SPLINTERED MULTICULTURALISM.
Three theses on the multi-nation and the poly-ethnic state in the Spanish education policy

ABSTRACT

During the last decade Spanish academic and political debates have borrowed the term 'multiculturalism'. Since it has become the motto that makes reference to immigration issues, it has also entered educational discourses. It is important to remind that Spain has been an emigration country for the most of the XX century, but has experienced an important increase of Latin American, Moroccan, Senegalian and other immigrants for the last fifteen years. For this reason, the ways whereby Spanish schools have understood cultural diversity deserve a close examination, and can suggest relevant observations for those interested in the influence of European integration on the Mediterranean Region. This article argues that educational policy splinters multiculturalism in Spain inasmuch as multicultural objectives have only been partially assumed by the official rhetoric and its connection with social rights has been overlooked. Three specific factors are analysed, namely policy contradictions, the restriction of poly-ethnic rights and the individualisation and normalisation of educational diversity.

Xavier Bonal
Xavier Rambla
Departament de Sociología
Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona
Campus de Bellaterra- Edifici B,
08193- Cerdanyola del Vallès (Barcelona),
Tf. 0034-3-581.31.00 and 24.21
Fax 0034-3-581.28.27
e-mail: xavier.bonal@uab.es and xavier.rambla@uab.es

Xavier Bonal is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and co-director of the Social Policy Research Group (*Seminari d'Anàlisi de Polítiques Socials*, SAPS) at the Department of Sociology of the same institution. His main research interests include the study of educational policy and the sociology of education. He has published in national and international journals of education. He is author of several books including *Sociología de la Educación. Una aproximación crítica a las corrientes contemporáneas* (Paidós, 1998) and with Jorge Calero, *Política educativa y gasto público en educación* (Pomares-Corredor, 1999).

Xavier Rambla is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and researcher of the Social Policy Research Group (*Seminari d'Anàlisi de Polítiques Socials*, SAPS) at the Department of Sociology of the same institution.His main research interests include the study of sociolinguistics, gender studies, sociology of education and social policy. He has published on these matters in national and international journals. He is a member of the Direction committee of the UNESCO/UNITWIN network on "Sustainable Human Development" (U. of La Habana –Chile- and U. Bolivariana –Chile).

Introduction

During the last decade Spanish academic and political debates have borrowed the term 'multiculturalism'. Since it has become the motto that makes reference to immigration issues, it has also entered educational discourses. It is important to remind that Spain has been an emigration country for the most of the XX century, but has experienced an important increase of Latin American, Moroccan, Senegalian and other immigrants for the last fifteen years. For this reason, the ways whereby Spanish schools have understood cultural diversity deserve a close examination, and can suggest relevant observations for those interested in the influence of European integration on the Mediterranean Region.

Our article will present a brief introduction about social and educational changes in Spain. It aims to highlight several factors that have pushed schools to impose cultural homogeneity. In the second section, an explicit definition of multiculturalism is included. This definition is applied to the Spanish context. Further on, we will argue that Spain has been a multicultural country for ages, that its education and social policies splinter the cultural and the social dimensions of multiculturalism, and that an analysis of state legitimation can account for this phenomenon. To be precise, our argument will specify three theses stating that policy contradictions, the restriction of poly-ethnic rights and the normalisation and individualisation of educational diversity have eventually splintered the social and the cultural dimension of multiculturalism.

Cultural diversity in Spain

In Spain, as in other countries, multiculturalism has recently become a frequently used term in the academic language of educational and social sciences. Since the eighties, social and educational analyses have used, and 'abused' of, the concept of multiculturalism in order to describe a new social reality. This new social reality is characterised by a change in the balance of migration movements in the Spanish society. Interestingly enough, Spain has changed its migratory balance in a very short period: from a country that loosed population during the fifties and sixties to a country that currently attracts people, especially coming from Third World countries (Latin American, Northern African, sub-Saharan African and some Asian countries). Nevertheless, foreign residents in Spain are around 600.000, which only 250.000 are part of active population. These people represent only 1.6% of Spanish population and 2% of active population (Casey 1998), low rates compared to other Western European countries.

On the other hand, Spain cannot be considered a culturally homogeneous country. Somewhat paradoxically, the omission of cultural differences in the official discourses and policies has taken place in a heterogeneous State, marked by significant cultural and linguistic differences. Terms like "multicultural education" or "multicultural society" have never been used for referring to those differences, neither to identify gypsies, still the most important cultural minority in Spain. Thus, multiculturalism has been a term exclusively linked to the social and educational responses necessary to deal with new migratory movements, usually coming from Third World countries and normally identifiable by their ethnic diversity.

