



ROMANIAN PUPILS AT THE SPANISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS: CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES BETWEEN FORMER AND CURRENT EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

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During the last few years, East-Europeans, predominantly Romanians, have become the second largest cultural minority in Catalonia (Spain). Spanish educational institutions now have students from more than twenty different cultures. This paper focuses on the educational background and the factors which characterize the educational experience of Romanian students prior to attending schools in Spain, and how this affects their experiences into Catalonian primary schools. Twenty seven interviews were undertaken, of Catalonian and Romanian teachers, of experts and parents from the host primary schools where the proportion of Romanian students was highest. Two focus-group sessions were carried out with school teachers from Romania. The analysis shows that there is some consistency between educational practices and values in Romania and the practices and values of the host schools. The ability of children to assimilate into the host school is directly influenced by their previous experience in the schools in their country of origin.

Key Words: immigration, primary school, Romanians, teacher training, Romanian pupils

INTRODUCTION

During the last years most of Western European countries have seen an increasing number of immigrants. This “age of migration” (Castles and Miller, 2003) has meant that the destination countries are now host to a wide variety of immigrants, most of them children. As a consequence, host schools have to deal with higher numbers of new students from different countries (OECD, 2007; Portes and Hao, 2004) and have re-designed their educational and social

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programs to assimilate students from abroad and promote their successful academic performance (Kao and Thompson, 2003).

In some countries, such as Ireland, Spain and Italy, the percentage of foreign students has increased three or four times since 2000 (European Commission, 2008). Patterns of migration are changeable in nature, and in Spain patterns of immigration have been characterized by the rate at which foreigners arrive and the variety of their countries of origin. Catalonia, one of the Spanish Autonomous Communities, is host to large numbers of immigrants from a variety of countries, comprising amongst others students, women and temporary workers. According to the records of the Immigration Observatory of Catalonia (Migracat.cat, 2009), in Catalonia 28.8% of immigrants come from other European countries.

Romanians comprise the second largest foreign group in Spain, second only to Moroccans. The census of January 1st of 2009 records the presence of 96.448 Romanians only in Catalonia. Between 2008 and 2009, there were 9,762 Romanian students enrolled in educational institutions in Catalonia, 6.2% of the total foreign students. Of these, almost half were in Primary education, and 3 out of 10 were in Secondary education (data provided by the Immigration Agency Bulletin, 2009- Migracat.cat).

CONTEXT AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Some studies carried out among immigrant families have shown that they can retain the educational values, ideologies, expectations, and the conceptions of the role of regulations and rules which they had in their country of origin. In such cases, there arises the possibility of discrepancies between the culture of the country of origin and the culture of the destination country, which can create conflicts with regard to the educational system of the host country.

According to some studies, the process of integrating into a new culture has an impact not only on the family context and its functioning (Cohen and Yizhak, 1989; Dolev-Gindelman, 1989; Weiner et al., 2001 cited by Roer-Strier, 2006) but also in the identity development of immigrant children (Kahane, 1986) and their integration into the school system in the host country (Orr, Mana, and Mana, 2003). At the level of school life, several variables related to membership of a cultural group, such as lifestyle, values, desires and habits can be considered as determinants of behavior (Tudge et al, 1999).

Recent literature has focused on differences between immigrant groups. For example, some research projects carried out in USA have focused on school success among immigrant students. The results from the USA indicate that Mexican-Americans and Afro-Americans perform differently to Asiatic and Native-Americans (Bankston and Zhou, 2002; Kao, Tienda, and Schneider, 1996; Miller, 1995). In the European context, similar differences have been also found among the immigrant groups of Holland (van Tubergen and van de Werfhorst, 2007), Belgium (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, and Crul, 2003) and Germany (Worbs, 2003).

When identifying factors determining differences in school success, researchers have shown both individual (Kao and Thompson, 2003) and collective determinants. Among the individual determinants are factors relating to the cultural situation (for example, motivation to participate, language issues, communication skills, attitude to work) and structural characteristics (for instance, the amount of parental capital or the length of time since the arrival of the family) of different groups.

