, generally tend to manifest in impermeable and exclusive ways, there are notable exceptions. For most actors in this school, activating an identity characteristic within a category cannot be complementary to another characteristic of the same category, as the purpose of this activation is to differentiate themselves from others and thus form a desired group. For example, fifth-grade students see it as impossible to be both Muslim and Christian simultaneously.

However, other categories, such as national identity or language, exhibit greater complementarity between the identity characteristics of each category. As previously observed, there are instances where individuals identify with both "Moroccan" and "Spanish" nationalities, although some see these identities as mutually exclusive. This dual identification highlights the complexity and fluidity of identity construction among students, reflecting their ability to navigate and reconcile multiple facets of their identities in a multicultural environment. This nuanced understanding underscores the need for a more informed and sensitive

approach by educators, recognizing and valuing the diverse and multifaceted identities of their students.

iii. Discourses of citizenship and belonging

This section delves into the discourses of citizenship and belonging among fifth-grade students. It will explore how students from diverse cultural backgrounds perceive and express their sense of belonging and citizenship within the school environment.

Self-perception

On one hand, the Moroccan group encompassing both first and second-generation students, tended to group together. Although it was not a homogeneous group due to the diversity of self-perceptions, a noticeable trend was observed, particularly among male students. The vast majority of first and second-generation male students displayed a direct and tangible connection to Morocco. However, in the case of the second generation, when they were asked where they were from, they frequently mentioned they were born in Spain but they expressed their belonging to the Moroccan group, emphasizing cultural differences between their group and others, thereby reinforcing their Moroccan identity.

[In a conservation between Ismael and Nixon].

- Ismael: A ti Nixon, no te gusta el té porque no eres marroquí, a nosotros *[the Moroccan]* nos gusta mucho el te.
- Researcher *[intentionally asks Ismael]:* A pero si a mi me gusta mucho el te, ¿entonces soy marroquí?
- Ismael *[laughing]:* ¡Nooo! Tu eres cristiana, como el Nixon.
- Nixon: Sí, porque comemos cerdo [mocks him imitating the sound of a pig]
- Ismael *[laughing]:* ¡Aaa que asco! ¡haram! ¡haram![45]

[45] Author's translation:

- Ismael: You Nixon, you don't like tea because you are not Moroccan, we [the Moroccan] like tea very much.
- Researcher [intentionally asks Ismael]: A but if I like tea a lot, then I am Moroccan?
- Ismael [laughing]: Nooo! You are Christian, like Nixon.
- Nixon: Yes, because we eat pork [mocks him imitating the sound of a pig].
- Ismael [laughing]: Aaa, Disgusting! haram! haram!

(Ismael and Nixon, field notes, 2023).

These discourses, as illustrated in the earlier conversation, were often intertwined with other identity elements, such as religion for Moroccan students. For those who rigidly identified with a "pure" Moroccan identity, the imagined community of Morocco served as a strong referent and emotional anchor. This connection helped them navigate an environment that frequently reminded them they were "outsiders" and did not fully belong. In this school context, the idea of an imagined community manifested as a sense of belonging to a broader cultural group that transcends geographical boundaries.

Continuing with the first-generation group, both Ahmed, the Pakistani-born student, Nixon, the boy from Colombia, and Demba and Mamadou, the Senegalese boys, reaffirmed their identities of origin. However, unlike the Moroccan group, it was not insulting for them if they were not identified as they perceived themselves. As minorities, unlike the larger Moroccan group, they often needed to blur their national identities to integrate and find a place within the school community. On the other hand, second-generation students, especially Moroccan, Rifian, and Senegalese girls, tended to have a more hybrid view of their identity. While they also identified with Moroccan, Rifian, or Senegalese culture, they were acutely aware that they were born and raised in a country that is physically and culturally different from that of their parents. This awareness leaded them to develop a dual sense of belonging. Noor, a second-generation Moroccan student, commented in an interview, “Mis padres son de Marruecos y yo también me siento marroquí, aunque haya nacido aquí. Pero también soy española porque tengo mi vida aquí[46]” (Noor, 2023).

The imagined community for these students was often more complex and multifaceted. They not only imagined a community of origin but also identified with the community of their parents' host country, where they were born and grew

[46] Author’s translation: “My parents are from Morocco and I also feel Moroccan, even though I was born here. But I am also Spanish because I have my life here”.

up. This dual belonging sometimes generated tensions, particularly with the more "rigid" Moroccan members described earlier, who reproached them for this perceived ambiguity.

Finally, among the students who had at least one parent born in Spain, although they were a minority in these classes, there was significant internal diversity. Estrella, a girl of Roma ethnicity, and Mario considered themselves Spanish and rejected the idea of being linked to Catalan identity. Estrella, in particular, did not openly claim her Roma heritage due to negative perceptions from other classmates and teachers. She explained, "Yo soy española [she is asked where her parents are from] mis padres también son españoles, gitanos españoles. Pero a mi no me gusta decir mucho que soy gitana en el cole porque no lo entienden y me hacen burlas[47]" (Estrella, 2023).

On the other hand, Adrià identified as Catalan as he supported the independence of Catalonia. He became upset when defined as Spanish. Marcel, whose mother is Brazilian and his father is Catalan, also feels Catalan rather than Spanish, although he did not mind being perceived as Spanish. He mentioned in the interview that he felt somewhat Brazilian, which was why he was learning Brazilian Portuguese to feel closer to his mother's heritage: "[…] una miqueta sí que em considero brasileño' i ara que estic aprenent el portuguès ho seré més[48]" (Marcel, 2023).

Other's perception

- Students

As observed in the previously sections, students accurately identified the national group to which each member belonged. This identification often aligned closely with the self-perception of the individuals, as students were aware of and generally respect each other's self-identifications. However, as previously mentioned,

[47] Author's translation: "I am Spanish [she is asked where her parents are from] my parents are also Spanish, Spanish Romas. But I don't like to say much that I am Gypsy at school because they don't understand and they make fun of me"
[48] Author's translation: "Something I do consider myself Brazilian' and now that I am learning Portuguese, I will be even more so".

tensions arose within certain groups, particularly among Moroccan girls. Some rigid Moroccan students did not accept that their peers felt an ambiguity between Moroccan national identity and Catalan or Spanish identity. Consequently, they reproached these peers for not fully aligning with the Moroccan group.

This issue of contested identity was not limited to Moroccan girls. It was a broader phenomenon seen across different cultural groups within the school. For instance, students like Adrià, who identified strongly with Catalan independence, faced similar challenges when his identity was questioned or when he was labelled as Spanish. These tensions highlight the complex interplay between national identity and personal self-perception in a multicultural school environment. Moreover, this identity ambiguity often leaded to conflicts and misunderstandings. For example, students with hybrid identities found themselves caught between two worlds, feeling pressure to conform to the expectations of both their cultural heritage and their current social environment. This duality was a source of stress and isolation, as they sometimes felt they did not fully belong to either group.

- School staff

For the teachers at this school, despite the fact that the vast majority of students were born in Catalonia, they still categorized them as part of the "others" group based on the nationality of their parents. This created a barrier that separated "us" (students without international migrant origins), to which the teachers belong, from the "others" (students with international migrant origins or from ethnic minorities). This division was evident on the first day of fieldwork when teachers introduced me to the fifth-grade classes, emphasizing the low representation of students like themselves: “Ui, estaràs a cinquè? Ja veuràs, no hi ha cap alumne d’aquí” (Lorena, field notes, 2023)[49]; “A cinquè A només hi ha dos nois d’aquí… i a cinquè B no en tenim cap! Tots són de fora![50]” (Rosario, field notes, 2023).

[49] Author’s translation: Ui, will you be in fifth? You will see, there are no students from here
[50] Author’s translation: In fifth A there are only two boys from here... and in fifth B we have none! They are all from outside!