Therefore, the concept of multiculturalism is restricted to characterise a set of social, economic and cultural characteristics that Spain shares with European Union countries. Thus, multiculturalism aims to reflect a welfare and prosper society, cosmopolitan in its composition and with a high capacity to integrate people culturally and ethnically diverse.

But this late introduction of multiculturalism into the academic and political discourses can be explained by a number of historical reasons. Some of them are the following ones.

- The Francoist dictatorship eliminated, for almost forty years, all specific identity traits that could threat the Spanish unity. The so-called Comisiones Depuradoras (Purge Committees) annihilated all the linguistic and cultural symbols in Catalonia and in The Basque Country (Monés 1984). The strict school inspection assured the dogmatic teaching of Catholicism, the propaganda of the political regime and the inculcation of Spanish patriotism, all of them important mechanisms to submit citizens to the dictatorship.

- The internal migratory movements from the South of Spain to the most industrial areas in the north were never considered from the cultural point of view by the Spanish political regime. Although it was mainly an economic migration this movement had enormous cultural consequences. The potential cultural conflicts South-North were absolutely ignored by the State, and they were only solved by a spontaneous social integration (sometimes conflictive). On the other hand, the leave of more than two million Spanish workers to central European countries during the

sixties (what was considered the "regime's shame") was not attended by the State in terms of defending their rights and cultural identity. The regime ignored this reality and took profit of migrants' remittances to improve the balance of payments. Finally, the Spanish gypsies, the only ethnic minority culturally relevant, was simply marginalised and stigmatised.

- In the educational domain, the Catholic Church developed mechanisms of ideological control by creating identities between the Church, the Spanish Nationalism and the figure of Franco. Obviously, all cultural or ethnic differences were deliberately omitted or explicitly discriminated. Since the sixties, the economic openness of the regime (Stabilisation Plans after 1959) and the influence of international organisations (Spain participated in the Mediterranean Regional Project) brought about more political and ideological flexibility. In the educational terrain, the arrival of human capital theory as ideological rhetoric had significant consequences on culture, by reducing the concept of education to knowledge acquisition and to having access to a modernised lifestyle. That, of course, eliminated even more the visibility of cultural differences and ethnic minorities. The historical moral rhetoric was therefore substituted by the rhetoric of technique, and the school curriculum reflected these changes.

- In the academic field, even critical sociologists refused to develop their own theories and instruments to analyse the specific cultural dynamic of the Spanish society. Dominant theories produced in central European countries were uncritically used to understand the social structure and the institutions of the Spanish social formation. For instance, education was exclusively understood from the cultural reproduction

perspective. The work of Bourdieu was unquestionably implemented by most of educational sociologists. Lerena's works (1985 & 1987) and their influence on the Spanish sociology of education are a clear example of this. Ironically, the work of Bourdieu was used to analyse a form of symbolic domination of the educational system based on an alleged and overstated effect of cultural capital. In Spain, social reproduction was, at that time, weakly linked to cultural capital and much more related with social and political capital.

In summary, the above arguments show some of the reasons of the deliberate silence of the multinational and multicultural Spanish reality by the official discourse. Interestingly enough, the transition to political democracy did not change this situation drastically. Linguistic conflicts or struggles for curriculum definition struggle were separated from the use of the concept of multicultural society or education. These concepts have only appeared to characterise migrations from the Third World countries. Since the late eighties, there are two different discourses to describe similar social problems: those of social and cultural integration of society. It is noteworthy that these discourses run in parallel, without intersections. One discourse serves to highlight the historical and cultural diversity of the Spanish State; the other is used to integrate people coming from poor counties. We will use the expressions internal and external multiculturalism to differentiate both discourses, and will connect them with Will Kymlicka's distinction between the multi-nation and the poly-ethnic state.

What is Multiculturalism?

According to Kymlicka

> "A state is multicultural if its members either belong to different nations (a multi-nation state), or
> have emigrated from different nations (a poly-ethnic state), and if this fact is an important aspect of
> personal identity and political life" (Kymlicka 1995, p. 18)

The author draws on the sociological definition of 'nation' when he considers that a nation is a historical community that shares a common reference to a homeland, a language and a culture (Kymlicka 1995, p. 11). He also prefers to designate immigrants as 'ethnic groups' inasmuch as 'their distinctiveness is manifested primarily in their family life and voluntary associations' within a dominant culture and language (Kymlicka 1995, p. 15). From his point of view, both circumstances can be democratically managed by means of collective rights focusing on 'external protections'. This type includes 'the right of a group to limit the economic or political power exercised by the larger society over the group, to ensure that the resources and institutions on which the minority depends are not vulnerable to majority decisions' (Kymlicka 1995, p. 7). Thus he proposes a liberal approach to multiculturalism by exploring the relationship between individual and collective rights. It is necessary to express these definitions in more concrete terms signalling that they don't imply that only immigrants constitute ethnic groups. Ethnicity is a universal way to create identity by means of many cultural resources such as language, kinship, religion or political ideologies. Any nation can overlap ethnic classifications with national or ethnic majorities and minorities, but ethnic minorities singularise themselves by participating in the broader society in base to these differences.