Explanations of the academic level of immigrant groups and the differences in academic success have been mainly studied in light of Coleman report ("Equality of Educational Opportunity", 1966). In his report, Coleman pointed that some immigrants attend schools in a "position of disadvantage" and further analysis showed that ethnic and social-economic inequities have a negative effect upon the academic performance of immigrant students (Driessen, 2007; Schofield, 1989).

One common feature of the above studies is the stress they all place on the importance of considering the educational background of immigrant children and its impact on the immigrants' inclusion in the schools of the host country. Despite the expression of interest in this subject, there are only few studies dedicated to the integration of the Romanian immigrants in Europe, especially of Romanian pupils in European primary schools.

Bearing this in mind, a group from University of Barcelona has undertaken a project whose main objective is to analyze Romanian students' educational experiences and those educational practices in origin and host countries which may serve to enhance the inclusion of immigrant students from Romania into the Catalan educational system, and to conduct an analysis of those previous educational factors which can serve to help or hinder Romanian children's inclusion in Catalonian schools.

The main objective of our research is to analyze, from a cultural point of view, the values, knowledge and competences of Romanian students who have arrived as immigrants in Catalonia. Drawing on the work of this study, the present article aims:

- To identify and analyse the competences and knowledge which form the background of Romanian students who have arrived as immigrants and entered Catalonian schools.
- To describe how teachers in Catalonian schools perceive Romanian students and how such perceptions influence the inclusion process.

METHOD

This study was conducted from a phenomenological research perspective (Marton & Booth, 1997). The methodology is qualitative and in practical terms, qualitatively different ways of understanding are constituted by comparing and contrasting interview (or other) data from a sample group. At one level, each person's way of experiencing a phenomenon is unique, and there is endless variation in small differences between interviews.

The data for this study was collected from 2008 to 2010, using the following sources:

- Semi-structured interviews carried out in Catalonia and Romania
- Focus-groups

For this study, we conducted 27 in-depth interviews with experts in education, teachers from Catalonia and Romania and key figures from Spain (Catalonia) and Romania, the geographical distribution of which can be seen in the table number 1.

Table 1. Distribution of interviews by countries

<i>Country</i>	<i>Total no of interviews</i>
Spain (Catalonia)	20
Romania	7

In addition we conducted two focus groups with teachers in Romania and Catalonia in order to identify and clarify the main areas of the research. Those invited to participate in this phase were:

- In Catalonia: teachers in primary education schools, teachers of "Welcome Classrooms", experts in immigration issues and representatives from the Romanian community.

- In Romania: teachers in primary education schools and experts in intercultural issues teachers, directors and others involved in education.

The target group was selected from those Catalonian schools with the highest proportion of immigrants from Romania. The sample was recruited in the Guisona Region and the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (Sitges, Vilanova-Garraf, Castelldefels, Lloret-La Selva, Badalona). The participants were selected to represent as much variation as possible, being from varied cultural backgrounds, with varying levels of experience as a teacher, and having different relations with the Romanian community in Catalonia.

The capital, Bucharest, was the region of Romania chosen. This region was chosen because it has the highest number of immigrants registered there and in addition, it enabled the researchers to have easy access to experts in integration and intercultural education issues, who were interviewed as part of the research.

The sample and participants characteristics are explained below:

Table 2. Data collection techniques and participants description in Romania

<i>Town</i>	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Data collection techniques</i>	<i>Number and description of the participants</i>
Ploiesti	School no.3	Focus group	10 primary education teachers
Bucarest	School no 141	In-depth interview	Head of the school Cultural mediator
Bucarest	School no 139	In-depth interview	Head of the school Educational matters responsible
Bucarest	University of Bucarest	In-depth interview	Expert in multicultural education Expert in migration Expert in cultural mediation
Total interviews		7	
Total focus-group		1	