These quotes reveal a deeper division between groups that extends beyond the students' real national identity. As described in the section on the sample, the information provided by these teachers was inaccurate. Many of the students labelled as "outsiders" were actually born in Catalonia and those who the vast majority of those who had migrated had spent the majority of their lives here. This labelling overlooks their true backgrounds and experiences. Additionally, it is noteworthy how even students like Estrella, who was of Roma ethnicity and had no close migratory background, was excluded from these categories.

However, it is important to recognize that only a few individuals, like Marisol, the social worker, and Carme, the school principal who was also an anthropologist, accurately acknowledge the ethnic and cultural diversity within these classes. This suggests that within the school, only those teachers who had been trained to be sensitive to sociocultural diversity refrained from roughly categorizing students into groups based on perceived "otherness". This underscores the need for greater awareness and education among educators to foster inclusivity and understanding in the school environment.

In summary, among the teachers interviewed, it was observed that within the category of students they consider as "outsiders," they made national divisions while overlooking the internal differences within each group. For instance, under the broad category of "Moroccan," they grouped Moroccan students, both first and second generation, along with Rifians. It is unclear whether this grouping is due to ignorance of the distinctions between Rifians and Moroccans or if it was intentional. Similarly, under the category of "Africans," they grouped first and second-generation Senegalese students, and previously, they also included a Cameroonian student in this category. Although they were aware of the distinction between these countries, they used the general label "Africans" when referring to them. Other groups with only one member within the classroom were not grouped under any national identity, as there was only one member per group.

In essence, teachers, through the activation of various identity markers, ended up creating identity boundaries between different national groups within the classroom. This led to misunderstandings and conflicts when these categorizations did not align with the self-perception of the students. As described earlier in the discussion between the Moroccan student and the Rifian student, this mismatch in categorization exacerbated tensions and hindered social cohesion within the classroom. It is worth noting that students tended to utilize available information more accurately than most school staff. They demonstrated a more nuanced understanding and management of their cultural and linguistic identities, drawing on personal knowledge and experiences to navigate and mediate in a diverse environment. This standed in contrast to the tendency of school staff to apply simplistic categorizations that failed to capture the complexity of students' identities. It highlights the importance of a more informed and sensitive approach by educators, one that recognizes and respects the diverse backgrounds and identities of their students.

In conclusion, the way national and cultural identities were navigated within the school setting had significant implications for social cohesion and individual well-being. Acknowledging and respecting the diverse and complex identities of all students is essential in creating an inclusive and supportive educational environment. Encouraging open dialogue about identity and promoting cultural awareness help mitigate conflicts and build a more harmonious school community.

c. Stratification within groups

In this section, we will discuss how certain institutional categories, such as newcomers' creates stratification and hierarchies among students. This category, although was created with the intention of offering additional support and resources, often ended up establishing divisions within the student body. The following will explain how this designation affect the social dynamics and relationships among students, perpetuating inequalities and stigmatization, and contributing to the formation of subgroups with different levels of recognition and value within the school environment.

i. Newcomers' classroom

The newcomer's classroom was a specialized space in the school designed to support newly arrived students from other countries in their academic, linguistic, and social adaptation. Upon arrival, students were assessed to determine their proficiency in the tuition language. Based on the results, those needing language reinforcement were assigned to the newcomer's classroom. They could remain in this classroom for up to two years, with the possibility of extending to a third year if it was necessary. At Wave School, almost all students who joined the newcomers' classroom during the middle or upper cycles tended to extend their stay for this additional third year.

Unfortunately, during the fieldwork, it was not possible to carry out observations inside the newcomers' classroom. Nevertheless, its influence on the creation of hierarchies among fifth graders was observed, focusing on physical separation and its impact on social and academic dynamics. Therefore, the following analysis is based on signs observed in the regular classroom.

During the observation in fifth grade classrooms, several key aspects that contribute to the formation of hierarchies were identified:

- Physical separation

Students assigned to the newcomers' classroom spent a significant portion of the day outside of the regular classrooms, which limited their interactions with the rest of their peers. This physical separation led to host students being seen as "different" or "less capable" by their peers, reinforcing negative stereotypes and fostering exclusion, due to the fact that other peers perceive that these students had lower academic abilities, not only in the tuition language, Catalan, but this deficit was extended to other subjects by the simple fact of having to go to the newcomers'

classroom. As could be gathered in different conversations, “El Mamadou ha d’anar a l’aula d’acollida perquè no sap res[51]” (Yara, field notes, 2023).

- Biased perception of the student's capabilities; infantilization of the student.

In this way, both students and teachers ended up devaluing the prior knowledge of the students in the newcomers’ classroom. The skills and experiences these students brought, such as fluency in other languages or rich cultural backgrounds, were often not recognized or valued by their peers and teachers. Additionally, the academic resources provided tended to infantilize these students, as the materials were often not age-appropriate. Instead of adapting content to their developmental stage, teachers distributed educational material designed for lower grades, ignoring the students' interests and needs.

For example, during a natural sciences activity, the teacher gave Mamadou a vocabulary sheet of Catalan words meant for first-year primary students. The task involved colouring pictures (lion, house, stairs, table, etc.) and writing their names in Catalan next to them. When Hakim saw the sheet, he laughed at Mamadou, saying it was an activity for small children. Antonia scolded Hakim, reminding him not to laugh at his classmates, and explained to me that she had used a first-grade activity because she hadn't had time to adapt it for Mamadou. This was due to her workload in preparing activities and classes for other students. This example illustrates how, despite their best intentions, teachers ended up infantilizing these students due to a lack of resources. Moreover, the heavy focus on learning Catalan caused delays in other subjects. Instead of engaging with new material in natural sciences, as shown in the example, students spent their time on basic language acquisition activities.

[51] Author’s translation: “Mamadou has to go to the newcomers’ classroom because he doesn’t know nothing”

- Power dynamics

Another characteristic observed was the different power dynamics among newly arrived students, which varied depending on their country of origin. Students from Morocco or Latin American countries did not tend to establish hierarchical relationships among their peers. A plausible explanation for this will be explained in the discussion section. This created a differentiation in perception between students and teachers, as described in the section on languages. While students did not view the lack of Catalan proficiency as making someone inferior—due to their own perception of the social usefulness of Catalan—teachers considered it an important deficit. Interestingly, if a newly arrived student is from Morocco, even if they did not speak Catalan or Spanish, communication was not a problem because the vast majority of students understand Darija (see Graphic 9). These students were usually better received by the rest of the class because the "Moroccans," who were the majority, identified them as part of their own group.

Despite these two exceptions, other students who came to the newcomers' classroom often assumed secondary roles. Examples of this hierarchical positioning include group activities where these students were frequently excluded or assigned less meaningful tasks, perpetuating their subordinate position within the school context. Additionally, these power dynamics were unconsciously reinforced by teachers who referred to newcomer students in terms that implied deficits or a constant need for help, rather than recognizing their strengths and capabilities.

Possible consequences

Although the impacts of this stigmatization on the identity and self-esteem of newcomer students have not been explored in depth, the physical separation from the regular classroom and the resulting hierarchization affected the identity and self-esteem of some of these students, especially those who did not speak Darija or Spanish. Feeling excluded or being seen as less capable could negatively impact their confidence and motivation to fully participate in school life.

In conclusion, the existence of the newcomers' classroom in the studied school, although well-intentioned, contributed to the creation of hierarchies and divisions among fifth-grade students. This physical and social separation reinforced the perception of difference and distance between newcomer students and their peers, perpetuating negative stereotypes and fostering exclusion. By separating newcomer students from the rest of the class, their ability to fully participate in school life, both academically and socially, was limited, which could negatively affect their self-esteem and sense of belonging. Additionally, these hierarchical dynamics impacted not only the newcomer students but also influenced relationships among all students, creating a less cohesive and collaborative school environment. Teachers' perceptions of newcomer students' abilities and needs also played a crucial role in this stratification, as comments and attitudes that emphasized differences rather than similarities reinforced the division.