The Spanish state has been officially transformed into a multi-nation state since 1978. In fact, the 1978 Constitution included the creation of autonomous regions (Comunidades Autónomas) in order to implement self-governing rights for the historical nations defined by their own language (The Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia), but seventeen regions were lately established. Almost all of them have seen the emergence of one kind or another of an "autonomist" party. In this sense, Spain is another case of a multi-nation state like Canada or Belgium. Education policy reflects this characteristic because it is one of the main competencies included in the devolution process from the central state to the autonomous regions, and also because it is a crucial instrument for language policy.

But this schema has not actually worked out as a means of political integration for any special group. Kymlicka (1995) has been cautious enough to remind that some groups are both national and ethnic minorities, since they have become minorities after a long process of discrimination. He quotes African Americans in the United States, who were not immigrants but slaves, and have been there for centuries. From this point of view, this group is a sort of a national embryo, but its political activities have not been significantly distinct from the ethnic activism of other groups coming from more recent immigration. Gipsies are a similar case in Spain. They 'immigrated' five hundred years ago, have defined themselves as a nation with a specific language, but have been treated as an ethnic minority by the state. Since the XVIII century until Francoism, the Spanish state aimed to assimilate them by brutal methods. Later on, in spite of its partial and contradictory way to deal with the gipsy minorities in several localities, the Spanish

state has aimed to improve their social position and allowed them to associate and express their culture (San Román 1994).

Other ethnic minorities have appeared in many Spanish regions during the last years. Like almost everywhere in the Western rich world, their origin is international migration from Southern countries. To be precise, Morocco is the most common origin, but also several Latin American countries, Senegal and other Sub-Saharan African countries, China and Eastern Europe can be quoted. The importance of migration from Morocco towards Spain constitutes one of the main links within the contemporary Mediterranean region altogether with the illegal and dangerous human traffic through the Gibraltar Strait. Nowadays a weak and uncertain equilibrium between their popular acceptation and xenophobic rejection has emerged. The complex connotations of the word "multiculturalism" give evidence of that.

In our view, the Spanish state is defining and implementing a splintered multicultural policy, which impinges dramatically on its education policy. On the one hand, the multi-nation state has not responded to a wholesome attempt to make collective rights effective, but to a fragmentary solution to several national conflicts. On the other hand, the poly-ethnic state is reduced to the rhetorical assertion of cultural differences while its most active measures are overlooked (Wieviorka 1999, p. 15). These measures include those aiming to familiarise newcomers with the country, to recognise cultural difference, to prevent discrimination and to implement affirmative action (Kymlicka 2000, p. 725). All of them suffer severe shortcomings.

Bonal (2000, pp. 15-16) has convincingly argued that educational policy-making has assumed two contradictory 'multicultural' logics in Spain. One of them is 'internal' and deals with national minorities on the grounds of equality and the recognition of cultural differences. The other one is 'external' and deals with ethnic minorities on the grounds of compensatory education. The gipsies and immigrants are actually the ethnic minorities who have become the target groups of this second policy.

Figure 1 summarises the essential content of these two logics. Clearly, cultural pluralism leads the internal multi-nation side whereas rough assimilation inspires the external poly-ethnic one; similarly, the first one includes cultural rights and the second one excludes them.

But the linguistic and strictly educational features of educational multiculturalism deserve a more detailed comment. Formally, linguistic policies are to make equality of co-official languages a reality. Thus, those Comunidades Autónomas where Spanish and other languages are spoken can declare them co-official and devise an educational language policy. This one can be based on a minimum requirement (the minority language is an optional subject in the curriculum), a multi-option scheme (the main school language can be Spanish or the regional language in different tracks, schools or localities, where the other one is only an optional matter), or an immersion program (most teaching uses the regional language, but Spanish is also compulsory) (Argelaguet 1998). Catalonia and Galicia have deployed immersion strategies, the Basque Country, the Valencian Community and Navarre have decided to implement a multi- option scheme, and Aragón, Asturias and Balearic Islands have established the minimum requirement on several grounds and with several particularities. However, there has not

been an encompassing concern so that all minority languages are effectively protected, and important exceptions to the general rule can be signalled. To start with, the Portuguese minority in Castilla- León has not been awarded an official recognition for a long time. Furthermore, since the language act has not been passed yet, in Aragón local governments have performed the role of language authorities in a very contradictory and fragmentary way (Espluga & Capdevila 1995). Even more, the Arabic and Tamazigh minorities in Ceuta and Melilla are another example of an ancient ethnic minority, since they have even suffered a restricted access to Spanish citizenship and crude educational discrimination. Apart from these exceptions, it can be stated that egalitarian linguistic policies have brought the multi-nation state into Spanish schools but have severely excluded the poly-ethnic state. At least, no general initiative to supply an optional subject of Arab or other immigrants' languages has been devised, although subject choice has been an important feature of the compulsory secondary education curriculum from 1990 until 2002.

