

Intercultural Relations and Family-School Trust: Immigrant and Native Families in Schools of Barcelona

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*To my love Jordi,
for being always there for me*

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Abstract

The main aim of the thesis is to explain intercultural relations between immigrant and native families in the school context and how these reflect in their trust in local schools. For this purpose, I analyze the relationship between native and immigrant families and their relation to teachers, school staff and direction, considering school norms and the ways in which the differentiation between immigrant and natives takes place. I also look at what trust in schools means and how it is performed by native and immigrant families. For this purpose, I employ a theoretical framework that is situated at the intersection of the overlapping research between immigration studies and education. By linking the literature on intercultural relations and trust in schools, I develop my theoretical framework on the conditions that are important for enhancing school trust in an intercultural context. To obtain my data I use a qualitative methodology, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, for getting a richer picture of the settings and familiarizing with the ideas that are formed in the link between intercultural relations and trust in schools. The fieldwork is done in Barcelona where I interview native and immigrant parents as well as educational professionals in schools in two districts: Ciutat Vella and Sants-Montjuic.

Key words: *school trust, family- school relations, intercultural relations, immigrant and native families*

Abstracto

El objetivo principal de la tesis es explicar las relaciones interculturales entre las familias inmigrantes y nativas en el contexto escolar y cómo se reflejan en su confianza en las escuelas locales. Para este propósito, analizo la relación entre las familias nativas e inmigrantes y su relación con los maestros, el personal escolar y la dirección, considerando las normas escolares y las formas en que se lleva a cabo la diferenciación entre inmigrantes y nativos. También, investigo el significado de la confianza en las escuelas y cómo lo ven las familias nativas e inmigrantes. Para este propósito, empleo un marco teórico que se sitúa en la intersección de la investigación superpuesta entre los estudios de inmigración y la educación. Al vincular la literatura sobre las relaciones interculturales y la confianza en las escuelas, desarrollo mi marco teórico sobre las condiciones que son importantes para mejorar la confianza escolar en un contexto intercultural. Para obtener mis datos, utilizo una metodología cualitativa, entrevistas semiestructuradas y observación participante, para obtener una imagen más clara del entorno y para familiarizarme con las ideas que se forman en el vínculo entre las relaciones interculturales y la confianza en las escuelas. El trabajo de campo fue realizado en Barcelona, donde entrevisté a padres nativos e inmigrantes, así como a profesionales de la educación en escuelas de dos distritos: Ciutat Vella y Sants-Montjuic.

Palabras clave: *confianza escolar, relaciones familia-escuela, relaciones interculturales, familias inmigrantes y nativas.*

Preface

This thesis is composed of four sections: introduction, including the theory and methodology, and three articles and conclusions.

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1. CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, immigration has been on constant rise. The mix of cultures, ethnicity and races that are coming into contact is increasing, placing immigration as one of the top priorities on the agendas of the host countries. Apart from integration, the impact of immigrants in the host societies is causing much discussion. Fear of economic competition, effect of foreigners on the welfare system, usage of public goods, clash of values and threat to the overall social cohesion are some of the top issues concerning immigration (Leigh 2006; Mayda and Facchini 2006; Fitzgerald 2012; Miller 2006). There is much debate among scholars about how the large influxes of immigrants are perceived as a threat on the shared systems of meaning of societies and national communities of solidarity that are based on common culture, language, history and geographically defined territory (Letki 2008; Putnam 2007; McLaren 2012; Oosterlynck, 2016).

Furthermore, there have been several implications on how immigration affects social cohesion and trust. It has been theorized that any form of heterogeneity and diversity, such as one caused by immigration, makes cohesion, cooperation and trust more difficult to be formed and sustained (Putnam, 2007; Carey, 2017). The logic behind is that when there are different cultures, nationalities, and religions, because of a lack of knowledge of different norms, there is more incertitude and suspicion about the actions of others resulting in less cohesive and trustful relations. Nevertheless, there are still few studies, especially ethnographical ones that have tackled the ways in which interactions in ethnically diverse settings can lead to trustful relations and more social cohesion or towards more distrust, conflict and social breakdown. There is little that we know of how new social configurations and norms that are molded through the contact between immigrant and native citizens affect trust.

With growing diversity, schools are becoming socializing spaces of contact between immigrants and natives, old and new minorities and they have the ability to promote or counter new forms of cohesion and coexistence (Carrasco, 2006). Schools with diversity are the places for improving the relations between different populations and promoting positive interactions, dialogue and mutual learning (Perry and Southwell, 2011). Schools need to foster and support not only intercultural encounters and interactions between students of different ethnic and social origins but also include the

different family practices and examine their influence in the student's school integration and achievement. This triggered my interest to explore how trust towards the school is manifested by families, and how it is negotiated within an intercultural context where native, old and new immigrants come into contact.

For this purpose, this thesis analyses the relationship between native and immigrant families in public primary schools taking into account school norms and the ways in which the differentiation between immigrant and natives takes place. It explores the intercultural relationship between native and immigrant families and their trust relation to teachers, the school direction and the school community.

In Barcelona where I conducted my study, recent immigration has lead schools to reflect upon cultural diversity and family school relations. The educational and legislation policies have included the concepts of interculturalism and respect of differences, however, their implementation is done in a superficial manner and the initiatives do not necessarily address the needs of culturally diverse families (Aguado and Malik, 2001). In this context, I have conducted an exploratory study to comprehend family school trust and intercultural relations in public primary schools in Barcelona.

Therefore, the objectives of the thesis are twofold:

- To explore how family trust is formed, sustained or disrupted in schools in an intercultural context.
- To understand how trust is influenced by the different intercultural relations and how it is negotiated between immigrant and native families and the school staff.

In order to fill the thesis objectives, I include the views of all the school groups implicated in forming a trustful environment and family relations in diverse schools. Accordingly, I explore the perspectives from native and immigrant families and educators (i.e. teachers, directors and education inspectors).

In the first article, I try to answer how native parents regard immigration and how this affects their trust in schools. In this article, I explore what the main perceptions of immigration in the school context are and how prejudice and racism mark these perceptions. I differentiate between concrete and abstract trust, the first one being the trust that native families have in schools and the second one being the trust they have in education institutions.

In the second article, I study the perspective of immigrant families and I show what their perceptions of intercultural relations and trust in schools are. I examine how

they perceive their relationship with native families and other immigrant families and if they believe that the school staff takes into consideration their parenting styles, cultural and religious beliefs, and whether they think the school community is welcoming and open to their demands.

Next, the third paper shows the view of education professionals such as teachers, administration and educational inspectors. In this article, I first describe what their views are on intercultural relations and family school relations and second, I explain the practices they use to build trust, improve family school relations and create a cohesive environment between native and immigrant families.

Finally, in the conclusion I summarize my main findings and provide my theoretical contribution and the possible social implications that the findings of my thesis have.

The main aim of this introductory part is to present the theoretical framework of the thesis and the methodology I employ. In the first section, I will explain the key concepts that I use to build my theoretical framework, their relevance in the literature and how I employ them to answer my main research questions. In the second section, I will present my research aims and the main contribution that my thesis makes to the existent literature on the topic. Finally, in the third section I will contextualize the setting of research and describe the methodology that I use.

1.1 Main theoretical framework

This thesis employs a theoretical framework that is situated at the intersection of the overlapping research between immigration studies and education. The overarching framework I use in the study is school trust and I look at what are the different aspects that influence it and are salient for its formation in an intercultural context. Therefore, I borrow the concepts from both migration and education studies for my literature review and for developing my theoretical framework.

In this section, I will first define the concept of trust and then explain how trust is manifested in the school context. Then, I will link school trust to the concept of immigration and explain how school trust can be changed and challenged in a diverse context. Then, I build my own theoretical framework taking into account the aspects that link interculturality and trust. The main concepts that are relevant to understand school

trust in an intercultural context and that I will elaborate on are: intercultural relations, cultural and religious demands made by families, different education values between native and immigrant parents, family school relations and parental involvement.

1.1.1 Trust

To clearly understand trust in schools, I will first demonstrate the different definitions of trust, as it is a difficult concept to grasp and there are several interpretations, which are context dependent. There is an abundant literature on trust stemming from different fields such as psychology, sociology, political science, economy, organizational behaviour and to a lesser extent anthropology (Gambetta 1988; Hardin, 1993; Seligman, 1997; Mistzal, 1998; Grasseni 2013; Stzompka 2000; Luhmman, 2009; Carey 2017).

In organizational behaviour and economic studies, trust has been defined as “a remarkably efficient lubricant” facilitating transactions and management in organizations and reducing any possible complexities (Powell, 1990). In psychology, trust is seen as a personality trait where one has a personal disposition to trust, depending on their early life experiences and socioeconomic status and other demographic features, which makes individuals more willing to cooperate and trust others or to be more cautious, pessimistic and distrustful (Deutsch, 1962; Rotter, 1967; Simpson, 2007). In contrast, sociologist conceive trust as based on social experiences that have developed through socialization and interactions among individuals, groups and institutions (Coleman, 1990; Granovetter, 1985; Zucker, 1986). Accordingly, in sociology, trust has been defined as ranging from individual to more extensive social trust and to trust in the system such as institutional trust (Putnam, 1993; Seligman, 1997; Carey, 2017).

Scholars belonging to the field of sociology, such as O'Neill (2002), Fukuyama (1995), Stzompka (1999), Seligman (1997) and Papakostas (2012) have theorized about trust in its importance in the public sphere as it gives the way for peace and stability in society. Taking into account Putnam and Tocqueville, Mistzal (1996) has discussed trust as a public good and part of social capital that is dependent on communication and social interactions. They have described social trust, as distinct from individual trust, and arising from cooperation and shared norms among members of the community which contribute to social capital (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 26). Social trust is considered to be important in the functioning of a democratic society, as it enhances social cooperation and cohesion, and social capital.

Despite the different conceptualizations and measures, there are characteristics of trust that are common throughout all disciplines, which are used for defining trust in this thesis. All these definitions have in common that trust occurs at different levels, micro, meso and macro levels, it is multidimensional, it always involves vulnerability and risk, as well as positive expectations and a degree of interdependence between the trustee and trustor (Rousseau et al., 1998; Deutsch, 1962; Fukuyama, 1995; Mishra, 1996; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 1998; Zucker, 1986). Trust depends on the expectation of future behavior based on past experiences and the expectation that the person will act benevolently (Mistral, 1996; Govier, 1997; Sztompka, 1999). It is a belief that others will not act against their interest and the expectation that the word, promise, verbal or written statement of another individual or group can be relied upon (Rotter, 1967; Hardin, 1998; Luhmann, 2000). Therefore, trust implicates risk, as the individual gives up certain rights in order to obtain benefits (Luhmann 1979; Newton 1999). Trust entails positive expectations and vulnerability, opening oneself to possible exploitation while believing that the one that is trusted will not act in a harmful way. How much someone trusts will depend on whether the potential benefits should be greater than the potential risks for trusting, how vulnerable they want to be to the other party and what expectations they have for the future (Frederiksen, 2012; Møllering, 2001). For trusting there is a necessity of interdependence among individuals or groups, as one party relies on the other. The higher the degree of interdependence, the more need for trust (Rousseau et al., 1998).

1.1.2 School trust

In relation to schools, trust has been said to be the foundation of school effectiveness and higher student achievement (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Forsyth et al., 2006). Trust leads to stronger social networks and social capital (Coleman, 1988), which for schools means a stronger and reliable community that leads to successful schools (Bryk and Schneider, 2002). These cooperative and high trust relationships that emanate from the school community are beneficial for the everyday functioning of the schools making improvement efforts easier to be implemented (Bryk and Schneider, 2002).

Despite the benefits that high trust represents for schools, it has been understudied and the literature on school trust is scarce (Tsachenn and Hoy, 2000). In education literature trust has been conceptualized as the “work group’s generalized expectancy that

the words, actions, and promises of another individual, group, or organization can be relied on” (Hoy and Kupersmith, 1985, p.2).

The definitions on school trust have distinguished between the different levels of the schooling system as trust can differ depending on what is being entrusted and the type of trust relation (Nooteboom, 2007; Frederiksen, 2012). Trust in schools can involve institutional trust, the confidence and satisfaction with the education system and with its institutional legitimacy, as well as interpersonal trust, that is trust in the school staff in the local school (Nooteboom, 2007; Frederiksen 2012). The trust that families place in the education system and the local public schools can differ, but trust or distrust can easily spillover from one level to another (Richardson & Bucheri, 2016).

Mishler and Rose (1997) have proposed that trust in institutions, such as schools, depends on individual trust based on personal characteristics, and the subsequent social experiences a person has and on the evaluations of the institutional performance (Mishler and Rose, 1997). Apart from performance, trust in institutions depends on the reputation (Sztompka, 1999). In schools this is difficult to measure as the goals can differ and the reputation of schools is many times based on word of mouth reputation of other parents and if available on test performance and scores (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000).

There are two main approaches of researching trust at the school level- theory of relational trust (Bryk and Schneider, 2002) and theory of collective trust (Forsyth et al, 2011). The theory of relational trust focuses on the everyday social exchanges and interpersonal relationships that are built at the individual level between parents, students, teachers and administrators. Collective trust is different from relational trust but it can also be complementary to it. Collective trust occurs at the group level and is therefore collectively constructed and dependent on the social exchanges and interactions between different school groups, but also upon the interactions within one’s own group (Adams et al, 2009). Unlike interpersonal trust, it is based on collective perceptions and thus it is usually measured through survey methodology (see Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000).

My research is mostly inspired on the theory of relational trust, as I am interested in researching trust that develops at the interpersonal level and it can be more telling of how the intercultural relations can influence trust during these social exchanges at the individual level. Therefore, considering the relational theory on school trust, I emphasize the importance of the relations between the school staff, teachers, directors, students and parents and to which extent they regard each other as trustworthy.

However, I consider the characteristics of both collective and relational trust to develop my theoretical framework of school trust and produce a holistic picture of the trust process that are at play. Thus, the main indicators of trust I am considering in this thesis are openness, competence, benevolence, reliability, honesty and respect, as the graph below shows (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Forsyth et al.2011).

Openness	Is the extent to which information is shared and the extent to which actions and plans are transparent
Benevolence	Is the confidence that the trusted person or group will protect and act in one's interests
Competence	Is having the necessary skills and expertise in fulfilling obligations
Reliability	Is the extent to which one can rely upon another that their needs will be met
Honesty	Is the integrity of the trustor and the coherence between their statements and deeds
Respect	Is the recognition of the other person's or group's value and expertise and considering their views

Table 1: Components of school trust

Note: Definitions are based on the elements of trust defined by Bryk and Schneider (2002) and Forsyth et al (2011)

Therefore, trust in schools will depend on how much the different school groups will abide by these characteristics and if one of them is not fulfilled there can have repercussions on the trustful relationship. In the case of families, for example, they interact with the school staff and other families and it is through these relations and interactions that families will make their decision on whether to trust the schools.

Each school group has a certain role and obligations in regard to the other school groups, making them highly interdependent, and it is through joint collaboration they needed to achieve the desired results (Bryk and Schneider, 2002). The school

administration has the role to determine the norms and control the policies of the school. The teachers' role is to ensure cooperation and regular meetings with parents, discuss their children's progress, and promote a learning atmosphere in the classroom (Hatch, 2006). Parents responsibilities to the school include being aware of their child's behavior, communicating with teachers, reinforcing school expectations at home, and providing a healthy home environment (Forsyth et al, 2011). Thus, the families are vulnerable to the school staff for their children's academic success, while the school staff also have to rely on families to promote school values at home.