5. Discussion

In this section, we will connect the findings of our ethnographic study with the existing literature on transnational youth in school, identity building, and the role of language and other markers of distinction, such as newcomers' classrooms. Previous research has highlighted the complex dynamics faced by transnational youth in educational settings, emphasizing the challenges and opportunities in identity formation and the significant impact of language as both a barrier and a bridge in their academic and social lives. The concept of newcomers' classrooms has been scrutinized for its role in either facilitating integration or perpetuating segregation and hierarchical distinctions among students. This discussion aims to bridge the gap between theory and practice, offering insights into the lived realities of transnational youth and the implications for educational policies and practices in the Wave School. Through this analysis, we hope to contribute to a more inclusive and supportive educational environment for all students, regardless of their background.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the families of the observed students were already experiencing socioeconomic vulnerability. This pre-existing condition affected the educational and social development of the students, as teachers had to adjust curricular activities to accommodate the economic limitations of these families. Consequently, educational activities were often restricted to lectures and there was a reduction in interactive and engaging activities. During the pandemic, despite the school staff's efforts to maintain engagement among students with limited access to technology, significant disparities emerged in connectivity and the ability to follow online classes, particularly among fifth-grade students. These findings align with Carrasco and Pibernat (2020), who noted that the pandemic exacerbated inequalities among students based on social class. The impact was particularly severe for families already in vulnerable situations.

Continuing the discussion of the results, although the context of Abu El-Haj's (2007) study is quite different, some of her observations on **citizenship discourses are relevant to the situation at the Wave School.** Abu El-Haj discusses the

specific relationship between education, citizenship, and nation-building, particularly for transnational students. She argues that young Palestinian Americans shape their national and citizenship identity in relation to two imagined national communities: The United States and Palestine. In this study, a similar dynamic is observed, with the Catalan context analogous to the American in Abu El-Haj's work, and, specially, the Moroccan and Amazigh contexts paralleling the Palestinian. In the Wave School, it has been observed that a segment of the transnational student body, particularly second-generation Moroccan, Rifian, and Senegalese students, navigates a dual identity. This complex push-pull dynamic arises because everyday discourses and practices within their schools and communities position them as outsiders to the "imagined community" of the Catalan nation, labelling them as "enemies within" (Abu El-Haj, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Consequently, these students struggle to develop a sense of identity within the country where they hold citizenship (Abu El-Haj, 2007). Students with immigrant backgrounds often face the challenge of being perceived as outsiders by some school staff, who view them as separate from the "imagined community" of Catalans. This perception underscores the concept of the nation as a socially constructed community, as discussed by Anderson (2006 [1983]) and Appadurai (2001). These scholars highlight how nations are imagined by people who perceive themselves as part of these groups.

Furthermore, Moroccan girls who identify with a dual sense of belonging face additional challenges. They are sometimes reproached by peers from more rigid Moroccan group for their dual identity, indicating that the construction of community and identity is also a social process among students. This duality and the tensions it creates highlight the complex interplay of identity, belonging, and exclusion in the educational environment of the Wave School.

Linking this with the observations of Rodríguez-García (2022) and Mateo (2018), Moroccans have historically been stigmatized and categorized as "the absolute others." Despite cultural and linguistic diversity—a phenomenon known as superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007)—these differences are often blurred. Some actors,

including those at the Wave School, group diverse individuals under the singular category of “immigrant.” Interestingly, despite the ethnic variety present in Morocco, once Moroccan students are in a migrated territory like the Wave School, these differences seem to be diluted under certain interests. This allows students to unite around shared characteristics that distinguish them from the rest of Spanish society, such as religion and food. This process can be seen as a reinvention of the “culture of origin.” In Morocco, these cultural elements were implicit in everyday life, but in the new context, they become explicit markers of identity. It is plausible to consider that the culture of origin is being invented, both by the community itself and by the teachers and the educational system, akin to the concept described in "The Invention of Tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002). This scenario at the Wave School involves a complex reconstruction of identities by both Moroccan-descended students and the broader school community, creating their own interacting imaginaries (Mateo, 2018).

Analysing all the ethnographic material described, it becomes evident that the creation of ethnic groups is a result of social constructions formed and sustained through social interaction and exchange (Barth, 1976). The boundaries between different groups of students are maintained and built by the students themselves, depending on their need to bond or disengage with specific members. For instance, the group of rigid Moroccans sometimes emphasizes their distinctiveness and separation from other groups, such as the Amazigh, by reinforcing identity characteristics unique to “Moroccans,” particularly their knowledge of Darija. Conversely, in contexts where there is no need for differentiation, the category of cultural identity becomes less pronounced, with the focus shifting to elements common to both groups, such as the Muslim religion, which includes both Moroccan and Senegalese students. This aligns with Barth's idea of the selection of cultural symbols and the negotiation of shared meanings based on particular interests. The ethnographic evidence from the Wave School demonstrates how students navigate their identities fluidly, reinforcing or downplaying cultural distinctions as needed to foster connection or assert separation.

Continuing with the construction of identity, the central section of this master's thesis, it is plausible to consider how the observed school functions as a “total institution” (Goffman, 1959), influencing the interests and controlling the time of its members. Joining this school means becoming part of an institutional group that shapes the identity of its members due to its organizational system and social context. Within this scenario, the ethnographic material collected relates to the concept of social identity as described by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and Goffman (1959). When students group together, a new collective identity emerges, uniting them with other members of their group and distinguishing them from others.

Fieldwork revealed that being “Moroccan,” “Senegalese,” “Colombian,” “Peruvian,” “Pakistani,” or “Catalan” is seen as an essential quality inherited at birth (Abu El-Haj, 2007). This notion of “authentic” cultural identity is represented by specific cultural practices, such as drinking tea for Moroccans or speaking Catalan for Catalans. These practices signify authentic ways of being “Moroccan” or “Catalan,” and are closely linked to the belief that membership in a cultural identity group is an inherent quality. This explains why a Moroccan student might not consider someone Moroccan simply because they enjoy drinking tea, or why second-generation girls who speak fluent Catalan are not considered Catalan. These cultural markers, which represent authentic ways of being part of a group (Abu El-Haj, 2007), reflect processes of cultural production (Barth, 1976). Fifth-grade students construct their cultural identities through everyday practices influenced by their experiences within the school and neighbourhood. These identities might differ in another context. Interestingly, the strong national and cultural connection with Morocco among the "rigid" Moroccans is not determined by their actual experiences in Morocco. No differences were observed between first- and second-generation students, aligning with Abu El-Haj’s (2007) findings.

Thus, the ethnographic material from this study supports the views of Holliday (2010) and Castles and Davidson (2000) who suggest that modern citizenship is complex for those who identify as outsiders to the imagined national community, such as Catalonia. This research underscores the distinctions between national

identity and citizenship, showing that identity construction is a dynamic process shaped by both inherited cultural markers and lived experiences. In the context studied, it has been found that aspects such as cultural, national, and religious identity (Holliday, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Sarroub, 2005), sociohistorical trajectories (Ogbu and Simons, 1998), and cultural markers like language (Holliday, 2010) shape the institutional processes of schooling through which transnational youth navigate a racialized hierarchy within the nation (Lee, 2005, cited in Abu El-Haj, 2007; Valenzuela, 1999).