School choice, curriculum and pedagogy also draw an important distinction between educational policy towards national and ethnic minorities. The Spanish education system allows three types of schools to operate, namely state-owned schools, private-owned state-funded schools and completely private schools. Parents can formally choose between the first two types on a free service basis, and regional governments can specify which criteria will be taken into account to range admission priority when one school receives more demands than the number of places available. However, middle-class families normally manipulate these rules in order to concentrate in the "best" local schools (Rambla 1998). An important consequence has been the concentration of immigrants in state-owned schools, and their rare presence in private-owned state-

funded centres (Carbonell 1997). Several local initiatives have attempted to counteract this trend by asking all state-funded schools to accept a quota of immigrant students, and correlatively, guiding immigrant families to choose certain schools in order to avoid their concentration. In this sense, it can be argued that autonomous choice leads the educational multi-nation state, whilst guided choice often becomes the instrument of the educational poly-ethnic state.

A similar comparison can be established with regard to school curriculum and pedagogy. The official curriculum admits the expression of national differences allowing regional governments to complement its content up to a certain percentage (of credits or topics). However, ethnic minorities are attended in base to the principles of compensatory education in order to speed their acquisition of official languages up, or simply, in order to solve their differential school failure.

Figure 1: Multi-nation and poly-ethnic educational policy in Spain

The education policy aims to build drawing on:	*the multi-nation state (internal multiculturalism)*	*the poly-ethnic state (external multiculturalism)*
political orientations	Cultural pluralism	Assimilation
rights of citizenship	Include cultural rights	Only social rights
linguistic policies	Equality of co- official languages	Schools don't teach non- official languages
regulations of school choice	Autonomous decision	Guided decision
curriculum and pedagogy	The curriculum makes reference to national diversity	Compensatory education

In our view, three theses can take account of the factors that have splintered multiculturalism in this way. Two of them actually emerge from a reading of Figure 1. The third one draws on empirical evidence from research about school practices.

First thesis: Splintering multiculturalism through policy contradictions

In Spain educational policy has splintered multiculturalism so far because it has restricted collective rights to a partial protection of national minorities.

1. The reading of Figure 1 portrays the restriction of collective rights in the Spanish educational system. Roughly speaking, on the one hand national minorities are considered subjects of cultural rights, partial initiatives have been carried out in order to assert the equality of co-official languages and these minorities have been included in the system in a normal way; on the other hand, ethnic minorities are only conferred with social rights and have been included in base to exceptional measures such as guided choice or compensatory education.

Two qualifications are necessary here. Firstly, the protection of national minorities is far for complete and has not been naturalised. Political conflicts are common, some regional governments recall confrontation when negotiating institutional competencies, and others also recall confrontation in order to limit the influence of minority national languages. Secondly, in spite of a certain consensus to provide educational and health services to ethnic minorities regardless of their legal status, successive Foreign Condition Acts (1985, 2000, 2001) have curtailed their political rights.

2. In its present form, the educational multi-nation state damages the structural opportunities to implement an educational poly-ethnic state. The two logics are contradictory in many senses, the first one threatens to absorb the second one, and the second one can block the first one.

To start with, the two logics are contradictory (Bonal 2000). The multi-nation state has admitted the possibility of affirmative action at a regional level on the grounds to protect the collective language rights by means of curriculum diversification. On the contrary, the poly-ethnic state only admits affirmative action on individual and exceptional grounds. Thus this contradiction hollows the meaning out of local affirmative actions to attend ethnic minorities. They can only be emergency and temporary solutions whose legitimation is weak by definition. As a consequence, there are no official stimuli to invent new democratic local forms of ethnic relations.