Table 3. Data collection techniques and participants description in Catalonia

<i>Town</i>	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Data collection techniques</i>	<i>Number and description of the participants</i>
Sant Vicenç Castellet	De CEIP Mare De Deu Del Roser	In-depth interview	Welcome Classrooms teacher
Guissona	IES	Focus-group	12 teachers
Guissona	IES	In-depth interview	Welcome Classrooms teacher
Guissona	IES	In-depth interview	Profesor TIC
Badalona	CEIP Josep Boada	In-depth interview	Welcome Classrooms teacher
Badalona	CEIP Margarida Xirgu	In-depth interview	Welcome Classrooms teacher
Castelldefels	CEIP	In-depth interview	Welcome Classrooms teacher
Les Roquetes, Sant Pere de Ribes	CEIP Santa Eulàlia	In-depth interview	Welcome Classrooms teacher
Vilanova i la Geltrú	CEIP La Ginesta	In-depth interview	Head of Welcome Classrooms
Santa Coloma de Gramanet	Casal dels Infants del Raval	In-depth interview	Social worker
Badalona	Badalona Sud San Roc Consortium	In-depth interview	Head of Welcome Classrooms
Barcelona	Romanian Association	In-depth interview	Romanian Community representing
Barcelona	Casa Romania de Catalonia	In-depth interview	Romanian Community representing
Barcelona	Casa Romania de Catalonia	In-depth interview	Romanian Community representing
Barcelona		In-depth interview	Romanian Community representing
Barcelona	Romanian Association	In-depth interview	Romanian Community representing President of ASOCROM Association
Barcelona	Casal dels Infants del Raval	In-depth interview	Romanian Community representing (social worker at Gitanas Rumanas).
Barcelona		In-depth interview	Parents
Badalona		In-depth interview	Parents
Barcelona		In-depth interview	Parents
Sitges		In-depth interview	Parents
Total interviews parents	4		
Total interviews experts	10		
Total focus-group	1		
Total interviews to Romanian Community represeting	6		

The interviews were taken between 45 and 60 minutes and the focus-groups about one hour. The following is a sample of the blocks and the main topics used in the interviews (Table 4) and focus-groups (Table 5):

Table 4. Sample of the main topics used in the interviews

- | <i>Topics/questions</i> |
|---|
| <i>First part: school</i> |
| 1. What are the strengths of education in Romania, in your opinion? |
| 2. What you consider that are the weaknesses of education in Romania? |
| 3. In what ways children have more difficulties in integration? |
| 4. Which are the Romanian pupils' academic competencies? |
| 5. How do you describe the Romanian pupils from point of view of the discipline? |
| <i>Second part: family-school relation</i> |
| 6. How do you describe the relation between family and school of the Romanian families? |
| 7. How do you should improve this relationship? |

Table 5. Sample of the main topics used in focus-group discussion

<i>Topics of discussion</i>	<i>Content indicators</i>
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content (subjects, evaluation system) • Learning and work habits • Attitudes • Values • Competencies • Teachers perceptions about Romanian pupils behaviour • Didactical methods, resources • Others
Relation school-families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation • Families networks • Mentoring and its function • Family support • Educational alternatives • Others

Instruments have been validated in groups of experts and through pilot interviews.

The information was analyzed with the program NVIVO8 qualitative data analysis. Has started with the main topics raised in the information-gathering topics which have been added during the research process.

A summary of these categories of analysis are shown in the following table:

Tabl 6. Codes

<i>Category</i>
Current changes in the educational system
Romanian migration – characteristics
Non formal educational context
Language competencies
Educational differences' Romania- Catalonia
Integration
Values in origin country
Attitudes related with the Romanian pupils
Values in host country
Competencies and work- learning habits
Welcome classrooms -participation
Discipline
<i>Category: school- family</i>
Relations with parents
Parents implication
Mentoring activities
Communication family- school; frequency and content

RESULTS

Firstly, the general level of ability of Romanian pupils was analyzed. Teachers in the country of origin consider that children leave Romanian institutions with good overall levels of ability:

“They know foreign languages, are able to work at computers, have good working skills and have rich knowledge” (P.D).

The data analysis showed the skills and competencies which the pupils had were considered to be very important for education. Skills and competencies included discipline, performance in languages and the ability to use computers.