School trust is based on three principal mechanisms that are cognitive, affective and behavioral (Adams, 2008). Behavioral mechanisms refer to the openness and collegiality of the teacher principal relationships from which all groups involved in the school benefit. Cognitive conditions are the beliefs of the performance capability of the school and if the bureaucratic structures enable cooperation. Affective mechanisms refer to the emotional attachment of the different groups to the school (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2006). In relation to families, as they are outsiders to the internal functioning of the schools the affective mechanisms are the most important.

These three mechanisms leading to trust are created through and dependent upon a functioning school culture and school climate. The school culture is the set of beliefs and assumptions among the school staff as well as the shared norms, values and expectations that the school transmits and the rituals that have built over time (Peterson and Deal, 1998). While the school climate is based on the perceptions of the school staff and it refers the quality of relations among the teachers, students, administrators and parents, the school atmosphere and exterior image it projects (Carrasco, 2004; Glisson and Green, 2006). An inclusive school culture and climate can make families feel involved in the school and promote student's learning. The school staff must ensure the culture and climate are inclusive by providing information, a space for families to voice out their concerns and eliminate possible barriers for their participation (Ramsey, 2004).

Apart from good relations, other external conditions are important for fostering trust. These conditions do not necessarily lead to a trustful school environment, but they can pave the road for trustful relations to be formed. These are a small school size, a stable school community and degree of voluntariness (Bryk and Schneider, 2002). In a small school there are more possibilities for closer social interactions to develop and administrative structures should be less complex. If families have voluntarily chosen the school, there is greater probability that they will trust the school than if the school was

assigned to them, as they could be more uncertain and suspicious towards it. Finally, if the school community is stable the school staff can develop sustainable projects and family engagement initiatives that lead to direct communication among families and closer relations with the school staff. Therefore, when there is high immigrant fluctuation and students and families constantly change, sustainable projects and solid relations are harder to be formed.

1.1.3 Trust and Immigration

Immigration, although beneficial in many aspects, it has been said to have negative impact on trust (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000; Putnam, 2007). In a more heterogeneous society, it is expected that people are less trustful, as it is more difficult to predict the actions of others (Putnam 2007; Knack and Keefer 1997). The main concern is if others will comply with the same norms and forms of behaviour as would be the case in a more ethnically homogeneous society where the same cultural, social and moral values are more clearly spelled out. This non-predictability of the motivations of people that are not from the same cultural and ethnic background, according to several scholars, can lead to fewer interactions with others from the same and from a different background, which may turn into less trust and overall less social cohesion (Putnam 2007; Coleman 1988).

The logic behind is that people tend to trust more people that are like them in terms of certain characteristics such as social class, family background, and ethnicity, that is the ones who they consider as insiders and are more suspicious towards people who are different. Therefore, sharing the ethnic background can lead to more trustful relations (Zucker, 1986). While when there is diversity, there is more uncertainty and unpredictability about the actions of others as shared experiences are less common. Any situation that puts in contact people from different cultural backgrounds can generate mutual misunderstandings because the interpretation of behaviour and communication can be based on previously generated stereotypes and prejudices. Misrepresentations of each other's action and inability to comprehend each other's action can lead to a spiral of misunderstandings that lead to conflict. All of these lead to lower possibilities for trust to be formed and sustained.

In this thesis, I define immigrants as the minorities that come to a host society from another country with their cultural habits, religion, language and customs. How their

culture and customs are regarded by the host society will define the nature of intercultural relations that the native population will establish with different immigrant groups. Thus, in this thesis, I will look at the categories of ethnic, cultural and religious identities and how they influence the dialogue and social exchanges between people pertaining to various cultural backgrounds. How the intercultural dynamics that develop between immigrants and natives can directly influence trust.

1.1.4 Aspects that affect school trust in an intercultural context

By taking into consideration previous literature and intersecting it with the empirical findings of this thesis I have developed my own theoretical framework for understanding the aspects that affect school trust in an intercultural context. In this section I will lay out my academic contribution to the theory and the main framework of the thesis which are the factors that can influence trust in schools in an intercultural context. I consider that in an intercultural context, where schools need to accommodate the needs of families with different ethnicities, religions and cultures, school trust will depend on the following aspects: nature of the intercultural relations that are established between immigrant and native families and between immigrant families and the school staff, on how the school manages the cultural and religious demands of immigrant families and how native families regard them, on finding common education values between immigrant and native families and the school staff, and the nature of family school relations and degree of parental involvement. In the figure below, I show what I consider the most important aspects that influence school trust in an intercultural context:

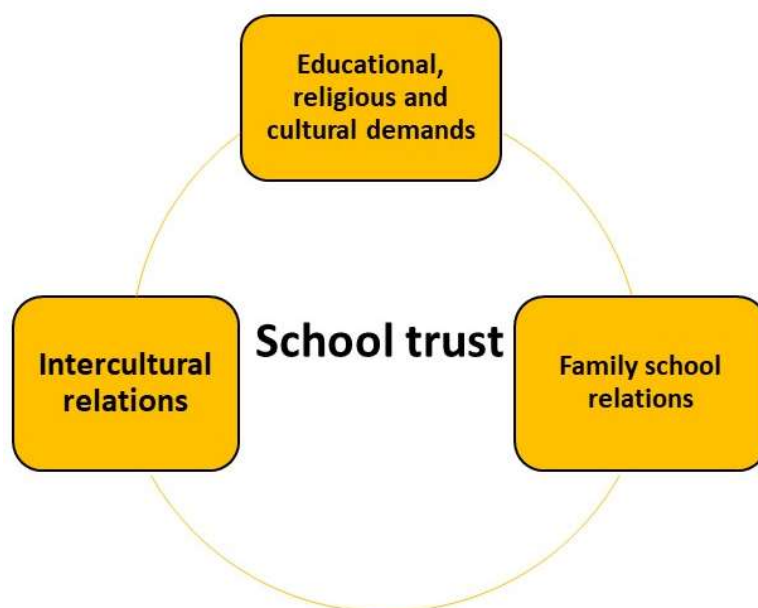


Figure 1. Aspects that influence school trust in an intercultural context

In the following paragraphs, I will explain each concept and what it means in relation to school trust.

a) Intercultural relations: ethnic prejudice, racism and discrimination

Intercultural relations can range from positive to tense, marked by prejudice, racism and discrimination (Stephan and Stephan, 2001). Contact theory and social identity theory have explained how intercultural dynamics are developed depending on the social categories that a person belongs which can range from nationality, religion to political affiliation. This sense of belonging is related to a set of values and norms that relate to a certain group. The belief and evaluative systems that are established for certain social categories, even though they might not be strictly realistic, define intercultural relations (Hogg et al., 2013).

I understand intercultural relations as based on the exchanges and contact between groups of different ethnic and cultural origins and the mechanisms through which ethnic and cultural affiliations define the boundaries and the norms of interaction between the in-group and the out-group (Carrasco, 2001; Ballestin, 2008). In this thesis I look at the relations between natives and immigrants, natives being the ones born in Spain or abroad to Spanish parents, and immigrants being those who are not Spanish citizens at birth as

well as those who have become Spanish citizens through naturalization. For the purpose of my research I define the children that are born in Spain to at least one immigrant parent as second-generation immigrants.

In a context where there is diversity, group identities are influenced by contact with people from the same ethnic group and by their ethnic and cultural values (Verkuyten, 2007). When there are different religions, cultures and nationalities, the evaluation system is based on the norms and values of one's own ethnic group and therefore the evaluation of other ethnic groups is more negative in comparison to one's own group. When there is not enough knowledge of other cultures, people tend to base their opinion on stereotypes. It is through categorizations that stereotypes are formed, as they are associations between categories and characteristics of a certain group, which are either formed from cultural or social differences between groups or through an "illusory correlation" that links a group to a certain attribute (Brown, 1995, pg. 87). Therefore, stereotypes are based on generalizations of opinions about an out-group and they facilitate communications between in-group members. Upon these stereotypes attitudes are formed, which yield to prejudice. It is the content of the stereotypes that determines whether the prejudice will be negative or positive (Burns and Gimpel, 2000).

I understand prejudice as "the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of discriminatory behavior towards members of a group on account of other members of a group" which includes biased attitudes, hostile feelings, and discriminatory or oppressive behavior (Brown 1995, pg. 9). Since, in this thesis I am dealing with ethnic prejudice, the attitudes are based on cultural, religious, racial, and national distinctions. Ethnic prejudice can derive in a set of social relations and institutional arrangements that produce inequalities between groups on the grounds of ethnicity or race that is racism (Clark, Anderson, Clark, Williams, 1999; Pettigrew y Taylor, 2001).

According to Pettigrew and Meertens, there are two main types of prejudice: "blatant prejudice" and "subtle prejudice" (1995, pg.58). "Subtle prejudice" by the native population is explained as a need to defend their cultural and traditional values, overstating the differences with the immigrant population as well as no feelings of empathy towards the outsiders. This type of prejudice is manifested through subtle and acceptable expressions such as unease, insecurity or feelings of threat (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Rueda and Navas, 1996). While, "blatant prejudice" is defined as a direct rejection of an out-group, in this case the immigrant group, which is considered as

threatening. This is the most direct form of prejudice, however, as being openly prejudiced is regarded as socially undesirable, this type of prejudice is not so openly manifested and subtle prejudice is more common. Within this theoretical tradition, I distinguish between two types of discrimination: blatant, that is open and direct, and subtle that is indirect and more ambiguous forms of discrimination that at the same time can be a perpetuation of blatant discrimination (Pettigrew, 1985). These subtle forms of prejudice and racism can happen unconsciously and indirectly making them more difficult to address (Lentin 2004; Titley and Lentin 2008). Nonetheless, in the same way as blatant and traditional racism, these subtle forms also perpetuate and reinforce the relations of power and domination that certain ethnic groups have over others (Wieviorka, 1991). Subtle prejudice and racism have derived in a new anti-immigrant rhetoric that is based on exaggerating cultural differences, which are seen as insurmountable (Stolcke 1995). The new racism labeled as “culturalist racism” naturalizes the cultural differences, such as different customs and habits, of the immigrant population and portrays them to be incompatible with the values of the host society (Wodak and Reisigl, 1999, pg.181). This racism can have detrimental consequences on the immigrant groups pushing them further into exclusion and marginalization from the dominant society and its institutions.

Depending on their historical relation with the host country, different immigrant groups can be more prone to experience discrimination. A colonial past and a low economic position of the country of origin can have an impact on the construction of the social imaginary of certain immigrant groups (Balibar, 1992). Thus, phenotype and social class become the determinants on how the native population will regard different immigrant groups (Hellgren, 2018). Phenotypically more identifiable immigrants are more prone to suffer from discrimination than the children of white immigrants (Aparicio and Portes, 2014). Usually, the non-European immigration is related to an undesired cultural baggage, backwardness and intrusion, and is distinguished from the European one. In Spanish schools, the image of immigration, especially the one coming from non-European economically disadvantaged countries, is associated with school degradation, conflict and violence (Aramburu, 2002; Carrasco, 2004). Language, religion, lower level of education of immigrant children, differences in view of education goals by their parents, low participation of families in the autochthonous culture, and inferiority of the immigrant culture are the main problems perceived by the native population (Carrasco et al, 2009). As these collectives tend to be more exposed to racism, discrimination, poverty and segregation, schools identify immigrant families as problematic (Suarez-Orozco et

al., 2011). These negative characteristics attributed to immigrant families can impact negatively their integration and relation to the school leading to their lower parental involvement and collaboration and overall negative dispositions towards schooling (Garreta, 2008; Carrasco et al, 2009). As the processes within the family have a huge consequence on students' success, negative attitudes of the families towards schooling can result in low academic achievement and social status of immigrant students contributing to their poor learning (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Ogbu, 2008). Also, the school culture can be exclusionary in terms of race, religion or culture and it can reinforce ethnic differences and power imbalances (Graham & Juvonen, 2002). Hostile conditions can prevail where prejudice and discrimination derive in harassment or violence leading to higher school absence of ethnic minorities (Erickson et al. 2004; Whitted & Dupper, 2005). Moreover, perceived discrimination can have a negative effect on the academic performance, peer to peer relations, as well as psychological well being of students of ethnic minorities (Brown and Bigler, 2005; Stone & Han, 2005). Similarly, perceiving other members of one's own ethnic group to be discriminated can have the same negative effects on the other members of the group (Brown and Bigler, 2005). The culture of origin of the immigrant families can be used as a determinant of the academic trajectory and success of the students by the school staff. As school ethnographies have shown (Valenzuela 1999; Carrasco, 2003; Pamies 2006) minority students can be overrepresented in class groups of low prestige since the stratification is done in relation to the students from the dominant culture. Thus, the higher cultural distance that is perceived by the school staff results in the vision that the education of immigrant families from impoverished countries is deficient and that it needs to be compensated for.

Therefore, these strenuous intercultural relations pose difficulties in public school settings (Dessel, 2010), as in-group members may regard out-group members negatively (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000; Erdogan, 2016). It has been shown that teacher trust in parents and students is lower in schools with a diverse student body (Goddard et al., 2001; Van Maele and Van Houtte, 2009), as teachers tend to evaluate more positively their relations with students from the same ethnic background. Therefore, strenuous intercultural relations are expected to have an impact in shaping native's view of schools as natives would be more fearful of immigrants integrating well and not abiding to the established social and cultural norms represented in the education system. Also, immigrant groups can be perceived as receiving too many concessions and priority treatment by the host institutions which should be reserved for the native population

(Finney and Simpson, 2009). While immigrant families might perceive discrimination and unequal treatment by other native families as well as the school staff. All of this could result in a deteriorated internal context of the school, climate and culture, and the external context, the community, deteriorating the conditions for trust.

b) Different educational, cultural and religious values

Intercultural relations and overall diversity can pose challenges and conflicts in the school environment. Firstly, schools are places where there are constant social interactions that occur at a daily basis and for an extended period which can be years during the child's schooling progress. Secondly, all the different school groups have their own interests and views of education. On one side, there are the educators, which would be the local schools, teachers and directors and different education institutions, (Ministries, City councils that determine the policies of schools) and on the other side there are the families. Families can differ greatly in their interests and this can be accentuated even more between immigrant and native families. Ethnic tensions can occur because of different cultural and religious practices, dissimilarity about how children should be raised and diverging education values between immigrant families and the native ones (Larson, 1997; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000; Carrasco et al, 2009; Dessel, 2010). Furthermore, various immigrant communities can have different demands from the school.

Issues concerning religion such as religious instruction, dietary needs, celebration of religious holidays can become sources of conflict in schools. Gender can be a sensitive topic for parents who do not regard the education values of the host society as appropriate for their daughters. At the same time, the school can provide educational opportunities for female children (Olneck, 2004). Different assumptions about curriculum issues, play related activities, and the question of religious symbols and certain type of attire can be some of the challenges related to diversity in education.

Different education values between the ones that are transmitted by immigrant families at home and the ones that are propagated by the school can become a bone of contention. There can be clear division between those families that belong and whose educational values and culture are similar to the national one and those who are considered as outsiders and whose cultural practices and values are not tolerated (Smyth, 2009).