The present form of the multi-nation state may even absorb the present form of the poly-ethnic state, since the exceptional character of the second one always situates it into a secondary position in the political agenda. A multicultural curriculum rejects two nationalistic suppositions, namely that nations are simply modern facts and minorities from a 'backward origin' have to assume them as they are. It aims to convince teachers that culture is a dynamic reality that can be re-defined in a democratic sense (Stoer & Cortesao 1995). But the very notion of multicultural curriculum is often used by either one or other nationalism against its opponents. For instance, Catalan activists argue that Spanish nationalism threatens to assimilate them, whereas from another point of view it is repeatedly argued that in Catalonia the non-Catalan speaking groups are compelled to assimilate. As a consequence, it is not one but two modern and contradictory facts what multicultural teachers have to challenge in many occasions.

Conversely, in their present form, the poly-ethnic side of a multicultural educational policy can also block its multi-national side. The recent nature of immigration and legal problems make it very difficult for families to settle in Spain at once. Then many

students arrive to middle primary and secondary courses without any knowledge of the co-official languages and a previous experience in another educational system. Logically, new immersion initiatives are necessary so that they learn these languages. However, this kind of initiatives is the bone of contention of linguistic policies. Thus the legitimation of linguistic policies directed to immigrants is frail, and the correspondent language support services lack resources. Besides, it is difficult to establish a general framework, and sometimes they simply become the excuse to legitimise even physical segregation within the school.

Second thesis: Splintering multiculturalism through the restriction of poly-ethnic rights

Education policy has eroded the necessary legitimation of educational poly-ethnic rights, since it has only accepted them as an exceptional protection of Spanish natives against discrimination. This type of collective rights is implemented by means of permanent measures intended to help minorities to express their cultural particularity and pride without hampering their societal opportunities (Kymlicka 1995, p. 31). An important poly-ethnic right has proved to be school restructuring as a result of the involvement of parents from the ethnic minorities (Hidalgo et al. 1995; Apple & Beane 1997). But such opportunity has only been attributed to the gipsy minority, to weak national minorities and to ethnic minorities emerged from internal migration. In all these cases it came to be a second-hand solution to improve ethnic relations between Spanish citizens within the framework of the multi-nation state. It is not possible to extend poly-ethnic rights to the new ethnic minorities drawing on similar resources of legitimation.

Gipsies are a special case due to their ancient 'immigration' and their difficulty to become a nation without a homeland. San Román (1994) has argued that they constitute the 'disturbing difference' inasmuch as they have only been recognised during the democratic transition. At that moment, some of them were integrated as petty shopkeepers in some cities, others had become construction labourers or industrial workers and suffered the hard economic crisis of the seventies, and others were vendors who lived in more or less permanent illegal settlements in the edge of urban areas. The acculturation of the second ones and the pressure to build facilities in the same places where the third ones were settled triggered many local conflicts in the eighties. Non-gipsy neighbours usually accused them to be drug dealers or to occupy their place on an illegitimate base (Aguilar et al. 1995) and rejected their attendance to state schools. Conflicts also came up when some of them were awarded public housing. They used apartments as an extension of multi-family households, and most of them were ironmongers, who sold out many parts of those apartments. Thus the new democratic local governments felt the need to invent new local solutions, such as providing public terraced houses. These solutions actually created poly-ethnic rights, and many of them had an educational character; for instance, the adaptation of the curriculum to particular gipsy communities (CIDE 1997) or the provision of local support to teachers' associations in order to create adult schools for the gipsies.

On a similar ground, local governments have introduced Catalan in primary schools in Eastern Aragón. Aragón has a regional government (Comunidad Autónoma). Although three languages are spoken in the region on a clearly multi-nation base, only Spanish is official. This is the language in the capital and in the most of the territory. Several

bilingual Aragonese and Spanish localities persist in the Pyerenees, in spite of the deep process of substitution that the ancient Aragonese language has experienced due to migration and crude assimilation. And a stripe of bilingual Catalan and Spanish localities stretches along the official limits of the two regions of Catalonia and Aragón. Here public opinion and cultural associations have struggled to keep an Aragonese identity and speak Catalan, and some local governments have funded Catalan teachers in the local schools (Espluga & Capdevila 1995).

In the 1920s many Murcians and Andalusians emigrated towards the industrial Catalonia. From 1950 until 1975 many people from Southern Spain (namely, the regions of Andalucía and Extremadura) emigrated towards the industrial Northern regions, mainly Madrid, the Basque Country and Catalonia. In a sense, they became ethnic minorities due to their cultural rural practices in a new urban context. Furthermore, they became ethnic minorities within the minority nations of Euskadi (Basque Country) and Catalonia. They also created their ethnic associations (Casas Regionales) and became an important political actor. The Catalan linguistic policy was possible thanks to their support. Later on, they have struggled to gain several poly-ethnic rights such as the permission to hold public ethnic parties or the teaching of folklore as a voluntary school activity (Woolard, 1989; Delgado, 1998).