Some of the interviewees considered that:

“Romanian schools are still characterized by the high value they place on discipline, by carefully organized work and strong institutional principles. Education is taken very seriously in Romanian schools and there is a strong emphasis on formal teaching. There are a lot of exams.” (D.T.)

Teachers from Romania and Catalonia agreed that the discipline and respect towards teachers are important values within the Romanian educational system.

"It is a system which favours the development of memory and thinking skills. In this sense, the education in Romania really works. With regard to the Spanish system, it is there is a lack of attention towards diversity of values, and group work; however, it is formal, and it is effective. A pupil cannot move up to the next grade if he or she fails a course. Teachers are generally well regarded, both in the classroom and outside the class". (A.V)

According to the teachers, perseverance and a willingness to work hard are factors which characterise Romanian pupils.

"Despite some cases of indiscipline, teachers give high importance to high levels of concentration and a willingness to stick to a task" (A.)

The Romanian children did not show higher rates of undisciplined behavior, nor of learning disabilities, which would require more support on the part of the teachers involved in their education. One of the teachers pointed that:

"However, these children never have problems among themselves, they work in groups, respect each other, play and let others to play in the courtyard, have very good values and participate in collective activities" (D. T.)

Some particular perceptions about the Romanian education system are added to this analysis. One of the teachers interviewed considers that:

"Primary school works very effectively. However, as children proceed further down the educational system, there is an increasing emphasis on theorizing, to the detriment of the more functional aspects of education." (D.T.)

The same speaker went on to clarify this point about the relative balance of the conceptual and the practical.

"Subjects of little value are introduced which pupils will never have to make use of" (D.T.).

Although most of the Romanian pupils showed acceptable standards of behavior, some of them were lacking in social abilities and lacked the capacity to establish good relationships with peers or to work in groups. Regarding this, one of the teachers said:

"They still need to improve some of their skills, for example, their abilities to establish personal relationships and they need to improve their capacity to engage in group work. In my opinion our pupils have problems with things like team spirit. (In Romania, in our schools) it is

not possible to arrange the room in ways that facilitate children working together in groups because of the way classrooms are laid out. In order to work in groups, children have to move around the classroom, which can be uncomfortable for them. However, despite these difficulties, they do work in pairs and they learn how to cooperate" (C.D).

This has caused problems for teachers and their limits ability to implement activities that lead to better social integration and to implement group work. For example, teachers from Catalonia consider that Romanian pupils are among the intellectually very well prepared for school in Spain, but are limited in their ability to work in groups.

"At the time of their arrival Romanian pupils are about two years ahead of their Spanish counterparts in both content and habits of study" (P.I.).

Our data show that one of the main strengths of Romanian pupils, which is related to their level of integration in the school system, is their high level of academic skills. Most of the people interviewed agree that:

"Romanian pupils show some of the highest levels of adaptation to educational practices in Catalonia" (A).

The best way to deal with immigrant pupils in schools converged when it came to the Spanish / Catalan language. Teachers commented that language is without question the first obstacle immigrant children have to surmount, and it is also one of the schools' main concerns.

"Children should learn the language before they start attending regular classes with the other children" (A1)

Given the Latin roots of Romanian, Spanish and Catalan, immigrant pupils from Romania have a distinct advantage when it comes to learning their new language, as one of the interviewees remarked:

"The common roots of languages, Romanian and Spanish, and the excellent academic background of Romanian pupils are among the factors in favor of the learning of a new language". (V.A).

Whilst Spanish is learned easily, support teachers pointed out serious problems in the use and learning of Catalan. Those teachers stated that in classrooms with higher percentages of immigrant pupils, the use of Catalan is almost zero. This linguistic problem has an affect on how parental involvement, and for the support teachers report that it can lead to problems regarding work set for completion outside the classroom.

Linguistic competence was highlighted by teachers in the country of origin. One of the teachers interviewed described Romanian pupils as well educated, illustrating this by citing the case of a student “*whose handwriting at five years is excellent*” (A.). In addition, the same teacher emphasized that Romanian pupils are highly motivated to learn, and that phonetic skills form part of the curriculum.