Applying the theories on sense of belonging and citizenship discourses of Holliday (2010) and Yuval-Davis (2006) it has been observed that students' self-perception, referred to as "identifications and emotional attachment" (Yuval-Davis, 2006) or "cultural identity" (Holliday, 2010), differs from how other actors within the school, especially teachers, perceive and form groups. This can be understood in terms of "ethical and political values" (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Each student identifies with a specific cultural identity. For instance, a group of students identifies as "Moroccan"—in terms of "identifications and emotional attachment" (Yuval-Davis, 2006) or "cultural identity" (Holliday, 2010)—even though they were born in Spain. They consider themselves part of the Moroccan group by reinforcing cultural markers that distinguish them (Barth, 1976) or in terms of Yuval-Davis (2006), through the reinforcing of some "social locations" or "cultural reality" (Holliday, 2010). The same applies to students identifying as "Pakistani," "Colombian," and "Senegalese," who reaffirm their identities of origin. Among students with at least one parent born in Spain, their identification—"identifications and emotional attachment" (Yuval-Davis, 2006) or "cultural identity" (Holliday, 2010)— is influenced by different "cultural markers" (Barth, 1976) or "social locations" (Yuval-Davis, 2006) / "cultural reality" (Holliday, 2010). These markers allow them to distinguish themselves from other groups based on elements such as political ideology or mixed cultural heritage.

Additionally, within the formation of cultural identity groups, there is a portion of second-generation Moroccan, Rifian and Senegalese girls who identify as part of

two national groups: “Catalan” and “Moroccan” / “Senegalese,” or a national group and another ethnic group, such as “Catalan” and “Rifian.” This dual sense of belonging can be explained by Yuval-Davis (2006), who notes that identity barriers between groups, though often attributed to “ethical and political values,” are more permeable. This example demonstrates how members themselves can influence these externally attributed boundaries. Consequently, identity formation is not a unilateral process but a negotiation between external agents and specific actors. These students are thus forming more permeable identification barriers that allow for dual belonging.

The imagined community for these students (Anderson, 2006 [1983]; Appadurai, 2001) is often complex and multifaceted. They not only imagine a community of origin but also identify with the community of their parents' host country, where they were born and grew up. This dual belonging sometimes generates tensions, particularly with more "rigid" Moroccan members, who reproach them for their perceived ambiguity. Differences arise primarily with some students from the group of rigid "Moroccans" and second-generation "Moroccan" girls who experience a double sense of belonging. For the rigid Moroccan students, the borders that separate different groups must be rigid, contrasting with the more fluid approach of the girls (Yuval-Davis, 2006). These tensions highlight the complex interplay between national identity and personal self-perception in a multicultural school environment.

Furthermore, drawing on the idea of "ethical and political values" (Yuval-Davis, 2006), it is observed that the formation and maintenance of group boundaries (Barth, 1976) by students align with their "identifications and emotional attachment" (Yuval-Davis, 2006) or "cultural identity" (Holliday, 2010). It has been observed that school teachers often promote the establishment of rigid boundaries between groups, particularly between the group they self-identify with—"us"—and others. However, when identifying groups of "others," teachers tend to use more permeable categories (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Classroom dynamics reflect these identity struggles. Teachers, who frequently group students based on

perceived national or cultural identities, may unintentionally exacerbate tensions. By not recognizing the nuanced and multifaceted nature of their students' identities (Blommaert and Backus, 2013) educators risk reinforcing stereotypes and contributing to the sense of exclusion felt by those with hybrid identities. Peer interactions also play a crucial role in shaping and reinforcing these identities. Students with strong ties to their cultural heritage may act as cultural ambassadors, promoting and preserving traditions and languages within the school. Conversely, those with more fluid identities might serve as bridges between different cultural groups, fostering understanding and integration. Unlike the Moroccan group, it is not considered insulting for some students if they are not identified as they perceive themselves. As minorities, unlike the larger Moroccan group, they often need to blur their national identities to integrate and find a place within the school community. This highlights the different strategies employed by various groups to navigate their identities within the institutional and social context of the school.

Following through with the analysis of language, the findings presented align with the theoretical frameworks of Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2018), Reyes and Carrasco (2018) and Huguet *et al.* (2011), which emphasize how language policies are often rooted in an assimilationist perspective. These policies focus on the acquisition of the Catalan language as a key element of integration and identification with the territory and the school institution. According to Rodríguez-García (2017), this approach reflects a weak multiculturalism, where cultural diversity is fundamentally recognized in the private sphere while promoting the assimilation of immigrants and cultural minorities in the public or institutional sphere. This is evident in the case study, where the institution prominently displays posters promoting Catalan language usage (see Photo 7). This suggests that while minority languages can be spoken outside the school, Catalan is the legitimate language for communication within the school. Furthermore, some classes have explicit rules prohibiting the use of minority languages. This raises questions about what constitutes a minority language in a classroom where, except for the teacher and two students, everyone else speaks Darija. It prompts reflection on where the

boundaries are drawn that exclude individuals who were born and educated here, simply because their first language is Darija, Urdu, or Amazigh. As Simmel (1996 [1908]) highlights, a person can feel like a foreigner in their own country or in social circles where they are not accepted.

However, unlike the reports by Barragán and Fernández (2019) and Martín and Mijares (2007), which describe how students often undervalue their own languages, the opposite has been observed in this school context. In the social and family contexts where these students operate, the use of Catalan is almost non-existent, leading many children to see learning Catalan as unnecessary. In fact, in the fifth-grade classes, where the majority of students are Moroccan and speak Darija, knowledge of Darija actually confers prestige among the students, making it especially useful in this context. Furthermore, during fieldwork, two students from the Spanish group expressed their desire to learn Darija, like their classmates.

These results are particularly valuable when triangulated with the findings of Rodríguez-García *et al*. (2018). In their study, the majority group consisted of individuals considered natives of Catalonia, whose markers of difference were deemed prestigious. Consequently, members of "minorized" groups often abandoned their own markers of difference, such as the use of non-valued minority languages, in favour of adopting those of the majority group. However, this study reveals that when the sociocultural context changes and the minority group becomes the majority, the markers of prestige also shift. In this reversed scenario, knowledge and use of Darija become markers of high status among students. Thus, this research provides ethnographic evidence that markers of difference—whether of prestige or low status— (Rodriguez-García, *et al.,* 2018) must always be contextualized. In one context, knowing and using Darija might be a cause for discrimination, while in another, it becomes a bonding mechanism.

From the teachers' perspective, the data from Barragán and Fernández (2019) and Martín and Mijares (2007) make sense, as they view the students' source languages as interfering with learning Catalan. This is explained by the idea introduced by

Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2021), Reyes (2015), and Hélot (2012) on the markers of prestige and low status differences. For teachers at The Wave school, knowledge and use of Catalan are markers of prestige, while languages like Darija, Urdu, or Amazigh are considered low status. Interestingly, the perception of prestige and low-status languages varies between teachers and students, as explained above, for students, Darija is prestigious due to its connection with the majority group. This phenomenon can be explained by the differing perceptions of the majority group between teachers and students. For teachers, the majority group consists of native Catalans, making Catalan the prestigious language. However, students perceive the majority group differently, seeing the Moroccan group as the one that determines prestigious markers. Consequently, the markers of prestige for students shift accordingly. Consequently, Darija becomes a cultural marker closely associated with Moroccan nationality (Holliday, 2010; Abu El-Haj, 2007).

The complexity of the observed reality shows that these cultural markers of prestige and difference intersect with other issues such as ethnic origin in assessing a students' linguistic capital (Rodríguez-García *et al.*, 2018; Holliday, 2010). For instance, the teacher undervalued Ahmed's high level of English because she deemed it useless if he did not also speak Catalan well. In this context, prestige markers for teachers, such as proficiency in English, are devalued if a student from a minority group possesses this knowledge but lacks proficiency in Catalan. Conversely, it is plausible to think that if Ahmed were a student with Irish parents (a non-minority group in terms of Rodriguez-García *et al.,* 2018), his knowledge of English would be considered a marker of prestige, even if he did not know Catalan. Also, this example illustrates how, in this school context, families' efforts to invest in linguistic capital are underestimated. According to Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2018), families view multilingualism as enriching, helping children maintain contact with their heritage and seize employment and professional opportunities. For most Moroccan students, this includes French, and for Ahmed, English. Families consider the transmission of these languages necessary due to their social utility.