The values and norms that are part of the school culture are not necessarily universal and they are based on the societal and cultural codes as well as points of view of the majority which is represented by the school staff (Bernstein, 1996; Delpit, 1997). This is why, according to the culturalist approach, the culture of immigrant families can clash with the one propagated by the school (Banks, 1993; Erickson, 1987; Spindler, 2000). This includes the models of socialization such as school activities, parenting styles and family school relations which are imposed by the dominant society and the middle and high classes (Ballestin, 2008). Also, the communication styles between teachers and students can differ and teachers may not accept students home styles in the classroom (Erickson, 1987). All of this can make immigrant families consider distant and alien the host education system (Bertran, 2005). Thus, immigrant families may need more time for adjusting and for acquiring these new forms of socialization which can result in misunderstandings of their behaviour by the school staff and present academic obstacles for the children (Carrasco et al., 2002). Cultural differences can result in misunderstandings between families and the school staff which can lead students to fail academically and to develop distrust towards schooling (Erickson, 1987).

Besides, some immigrant groups or families might be more prone to accept the values of the dominant culture while others can develop an oppositional one. This is depending on the relation that their country of origin has with the dominant society and the history and the position of the minority group in relation to the dominant group (Ogbu, 1998). Ethnic groups who have a history of relations of slavery, colonization, oppression, or of negative social representations by the dominant group can be rather pessimistic of their opportunities and they might not believe that they are equally rewarded for their education merits as are members of the majority. This would lead them to develop an oppositional culture to the school and not accept the dominant society's educational values.

Therefore, the power asymmetries between the national and immigrant families and the families and educators mark the nature of relations and what practices are recognized and tolerated in schools. The economic, cultural and social resources that families have at their disposal can influence their relation to the school and how their demands will be interpreted.

Schools must manage the national heritage and traditions of different immigrant groups within the educational framework of the school and the host society's identity.

They must give the necessary support for all ethnic groups to view themselves as part of the same community.

In context of diversity, trust will depend on how tolerant and respectful schools are towards other cultures and how much a school is willing to embrace cultural and religious diversity. If schools do not acknowledge the different cultures and nationalities, boundaries between families and schools can be enforced (Lipman, 1997; McDermott & Gospodinoff, 1979). The interest of different ethnic groups must be considered and schools need to garner consensus among them to foster trust. Apart from attaining to the needs of different cultural and religious groups, schools must reinforce certain educational values and objectives. If not handled well it can pose a challenge for trust.

c) Family- school relations

When there is understanding among parents and the school staff about the norms and values of education trust is more easily formed. Therefore, the nature of family-school relations is an important determinant of family trust in schools (Adams and Christenson, 2000; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Trust between the school staff and families is important because it can lead to more harmonious relations between both parties where both are willing to take risks for the benefit of the children (Van Maele et al., 2015). While, the lack of trust can be an impediment for solid family school relations to be formed especially in schools with diversity (Lawson, 2003).

Parents, especially in early ages, mold the behavior of children and form their identity with their examples. Apart from the impact that the socioeconomic class and the educational level of the family has on the academic success of children, family school relations are very important because they directly impact student success and are crucial for achieving quality of education and improving the cognitive abilities of children (Driessen et al, 2004). The relationship between families and school staff can help students' social development and establishing of social ties (Valenzuela, 1999). This is even more important for immigrant students as they are usually at risk of underachievement and are more prone to be discriminated. Parents have a huge impact on how children will cope with these risks and have access to quality education (Aparicio and Portes, 2014). Therefore, schools with diversity need to pay special attention to family school relations. For this reason, there is an extensive research on family school relations (Banks, 1993) which has included studies on family school partnership (Mitra,

2009) school effectiveness (Forsyth et al. 2006), community involvement (Warren et al., 2011), and social capital (Moonkman et al. 2005).

In the case of families from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds research has focused on how families collaborate with the school (Trueba, 1991; Delgado Gaitan, 1991; Epstein, 1992; Chavkin, 1993; Ogbu, 1998; Trumbull et al. 2003; Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2005; Denessen, 2007; Kanouté and Llevot, 2008; Turney et al. 2009). The literature on funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al., 1993) has dealt with the educational practices that teachers can develop that are derived from the homes of immigrant students to transmit new information and establish a culturally inclusive curriculum. Valenzuela (1999) in her book on “Subtractive Schooling: U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring” has explored how a caring relationship between teachers and students, in which teachers accept the cultural and religious beliefs of students, will make them feel more welcomed in the school and it will have a positive effect on their achievement (Gonzalez et al., 1993). These research has shown the different ways in which minority groups form and understand partnerships with the school and how they are involved in their children’s education

However, researchers such as Bakston and Zhou (2002), have shown that it is hard to demonstrate clearly how family school relations impact the academic trajectories and the educational integration of children. In the case of immigrant families and children this is even harder to predict. It depends very much on the immigrant group, their migratory paths, and the local context they enter and their relationship with the dominant society (Ogbu, 1998; Carrasco et al., 2009). Nevertheless, it is certain that the expectations of the families about education and the trust they deposit in schools will influence the academic achievement and integration of the children (Carrasco et al. 2009). Nevertheless, there are still few studies that have explored family trust and even less so the link between trust and diversity.

From the literature on family trust we know that it is dependent upon a solid school climate and culture, on the family’s perception of relations with the school direction and administration, in other parents, and in teachers and students (Forsyth and Barneés, 2002; Forsyth et al, 2011). These social relations and interactions are crucial for cultivating trust as well as the willingness of families to “accept the goals, standards and instructional approaches as legitimate and to cooperate with schools” (Ogbu, 1981, pg.22).

The school staff has an enormous effect on how families will evaluate the school and through promoting the right family relationships, they can promote trust. In order to

foster trust, schools need to encourage communication with parents, assure an atmosphere of respect, cooperation and a mutual understanding of what children need. The school staff need to demonstrate that their school are competent and that they are looking for the best interest of the child, while at the same time give parents the opportunity to be involved in their children's education (Adams and Christenson, 2000).

The school staff and families need to share tasks and responsibilities (McNamara et al., 2000) and a trustful school environment will depend on their mutual understanding of what these tasks and responsibilities are.

Even though, the school and the families should work hand in hand often there is certain distance and conflict between them (Garreta, 2008) as home and school role towards the children's education can overlap and the boundaries between the two spheres can become blurred (Lightfoot, 1981). Also family school relationships depend on what the schools have to offer to the families and if it matches the possibilities of participation as well as the interests of the families (Bertran, 2005). The ambiguities of the responsibilities between school staff and parents can enhance the distrust between them if they are not clarified. In the context of diversity, the distance between school and home can be even more accentuated as the school needs to accommodate the needs of native as well as immigrant families and assure no racial and ethnic tensions (Kim, 2009). Apart from this, immigrant families have their dynamics and their own understanding of schooling and how they relate to it. The previous schooling experience of the families as well as their work and living conditions and overall opportunities of integration in the host country determine their expectations towards the school and the relations they will establish with it (Garreta, 2008). All of these can pose a challenge to the family-school model and hamper a trustful school environment.

Thus, trustful family school relations are based on the communication, respect, cooperation, shared understanding of the values of education of children, and meaningful parent involvement (K. Adams & Christenson, 2000; Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Adams et al., 2009). One of the most important aspects of family school relations and the foundation for family trust in schools is parental involvement (Ogbu, 1981; Forsyth et al., 2011). The relation between parental involvement and trust is bidirectional, parental involvement fosters a better school climate and therefore more trust, while trustful relationships between school staff and families and a positive school climate lead to higher parental involvement (Henderson and Mapp, 2000).

There are two main perspectives regarding parental involvement that are school-based and home-based involvement (Epstein, 2001). For school based parental involvement, the initiatives and activities are started by the school and they take place in the school, while the home-based parent involvement is started by parents and the activities take place within the family. Furthermore, there are six main types of involvement as laid down by Epstein (1992, 2001): helping parents provide a positive home environment; communicating about the child's school progress; volunteering at school activities; supporting learning at home; involving parents in the decision-making process such as school boards and councils; and collaborating with the wider community and services.

In an intercultural context, this model does not necessarily attain to the needs of immigrant families (Trumbull et al., 2001) and is more difficult to be implemented as schools often serve families differently depending on their race, minority status and social class (Lareau, 1989; Saravia-Shore & Martinez, 1992; Wells, A. and Serna, I., 1996; Mcgrath and Kuriloff 1999). However, the parental involvement policies that predominate in schools assume that all parents have the same needs and resources and that their children can be treated in the same manner. This obfuscates the real needs of immigrant families as well as the obstacles they face to get involved in the school (Crozier, 2001).

The school requirement of parental involvement can clash with immigrant families' vision of parental involvement or their real necessities (Crozier, 2001; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Theodorou, 2007; Poureslami et al., 2013). This is especially the case when the models of involvement are imposed by the school reinforcing the power relations that are embedded in the relation between immigrant families and schools (Lightfoot, 1981). The school often has standardized parental involvement requirements based on the school culture and on the ideal model of the parent excluding the parents that do not have the required cultural and social capital (Coleman, 1988).

There can be misunderstandings and misconceptions about the right way of parental involvement and parents and school staff can have negative stereotypes about each other. Conflicts between immigrant parents and school can stem out from different values attached to education or at least the perception that the values are different. Schools might not have enough knowledge about the parenting styles of the families and about their motivation, practices and aspirations for their children. Immigrant families can feel that the school is not respecting their parenting styles and that cultural and

religious customs and beliefs. If these misconceptions about the different parental involvement and different values are not articulated and dealt with, it can wear down school trust as the school staff and families may disregard each other's roles in the children's education (Carrasco, 2009). The lack of resources and capabilities of schools is strongly related to the lower involvement of immigrant families. Apart from school factors, individual variables are also reasons to be looked at for the lower participation rate of immigrant families (Walker et al, 2005). Individual barriers which include limited knowledge of language, strict working schedules, low self-esteem, lack of social networks, previous negative experiences with the school, physically demanding jobs, different needs and lower socio-economic status among others can result in their lower involvement (Lareau, 1987; Antunez, 2000; Goddard et al. 2001; Trumbull et al., 2001; Li, 2003; Kim, 2009). Immigrant parents can lack the knowledge of the education system and the formal communication style of the school and can perceive there is distance or that their opinions are not welcomed and validated from the school staff (Bertran, 2005; Schofield, 2006). Also, depending on their relationship with the dominant society, immigrant groups may not want to participate according to the rules and norms imposed by the dominant culture (Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b).

Therefore, immigrant parents are usually less present in school decision making bodies or the parent associations and it is mostly native and middle-class parents that are active and make their voices heard and laid down the rules of parental involvement (Doucet, 2011). Immigrant parents might perceive barriers for their involvement by native parents and their initiatives or intents might be deemed as unsuitable for the school (Lareau and Horvat, 1999; Smrekar and Cohen-Vogel, 2001). Research has shown that although parental involvement initiatives can be useful, it can also cause more inequality as it serves better families that know the rules of school participation (Crozier, 2001). This is because schools' norms and initiatives are closer to the needs and home culture of native middle-class parents, making migrant families in a disadvantaged position in relation to information and authority (Fine, 1993; Li, 2006). This often makes immigrant parents to be regarded as disinterested in the school activities, while their interest might be the same as of their native counterparts (Daniel-White, 2002).

Therefore, schools have to promote parental involvement according to immigrant families needs and to negotiate the different interests of native and immigrant families.

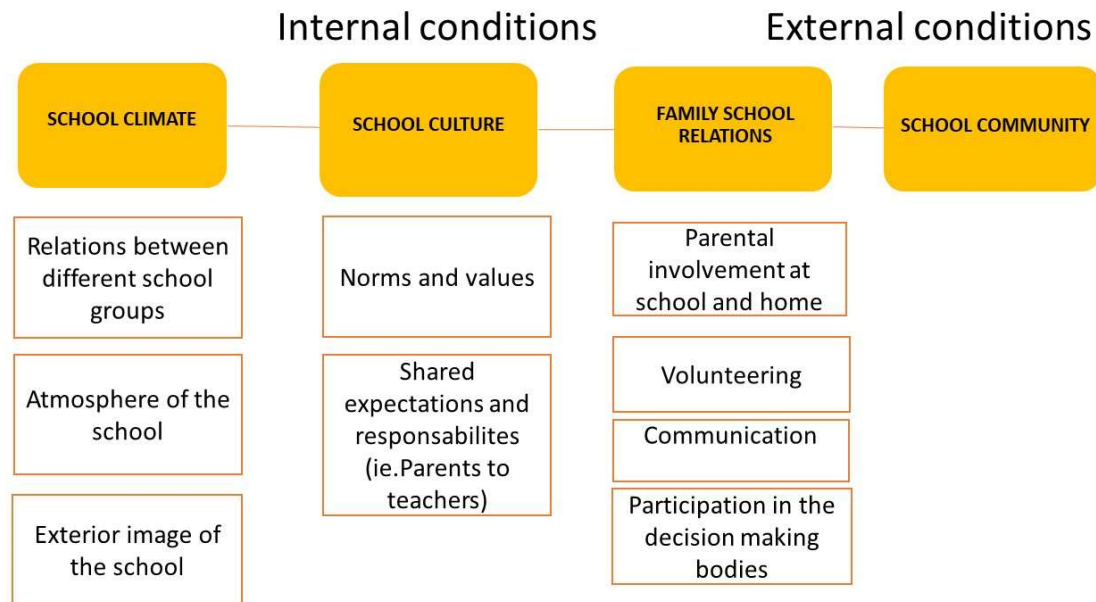
For parental involvement to lead to trust, schools need to ease any possible tensions between immigrant and native families in order to be responsive to both groups.

1.2. Research Aims

Considering this previous research, in this thesis I provide evidence on how the above-mentioned aspects influence school trust in an intercultural context, where native families, old and new immigrant groups meet. I examine the social relations among the different school groups and the context within which they are formed. I look at family trust towards the school as well as what schools do to create a trustful environment. I consider both internal conditions, such as the culture and climate of the school, the nature of family school relations and the external conditions such as the school community.

As we can see in the following graph, trust in schools is determined by both internal and external conditions, as they are interdependent. School trust depends on internal conditions, such as a solid school climate and culture, which have an influence on the type of family school relations that are formed. Family school relations lay at the intersection between internal and external conditions of family trust, as a better school climate and culture lead to stronger family school relations, while a solid school community creates the necessary conditions to foster trustful family school relations. Finally, intercultural relations can influence both internal and external conditions.

Intercultural Relations



Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Epstein, 1995;2001

Table 2: Internal and external conditions that affect school trust

In the thesis, I look at how these conditions leading to school trust will be influenced by intercultural relations.

1.3. Context of research

1.3.1 Spanish intercultural education context

Spain, as a relatively new immigration country, has experienced a rapid increase in its immigrant population in the last twenty years and in the arrival of family members of the established immigrants. In Catalonia the increase in the immigrant population has followed the same pattern as in the rest of the country and nowadays there are 17% of immigrants (Domingo and Bayona, 2016).

Regarding the education of these immigrant children in Catalonia, their presence in schools has increased from 3% to 18.3% in the last twenty years (Domingo and Bayona, 2016; Consorci d'Educació, 2015). Nowadays, every eight students in the school has a

foreign nationality. The weight of the rapid growth of these pupils in compulsory education (from 6 to 16) and their high presence in the obligatory pre-school education has been assumed mostly by public schools (Gibson and Carrasco, 2009). The immigration flows from Catalonia have encompassed a variety of children with different languages, and nationalities being the most numerous immigrants from Africa (40,9%), Latinamerica (24.4%), and Asia (14%), reversing the trend from previous decades where immigrants from South America were predominant (Domingo and Bayona, 2016).