The perception of teachers regarding Romanian pupils and their background is considered as one of their strengths, and it is seen as likely to lead to continuing improvements in the achievements of Romanian pupils:

“Their abilities and interest in languages, and their creative potential are the most positive characteristics of Romanian pupils. It is something very common among Romanian students and as a consequence we are seeing better and better educational results”.

Adaptation is another feature among Romanian pupils; One of the teachers interviewed commented:

“They adapt very quickly to a school environment. It is important to take into account the fact that Romanian students begin compulsory education at the five years of age (M.A)

Due to the fact that Romanian students level of education may be in advance of the curriculum, teachers often lack appropriate pedagogic materials and do not have sufficient alternative activities to offer in the classroom.

“The families often integrate very quickly into Spanish life. Difficulties arise for children who are in advance of their Spanish counterparts and who often get bored at school, because they simply do not have anything to do” (P. I.)

Despite their excellent education, some immigrant pupils face discrimination. Although any kind of discrimination is forbidden within Catalonia, as in most of the countries, there are still subtle forms of discrimination against immigrant students, and as a result, it can serve to reduce their social inclusion. One of the teachers interviewed said that:

“Being called Romanian caused me many problems some years ago” (I.).

“Although, they bear no resemblance to reality, there are some stereotypical assumptions which most of teachers have to put up with. As a consequence many teachers become reluctant to share their culture with the culture of the host country” (C.).

In this teacher's opinion, the most stereotypical view of "Romanians" can be upsetting, especially when children tell you "*you do not appear to be Romanian*", and that there "*are not many reasons to be proud of being Romanian*" (C.)

Due to the possibility of discriminatory comments, she doesn't like to make her origins known, and refuses to speak about it, except with people she knows well and ho she has chosen to discuss it with.

Although cultural and linguistic factors are the most relevant, a large number of the people interviewed considered that role of Romanian families is also a key determinant of children's performance at school. Parents usually have to come to the school when called for or when they need more information about their children. Generally, families are very respectful.

The teachers and experts interviewed stated unanimously that the families of immigrant pupils came to the school just as frequently as Catalonian families. They came when asked and sometimes on their own initiative, seldom failing to attend meetings at the school. Nor did immigrant children show higher rates of undisciplined behavior.

According to the teachers interviewed, Romanian children had similar problems to their Catalan counterparts. Those parents who did not come to school as regularly did so because their jobs did not allow this.

"They come looking for information about their children, and when they are not able to do this the usual reason is that most of them have two jobs" (A.)

Other interviewees reported that parents have limited involvement in their children's education, and in most of the cases this is partially a consequence of the parental shyness.

"They barely speak at meetings. It seems that they consider us to be authorities and so they keep quiet. The only thing they do is to agree with us, and they almost never disagree". (H.).

In addition, other teachers interviewed consider that although parents show a lot of interest in their children's education, they are not pro active:

"Families come to meetings at the beginning of the course... They are interested in their children's education but given their hours of work or their limited ability to communicate due to language problems they are reluctant to participate in large meetings... Even when they come to the meetings their participation is minimal" (M.A).

The teachers interviewed said parents of Romanian pupils are involved in their children's education, often to a greater degree than other immigrant communities.

Despite their reticence,

"At the early contact they seem quite timid, possibly due to their lack of linguistic ability or to uncertainty about how the education system works. It is often not easy for them to get in contact with us. In the first year we often need to help them to deal with administrative matters. After a period of time they become more active in seeking help or advice and become able to resolve any problems that arise. But during the initial phase they rarely approach you or ask directly for help" (A2).

Teachers consider that Romanian parents are interested in the education of their children; they appreciate the efforts of the school and get involved in the activities and success of their children.

"Our relationship with Romanian Families is very good, they are keen to get involved in the education of their children". (S.)

Parental perceptions about education, usually based on attitudes they formed in Romania, are also a strong determinant of the relation with the schools where their children study.

"Education seems to be very important for Romanians. they have great respect for it. These attitudes can be very clearly seen in both parents and students. Students are always very pleased to come to school and after the period of assimilation most of them would rather go to a Catalonian school than a Romanian one" (A3).