In this context, language exemplifies how students' capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977 cited in Reyes and Carrasco, 2018; Bernstein, 1971, cited in Reyes and Carrasco, 2018) operates according to their social origin through symbolic violence. This symbolic violence determines which knowledge is considered legitimate, relegating minority language speakers to vulnerable positions and hindering their academic success. This research contributes to the ongoing debate surrounding specific educational practices and their correlation with processes of intra-school segregation (Carrasco *et al.,* 2011). It delves into the experiences of students of foreign origin, shedding light on the stigmatization and stereotyping they face, which ultimately perpetuate social inequality through segregated educational pathways constructed from a deficit perspective. The ethnographic data collected reveals how the linguistic and cultural capital of these students, particularly in fifth-grade classrooms, remains unrecognized, as they are often associated with perceived deficiencies linked to their national, cultural, and familial backgrounds (Carrasco *et al.,* 2012).

What is particularly concerning is how these findings align with those of other studies, wherein students with migrant ancestry are marginalized into minority groups, presenting a stark contrast to the inclusive reality being investigated. This underscores the profound influence of societal stratification on the educational system, wherein schools not only fail to facilitate social mobility but also inadvertently perpetuate class-based divisions through the lens of deficit perspectives (Carrasco *et al.,* 2013; Weis, 1996; Willis, 1988; Spindler, 1974a).

Summarizing the above, the studies highlight how students with foreign origins are often viewed through a deficit perspective, defined by what they lack or do not speak, rather than being seen as part of a multilingual integration model (Reyes, 2015). This perspective results in a continuous emphasis on their "learning" status, particularly in acquiring Catalan, rather than recognizing their level of understanding and success. Linking this with the proposal of Reyes and Carrasco (2018) and Blommaert and Backus (2013), has been observed during the analysis of the students' knowledge of Catalan, a continuous deficit perspective is applied,

since it is considered that they are in a situation of continuous “learning”. If, on the other hand, the level of understanding was taken into account, a success perspective would be applied.

Rodríguez-García *et al*. (2021) note that linguistic educational policies do not facilitate the social participation of these students, which is essential for acquiring cultural capital. Despite the intention to protect regional minority languages such as Catalan, these policies often exclude minority students from bilingual projects and their benefits (Reyes, 2015; Hélot, 2012). According to Reyes and Carrasco (2018), these educational policies presume that proficiency in Catalan is necessary for citizenship and societal integration, making Catalan a cultural marker that shapes nationality in the context studied (Holliday, 2010). Thus, the expectation that migrants must speak the host country’s language becomes a sine qua non condition for integration (Reyes and Carrasco 2018; Abu El-Haj, 2007). This work goes one step further and adds the perspective of Piller (2016), warning of how linguistic injustice often intersects with other forms of injustice, such as gender, class, or racialization. It has been collected how it is assumed that individuals born in Catalonia should possess fluency in Catalan as if it were their native language. This entrenched linguistic ideology marginalizes migrant children whose mother tongue is not Catalan. In this way, the school curriculum and evaluation criteria are based on the assumption that fifth-grade students should have lower proficiency in foreign languages, like English and French, compared to their proficiency in first languages like Catalan and Spanish (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2022).

Reflecting on the categories of foreign language and first language, it is clear that these categorizations vary depending on the students' mother tongues. For instance, Demba’s first language (L1) is Fula, whereas Adrià’s L1 is Catalan. This discrepancy illustrates how evaluation criteria generalize the linguistic situation of a specific profile of students, who responds to the category of “ours” which, in the case studied, represents a minority with a difference of 88%. That is to say, the notion that being "Catalan" is an inherited quality, marked by key identity

indicators such as fluency in Catalan, perpetuates a narrow definition of Catalan identity (Abu El-Haj, 2007). Additionally, although the Decree Law does not specify why students are expected to have inferior knowledge of foreign languages, it likely assumes they lack opportunities to practice English in their sociocultural context. This limited opportunity for social participation affects their acquisition of linguistic and cultural capital (Blommaert and Backus, 2013 Cummins, 2002). However, this reasoning is not equally applied to first or second-generation students who lack opportunities to practice Catalan. Shouldn't Catalan be considered a foreign language for these students, given their social environment? If so, evaluation criteria should be adapted to reflect their real opportunities for social participation, similar to other student profiles. This would allow for a fairer and more accurate assessment of their linguistic skills. This leads to the question: Have our educational systems been designed for these new students? (Huguet *et al.,* 2011). Therefore, a more inclusive perspective is needed, especially for those continuously excluded from the "us."

The ethnographic material collected in this study underscores the need for a shift in linguistic policies and classroom practices. While a plurilingual approach as proposed by Barragán and Fernández (2019), Rodríguez-García *et al.* (2018) and *Huguet et al*. (2011) is a good starting point, this thesis advocates for García's (2009) translanguaging approach as a sustainable solution. Interestingly, this study has documented existing translanguaging practices in the school, such as students helping each other by translating concepts into their native languages and creating multilingual posters. These practices not only leverage the cultural wealth of students as a learning resource but also boost their self-esteem by recognizing the value of their familial knowledge in the school context (Reyes, 2015; Cummins, 2002).

Differences have been observed between what can be categorized as "good linguistic practices" and "bad linguistic practices" within the school environment. In sixth-grade classrooms, there is a noticeable emphasis on academic activities that incorporate and promote the linguistic knowledge present within students'

families—termed as "good linguistic practices." This inclusive approach provides a space for family languages within the school, fostering a more positive attitude towards learning and using Catalan. Similarly to Reyes' (2015) observations in informal contexts where flexibility in student-teacher relationships was evident, this study found that in sixth-grade classes with a more relaxed atmosphere, family languages were valued based on their active role in the classroom, resulting in a less hierarchical relationship among languages. In these less rigid educational settings, some of the learning strategies observed by Reyes (2015) in informal community spaces, such as mosques, are replicated. For instance, sixth-grade students translated Catalan concepts into Darija or Arabic to help their classmates' understanding. Another example involved knowledge exchange between a student proficient in French and another in Catalan, who supported each other with homework. Thus, students' diverse linguistic backgrounds actively contribute to the classroom environment, highlighting their linguistic capital and community knowledge (Reyes, 2015; Cummins, 2002).

Conversely, in fifth-grade classrooms where only Catalan is allowed—labelled as "bad linguistic practices"—linguistic diversity is side-lined or marginalized (Rodríguez-García *et al.,* 2018; Reyes, 2015; Cummins, 2002). In educational spaces where students' linguistic capital is actively engaged, there tends to be a greater development of learning strategies (Reyes, 2015; Cummins, 2002). While direct evidence is lacking, there are indications suggesting that the academic expectations for fifth-grade students may be notably lower compared to those for sixth-grade students. Additionally, the reluctance of some fifth-grade students to learn Catalan may be interpreted as a form of resistance, as described by Reyes (2015), as they associate the Catalan language with the perceived imposition of their community knowledge and identity.

In this case study, another significant aspect of identity construction emerged: the newcomers' classrooms. As noted by Barragán and Fernández (2019), Merino *et al.* (2008) and Martín and Mijares (2007), the school context under examination tends to equate cultural diversity with deficiency, thus justifying the

implementation of support and remedial groups aimed at addressing what is perceived as an initial deficit. Drawing on Bernstein's (1999) insights, teachers' discourse often revolves around the notion of compensatory education, exemplified by the establishment of newcomers' classrooms, which is rooted in the belief that there is a lack within families and consequently within students themselves. These students are often categorized based on what they "do not know" (Barragán and Fernández, 2019; Reyes, 2015; Carrasco *et al.,* 2012; Simó *et al.,* 2010; Martín and Mijares, 2007; Pàmies, 2006). Within the social context examined, the primary deficiency perceived in these newcomers' classrooms is linguistic. However, these compensatory measures for Catalan language proficiency fail to consider research such as Cummins' (1981), which suggests that students with migrant backgrounds typically require 5 to 9 years to reach the academic linguistic proficiency level of their peers.