This increase in the foreign population has coincided with the Organic Law of Education of 2006 (LOE) which anticipated the support for students from other countries who have entered the education system at a later stage. The LOE, categorized immigrant students under the special education needs group, for which schools need to provide necessary support for language problems or for their difficulty of integrating into the normal classes. (Rao et al., 2014). Furthermore, in Catalonia, the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (*Pla per a la Llengua i Cohesio Social*) in 2004 was established as the new tool for attending diversity and for assuring the academic success as well as the social inclusion of immigrant children while preserving Catalan as the main vehicular language in a multilingual context (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004). The plan was articulated within the discourse of interculturality based on equality, solidarity and respect towards cultural diversity by fomenting equal opportunities and eradicating any type of marginalization (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2004). The implementation of the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion is done through the elaboration of a set of actions that facilitate the integration of immigrant students. These include the creation of the Reception Classrooms for learning the language, Workshops for Educational Adaptation and Learning Basic Skills (TAE), the integration of community resources within the existing school programme and special training of teaching staff in intercultural education and support with didactic material for the teaching staff. According to the plan, immigrant students that enter the primary school are supposed to enter the Reception Classrooms, unless they have entered the school in first grade. However, immigrant students are supposed to spend only half of their school day in the Reception Classroom and be in school with the other students in subjects such as music and physical education.

These educational policies, although considered as progressive and advocating intercultural interventions, were criticized by scholars for framing diversity in terms of deficit and promoting an image of culturally deprived families and students that need to overcome the barriers of their own cultures in order to integrate in the education system

(Pamies, 2006; Franze, 2008). The strategy of “externalization” (pg. 4, Franze, 2008) when dealing with diversity by creating spaces, programmes and professionals that are isolated and external to the mainstream classroom and teachers has been shown to create even more segregation of immigrant youth and to hinder intercultural contact (Poveda et al., 2014). Also, their native language, education in the home countries, family and community background and overall outside factors to the school domain are held responsible for the lower academic achievement of immigrant children rather than the schools or teachers’ educational strategies (Poveda et al, 2014).

1.3.2 Types of Schools

Schools in Spain are divided into public, private and semi-private schools. Public schools are financed through public funding and are state regulated and teachers are hired through public examinations. While in private schools it is the families through tuitions that finance the schools, which are privately regulated. Semi-private schools historically have been schools owned by the Catholic church, while nowadays they are not necessarily religious. They are something in between the previous two types, as they are privately owned but they receive public funding if they follow state regulations in terms of school curriculum and student enrolment, that is guaranteeing the non-selection of students (Verger and Bonal, 2012). These schools can still decide which teachers to hire and can ask families to pay a certain amount for tuition (del Olmo, 2010). However, in practice these schools do not always follow the same criteria of enrolment as public schools and deviate from the legal practices by denying or encouraging the entrance of certain pupils (del Olmo, 2011).

The duality of the Spanish public system, divided into the private and semi-private schools on one hand and the public schools on the other hand, has been accentuated even more with the arrival of the immigrant population, which has centred mostly in the public schools. In the current Spanish literature, authors have two main understanding of the issue a cultural explanation concentrating on the religious and socioeconomic factors and an economic explanation, which states the lack of economic resources of the new population to enrol in the semi-private and private schools (Castaño et al., 2015). Also, through their own management of student enrolment the semi-private schools have dissuaded immigrant families to enrol their children in these schools (ie. by asking for

high tuition fees, not providing alternative class for Catholic religion class, or directly denying access) (del Olmo, 2011).

Looking into Barcelona, the distribution of immigrant students in the school's system is also unequal. Immigrant students are overrepresented in public schools, although more than half of the schools in Barcelona are private or semi-private (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascreñas, 2014). Within the public-school system, there is also an overrepresentation of immigrants in schools in certain neighborhoods. Schools with high levels of immigration, labeled as high complexity schools, receive more resources from the Consortium of Education in terms of extra teachers, lower student-teacher ratio, an extra teaching hour, and depending on their needs they could be assigned social workers, psychologist and intercultural mediators.

1.3.3 Family participation

In the education system in Catalonia there are two main forms of family participation. One is through the principal school council with a formal school body that is composed of the representatives of the entire educational community that is teachers, students, families and administration, representative of the local administration. The board members are elected by the school community for a period of four years and renewed every two years. The main function of the school council is to participate in the decision-making in relation to those important issues for the operation and organization of the centre: the educational project, general program, school hours, the conversation and renovation of school facilities, economic management and conflict resolution¹.

The other forms of participation are the parent associations (PA) which are legally recognized non-profit associations that act as intermediators between the parents and the schools (Department of Education). The PAs were established as spaces to channel the voice of the parents, promote their participation and strengthen the school community. They are composed of a group of voluntary parents who pay the quotas and sign up for the activities of the PA, while some of them are responsible for managing the association and organizing the activities and services. The responsibilities of the PA are to inform

¹ Generalitat de Catalunya. Familia y escuela. <http://familiaiescola.gencat.cat/ca/>

parents about the functioning of the school center, acquisition of the didactic material, organization of the lunch time, and to arrange extracurricular, sociocultural activities and in general provide services that are after teaching hours for both children and parents. The working dynamics vary in every center depending on its educational project and the personal interests and degree of involvement of the members of the PA. Also, some schools have very established PAs while others barely have any activities and do not meet on a regular basis. Nevertheless, research has documented the overall low participation of families in these association is generally, while the participation of immigrants is even scarcer (Garreta, 2008; Garreta, 2016). A study analyzing the organizational structures and projects of PAs across Catalonia has shown that in schools with high immigration levels the PAs have weak organizational structures (Paniaguas, 2017).

1.3.4 Language policy

During the Franco regime, due to political reasons, Catalan was repressed and it was not present in the school curriculum (Cots and Nussbaum, 2010). In order to compensate for the minorization of the Catalan language, with the return of democracy in the eighties the Autonomous Government of Catalonia started the policy of Linguistic Normalization. In this context, Catalan was established as the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools, even though Catalan society is officially bilingual (Catalan and Spanish). The strategy of normalization was further developed in 2004 with the Plan LIC mostly maintaining the same objectives of the previous policy but also responding to the new international immigration and providing the previously mentioned Reception Classes (Newman et al, 2013). Therefore, in pre-university education all educational activities, didactic material, textbooks, evaluation activities, the curriculum need to be written in Catalan except Spanish and English language classes which are obligatory from first grade onwards. Additionally, formal school communications and meetings should be carried out in Catalan (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993).

This language policy is challenging for immigrant students, as they experience discontinuities between the language taught in school, the one they use with their peers, and the one spoken in their homes. This happens, especially for the students not born and raised in Catalonia, as native speaking Catalans, both students and teachers, switch to Spanish when addressing them. Spanish is usually the common language spoken among immigrant students with their Catalan speaking peers and other immigrant students

outside the classroom (Galindo i Sole, 2008; Codo and Patiño-Santos, 2010). Therefore, these immigrant students have a limited use of Catalan which can have a negative effect on their educational progress. If student's attitude towards the principal language of schooling are negative this can influence their attitude towards the school and the trust they deposit in their teachers.

There are studies that have dealt with the effect of the Catalan language policy on immigrant students and the attitudes they develop towards schooling (Martin- Rojo, 2002; Pujolar, 2010; Newman et al. 2014). Even though this is an important aspect regarding school trust, in this thesis I am not dealing with the language issue in-depth, since this topic has been given attention.

1.4. Methodology: data collection and categories of analysis

Using qualitative research methods seemed the most appropriate for studying the field of school trust and intercultural relations because they allow more room for understanding how relationships are constructed and they enable new concepts to emerge, which is especially important for more sensitive issues such as trust and intercultural relations as both concepts are difficult to grasp. In the first place, trust is elusive and hard to pin down and conceptualise as trusting is a dynamic process and trust relations can change over time (Sztompka, 1999; Möllering, 2001). In the second place, the formation of perceptions depends very much on the social context where and how the native and the immigrant population interact, and which barriers exist, whether it is religious, cultural or national.

Previous research has found that there is no clear evidence of structural and organizational differences between schools with high and low trust, but rather the perception about them. Personal experiences are the main determinants in shaping parents' opinion about schools (Forsyth and Adams, 2004). Similarly, prejudices are based on cognitive beliefs and feelings also personal perceptions. Therefore, as in this research I focus on personal experiences and perceptions qualitative methods allow more room for the interviewee to expand on the topic and for identifying personal opinions as well as comprehending perceptions on phenomena (Ritche and Lewis, 2003; Corbetta, 2003).

I did an exploratory study because this topic has not yet been analyzed and there are no earlier studies that can be consulted for generalizations. This is why I chose to do an in-depth analysis of a particular case as they are better for unexplored and new research topics and for contextualization (Yin, 2003).

Qualitative methods have been underused in trust research (Breeman, 2012). With the combination of in-depth, semi-structured interviews and observations, I was able to dig more deeply into what school trust represents for families and to trace the different conditions and factors that can have an influence on it (Tillmar, 2011; Li, 2012; Mishra and Mishra, 2013). I relied on in-depth and open ended interviews as they allow for certain flexibility and allow the interviewees to expand more on the topic (Baharein, 2008). In this way I could trace the logic of how families develop trust towards the school. Also, asking questions about delicate issues such as race, religion, and intercultural relations can be problematic because of social desirability, the more educated are more prone to give more positive answers than the opinion they hold (Blair and Imai, 2010). Extended interviews, and not surveys, should be more reliable about the veracity of the interview because it is harder for the interviewee to hide the negative perceptions on intercultural relations in a longer conversation (Berg, 2004; Van Dijk, 2010).

My data collection is based on the fieldwork I have conducted in the city of Barcelona during the period of two school years from 2016 to 2018. The city districts where I did my study are Ciutat Vella- composed of neighborhoods Barri Gotic and Raval, and the district Sants Montjuc- with neighborhoods La Marina Port and Font de la Guatlla. The neighborhoods of my study were chosen because they have a different level of immigration, Barri Gotic (46%), Raval (50%), La Marina Port (15%), Font de la Guatlla (19%), compared to the city average which is 17%, as we can see in the following graphs:

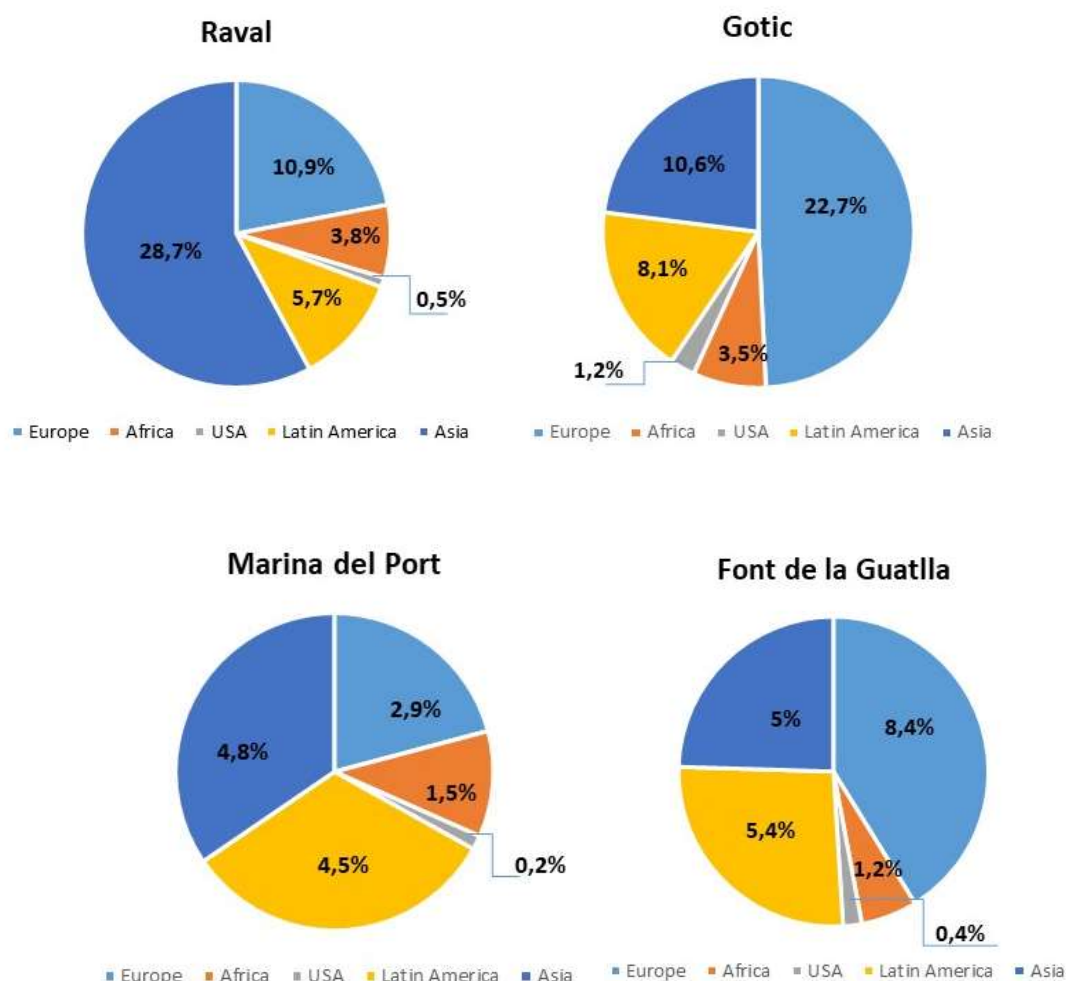


Figure 2: Percentage of immigrants from each continent, counted as immigrant with different nationality then their own. Graph based on statistics from Department of Statistics, Municipality of Barcelona

Furthermore, Ciutat Vella started receiving the first waves of immigration that came to Barcelona, and hence schools in this district have more experience in dealing with immigration than the ones in Sants Montjuic which has started receiving immigrants recently. In this way, I could see the different opinions and relations formed between parents in schools with high and low immigration levels as the contact with people from different origins can have an influence on the views of immigration and intercultural relations (Sides and Citrin, 2007). Also, previous research has demonstrated that the ethnic composition of schools can have an impact on the integration, intercultural relations and sense of belonging of immigrants in schools (Van Houtte and Stevens, 2009). Still, this neighborhoods have a similar socioeconomic status of the residents, with Font de la Guatlila and Gotic having a higher renta per capita than La Marina del Port and

Raval². I have purposefully selected schools in context of social inequality as it is well known in education literature that in these contexts family school relations can be difficult (Garreta, 2009, Paniagua, 2013).

As for immigration in schools, in primary schools in Barcelona there is a prevalence of immigrants from Asia, Central and South America and Maghreb³. In the last ten years, the student population from Asia and Maghreb has doubled and is on the increase, although students from Central and South America are still the majority (Ballestin, 2017). In the two districts of Ciutat Vella and Sants Montjuic, where I did my research, the predominant nationalities in schools reflect the city average, mostly immigration from Asia and Maghreb, although in Ciutat Vella students from EU countries and in Sants Monjutic from South America constitute an important percentage of the student body.⁴ Although all districts across Barcelona experience segregation in terms of origin of the students in schools, the two districts of my fieldwork have the highest level of segregation between schools with and without immigration (Sindic de Greuges de Catalunya, 2016).