To put it in a nutshell, poly-ethnic rights have only been a second solution to create a multi-nation state. Their implementation has divided the local reality from the symbolic national sphere, so that the symbolic construction of overlapping nations has been congruent with particular local exceptions. However, current immigration policy attributes integration to local authorities. Then it precisely raises the problematic of

ethnic relations at a local level, i.e. the very level that poly-ethnic rights have so far uncoupled with the multi-nation symbolic arrangements. For this reason, it is very difficult to extend the previous experiences that make these rights effective.

Lack of adult education centres has become a further obstacle. Obviously, since learning the co-official languages is necessary for integration, the participation of immigrants could start there. However, adult education schools have been traditionally scarce, their number has not increase in spite of the language policy objectives, and enrolment may even have decreased recently due to the adoption of a more academic curriculum (Formariz 1999). This is one of the sharpest contradictions of Catalan politics of ethnicity, as Woolard (1989) has designated the relations between Catalans and Castilians during the democratic transition. Adult education has not been promoted at all in spite of the consensus about disseminating the Catalan language and immersion programmes at school, and the explicit objective of the Government to 'nationalise' the country (Argelaguet 1999, p. 270).

Third thesis: Splintering multiculturalism by individualising and normalising educational diversity

In Spain educational policy has also constrained multiculturalism because the implementation of the 1990 Education Act has individualised and normalised the very instrument it foresaw in order to comply with this objective, namely "educational diversity". As a consequence, multiculturalism has been spuriously identified with individual curriculum adaptation, and affirmative action has been precluded.

That reform aimed to implement so-called 'modern' pedagogies in order to democratise the whole system. Relying on a new university speciality, namely psycho-pedagogy, several scholars drew a new curriculum based on Piaget's principles of individual development. Their basic rationale argued that meaningful learning occurred through mediation between knowledge and individual students. On these grounds, they pointed general and specific objectives for each cycle and established that child-centred methods were more scientific than others. Some of them became policy-makers actively involved in the development of the reform.

By 'individualising educational diversity' we mean transforming it into a psychological issue regardless of its references to social groups. Although its official definition included some remote references to equality, it was transformed into a pedagogic tool simply by listing a long number of its alleged components. But attainment, speed of learning and motivation were always located at the first positions of such lists. The following text, extracted form an official document, illustrates this tendency:

"Some micro-components of educational diversity are the following ones: acquisition level attained, pace of learning and working, motivation and preference about specific areas of knowledge, shyness or communication difficulties, visual learning, auditory learning, interactive preferences (specific persons to work with), learning skills, level of autonomy-dependence, level of willingness, self-esteem (...)" (Departamento de Educación 1994 p. 118).

Secondary schools have also submitted a special type of students to individualisation (and partially, to normalisation). Actually, every year many of these schools receive new students who have just arrived and lack basic linguistic and (sometimes) academic skills. In Catalonia, for instance, the official response has consisted of separated School

Adaptation Workshops, whose impact has seldom been fruitful. According to the reports of some professionals, the implementation of these workshops has often been a patchwork that has raised perverse effects. Many workshops have mixed these newcomers and other minority students with a normal performance, and almost all of them have gathered students who did not speak any European language. Certainly, many of them have become ghettos from where middle- classes fly away by means of asking a place at a private-owned school, but the narrow definition of the problem as a matter of distribution has often hidden vested strategies of assimilation (Carbonell 2000, p. 93). What is more, these students have been often moved from their school in order to join a common workshop with another school. As a consequence, ethnicity has been transformed into a label to justify streaming. It is the reason to separate minority students from their school due to their allegedly a-normal situation. Officially, such solution should foster their individual adaptation, but eventually induces them to join mono-ethnic anti-school peer groups (Carbonell 2000, pp. 125-126).

By 'normalising educational diversity' we want to spell out two of its connotations. On the one hand, the former individualisation requires a criterion for evaluation, which has come from the archetype of the middle class male professional in a very easy way. Many teachers make decisions according to the belief that students are distributed along fixed normal distributions of skills and motivation. On the other hand, educational authorities have endeavoured to supply teachers with packed strategies to "attend diversity", such as streaming, curriculum adaptation or differential evaluation (Bonal & Rambla 1999).

"If the teacher has three groups in the same classroom (those doing well, those with a middle level and under-performers), he has to overwork. This is the best way to 'kill' teachers. The best solution would be to separate the best group and to educate the others apart" (Social Science teacher)

"You have at-risk children, who cannot read or write, normal and advanced students How can I divide myself in order to attend so many students? It is impossible. Attention to diversity is a fallacy: either there are two teachers in the classroom or we have single-ability groups, or it is a fallacy" (Catalan language teacher).