Moreover, this situation in the studied school may be exacerbated by several factors. Firstly, the Covid confinement period meant that these students had little to no opportunity to use Catalan for nearly a year, as it is not spoken in their homes. Secondly, as previously mentioned, the use of Catalan in their immediate social circles is minimal, significantly restricting opportunities for practice outside of school. Thirdly, the design of newcomers' classrooms separates newly arrived students from their regular class groups temporarily, until they overcome their language barrier, preventing them from fully integrating into general education alongside their peers (Reyes, 2015; Rodríguez, 2009; Muñoz, 2000). However, the observed reality indicates that this measure is insufficient, as all fifth-grade students who have attended the newcomers' classroom still require additional support, and have not yet reached the expected level of Catalan proficiency (Serrarols, 2020). As a result, it seems plausible to suggest that immigrant children's education in this school, as in many others across Catalonia, is becoming confined to compensatory education programs or support for students with special needs (Reyes, 2015; Pàmies, 2006; Muñoz, 2000). Apart from the educational impacts, these measures appear to perpetuate the hierarchization of students,

fostering power dynamics within the classroom and leading to the segregation of students attending the newcomers' classroom (Reyes, 2015; Rodríguez, 2009).

On the contrary, the measure of implementing newcomers' classrooms or reinforcement groups to address the specific educational needs of students has been observed to alleviate the challenges faced by classroom tutors, particularly in a school like this one, which operates under conditions of maximum complexity. Although this school offers one additional daily teaching hour compared to those not classified as maximum complexity, it has become evident that this resource alone is insufficient. While the data collected from sixth-grade classrooms is limited, there is a noticeable difference in the social and educational dynamics compared to fifth-grade classrooms, with the former appearing more conducive to positive social and academic development. Several factors may account for this distinction; of which a few will be highlighted. Firstly, the reduction in class size enables teachers to provide more individualized attention to students, dedicating additional time to each student's needs. Additionally, sixth-grade tutors appear to exhibit greater flexibility regarding the use of languages, including Catalan, allowing for a more inclusive and supportive learning environment (Reyes, 2015).

Although newcomers' classrooms or reinforcement groups serve to alleviate the pressure on classroom tutors by reducing class ratios, they inadvertently contribute to the labelling of certain students as deficient. Since it tends to be the same students who consistently rely on these resources, they become stigmatized by their peers and teachers, perpetuating a process of segregation that limits their educational opportunities (Reyes, 2015; Carrasco *et al.,* 2010; Rodríguez, 2009; Pàmies, 2006). This exemplifies how social status and identity are organized within a classroom when teachers stratify classes into ability groups, simplifying classroom management (McDermott, 1974). However, different power dynamics have been observed among newly arrived students depending on their country of origin. Students from Morocco or Latin American countries did not tend to establish hierarchical relationships among their peers. It is plausible that students from Latin American countries, although not speaking Catalan, are native Spanish

speakers. This aligns with the findings of Reyes and Carrasco (2018) and Huguet *et al*. (2011) on educational language policies, which are based on home-school language switching. These policies assume the valuation and social prestige of the first language (L1) and the availability of bilingual teachers proficient in both the second language (L2) and the pupils' mother tongue (L1). These measures were designed according to the parameters of immigration in Catalonia in the 1980s, when the migrant population largely came from other parts of Spain and their L1 was Spanish. Additionally, it has been observed that newly arrived students from Morocco experience greater social integration among their classmates. Even they do not speak Spanish or Catalan, they do speak Darija, which, as noted earlier, becomes a prestige marker among students. This leads to a differentiation in perception between students and teachers. While students do not view a lack of proficiency in Catalan as detrimental—reflecting their perception of the social usefulness of Catalan—teachers consider it an important deficit.

To mitigate this stratification while retaining the benefits of reinforcement groups, a rotation system could be implemented, avoiding official classifications based on students' abilities while maintaining the advantage of reduced ratios. However, for a sustainable solution, broader social factors must also be addressed. Given the extreme residential segregation in the school's location, students may have limited opportunities to practice Catalan outside of school, further complicating their linguistic integration. Moreover, there appears to be a deficiency in specific training for cultural diversity within teaching degree curricula, neglecting crucial aspects necessary to meet the needs of students with migrant origins and combat negative stereotypes. Teachers at The Wave school demonstrate a lack of awareness regarding the challenges faced by multilingual students and their families, often resorting to deficit-based approaches that normalize underperformance and early school leaving (Carrasco, 2023; Carrasco *et al.,* 2009; García, 2009).

In conclusion, the interplay of cultural, national, and religious identities, socio-historical trajectories, and institutional schooling processes significantly impacts

the integration of student groups and their academic performance (Carrasco, 2023; Sarroub, 2005) and this was clear at The Wave school. Addressing these complex issues requires a multifaceted approach that acknowledges and addresses the diverse needs and backgrounds of all students.

Lastly, it is appropriate to briefly recapitulate the research questions that guide this master's thesis.

The socioeconomic challenges faced by students at The Wave School have placed them at a disadvantage even before the start of Covid-19. Many students come from low-income families, which limits their access to educational resources such as books and extracurricular activities. This scarcity has influenced teaching practices, with some teachers opting for lecture-based lessons over more interactive activities due to the lack of available materials. This issue was not caused by the pandemic but was exacerbated by it, highlighting pre-existing educational inequalities. Students from the most vulnerable families were most likely to disengage from school during the lockdown despite the school's efforts to support them.

Furthermore, The Wave School is situated in a socially and residentially segregated neighbourhood, restricting students' exposure to Catalan language and culture outside school. As a result, even though most students were born and have been educated in Catalonia, their proficiency in Catalan is below the expected level for their age. The evaluation criteria set by the Generalitat do not account for external factors that limit the use and participation in Catalan among students of migrant backgrounds. This language gap adversely affects their academic performance and social integration within the school. The lack of teacher training in handling cultural diversity compounds this issue, leading to reliance on compensatory education programs like newcomers' classrooms, which do not fully address the students' needs. Stereotyping and stigmatization by teachers further entrench academic and social stratification among students, particularly those from migrant backgrounds, who face stigma based on their cultural, national, and linguistic identities.

Pedagogical strategies at this complex school primarily involve reception classrooms and ability grouping, both focused on compensating for what students "do not know" or "do not speak." However, there are instances where teachers employ translanguaging strategies, valuing students' familial knowledge and boosting their self-esteem.

Regarding the research question about limited resources in terms of personnel, infrastructure, and educational materials, it has been observed that the most significant impact on students' academic and social development is the lack of teacher training in cultural diversity. Additionally, teachers face challenges due to high student-to-teacher ratios, limiting individualized attention.

In exploring the construction of student identities, it is evident that there are different elements that both teachers and students use to create identity barriers that separate the different groups. The identities of the fifth grade students of the school studied are shaped through multifaceted processes influenced by cultural, linguistic and educational dynamics:

- Cultural and linguistic background: The diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds of students play a crucial role in shaping the students' identities. Some teachers establish hierarchical relationships between Catalan and other native languages of the students, which causes their invisibility in the classroom. Despite this, students, particularly rigid Moroccans, use their knowledge of Darija as an identity marker. However, these markers intersect with other categories such as national origin and migratory ancestry, complicating identity formation. Although many students were born in Catalonia and speak Catalan, they are still perceived as outsiders. Therefore, except in some cases, national identity is inherited.
- Rigid cultural and national categorization by teachers and students creates barriers between groups. Depending on the context, students may reinforce either exclusive or more permeable identity markers, influencing social dynamics and sense of belonging. Students often form cultural identity groups, where they reinforce specific cultural markers such as language,

religious practices, and cultural traditions. These groups can provide a sense of belonging but can also create tensions and divisions among different cultural groups within the school. Some second-generation students often navigate dual identities since they embrace more permeable identity markers. The rigid boundaries enforced by some groups and teachers sometimes placed these students who navigate more fluid identities in a situation of tension.