The data collection process was done in three stages. In the first stage I reached out to native and immigrant parents that have children in the schools inside the neighborhoods of my interest. Following a grounded theory approach the data collection and data analysis occurred simultaneously and I identified the participants to interview based on theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). I selected first native families based on their age, socio-economic status as well as their degree of involvement in the school, as these characteristics can have an influence on their perceptions of immigration and school trust. Based on other studies on school discrimination (Carrasco, 2004; Rios-Rojas, 2014), I contacted families from different immigrant groups who could be more prone to be discriminated and ones who would be more likely to build positive intercultural relations. For certain immigrant communities I used a translator. I first contacted parents in the school yards, parks and public libraries and I conducted individual as well as group interviews. Based on these initial interviews and through snowball sampling I identified my key informants and the schools where I could reach

² Ajuntament de Barcelona. Departament d'Estadística i Difusió de Dades.
<http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/index.htm>

³ Consortium of education. Educació infantil de segon cicle i educació primària. Curs 2015-2016.

⁴ Ajuntament de Barcelona. Departament d'Estadística i Difusió de Dades.
<http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/index.htm>

more families. In this initial stage I tried to encompass as varied of a sample as possible so I talked to parents whose children are in four public schools in Ciutat Vella and in four public schools in Sants-Monjutic. Apart from this, I have interviewed parents of two private schools in Ciutat Vella and one private school in Sants-Montjuic who have deliberately chosen not to take their children to public schools because of the high percentage of immigrants.

I carried out semi-structured interviews and used a general interview guide while giving flexibility to the interviewer. The questions were also adapted depending on the answers the interviewees were giving me and depending on the schools and neighborhoods that I was in. The questions on parent trust were based on the study on parent trust in schools used in literature on school trust written by Barbara Schneider (2002) and Forsyth et al (2011). Questions include the different dimensions of trust in schools such as the perception on the openness, reliability, benevolence, honesty, competence and respect of the school and the trust in the school direction and administrations and teachers. Questions on the relations between immigrants and natives included personal stories which could reveal experiences and beliefs about the culture and behaviour of other groups. The questions of intercultural relations were divided into negative and positive perceptions. The questions on prejudice were based on the three components defined by Pettigrew and Merteens (1995): the defense of traditional values, the exaggeration of cultural differences, and the denial of positive emotions. I also considered the attribution of negative characteristics to the out-group while presenting the in-group in a positive light (Van Dijk, 2003). I also based my questions on discrimination in the education setting on the report on Experiences of Discrimination of Ethnic Minorities in Spain (Colectivo Ioé, 2003).

In the second stage, I interviewed teachers, directors and education inspectors in the same schools in order to see what they think of the intercultural relations between immigrants and natives and what schools are doing to foment this contact and how they perceive the trust native and immigrant families have towards the personnel and how much they cooperate with the school.

The total number of face to face interviews I conducted was 32 for native parents, 42 individual interviews and 5 group interviews for immigrant parents and 14 interviews with teachers, school directors and education inspectors.

I took into consideration the main personal variables as indicated by previous research that have impact on perceptions of intercultural relations by the majority, that is

if a person is more or less prone to hold prejudice or racist attitudes. Sociodemographic characteristics, such as the socioeconomic status, levels of education, and age, as well as the frequency of contact with immigrants are said to have influence on the level of prejudice that the individual holds (Sides and Citrin 2007). Studies in Spain have shown that the most opposed to immigration tend to be older and less educated (Zapata-Barrero 2009). Considering these characteristics, I tried to encompass individuals with different socioeconomic status, age and those who are in neighborhoods and schools with low and high levels of immigration. The following table describes the socio-economic characteristics of the native interviewees:

District	Age 35- 45	Age 46- 55	Age 56-75	Low middle socio- economic status	to Middle high socio- economic status	to Non- university education	University education
Ciutat Vella (16 interviews)	10	5	1	7	7	7	8
Sants Montjuic (16 interviews)	8	8		14	2	10	3
Total (32 interviews)	18	13	1	21	9	17	11

Table 3: Description of native interviewees

Based on previous research about the frequency of discrimination of different immigrant groups in Spain specifically in the education setting (Terren, 2002; Aparicio and Portes, 2014), I tried to encompass a diverse sample of immigrant groups with varying nationalities and religions to understand their different perceptions of intercultural relations. The groups that are most discriminated are the ones that have

phenotypic traits different from those of the native population or that have noticeably distinctive cultural and religious traits. In the educational setting, the perception of the families that integrate well by the school staff is based on the perceived cultural distance that they have from the native values and educational norms (Ballestin, 2008) As Terren (2002) has shown the families from Asia and Western Europe are regarded as having educational values that are closer to the Spanish ones, while the ones from Maghreb, Sub-saharan Africa as well as overall Muslim families are placed as more distant and are stigmatized, and the families from Latin America would be situated somewhere in the middle of these two spectrums. The following table shows the different nationalities of the immigrants I interviewed:

Total (51 interviews)	Ciutat Vella (26 interviews)	Sants-Montjuic (25 interviews)
Pakistan	7	2
Morocco	8	6
Argentina	1	
Ecuador		3
Peru		2
Brasil		1
Colombia		2
Dominican Republic	2	2
Philipines	5	2
India		1
Iran		1
Algeria		1
Guinea Bisseau		1
Japan	1	
Hungary	1	

Great Britain	1
Russia	1

Table 4: Description of immigrant interviewees

I also conducted interviews to the school directors (5), teachers (6), PA coordinators (12) and school inspectors from the Consortium of Education (3), as the following table shows:

	Ciutat Vella	Sants-Montjuic
School directors	2	3
Teachers	2	3
PA representatives	5	7

Table 5: Description of school staff interviewees

The number of interviews depended on reaching the saturation point (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). All interviews were tape recorded and later on transcribed except some interviews with the school directors and teachers who specifically asked not to be recorded and, in these cases, extensive notes were taken.

After an initial approach and an overview of the opinions of natives and immigrants and school staff I moved into the third stage of the data collection. The data from the interviews were contrasted by the ethnographical data collected during the fieldwork in the PAs and formal and informal schools meetings. I tried to comprehend the broader community forces between the immigrant and native population and their implication in the school environment (Ogbu, 1981). As school trust is dependent on the degree of cooperation, participation and involvement of parents with the school (Ogbu, 1998) in this stage I attended the main formal and informal activities of schools such as parent associations (PA) and school meetings. I carried out participant observation at these meetings in order to see to what extent immigrant and native parents participate and

get involved in school activities, build cohesive relations and feel part of the school community. The triangulation of my data was twofold. Firstly, I triangulated the data by taking into account three different perspectives from the native families, the immigrant families and the education professionals. Secondly, I triangulated the data by contrasting the information that I have obtained from interviews, participant observation and the theory.

Parent involvement activities as well as the ritualized practices in the PAs can show the cultural expectations that schools assign to both native and immigrant parents and what are the norms that are considered as “mainstream” or “marginalized” (pg. 404, Doucet, 2011). This can be revealing of what type of intercultural relations are supported by the school and of how the immigrant population interacts with the native population and how their everyday encounters lead to more or less contact between them.

Participant observation gave me the possibility to observe and participate in the setting and to learn about the context and the participants in the study (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). I could observe the daily activities, routines, school events, as well as the interactions, communication and nonverbal expressions between the native and immigrant population (Schmuck, 1997; Kawulich, 2005). In this way I could check the veracity of the data collected in the first two stages and observe events that interviewees describe and discover activities or modes of behavior that could not be grasped by interview methods (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). I applied methodological triangulation by including different perspectives, from native and immigrant families and educators, on one hand and by contrasting data collected from interviews, participant observation and the theory. This increased the validity of the study and credence to my interpretations as I gained knowledge and understanding about the setting and about what was happening in the schools (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002).

I wrote my fieldnotes after the activities and meetings at the school that I attended focusing on how the native and immigrant parents interact with each other, the specific settings and contexts the interactions occurs, and the subjective feelings of the researcher (Adler & Adler, 1994; Berg, 2004). Participant observation was carried out until data saturation was reached (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Kawulich, 2005). Additionally, I took information from the school website to understand better the school programme and how it addresses diversity and family school relations.

I carried out participant observation in five primary schools that were chosen based on the previous interviews with families and according to the following criteria:

the presence of the immigrant population, the school programme and the extent of the activity (high or low) of the PA, the performance of the students as well as the type of reputation (positive or negative) the school had in the neighborhood.

The following table shows the levels of immigration, student performance at each school and whether the school is considered to be high or low complexity⁵.

School A	School B	School C	School D	School E
61% immigration: Maghreb, Asia, Europe Low performance school High complexity school	83% Immigration: Asia (Pakistan, Bangladesh) Low performance High complexity school	51% Immigration: Maghreb, Asia, Latin America Low performance High complexity school	25% Immigration: Latin America and Asia Middle-low performance Middle complexity school	6% Immigration: Latin America, Asia, Maghreb Middle-low performance Low complexity school

Table 6: School description

In the tables below we can see the percentage of immigrant students that did not meet the requirements of the evaluation exam at the end of sixth grade for the years 2016, 2017, 2018 in the five public primary schools of my study⁶. The subjects that are evaluated are Spanish, Catalan, mathematics and English.

As the tables show the test scores, the high diversity schools in my fieldwork do have a lower performance than the low diversity schools. However, we have to take into consideration that the two of the four subjects that are evaluated are Spanish and Catalan

⁵ In Barcelona schools are divided in low, middle, and high complexity schools depending on the level of instruction, job occupation and income of the family members, percentage of students with special education needs, and percentage of immigrant students. High complexity schools have higher levels of students in the risk of exclusion and higher diversity levels.

⁶ The data on specific schools were collected from the Department of Evaluation of Education.

language. Also, one high diversity school, school C, did manage to improve the performance in the year 2018.