Normalisation has been particularly salient at the primary level due to the widespread concern with concentration. Several reports have repeatedly shown that most social workers, teachers and parents' associations focus the main inter-ethnic problems on the concentration of many immigrant students at certain state-owned schools (Maluquer 1997). Although such concentration actually hinders integration, the restriction of the political problem to this issue has eventually crowded out other complementary and necessary measures such as the cultural references included in the school curriculum and pedagogy, the equity of results or organisational re-structuring in order to improve minority involvement. The same rule is projected over all situations regardless of theses further objectives of multiculturalism.

Ethnographic research also reports that teachers can endeavour to attend diversity even though they don't have assumed the child-centred principles of the 1990 ERA. Some of them simply ignore under-performers, but others try to control a big class-group by distributing different worksheets or repeating an explanation. In this sense, they have eventually come to implement the psychology- driven suggestion that teachers have to mediate between knowledge and each individual student. It is not surprising at all that such strategy is exhausting for them (Bonal, Rambla & Rovira 2000).

It could be also added that the individualisation and normalisation of diversity has raised a perverse effect. In fact, many teacher representatives have claimed for a counter-reform that liberated them from such overwork as under-performing students produced (Bonal & González 1999). The new Quality in Education Act (MEC 2002) aims to introduce severe streaming on very similar grounds.

Conclusion

In Spain education policy has splintered multiculturalism inasmuch as it has divided its several and necessary dimensions. Neither the multi-nation and the poly-ethnic state have been integrated nor strategies to attain equal opportunities and outcomes have included affirmative action. For this reasons, the very term 'multiculturalism' has received many and contradictory connotations in political and academic debates.

To be precise, we have stated three theses in order to analyse how multiculturalism has been eventually splintered. Policy contradictions (thesis 1), restriction of poly-ethnic rights (thesis 2) and both individualisation and normalisation of educational diversity (thesis 3) have brought such effect about. It is our view that these processes are the local manifestations of two broader factors that the sociology of social and educational policies has repeatedly highlighted.

On the one hand, the introduction of this type of rhetoric is not surprising in a society that in his most recent past has tried to catch up with the most advanced countries in Europe and has aimed to link his social, political and economic future to the top four

European countries (Germany, France, United Kingdom and Italy). The 'image of the centre' (Santos 1992) fits here perfectly: multicultural discourses and policies are *taken* from the centre, showing clear policy dependence.

On the other hand, the EU convergence process does not only affect fiscal or monetary policies, but it also means the adaptation of migration policies and multicultural strategies that have been characterised by its proximity to Northern interests and the ignorance of the South, and specifically of the Mediterranean (Sultana 1998). In this sense, Alegre (2000, p. 410) suggests an explanation of the shortcomings of poly-ethnic measures. His analysis of Spanish immigration policies highlights they were submitted to the objective to close the European boundaries even before the immigrants arrived. Besides, since the first Foreign Condition Act (1985), such policy has tightly linked legal residence to employment, what has activated a vicious circle of exclusion. Although they are different factors, violent re-settlement and chronic school failure have also excluded the gipsies from societal core positions (San Román 1994). As a consequence, in spite of the rhetoric of modernisation through multiculturalism, the actual implementation of poly-ethnic measures has simply aimed to transform ethnic minorities into cheap labour commodities.

References

Aguilar, M.; Gaviria, M. & Laparra, M. 1995. "Exclusión social y políticas de integración en la Comunidad de Madrid", *Economía y Sociedad*, 12, 217--232.

Alegre, M.A. 2000. "La política de inmigración". In *Cambios en el estado del bienestar*, edited by Adelantado, J. Barcelona: Icaria.

Apple, M. & Beane, J. 1997. *Escuelas democráticas.* Madrid: Morata.

Argelaguet, J. 1998. "Las políticas lingüísticas: diversidad de modelos lingüístico-escolares". In *Políticas públicas en España*, edited by Gomà, R. & Subirats, J. Barcelona: Ariel.

Argelaguet, J. 1999. *Partits, llengua i escola. Anàlisi de la política lingüística de la Generalitat de Catalunya en l'ensenyament obligatori (1980-1995).* Barcelona: Editorial Mediterrània.

Bonal, X. 2000. "O multiculturalismo interno e externo em Espanha: funçoes de legitimaçao e recontextualizaçao educativa", *Educaçao, Sociedade e Culturas*, 14, 7-24.

Bonal, X. & González, I. 1999. "Sociedad civil y política educativa actual". In *¿Existe sociedad civil en España?*, edited by Subirats, J. Madrid: Fundación Encuentro.

Bonal, X. & Rambla, X. 1996. "Is There a Semiperipheral Type of Schooling? Education, the State and Social Movements in Spain, 1970-1994", *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, 1 (1), 13-27.