- The deficit perspective prevalent in the newcomers' classroom focuses on what students' lack, reinforcing negative stereotypes and limiting the recognition of their cultural and linguistic knowledge. This perspective also contributes to a hierarchy among fifth-grade students, stigmatizing those in lower-level groups and reinforcing feelings of otherness.

Overall, the pedagogical approaches and social dynamics at The Wave School significantly impact students' academic success and social integration, with cultural and linguistic diversity playing a crucial role in shaping their identities.

Finally, addressing the last research question, students' perceptions of inclusion or exclusion within the school environment significantly impact their motivation and academic engagement. Although systematic data collection from sixth grade was not possible, there are signs suggesting that students who feel their cultural and linguistic backgrounds are respected and integrated into the school, and who feel supported by teachers, are more likely to be motivated and engaged. Conversely, students who perceive a lack of respect for their family culture and knowledge from teachers tend to develop a resistant attitude towards school. Peer relationships also play a crucial role. Instances were observed where students made efforts to recognize each other's knowledge and virtues, fostering mutual benefit through the exchange and complementing of scarce knowledge. Regarding gender-specific expectations and stereotypes, there is no ethnographic data demonstrating the influence of gender on expectations and school engagement. However, my observations suggest that teachers often categorize male migrant students as "special needs" due to behaviours perceived as disruptive, such as hyperactivity,

inattention, and aggressive responses to stress or conflict. These evaluations are based on teachers' perceptions rather than medical diagnoses. Some teachers mentioned managing these behaviours with medication to keep students calm in class, which raises concerns about the overmedication of immigrant male students. Although there are studies[52] on how there is overmedication of immigrant male students due to this labelling of special needs because of their disruptive behaviours, this field work has only been able to collect indications that point to the implementation of this practice in the school studied. Consequently, this study could only gather indications of such practices, a future research direction could involve a detailed investigation into the categorization of students with special needs by teachers, considering gender and migration variables. This labelling, besides being imprecise, likely harms students' integration and well-being.

Another future research avenue could explore the creation of imagined communities within a specific national group, encompassing discourses at school, within families, and in the neighbourhood. Additionally, studying linguistic strategies between children and their mothers, where children teach Catalan to their mothers, could reveal possible consequences of this role reversal. Moreover, conducting a longitudinal study to follow students' academic trajectories in higher educational stages would be valuable to understand if exclusion by teachers and constant categorization as "others" or "immigrants" impacts their academic success. Despite the depth and scope of this master's thesis, several limitations need to be acknowledged. The results cannot be generalized to other highly complex schools because this study focused on a single school, the Wave School, within a specific cultural context. Therefore, before generalizing these findings, it is necessary to conduct further studies considering other demographic compositions and expanding the sample size.

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[52] See Paniagua, A. (2015). *Parent participation in schools: limits, logics and possibilities third sector organizations, immigrant families and special education*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. https://www.tdx.cat/bitstream/handle/10803/297702/apr1de1.pdf?sequence=1

Regarding the sample size, the research relies on a relatively small sample of primary school students and school staff. While this has permitted in-depth qualitative analysis, it limits the ability to make broader statistical generalizations. Additionally, the master's thesis was conducted over a limited timeframe. Although efforts were made to capture the evolution of some categories after COVID-19, the data is based on participants' recollections. Consequently, a longitudinal study would provide more comprehensive insights into the results.

Concerning the analysis of minority languages, my lack of knowledge of Darija, Urdu, Amazigh, or Wolof might have impacted the depth of analysis. Without the necessary communication abilities, it was difficult to discern the accuracy of students' statements. Similarly, some subtleties may have been lost due to this language barrier. Also, access to certain actors, such as families, was limited, potentially skewing the representation of broader influences. By acknowledging these limitations, the study highlights areas for future research and underscores the need for cautious interpretation of its findings.

To sum up, the Wave School's environment shapes students' identities through cultural, linguistic, and educational influences, creating both opportunities and barriers. Students' perceptions of inclusion and support, along with gender-specific factors, significantly impact their motivation and academic engagement. Addressing these complexities requires a nuanced understanding of the diverse backgrounds and needs of all students, promoting an inclusive and supportive educational environment.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the extensive examination of various aspects within the educational context of The Wave school sheds light on the intricate dynamics shaping the experiences of students with foreign origins. Through an in-depth analysis spanning linguistic policies, classroom practices, identity construction, and educational interventions, several key themes have emerged.

Firstly, the pervasive influence of deficit-based perspectives and assimilationist models in educational approaches has significant implications for the linguistic and cultural integration of students. The categorization of students based on what they lack or do not speak, coupled with the emphasis on compensatory education measures, contributes to the marginalization and segregation of certain student groups. These practices not only perpetuate social inequalities but also hinder the holistic development and academic achievement of affected students. Secondly, the role of language in identity construction and educational attainment cannot be overstated. While some classrooms demonstrate inclusive practices that valorise students' linguistic diversity and cultural capital, others enforce rigid language policies that prioritize one language over others, leading to the marginalization of certain linguistic communities. The recognition and validation of students' linguistic repertoires and cultural backgrounds are essential for fostering a sense of belonging and promoting equitable learning outcomes. Furthermore, the intersectionality of factors such as socio-economic status, residential segregation, and institutional structures further exacerbates disparities in educational opportunities and outcomes. The disproportionate representation of certain student groups in newcomers' classrooms or reinforcement groups highlights the need for systemic reforms that address underlying structural inequities and promote inclusive educational practices.

Language should be understood as a deeply personal and social issue. Although language serves as a mechanism that allows us to conceptualize the world, its interaction with educational institutions reveals that not all ways of understanding and signifying reality are considered valid. Language policies often impose the

learning of prestigious languages rather than supporting a language education model that accommodates immigrants or their descendants who speak minority languages. Languages with negative prestige markers, such as Darija or Urdu, are often viewed as obstacles to students' development, perceived as causing interference that deprives them of the tools necessary for bilingual learning.

Moving forward, addressing these complex challenges requires a comprehensive approach that encompasses policy reforms, teacher training initiatives, and community engagement efforts. Embracing a plurilingual and culturally responsive pedagogy that recognizes and celebrates students' diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds is essential for creating inclusive learning environments where all students can thrive.

Ultimately, The Wave school serves as a microcosm reflecting broader societal dynamics, where issues of identity, power, and privilege intersect within educational settings. By critically examining and challenging existing norms and practices, stakeholders can work towards creating more equitable and inclusive educational systems that empower all students to reach their full potential.

The experiences and perspectives of these youth highlight the need for democratic citizenship education, especially within public schools, to evolve in response to the dynamic nature of belonging in this era of transnational migration. As youth navigate and define their identities in relation to multiple imagined communities, it is crucial to provide them with a sense of belonging and the tools for civic engagement within and across the boundaries of their nation-state. Catalan educational institutions are increasingly recognizing the importance of embracing interculturality as a means of fostering inclusive learning environments. This paradigm shift necessitates new approaches and strategies to navigate the complexities of cultural diversity within educational settings. In this case study it becomes evident that many educational institutions are ill-prepared to address the multifaceted challenges posed by cultural diversity. Indeed, a significant gap exists in terms of human resources and teacher training necessary to effectively implement intercultural education initiatives. To bridge this gap and realize the

vision of intercultural education, concerted efforts are needed to develop and implement tailored training programs for educators. By equipping educators with the tools and knowledge to navigate cultural differences sensitively and effectively, Catalan schools can create inclusive learning environments where all students feel valued and empowered to succeed.