Another school head added:

"The verdict is that families appreciate education" (A4).

For example, one of the teachers interviewed pointed that some activities were carried out at school which were intended to encourage parents from different cultures to share aspects of their cultural background. During the course of such activities teachers found that many parents had no previous contacts with each other,

"They did not know each other. It was only a matter of time for them to make friends" (A5).

Enhancing community participation and promoting integration among parents are also among the objectives of the school.

"They are probably families who have difficulty integrating. So it is very important for them to be invited to come to the school, to get to know the resources and the neighborhood, as it could help their integration. There are other institutions which could help, given their isolation within the host society and any possible social isolation that may exist within their own immigrant community". (M.)

DISCUSSION

Recent studies also show that immigrants' abilities are a function of both the country of origin and the host (Borjas, 1987).

School mechanisms to promote social integration have multiple effects, in daily activities, in the neighborhood, and in the host society (Hortas, 2008). Our results identified some continuities and discontinuities between origin and host school approaches. Discipline, linguistic competence, participation, and a sense of the value of education are some of the continuities between origin and host school environments. Autonomy, group work and social participation outside school are some of the aspects where there is plenty of room for improvement.

Linguistic competence is one of the crucial factors related to the academic performance, however, despite this, the literature has not focused on this aspect. It has been pointed out that the use of foreign languages in the host country may hinder the use of other language and can be detrimental to the children's' academic performance. This is a conclusion which has been found by several transnational studies into the academic performance of immigrant children (Entorf and Minoiu, 2005; Marks, 2005; Schnepf, 2006).

However, there are many studies which show that bilingual students in United States often perform better at school than children from monolingual families (Zhou and Bankston, 1998).

Despite their excellent educational performance, some immigrant pupils face discrimination in school. There are still have high levels of prejudice against minorities (Portes and Zhou, 1993).

A number of the interviewees from Romanian families expressed a high level of appreciation for education. Other studies carried out in Portugal showed similar results (Hortas, 2008). The author considers that families from Eastern Europe place a great value of education and the value placed on education in their countries of origin is a strong determinant of their attitude towards the education of their children.

Despite the difference in cultures, and the different educational context of the host country, the academic performance of immigrant pupils is similar in both

the country of origin and the host country (OECD, 2007). The social inclusion of the children's parents into the host society is very important factor in promoting the inclusion of immigrant pupils.

The teachers included in our study talked about various strategies to increase parental involvement and participation at school and of developing cultural activities involving parents with different cultural backgrounds (Hortas, 2008).

Mutual knowledge of educational values will not only contribute to effective communication between parents and teachers (Roer Strier, 2000, Marchand and Orley, 2008, among others), it will also help to ensure that interventions by other agencies are more effective.

CONCLUSIONS

Seen as a place for social inclusion, school is one of the best places to promote integration. Mechanisms of social integration implemented by schools can have a significant influence within the host society. In most of the cases, families are aware of the importance of school, its social function and its role in their children's academic success.

However, there is an increasing need to achieve better levels of collaboration between professionals in the country of origin the host country, and a better understanding of educational practices and an increased similarity of educational practices could facilitate inclusion.

By way of conclusion, we should state that the country of origin has also important effects on the inclusion of immigrant students in the host country. Economic, cultural and political variables all have a role to play in determining the effectiveness of integration. How well parents are able to integrate has effects on the situation of their children at school.

It is a "must" to have teachers who are skilled in working with immigrant students. New and specifically tailored training programs are also needed, not only to enhance the teachers' intercultural competences but to help teachers overcome their own prejudices and stereotypes. It is necessary to devote particular attention to developing teaching resources for teaching staff and others which highlight the value of the Romanian culture and its diversity.

The results of this study have both general and specific implications. Further in-depth research is required to extend our understanding of the ideologies and social practices of different educational systems.

These results underline the need to carry out more specific research into immigrants from Eastern Europe, as at present there is very little specific research. But there is a growing interest among educationalists in the study of

the social context in which education is situated in the host country, in the prevailing ideologies found in the host country and in the practices of those bodies and individuals who work in partnership with the educational system.

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