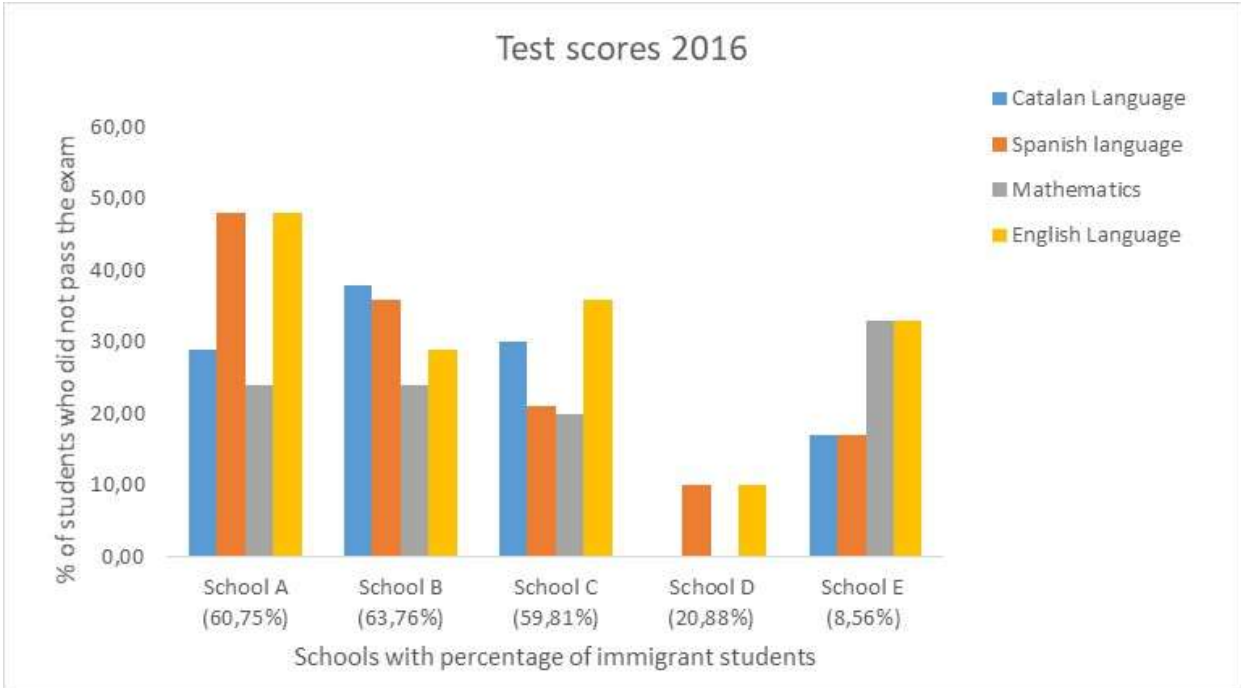


Figure 3: Data from the Department of Evaluation of Education

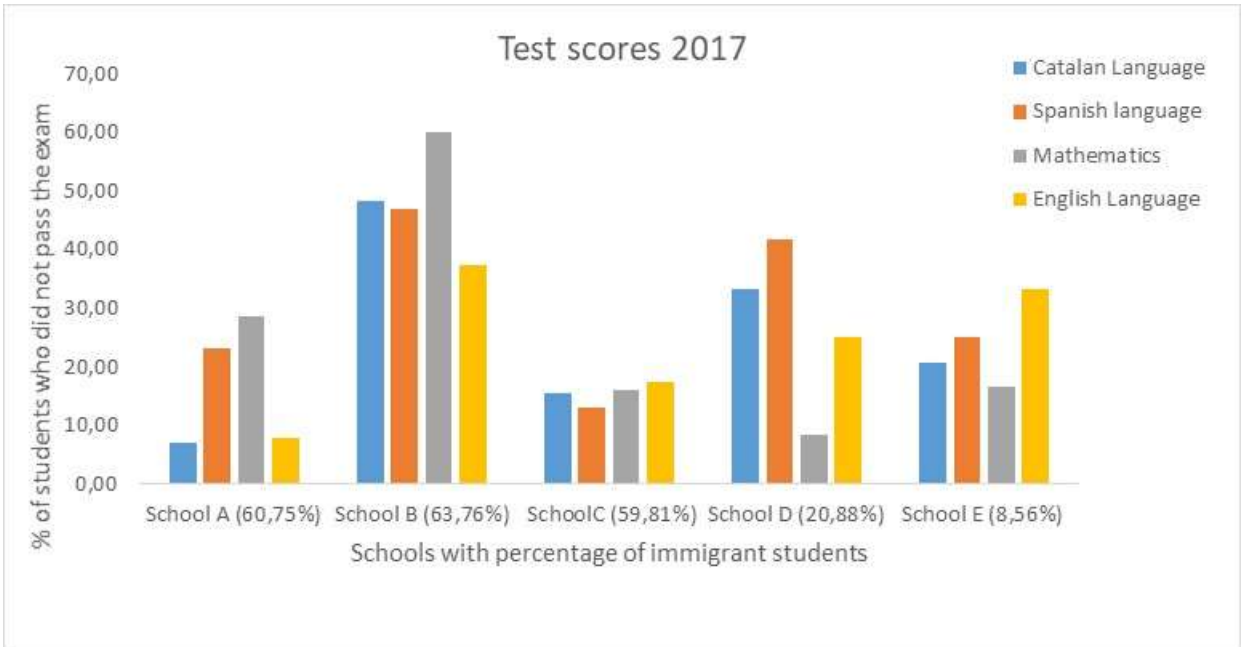


Figure 4: Data from the Department of Evaluation of Education

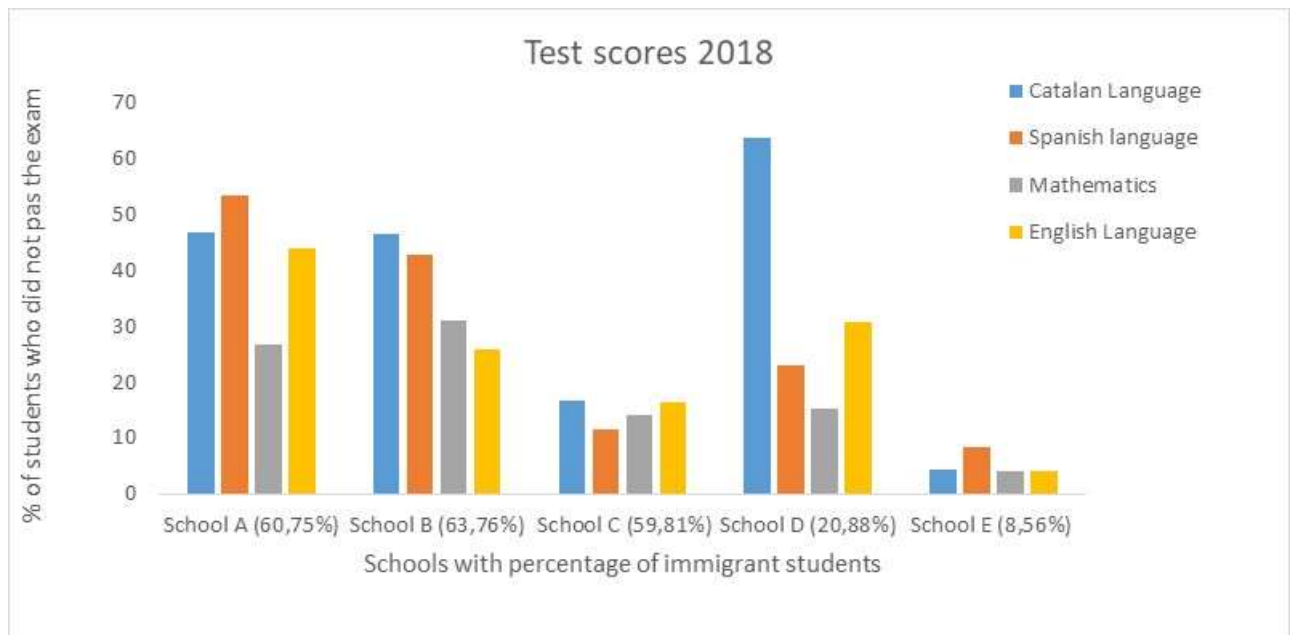


Figure 5: Data from the Department of Evaluation of Education

1.5. Positionality and reflexivity

Considering the fact that in qualitative research both the researcher and participant produce knowledge (Geertz, 1993), I take into consideration the type of values that each has attached to the knowledge that was produced and how I, as the researcher, have related to the participants (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Smith, 1993).

Since the researcher is the instrument of the data collection, I did pay attention on how much my biases, preconceived ideas as well as theoretical perspective is influencing the data analysis. One way of dealing with this was by writing accurate notes of the fieldwork and the observations I made during the interviews without imposing my views. Later on, when conducting the data analysis, I went back and forth to the field notes during the data analysis, and checked for possible biases and I tried to use my own biases in a productive way by questioning my own statements (Schensul et al., 1999).

As participant observation is most effective when the participants are observed when performing their routines (Fine, 2003), I wanted to observe the families doing their usual daily practices when picking up their children from school or taking their children in the park, socializing with other families, or helping their children with homework in the neighborhood libraries. I tried not to influence the families and the school staff and their behavior, routines and interactions with other families from different ethnic backgrounds. However, for conducting in-depth interviews and making the families feel

at ease with me, I did try to become familiar with the parents. This took a considerable amount of time and it only happened after I visited the school several times, went to the parent association and parent teacher meetings, took part actively in the extracurricular activities and events, and spent time with them in the school yard. Therefore, my role can be described as observer as participant as the participants were aware of the observing role, yet I was engaging in activities (Gold, 1958; Merriam, 1998).

My position towards the families shifted from being an insider to an outsider to their community. Firstly, not being a parent automatically made me an outsider, however, being a woman made me closer to the participants since they were mostly mothers. In the case of immigrant families, being an immigrant as well, I have made an easier connection with them and they felt comfortable sharing their complaints about the treatment they received from the native population and what they disliked about the Spanish education system. While at the same time, as I do not pertain to the same immigrant community as the participants, I was an outsider. This probably had negative influences on how much they would share all the information, talk freely and let me know all the details about their relation to the school or the conflicts they had with the native families and other ethnic groups. Language was also an issue as not all immigrants were fluent in Spanish or English. In these cases, I did the interviews with a key informant from the community who was fluent in one of these languages and translated to the rest of the community and in certain occasions I used a translator. I had no direct communication with some participants which might have led to certain information to be lost in the process of translation and I could not grasp the expressions and tone that they would use since I did not know their language.

When interviewing the native families, I was also considered an outsider. However, pertaining to a European country and being a PhD student, I was regarded in a different light than the immigrant groups that were present in the schools. This made the native families more willing to express their perceptions about other ethnic groups in the schools and to be more disposed to vocalize negative perceptions, racist attitudes and prejudice.

The fact that I am not a mother also had an influence that families and the school staff regarded me as an outsider. This fact influenced the school staff to be more willing to share their concerns about intercultural relations in the school, even though they did try to portray the school in the best light. Often, the native families and the school staff sought advice from me about how to deal with diversity and make immigrant parents

participate in school activities. While the immigrant families were seeking guidance about how to get their religious and cultural customs be represented in the school and to make their voices more heard. This gave me a certain duty to contribute to the community and to not let the study become a one-way process where the researcher just takes information from the participants (Walker, 1999). During the fieldwork, I did try to aid the families with the concerns they had, while after the fieldwork ended, I shared the findings with the school staff and key informants.

Considering the sensitive nature of the study, I was very careful not to damage in any way the reputation of the schools or cause any harm in the relation of the school with the families. For this reason, I ensured the school staff and the families that all the information is strictly confidential and would not be used for any other purposes than the thesis. I used pseudonyms for all the schools as well as the parents and school staff.

1.6. Data analysis

One of the main objectives of my research is to describe the situation in the field and offer some elements of analysis. In order to achieve this, I apply thematic analysis and discourse analysis for analyzing my data and developing an understanding of the main link between intercultural relations and trust. In the first article, I use discourse analysis to identify the main perceptions that native families have about immigration and school trust. The main technique that I use is macroproposition analysis in order to identify the general topics from various propositions from the text. I also look at the different rhetorical and conversational strategies such as contrast, generalization, exaggeration, evasion, mitigation and displacement (Van Dijk, 2010). In prejudiced discourse contrast refers to differentiating between “us” and “them” and contrasting the difference in lifestyles and customs between the in-group and out-group, generalization is marked by phrases that express an action or an attribute that is always present in the out-group, exaggeration is an overstatement of the characteristics or an event done by the members of the out-group, evasion is the avoidance of stating one’s own opinion directly. Mitigation is used for presenting oneself in a positive light, through showing understanding and tolerance for the out-group, and displacement refers to displacing the negative opinions a person holds by saying that other people hold this prejudice.

In the second and third article I apply thematic analysis and I follow the main guidelines developed by Braun and Clarke (2006). Combining both the deductive and

inductive methods, I approach the fieldwork with a theoretical background, while at the same time I integrate inductive theoretical insights when analyzing the data (Wilson and Chaddha, 2010). Using the constant comparative method, I linked the data from the fieldwork to the theory by applying a cyclical process that entails data collection and analysis. In this process of data collection, refinement, and categorization, during the fieldwork and after each interview, I use open coding of the data by identifying and naming the main categories and contrasting it with the existent literature on the topic (Strauss and Corbin, 2008). I use sensitizing topics based on the literature on intercultural relations, family school relations and school trust and when interviewing I consider the themes that my interviewees see as the most relevant for trusting their schools and their perceptions for intercultural relations (Glaser and Strauss, 2008; Bowen, 2006; Braun and Clarke, 2006). I have also written memos to identify the main themes and patterns so that I can also compare the different perspectives that spring out from the interviews among each other and group the main themes that appear and develop a first theoretical account. I use this initial coding to guide the subsequent data collection as well as to compare it with the new data I would obtain from the interviews and the fieldwork (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). The cyclical process was applied until theoretical saturation was reached, and new data could not bring any additional information that would add to the analysis.

After the initial coding, I moved on to the axial coding and with the already developed codes and themes I analyzed my data and I related the different subcategories and categories to each other depending on the context, causality, action and interaction (Strauss and Corbin, 2008). My main categories are based on the experiences or situations the interviewees have lived in the schools and the affective links they have expressed towards other ethnic groups (Mendes, 2009).

In the data analysis I take into consideration the different personal experiences that a person has with the native/immigrant population as well as expectations of education of their children. For the native parents I consider previous experience with immigration, level of education and age as indicators for perceptions of intercultural relations. For the immigrant parents I consider their country of origin, time of arrival to Spain, and knowledge of language. I focus on what native and immigrant demands are and how they are met by the school and to what extent intercultural relations can influence them. Finally, selective coding is done by re-examining the previous codes and categories and selecting the core categories and connecting them to other ones. After the process of refining the categories I relate them to potential themes and I check if the themes worked

in relation to the whole data set. Afterwards, I clearly define and name each theme and I select the most expressive examples from the dataset to support each argument. Finally, I relate the main themes to the research question and the literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Through this process of data analysis I identified the main themes from the data that reveal the most important aspects of family school trust in an intercultural context. My main categories are family trust, intercultural relations and school family relations and the main codes were culture, religion, participation, language, parent associations, neighborhood, discrimination, prejudice, social cohesion, extracurricular activities, school competence and educational policies.

1.7. Main contribution of the thesis

The contribution of this thesis is both academic and social. On the academic part, with my thesis I hope to add to the current immigration and education literature on how interactions in diverse schools can lead to a more trustful environment. Although widely researched in social sciences, there is still a lack of understanding of trust in education literature as it has been examined very peripherally. There are several studies on teacher trust as well as student and parent trust in the school staff (Tschannen-Moran, 2009; Van Maele and Van Houtte, 2009). However, there are almost no studies that examine simultaneously trust from different trustees such as parents, teachers and school staff and in different educational settings (Van Maele and Van Houtte, 2012).

While the literature on diversity and school trust is even more scarce and has mostly focused on school family involvement of minorities (Banks, 1993; Antunez, 2000; Trumbull et al. 2003), the relation that is developed between school staff and immigrant families (Larson, 1997; Tschannen-Moran, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999; Erdogan, 2016) and the expectations and hopes of immigrant families when inscribing their children in certain schools (Modood, 2006; Terren and Carrasco, 2007; Carrasco et al, 2009).

What we do not know is how intercultural relations affect family trust in schools. Thus, I build on the relational theory of school trust but I also add the intercultural perspective which has not been explored yet. By examining intercultural relations and building on the existent literature of school trust I hope to give a holistic understanding of relations between immigrant and native families and what they consider as important in order to trust schools. More specifically, in this thesis I try to show how intercultural

relations between immigrants and natives are negotiated and how this affects family trust in school personnel and the degree of cooperation that families develop with the school and the overall social cohesion within the school community.

There are a number of studies that have pointed out that schools can try to remove the barriers in the involvement of immigrant parents and strengthen their relation to the school through improving their capabilities and resources (Henderson and Mapp, 2002; Kim, 2009). However, there is still little that is known about what practices and policies schools should undertake to encourage family- school relations that can lead to trust (Strier, M., & Katz, H., 2016) and even less so between immigrant and native families. I shed light on what are the types of contact, encounters and forms of cooperation and practices in schools with diversity that can lead to a trustful school environment or deteriorate it. Therefore, my main contribution to academia is the development of a theoretical framework to study school trust in an intercultural context by crossing over different concepts from three main areas of research: immigration, education and trust. Most of the literature on trust in schools comes from organizational behaviour which considers schools as organizations and trust as a result of the relations between different school groups such as directors, teachers, and students. These studies have used mostly a quantitative methodology (Forsyth and Adams, 2002; Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2003; Forsyth et al., 2011) in which the questions on trust are based on a survey methodology, which does not allow for interviewees to expand on and contextualize their answers. While studies that have researched school trust through qualitative methods are very scarce (Bryk and Schneider, 2003) as it is a difficult concept to contextualize in everyday practice (Torsello, 2008). Therefore, there is a need of more studies to capture an in-depth meaning of trust and how it changes depending on the context and the different facets that it entails. With this thesis I will try to provide a qualitative understanding of the concept of school trust and how trust relationships are created. I will try to trace the type of interactions, situations and factors that influence school trust. Combining both in-depth interviews and participant observations, I contribute with the exploration of trust at a ground level. I provide a novel insight on school trust by giving a different perspective than the one provided by quantitative methods. In this way I explain what families think are the most important aspects in their relation to schools and what factors lead to more or less trustful relations in an intercultural context. Since the perspective of families in relation to school trust has been mostly ignored and even more so the perspective of immigrant families.

From the social point of view, this thesis is an opportunity to give voice to immigrant families and to understand their demands and concerns about their children's education since often they are not in a position of power to make claims. Also, by combining the three points of view, from immigrant families, native families and educators, I hope to offer a holistic picture of intercultural relations in schools and see the conflicts and misunderstandings that occur between these different groups. With this thesis I not only draw a map on the current situation of public primary schools and how they are managing intercultural relations and trust, but I also provide some guidelines on how schools can reduce the conflicts that surge from intercultural relations and at the same time maintain a trustful environment.

The results can be beneficial for policy makers, educational institutions, and educational stakeholders, mostly school staff, parents and students. The thesis informs policy makers about how integration policies are currently enacted and what are their effects in schools. The study shows that there is a need for a better training of education professionals when dealing with diversity, exchange of school practices between high and low diversity schools, and the standardization of intercultural education and cultural and religious demands. My data show that educational institutions need to know better the realities of each school and how to redistribute better the resources they give to different schools. The school staff are informed about what are the ways in which the exclusion of immigrant parents takes place and how to be more inclusive and resolve the misunderstandings and miscommunication with them. Understanding parents' expectations and aspirations for their children and the ways in which they are involved in their children's education can help the school staff build a trustful relation with the families. The study reveals what are the good practices that were implemented in some of the schools and that can diminish conflicts between families of different origins. Finally, for the stakeholders, the thesis gives an opportunity to both native and immigrant families, as well as education professionals, to express their views and necessities. This thesis shows that trust plays a major role in the relation between school staff and immigrant parents and for constructing the image of a reliable public school in the neighbourhood for native parents.

Accordingly, the first two articles are analytical and contribute to the academic objectives of the thesis. While the third article describes the existent situation in the schools and offers recommendations for improvement, thus contributing to the social objectives of the thesis.

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2. CHAPTER 2: IMMIGRANTS AND NATIVE FAMILIES IN SCHOOLS: RECONCILING TRUST AND DIVERSITY

Abstract

This paper explores how native families regard immigrants in the school context and how it reflects in their trust in public schools. It reviews the existing literature on immigration and the main concepts of trust in schools related to school culture and climate. A qualitative methodology based on in depth interviews and focus groups is used in order to get a richer picture of the settings and familiarize with the ideas that are formed in the link between diversity and trust in public schools. The research is done in Barcelona as a first case study, comparing the discourse of parents of children in schools in neighborhoods with high and low levels of immigration. The data from the fieldwork indicate that the evaluation of immigrants by natives is based on their value system. The cultural, social and physical distance perceived by the natives, and different language and religion of the immigrants constitute the major sources of prejudice and racism. Moreover, in my analysis I have distinguished between two different ways that perceptions on immigration result in distrust in institutions: perceptions that result in distrust within the schools and perceptions that result in distrust in higher level institutions, such as education and city level institutions.