Finally, adopting an anthropological perspective of mutual understanding can help build bridges between families and schools. This approach can challenge and deconstruct teacher stereotypes that negatively impact their interactions with this segment of the student body. By re-evaluating the educational and socializing strategies of families, it becomes possible to promote the students' academic achievement more effectively, tailored to the specific context of each school.

I would like to end this master's thesis by returning to the question posed at the beginning; How is it possible that, despite all the meticulous and valuable ethnographic research available, things seem to stay the same? Is it because there are no real changes with the knowledge we have?

The data collected points to several factors. First, educational systems and institutions are often resistant to change. Bureaucratic structures, linguistic policies, and established norms could slow down the implementation of new insights and strategies derived from ethnographic research. However, even with the best intentions, schools often face limitations in resources —funding, staffing or school material — that hinder the sustainable applications of ethnographic findings. Specific to policy and governance issues, this study shows the existence of a gap between research findings and policy implementation. Policymakers do not always prioritize or understand the implications of ethnographic research, leading to a lack of supportive policies. Consequently, effective change often requires a bottom-up approach where insights from ethnographic studies are integrated into education policy integration. Unfortunately, top-down mandates are more common and might not align with the nuanced needs identified in ethnographic studies, like this. Also, ingrained attitudes and beliefs created cultural and social barriers. Teachers and other school staff have deep-seated

beliefs and attitudes that resist change. These can include biases and stereotypes based on the deficit perspective of students with immigrant backgrounds. As a result, teachers and staff need adequate training to understand and apply ethnographic insights in their daily practices. This requires ongoing professional development, which is lacking.

While ethnographic research provides valuable insights into the lived experiences and challenges within educational settings, translating these insights into real-world change is fraught with difficulties. Addressing these challenges requires a multifaceted approach that includes structural reforms, cultural shifts, policy support, adequate resourcing, and a commitment to ongoing evaluation and adaptation.

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8. Annexes

a. Annex 1

Occupations - CNO-11				Born in Spain Fathers		Born in Spain Mothers		Foreign-born Fathers		Foreign-born Mothers	
				Pre-Covid	*Post-Covid*	*Pre-Covid*	*Post-Covid*	*Pre-Covid*	*Post-Covid*	*Pre-Covid*	*Post-Covid*
1. Directors and managers	**A. Directors and managers**										
2. Scientific and intellectual technicians and professionals	**B. Health and education scientific and intellectual technicians and professionals**										
	C. Other scientific and intellectual technicians and professionals	291. Librarians, archivists and curators	*2912. Librarians and related information professionals*							1	1
		293. Creative and performing artists	*2935. Actors*			1	1				
3. Technicians; support professionals	**D. Technicians; support professionals**	382. Computer programmers	*3820. Computer programmers*	1	1						
4. Accounting, administrative, and other office employees	**E. Office employees who do not deal with the public**										
	F. Customer services clerks										
5. Workers in catering, personal, and protection services and trade salespersons	**G. Catering and trade service workers**	522. Shop salespersons	*5220. Shop salespersons*					1	1	1	1
	H. Health services and personal care workers										
	I. Protective and security services workers										
6. Skilled agricultural, livestock, forestry and fishery workers	**J. Skilled agricultural, livestock, forestry, and fishing workers**										
7. Skilled manufacturing industry and construction craftspersons and workers (except installation and machinery operators)	**K. Skilled construction workers, except machinery operators**	713. Carpenters and joiners (except cabinetmakers and structural-metal preparers and erectors)	*7131. Carpenters and joiners (except cabinetmakers)*						1		
	L. Skilled manufacturing industry workers, except installation and machine operators	732. Blacksmiths, toolmakers and related trades workers	*7323. Adjuster operators of machine tools*	1	1						
8. Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	**M. Stationary plant and machine operators, and assemblers**	813. Chemical, pharmaceutical and photosensitive material products plant and machine operators	*8132. Pharmaceutical cosmetic and related product manufacturing machine operators*			1	1				
	N. Mobile machine drivers and operators										
9. Elementary occupations	**O. Unskilled service workers (except transport)**	910. Domestic employees	*9100. Domestic employees*							2	4
		921. Office, hotel, and other establishment cleaners	*9210. Office, hotel and similar establishment cleaning workers*							2	1
		922. Vehicle, window, laundry and other hand cleaning workers	*9222. Vehicle cleaners*					1	1		
		931. Kitchen helpers	*9310. Kitchen helpers*			1	1				
		941. Street vendors	*9410. Street vendors*	1	1						
		944. Refuse workers, refuse sorters, sweepers and related workers	*9443. Sweepers and related labourers*					1	2		
	P. Agricultural, fishing, construction, manufacturing and transport industry labourers	960. Construction and mining labourers	*9602. Building construction labourers*					12	8		
		970. Manufacturing labourers	*9700. Manufacturing labourers*	1	1			3	2	1	2
0. Armed forces occupations	**Q. Armed forces occupations**										
- Others	**R. Specific to the study**	-1 Unemployed						4	7	1	2
		-2 Housekeeper								16	13
Total				4	4	3	3	22	22	24	24

b. Annex 2

Student				Catalan						Spanish						English						French						Standard Modern Arabic				Dariya (Lahya)				Amazigh				Others			
				Understanding	Speaking				Learning to write	Understanding	Speaking				Learning to write	Understanding	Speaking				Learning to write	Understanding	Speaking				Learning to write	Understanding	Speaking			Learning to write	Understanding	Speaking			Understanding	Speaking			Understanding	Speaking		
					A little	Quite	A lot	With who			A little	Quite	A lot	With who			A little	Quite	A lot	With who			A little	Quite	A lot	With who			-	With who			-	With who			-	With who			-	With who		
First generation	Morocco	1.75 generation (0-5 years)	Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Father Family	X	X	X	School in origin	X	X	X	Mother Father Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
		1.5 generation (6-12 years)	Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	X	School in origin	X	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Father Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	X	School in origin	X	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Peers	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
	Senegal	1.75 generation (0-5 years)	Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff Family	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Family	Doesn't
		1.5 generation (6-12 years)	Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Peers	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Family	Doesn't

	Colombia	1.75 generation (0-5 years)	Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
	Peru	1.5 generation (6-12 years)	Boy	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
	Pakistan	1.75 generation (0-5 years)	Boy	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Peers	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X X	Mother Father Family Siblings	X Doesn't
	Morocco	2.0 generation (both parents foreigners)	Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Father Siblings Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Father Siblings Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	X	Imam of the mosque	X	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff Siblings	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Father Siblings Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	X	Imam of the mosque	X	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Father Siblings Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family	X	X	X	Imam of the mosque	X	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Girl	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff Siblings	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Father Siblings Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Family Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't

Second generation			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Father Siblings Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff Family	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
			Girl	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Peers Mother	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family	GX	GX	GX	Mother	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Siblings Family Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Mother Father Siblings Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Family Peers	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
	Amazigh (rifians)	2.0 generation (both parents foreigners)	Boy	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	X	Mother Father Siblings Family	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Family	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
			Girl	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Siblings Family	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't
	Senegal	2.0 generation (both parents foreigners)	Girl	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Peers Siblings	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Father Siblings Peers	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GX	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	GX	Mother Father Family	GDoesn't
	Spain	One progenitor foreigner	Boy	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Mother	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
		Both parents born in Catalonia	Boy	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Boy	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	X	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	X	X	Doesn't	X	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	X	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Teachers and school staff	X	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Peers	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
			Girl	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GX	Teachers and school staff Family Peers	GX	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GX	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	Teachers and school staff	GX	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't	GDoesn't