Bonal, X. & Rambla, X. 1999. "The Recontextualisation Process of Educational Diversity: new forms to legitimise pedagogic practice", *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 9, (3), 293-313.

Bonal, X; Rambla, X. & Rovira, M. 2000. "Una anàlisi sociològica de l'atenció a la diversitat, *Temps d'Educació*, 24, 427-442.

Bonal, X. & Rambla, X. 2001. "La política educativa a Catalunya: universalització, fragmentació i reproducció de les desigualtats". In *Govern i polítiques públiques a Catalunya (1980-2000). Autonomia i benestar,* edited by Gomà, R. & Subirats, J. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona/ Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Calero, J. & Bonal, X. 1999. *Política educativa y gasto público en educación. Aspectos teóricos y una aplicación al caso español.* Barcelona: Pomares-Corredor.

Carbonell, F. 1997. "Entre la oveja Dolly y las reservas indias", *Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, 264, 24-29.

Carbonell, F. 2000. "L'educació obligatòria i els infants immigrats extracomunitaris", In *Educació i immigració. Els reptes educatius de la diversitat cultural i l'exclusió social*, edited by Carbonell, F. Barcelona: Editorial Mediterrània.

Casey, J. 1998. "Las políticas de inmigración: la regulación de admisión y la acción integradora". In *Políticas públicas en España*, edited by Gomà, R. & Subirats, J. Barcelona: Ariel.

CIDE .1997. *Catorce años de investigaciones sobre las desigualdades en educación en España.* Madrid: MEC.

Delgado, M. 1998. *Diversitat i integració.* Barcelona: Empúries

Departamento de Educación. 1994. *Diseño curricular base. Bachillerato. Materias comunes.* Vitoria: Eusko Jaurlaritza.

Espluga, J. & Capdevila, A. 1995. *Franja, frontera i llengua. Conflictes d'identitat en els pobles d'Aragó que parlen català.* Lleida: Pagès Editors.

Fishman, J. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevendon: Multilingual Matters.

Formariz, A. 2000. "L'educació de les persones adultes i els immigrats extracomunitaris", In *Educació i immigració. Els reptes educatius de la diversitat cultural i l'exclusió social*, edited by Carbonell, F. Barcelona: Editorial Mediterrània.

Hidalgo, N.M; Siu, S-F.; Bright, J.A.; Swap, S.M. & Epstein, J. 1995. "Research on Families, Schools and Communities: a Multicultural Perspective". In *Handbook of Multicultural Education,* edited by Banks, J. & Banks, Ch.New York: Mac Millan.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística. 2001. *Encuesta de Población Activa. Módulo de Transición al Trabajo*. http://www.ine.es, 15/01/2002.

Kymlicka, W. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kymlicka, W. 2000. "Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: A North- American View", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26(4), 720-730.

Lerena, C. 1985. *Materiales de sociología de la educación y de la cultura*. Madrid: Grupo Cero.

Lerena, C. 1987. *Educación y sociología en España*. Madrid: Akal.

Maluquer, E. 1997. "Municipis i immigració", In *Informe sobre immigració i treball social,* edited by Diputació de Barcelona. Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona.

Ministerio de Educación y Cultura. 2002. *Documento de Bases para una Ley de Calidad de la Educación*. http://www.mecc.es, 01/04/2002.

Monés, Jordi. 1984. *L'escola a Catalunya sota el franquisme*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

Rambla, X. 1997. "La classificació lingüística de les posicions socials a Catalunya i la Franja d'Aragó", *Revista Catalana de Sociologia*, 4, 5-20.

Rambla, X. 1998. "Social relations and school choice in Spain", *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, 3 (2), 1-17.

San Román, T. 1994 *La diferència inquietant. Velles i noves estratègies culturals dels gitanos*. Barcelona: Altafulla.

Santos, B. S. 1992. *O Estado e a Sociedade em Portugal (1974-1988)*. Porto: Ediçoes Afrontamento.

Sultana, R. 1998. "The Mediterranean: a new focus for comparative education studies?", In *Education and the Structuring of the European Space: North-South, Centre-Periphery, Identity-Otherness*, edited by Kazamias, A.M. & Spillanes, M.G. Athens: Serios.

Stoer, S. & Cortesao, L. 1995. "Critical inter/multicultural education and the process of transnationalisation: a view from the semiperiphery", *Journal of Educational Policy*, 10 (4), 373-384.

Wieviorka, M. 1999. "Será que o multiculturalismo é a resposta", *Educaçao, Sociedade, e Culturas*, 12, 7-46.

Woolard, K. 1989. *Double Talk.Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia.* California: Stanford University Press.