Key words: *immigration, prejudice, racism. cultural diversity, school trust, institutions*

2.1. Introduction

In Catalonia, every eight student in the school has a foreign nationality; in Barcelona there are 21.192 immigrant children in schools in primary and secondary schools, representing 14% of the student population (Domingo and Bayona, 2016; Consorci d'Educació, 2015). Their distribution in the school's system is unequal as they are overrepresented in public schools, although more than half of the schools in Barcelona are private or semi-private (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). Within the public school system, there is also an overrepresentation of immigrants in schools in certain neighborhoods. The high immigration concentration in certain neighborhood public schools has created a negative public opinion and it has been recorded that natives systematically avoid these schools, inscribing their children to other neighborhoods with less diversity or to semi-private or private schools (Pàmies, 2006). My research provides a more comprehensive understanding of this trend by examining the opinion native families have of the changing demographics due to immigration and how this affects their trust in their public primary schools.

School trust is an essential element for the existence of a positive climate and culture in schools which are the main criteria that adults rely on when deciding to enroll their children in a certain school (Grady, Bielick, & Aud, 2010). The principal, administrative and teaching staff has a role to build parent trust by creating open and healthy school relations, where information is exchanged and parents feel involved in school processes. When there are immigrants, cultural and social distance, as well as differences in norms and codes of conduct, perceived by the natives, are interwoven in the socialization process within the school. This can lead to misunderstandings, ethnic conflicts and tensions that can hamper school trust (Webber, 2002; Erdogan, 2016).

In this article the main objective is to understand how perceptions on immigration influences trust in schools. I will add to the existing literature on the topic by identifying the factors and processes native families perceive as being of key importance for trusting schools and how they are affected by representations of immigration.

Therefore, this paper tries to answer the following questions which will be used to guide the reconstruction of the empirical findings based on the perceptions of the interviewees:

What are the most common perceptions towards immigrants in schools?

Which discursive and practical effects do these perceptions have in the school context in relation to trust?

For this purpose, the article will explain the theoretical concepts of immigration and diversity and its impact on school trust. The significance of school climate and culture and the role of different groups inside the school will be outlined in relation to trust of the parents and family members of the children. Afterwards, the qualitative techniques used to recollect the information in different schools in Barcelona will be explained. As perceptions on immigration could differ depending on its percentage, I distinguish between high and low immigration schools. Finally, I will discuss the results of the in-depth study and what are the implications of immigration and cultural diversity on school trust.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

This section aims at outlining the main findings in the literature and what has already been defined in the relation between immigration and school trust in order to frame the main contribution of this paper. I will explain how trust is developed between families and schools and finally how the school community, with immigration present affects and reshapes trust.

2.2.1. School Trust

As schools are composed of various groups, such as families, students, teachers and administrators, trust in schools depends upon the relations between these groups and to which extent they regard each other as trustworthy. Therefore, family trust, as I will analyze in this paper, is the combination of trust in the school direction and administration, in teachers and the perception of the school culture and climate (Adams and Barneés, 2002; Forsyth et al, 2011). Family trust will depend on the interactions and communication, mutual respect and a common view of the education of their children in relation to the school staff and their ability to provide a safe learning environment.

In addition, attitudes of trust can differ depending on the type of trust relations that are at play and on what exactly is being trusted (Frederiksen, 2012). Family trust in schools can develop at the interpersonal level, that is towards the school administration and teachers, as well as at a more abstract institutional level. The degree of trust of families towards their local public school do not have to coincide with their trust towards the education system in general (Richardson & Bucheri, 2016). Nevertheless,

interpersonal trust or distrust can spillover to the institutional one and vice-versa. For example, if families have a bad experience with their local school this might reflect in their view of the education system and institutions. Accordingly, in the interview analysis I will differentiate between the trust in the local school and the education system and institutions.

2.2.2. Trust and immigration in schools

Internal conditions are very important for school trust. However, the external context of schools, such as school size, a strong schools' community and voluntary associations can create the conditions for fostering trust (Bryk and Schneider, 2003). Parents or family members of the children constitute the main community of the school and their informal relations formed outside the school hours are indicative of the school culture. The school organization is responsible for fostering the feeling of a shared mission and network of the community. Apart from that, the stability of the student body affects the strength of the community. If the student population changes frequently or the families do not have enough resources to get engaged in extracurricular activities, there is no sufficient dialogue and engagement among parents and among parents and teachers and conditions for less trust are created. This happens in neighborhoods where there is high immigrant fluctuation as the students and families constantly move.

Diversity level, in terms of status, family background, class and ethnicity, can hamper the cohesive relationships and trust formation (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000). Diversity, such as immigration caused diversity, makes the formation of trust more difficult (Putnam, 2007). When there are different cultures, nationalities, races and religions shared values and background experiences are less common and this can easily lead to conflicts and misunderstandings (Webber, 2002). With diversity there is more incertitude and suspicion about the actions of others and because of a lack of knowledge of different norms, opinion of other nationalities and cultures can stem from stereotypes and evaluations on their behavior can be based on prejudice (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2006). Apart from regarding immigrant with suspicion, these biases can be detrimental as they can lead to unquestioned trust in in-group members, that is other native families and school educators.

Aversion against immigration can have a racist overtone, which does not necessarily require race but operates through classifications and differentiation based on

culture, ethnicity and religion as determinants of behavior (Stolcke, 1995; Lentin, 2008; Nowicka, 2017). This new racism also labeled as culturalist racism “emphasizes cultural differences (including lifestyles, habits, customs, and manners) and paints a threatening picture of the mixing and interbreeding of cultures and ethnic groups” (Wodak and Reisigl, 1999, pg.181)

Different immigrant groups are more vulnerable to racist attitudes and discrimination by the majority as they vary in their historical relations, marked by colonialism and lower economic and power position, to the dominant society (D’hondt, Van Praag, Stevens and Van Houtte, 2015). In Spanish schools, the image of immigration, especially the one coming from non-European economically disadvantaged countries, is associated with school degradation, conflict and violence (Aramburu, 2002; Carrasco, 2004). Language, religion, lower level of education of immigrant children, differences in view of education goals by their parents, low participation of families in the autochthonous culture, and inferiority of the immigrant culture are the main problems perceived by the native population (Carrasco et al, 2009). It has been recorded that negative perceptions about immigrants can derive in low assessment of the schools where immigrants concentrate as well as an overall negative image of the school (Carrasco et al, 2009).

Strenuous intercultural relations, ethnic tensions (Larson, 1997; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000; Dessel, 2010; Erdogan, 2016), different cultural and religious practices, discrepancies in the ways children should be educated and incongruous codes of conduct between native and immigrant families (Carrasco et al, 2009) can pose a major threat to the trust system in the school environment. Family trust will depend on the schools’ ability of diminishing the possible vulnerabilities, risks and conflicts that parents could perceive concerning diversity.

Considering the well-established approach to social capital and trust, I would expect less bonding social capital in schools with diversity which would also lead to less trust (Putnam, 2007). Accordingly, native families that have negative perceptions on immigration would be more distrustful in the school functioning and its ability to cope with diversity and keep up the same level of education.

The existent literature on diversity and trust in schools has concentrated on prejudice, stereotypical and racist beliefs held by teachers and principals towards minorities and its effect on the trust culture of the school (Larson, 1997; Tschannen-Moran, 1998; Erdogan, 2016). However, how diversity affects the native parents’ trust in

schools and institutions that regulate education has not been explored so far. In this paper, I try to understand whether and in which way trust in schools is altered because of perceptions about immigration, basing my research in the city of Barcelona with a mix of various immigrant origins in schools and a high segregation.

2.3. Methodology

As this article tries to understand what is the relation of perceptions of immigration and trust in schools, I use a qualitative methodology in the collection of data and the analysis. Data has been collected by means of semi-structured interviews, focus groups and observations. This allows more room for understanding how relationships and meanings are constructed, especially on sensitive issues, such as perceptions on immigration and trust (Corbetta, 2003).

In order to answer my questions and to get a general overview of the perceptions about immigration and schools I conducted my fieldwork in ten schools in the two districts where I did my fieldwork Ciutat Vella and Sants-Montjuic⁷. I have contacted native parents of five public primary schools in Ciutat Vella and four public primary schools in Sants-Montjuic. Apart from this, I have interviewed native parents of two private schools in Ciutat Vella and one private school in Sants-Montjuic who have deliberately chosen not to take their children to public schools because of the high percentage of immigrants. The parents involved in parent associations (PAs) were interviewed first and, through snowball sampling, I got contacts of more parents as well as through direct approach in the schools of interest and in places of neighborhood gatherings such as public libraries and parks. I observed the interactive patterns in the schools and the language used by native parents to describe the existent relations with the teachers, school directors and the immigrant parents and children.

As I have explained in the methods section of the introduction, I have tried to encompass a plurality of opinions by interviewing people with varying characteristics such as different socio-economic status, profession, age and level of education, and low and high levels of commitment to the school. Thirty-two in-depth interviews were conducted in total, 16 in Ciutat Vella and 16 in Sants Montjuic.

⁷ Barri Gotic and Raval neighborhoods pertain to Ciutat Vella district and Marina del Port and Font de la Guatlilla pertain to Sants-Montjuic district.

Consequently, the research was done through a general interview guide as it gives more room for interactions and lets the interviewees tell a story about their personal experiences. The questions were previously structured, but they allowed the possibility for asking follow up questions or changing the order depending on the responses (Turner, 2010).

The operationalization of parent trust was based on the parent trust school definitions developed by Bryk and Schneider (2002) and Forsyth, Adams and Barnees (2002). Questions include the different dimensions of trust in schools such as the perception on the openness, reliability, benevolence, honesty, competence and respect of the school and the trust in the school direction and administrations and teachers. The questions on perceptions of immigration are based on studies by Pettigrew and Meertens (2006), and Van Dijk (2010). After the data was gathered, I used discourse analysis to identify the main themes that arose around the concepts of immigration and trust in the interviews. The main technique used was the identification of the rhetorical and conversational strategies such as macropropositions which are general topics that are derived from various propositions in the text. To a lesser extent I have used contrast, generalization, exaggeration, evasion, mitigation, displacement, presuppositions, disclaimer, threat rhetoric and associations as categories of analysis (Van Dijk, 2010). In prejudiced discourse contrast refers to differentiating between “us” and “them” and contrasting the difference in lifestyles and customs between the in-group and out-group, generalization is marked by phrases that express an action or an attribute that is always present in the out-group, exaggeration is an overstatement of the characteristics or an event done by the members of the out-group, evasion is the avoidance of stating one’s own opinion directly. Mitigation is used for presenting oneself in a positive light, through showing understanding and tolerance for the out-group, and displacement refers to displacing the negative opinions a person holds by saying that other people hold this prejudice. Presuppositions are those propositions that are generally accepted as true but actually are not and they might presuppose false beliefs and have indirect connotations. Disclaimer is the semantic move in the text from the positive presentation about “Us” and a negative presentation of the “Other”, for which the first part is used for face keeping and giving a good impression in order to explain the second part which is negative. Threat rhetoric refers to representation of immigrants in terms of threat to the dominant culture and attributing them negative characteristics such as taking away resources from the native population (Van Dijk, 2010).

2.4. Data Analysis

In order to answer the question of which perceptions are the most common about immigrants in the school setting, I have identified the most frequent thematic areas in the construction of particular perceptions from the interviews. The following table shows the most recurrent thematic areas appearing in discourse and their frequency, measured as the number of interviews in which a particular perception appears.

Main thematic areas	Frequency of appearance in discourse
Cultural distance	35%
Social distance	23%
Lower quality of education	10%
Language	8%
Religion	8%
Deteriorated external image	7%
Social benefits and priority treatment	6%

Table 7: Thematic areas in discourse

Through the data analysis, using macroproposition analysis, I will show what the main arguments are for supporting the most common perceptions and the frequency by which they appear in the interviews presented in percentages. Furthermore, I will explain how each of these perceptions reflects on trust in the school community, school direction and teachers, and local institutions.

a) Cultural distance

The perception of cultural distance is articulated through three main arguments: that immigrants stay within their community without integrating in the host country (44%), that they try to impose their norms (32%), and that their cultural values are backward and incompatible with native's ways of raising children (24%).

In the following example we can see that native families regard immigrants as unwilling to learn more about the culture where they are coming to and that they are not willing to adapt to the native's way of living:

“If you go to one of those schools you will see a group of Pakistanis, Indus, talking in their language, it is their way of thinking and living, they do not integrate with anyone, not even different nationalities between themselves, it is all divided in different groups (by nationality). They should redistribute the school positions for immigrants and natives better. The authorities had to do so from the beginning. If, at the time, the authorities redistributed the different nationalities and cultures better, immigration would not be a problem in Raval at all” (71, Raval).

In this extract immigrants are seen as the only ones that should put the effort to adapt to the local culture which should not be modified by their customs. The over representation of particular nationalities in schools which is portrayed as a cultural threat leads to a lack of confidence that the governing institutions are managing immigration well. The importance of government intervention is accentuated for the better redistribution of immigrants in the different neighborhoods of Barcelona. Also, a demand for better institutional mechanisms to breach the communication gap between native and immigrant families has also been pointed out by other interviewees.

Secondly, the other most recurrent argument is that immigrants do not respect the norms of the native culture and impose their own norms at school.

"Because they come with their norms, beliefs and for us this is no good. We are not Senegalese, Jews, we are not Moors. It does not do us any good, we're not used to it.

Q: What should the schools do about this?

I do not know; they should have separate schools for them. "(41, La Marina del Port)

Differentiation and contrast between “our” and “their” norms are used to represent immigrants as a threat to the native's culture. In the extract, this differentiation leads to the interviewee demanding a different school for immigrants, that is a more restrictive and separatist policy from the authorities.

The third argument supporting the cultural distance perception is that the customs and culture of the immigrants are seen as backward and inferior to the Catalan and Spanish culture and improper for raising children.

“If the education in their house is the same, the school will not be able to change it. What we are going to accomplish is to add some values to the ones they

already have and when they grow up the next generation is going to remove something from their values. But this will be hard. We are talking like when Spain was in the postwar period and had land chiefs, we needed more than forty-five years to evolve. The same thing will happen to them.

Q: Do they have to evolve?

They have to have an internal cultural evolution.

Q: Should they change?

It's better if they're like ... It's not like they have to be like me. But to evolve so that their beliefs are a little more open. They are a little closed now.” (48, Raval)

Here we can see that the use of the word ‘evolve’ presupposes that immigrants’ culture, in this case the Pakistani, is backward and inferior compared to the native’s culture, which is seen as superior. The culture the immigrants transmit to their children at home is seen as having wrong values that need to be modified. Their homes are considered to be a sphere where the school cannot interfere, but at the same time their values and closeness are seen to negatively affect the school culture because they bring in their values.

Similarly, the way immigrants educate and raise their children is regarded as a direct result of their customs which are considered to be improper for raising children.

“Parents have a lot of influence over a child. When dressing, talking, solving problems, relating to people. The kids are the parents.

Should they make more effort?

Schools with a lot of immigration should work a lot with the parents. In these schools the problem are the families. It is their culture, not because it is bad or wrong, but it is for their country not for here.” (40, Raval)

In these extracts the interviewee demands a higher school implication with immigrant parents as the norms by which immigrants educate their children are incompatible and clash with the local norms. From this and other interviewees, I have detected that the vision that immigrant’s culture is conflicting with the school leads to expectations of stricter policies by the school direction and administration.

The perceptions of irreconcilable cultural differences between native and immigrant families, hampers trust in schools. The school relations are characterized by the difficulty of establishing contact and an effective communication because of feelings of cultural threat and distance. These strenuous intercultural relations deteriorate mostly

the expectations of behavior between school groups which are necessary for trust and influence negatively the school culture and climate. Moreover, perceptions of cultural distance have an impact on the perception of lack of competence by the school direction because it is unable to cope with immigration and therefore this results in less trust in the school direction and a feeling of insufficient institutional support. Native families expect of schools to enforce their culture on immigrants, which would increase their confidence in the school. Thus, apart from parent trust in school direction, native parents do not feel that the school is competent enough as it is not carrying out its responsibilities in regard to immigration.

b) Social distance

The social and participative relations between parents are also seen as deteriorated because of the presence of non-European immigrants, as native families believe immigrants tend to separate. The interviewees have indicated that they are not very participatory in socializing activities since they are rarely part of the PAs (38%), they do not attend birthday parties that native parents organize (30%) and do not interact with the parents from other nationalities in the school yard and parks (25%) and to a lesser extent that they do not attend school meetings (7%).

“Is the PA participatory? What happens is that in the end the one who ends up taking charge of the PA and of these things is a profile of people who are usually from here or other type of immigrants, as are the English, Italian, with a higher cultural level or more similar to the one here, this is what happens in practice, but it is open to everyone. In the class of my daughter it is more conflictive because there are more communities and less people who are integrated and the parents we have not made a friend circle.” (48, Gotic)

As we can observe in this extract, the European culture is regarded as superior as opposed to the allegedly backward and distant immigrant culture. Interviewees consider immigrants from non-European countries to be harder to relate to, which has repercussions in less social relations and cohesion among parents, the PA and in the community.

“Q: What about the activities of the school, do the parents of the immigrants collaborate?

A: No. They make their ghetto. You see someone here except her who is Peruvian. Look they are not around they are out there (in the school yard)

Q: And why do you think this happens?

A: Because they are raised like this, the Philipinos go all together. That is their culture. They are very closed. You do not see a Moroccan woman here because neither does her religion allow it nor does her husband let her. This is very delicate. You cannot talk about it because they treat you as racist. I'm not racist I'm just telling the truth.

Q: But do they collaborate on the school board, in the PA?

A: No ... When they have to collaborate they do not collaborate and if they have to leave the school full of shit they do and they even complain.” (44, Marina del Port)

In the above extract, we see the interviewee expressed through generalization that Muslim women are not allowed to participate in the school activities and to relate to other parents. The interviewee uses a disclaimer as she denies she is a racist as an excuse of what she is saying and presenting herself in a positive light. These negative opinions and stereotypes she holds of Moroccan women lead her to think that they are disrespectful with the PA as they are uncivil and dirty, and they do never collaborate.

As mentioned above, according to native parents, birthday parties of the kids as well as the interaction in the parks are another socializing activity in which there is scarce presence of immigrants. This is inculcated upon the immigrants and it is not questioned whether they are doing something to alienate them.

“For children's birthdays, parents usually bring cookies, they do not do this. Other parents invite them to birthday parties, and they do not go. And they do not invite us (...) They call us racist but in the park, they make their own group. Who is racist? They do not let their children play with ours.” (Focus group: 43, 48; Marina del Port)

From these examples we see that the non-participation of immigrants in the social life of the school is regarded negatively by the parents and that it affects the social interactions between parents which are reflected upon the kids. Thus, there is a negative repercussion on the school climate as the quality of relations and atmospheres are seen as deteriorated. Local parents have an expectation that immigrant parents as part of the school should participate in the PAs, birthday parties, and interact more in the parks.

According to the data I have detected that natives think that immigrant parents do not participate in the PA and consequently certain activities cannot be implemented nor

pushed forward. Native parents believe that immigrants are only involved in the PA, in the school council, or in parent meetings to discuss issues related to their religion and culture. They are seen as imposing their norms and values and interrupting school meetings with their concerns. In contrast, native parents inside the PA are putting a lot of effort to make it function. There is blind trust and no questioning whether native parents are not open enough or whether they do not know how to attract immigrants to participate.

When we look at data on the level of activity of the different PAs across schools it is true that more active ones usually have lower levels of immigration and they are usually composed of parents that have university studies and pertain to the middle to higher social class (Alegre et al, 2010; Sindic el defensor de les persones, 2016). On the contrary, schools with more immigration and lower family socioeconomic status have weak associations and it is more difficult for them to get more resources. The associations that are most active and have the power to promote numerous school activities are also the ones who can more easily get subventions from the Education Department. This leads to a competitive advantage of schools that already have a strong functioning association that can promote better services to its students. Therefore, parents, with higher socioeconomic status, that want more extracurricular activities, school trips and overall services would choose a school with lower immigration and a better functioning association of mothers and fathers reproducing the same social division between schools. Native parents associate more immigration levels with less cohesive associations and less attractive school activities, leading to distrust in these schools. However, the reasons why native parents believe immigrants do not participate in associations is rather because they have a prejudice that they are not interested, and their culture is inferior and backward. While it is these native parents that have higher socio-economic status that because of bias tend to avoid schools with immigration and at the same time they have more economic and cultural capital to make the associations function.

Consequently, we see that immigration is associated to feelings of less cohesion among the immigrant and native parents and children. Being part of the community and voluntary associations reinforces social cohesion which is an important predictor of trust relations. Therefore, immigration is seen to be influencing negatively an important predictor of trust in schools. Overall, less feeling of cohesion, shared values, and quality of relations leads to a perception of a poorer culture and climate.

c) Lower quality of education

Another perception about immigration is that it necessarily lowers the quality of the classes, while it does not present any benefits. The main arguments supporting this perception is that immigrants slow down the pace of class (73%) and that they have a low level of education (27%).

The interviewees regard the low quality that immigration poses as something the Consortium of education should regulate.

“The quality of education is low. But there are people that are from abroad that until they integrate and learn the language it takes time. If they do not know the language they slow down the pace of the class (...) I think there should be more teachers. If the neighborhood has more conflicts, there should be more teachers. In this neighborhood there are problems like poverty, immigration...It is the Consortium for Education that should do it. The level is low.” (35, Raval).

In line with that, in the next example the interviewee acknowledges that his child benefits from the diversity in the school, but the level of education is low because of it.

“Q: Would you later put your children in a school without diversity?

Yes. Of course. I like the high school San Ignacio on Caspe Street because if they want to have a university degree, I would like them to be more equal in education with others if not it is going to be hard for them.

Q: Is there less diversity in this school?

Of course it is a private school and you pay 500 euros per month for the child and there are many people here who cannot pay, they do not have this option.” (48, Gotic)

The perception that immigration lowers the quality of education makes natives believe that the public schools cannot keep up the same standard for all kids and therefore are not as competent, which is an indicator of trust in schools. The academic results of a school are in most cases unknown by parents because of their scarce dissemination by the public administration. Therefore, the academic performance of schools is based on parent's assumptions and on the ethnic or socio-economic composition of the school (Ortiz, 2014). They believe that semi-private schools are better and that in these schools' immigration is more regulated and not overrepresented thus not burdening the class dynamics. This generates distrust towards immigration policies of public schools which are mainly seen as the responsibility of the Consortium of Education.

Further to this, certain countries of origin where immigrants come from, such as India, Pakistan, and Morocco are regarded as having less demanding and deficient education systems. Immigrants from these countries are considered to have a low level of education as the next extract indicates:

“In my daughter’s class there are two Hindu kids and it’s very hard for the teacher to make them understand anything” (Focus group: 39, 40, 45; Marina del Port)

The interview presents the teacher in a positive light while the two immigrant students are presented as problematic. Other interviewees, as well, regard teachers as doing everything that is in their means, but because of immigrant students they cannot achieve a higher standard in the classroom. Despite this, almost all of the interviewees said that they have complete trust in the teacher’s competence.

Overall, the competence indicator of trust is affected by negative perceptions of immigration, while trust in teachers is maintained. In addition, the data from the interviews indicates that this distrust in the performance capability of the school’s results in families with higher education emphasize the importance of the education project when choosing a school. However, schools with high immigration also have very innovative projects but this is disregarded in the case of native parents.

d) Language

The fact that immigrants do not know the language well or that they do not use it enough is regarded negatively by the natives and as they are unwilling to fully integrate in the life and culture of the city. The interviewees have the view that there are communication problems with immigrants because they do not know the language (60%) and they are not willing to learn the language (40%).

Native parents condemn immigrants from Morocco, Pakistan and India for not willing to communicate with them and for not understanding what the teachers have to tell them about their children at the school meetings.

“They are at a school meeting, the first class meeting and it is not in Catalan, as there are foreigners, it is in Spanish. And they do not understand anything. Because they have no interest.” (Focus group: 39, 40, 45; Marina del Port)

The perception that immigrants are not willing to learn the language is reflected in the complaint that the higher institutions for education should change their policies of

providing translators and giving too much support for language reinforcement as we can see in the example below:

“Do you think there should be reception classrooms, or there should not be spending on these things?

“I think it's up to you. You have to be aware that you are going to another country. Let the child learn by playing with other children in the park, let him learn little by little. (47, Raval)

Apart from this, interviewees perceive that the language difficulties of the immigrants interfere with the performance capability of the school affecting the trust in the competence of the school, although, the work of the teachers is not questioned.

Although seeing the benefits of the existent linguistic diversity in schools, the interviewees do not regard all languages to be prestigious and not all are seen as beneficial for their children which is why they do not support extracurricular classes teaching immigrant languages. In this context of linguistic hierarchies (Casco, 2015), based on the utility in the labour market, Arabic and Urdu are not regarded as useful as English, French or other European languages.

e) Religion

Religion is another important aspect which seems to determine perceptions on immigration. Different religions, in particular Muslim, are regarded as more problematic and more disturbing for the school system. The main reasons that the interviewees have enlisted are that religion is an impediment for immigrants to participate in school activities (43%) and that they impose their religious practices in schools which are secular (43%).

In the following example the interviewee sees the Muslim religion as interfering too much in school practices:

“Q: Do you think immigration is harmful?

A: Immigration is not harmful. We are harming ourselves by helping too much. Things should not be made so easy for them. You have to know how when to stop.

This is a non-religious school. If they are celebrating Ramadan it should not matter, they should do a field trip. We cannot leave a whole class without going on a field trip because it is Ramadan, although more than 30% is Muslim. This means to make things easier for them. That does not seem right. And the school changes the field trip.

Q: If you have a complaint about this to the school can you vocalize it? Or they do not care?

A: They do not care. They do not care.” (48, Raval)

In this interview we see that Muslim immigrants are seen as receiving a better treatment and more concessions from the school, while the natives’ opinions on the matter are not taken into account. This deteriorates the relations between native parents and the school direction, and it worsens the perception of the reliability of the school because is too loose with immigrants. The differentiation as a result of diverging religious practices creates tension among immigrants and natives which replicates in their relations within the school and in socializing activities.

Similarly, the imposition of the religious practices in the school such as special dietary requirements are seen negatively by the native parents. The school is seen as a public space where religion should not interfere and this should be assured by the Consortium of Education, as we can see in:

"I am shocked that these families who could take their children home leave them in the school and want to impose that there must be a halal option... eh ...it is a public education ... I think the Consortium should make a decision about what should be the dining options. But, I do not agree with the decision they have made. I believe that religion should be totally out of this matter. And that's it." (Raval).

In this school in Ciutat Vella, a group of native parents also tried to protest against this school policy by contacting the school direction and the Consortium of education. As the interviewee noted the imposition of the halal food⁸ contrary to the native’s parent opinion made them feel they do not have much influence on school policy, which is important for parent trust as it shows the school considers parents’ opinion (Forstyh et al 2011).

Consequently, the perception of intrusive religious practices results in less trust in the school direction and it affects the perception of reliability as the school is not imposing stricter policies.

⁸ Practicing Muslims eat meat halal which means that an animal or poultry has to be slaughtered in a ritual way known as Zibah.

f) Deteriorated external school image

Overall, a bad external image of schools is associated with immigration.

“And I tell you that I have no complaint, I do not care that they come, because poor children it is not their fault. But it should be regulated a little who enters the school. Because there is a bad image of this neighborhood that does not correspond to it. And we already have too much of it. This neighborhood has been a marginal neighborhood always. So that now certain people come to the school so that we become even more marginal.... And this is what she (the director) should watch out for.” (44, Marina del Port).

The interviewees' demand for stricter controls, selection of who enters the school and the bad image it projects to the outside is inculcated on the school direction. The bad image is attributed to the low socioeconomic position and allegedly backward cultural baggage of the immigrant families. In the next extract we can see immigrant children are portrayed as disrespectful.

“The public schools are a disaster (in Raval), there is the high school Mila and Fontanals, it is a disaster. If half the children do not speak Spanish or Catalan what can you expect (...) the kids are the problem, they go to war” (Raval)

This bad image associated with immigration, especially non-European immigration, in public schools is the cause for parents choosing private schools or outside of the neighborhood. The main complaint from native families is that they do not want their children to go to a school where the majority is immigrant. The interviewees with higher education always stress using a disclaimer that they are not racist but it is rather the levels of immigration that are too high. They explain that they do not want their children to be the stranger among their classmates as they are worried that they would not be equally accepted by the kids of other nationalities. There is a sense of group threat, which makes it unconceivable that natives can be a minority in a school or that there is another predominant nationality which is not Catalan. This idea is linked to an imaginary threshold of tolerance which if surpassed the cohesion and identity of the group are seen as destabilized (Pamies, 2006). However, it is mostly the immigrants from non-occidental cultures that are regarded as a threat. For this the school direction and higher level institutions are blamed and there is a demand for a better redistribution of immigration in

the schools that it is more representative of the immigration of the neighborhood which is not the big majority as it happens in some schools.

"What they do not like is the public that goes to school. And this I know from the parents who are my friends. Everyone is gone, everyone. If there would be only 40% of children from outside and 60% of children from here, then people would take their child and that 40% (of immigrants) would be dragged by that 60% (of natives) and this would greatly improve the level of the school. It should not be the opposite distribution, that you are the immigrant in your own neighborhood.

Q: What about the Consortium of Education, and the Generalitat?

"All of them are just so intelligent. What they do is make schools that are ghettos and these schools are behind other ones". (Raval)

In both districts, it is the parents that did not take their children to the public school that have said that they do not trust the public school in their neighborhood because of high levels of immigration. While, the families with children enrolled in public schools, even though they are not too satisfied with the fact that immigration levels are too high, are overall trustful of the functioning of the school. Therefore, negative perceptions of immigration affect more parent trust when they are deciding to enroll their children in the school than when they are inside.

g) Social benefits and priority treatment

In the interviews it has come up that there is a perception that immigrants receive more aids than the natives and are given priorities and better treatment. This negative image of immigrants and a stereotype that they all are all taking advantage of the system is blamed on the school organization that allows this behavior. The school is seen as responsible for managing aid more equally between the immigrant and native families and also the local Catalan government is seen as the responsible institution for managing better school scholarships. The perception that immigrants are benefiting more leads to the feeling of lack of control and low quality of services of the school and the local government.

"We should assume that they (immigrants) take advantage of everything. The PA has a big part of the responsibility. They take advantage and there is a lack of good management. If there was better quality and more control we would all benefit

more. If this worked well then there would be good quality for everyone and there would not be these small differences. Because I would also like to benefit and have three months of food allowance for free. In all these years I did not get anything. I have no right to anything ... The Generalitat has a strong voice, but the school allows it..." (49, Marina del Port)

In the extract, there is a generalization and exaggeration that all immigrants take more benefits and there is a contrast compared to the natives who are presented as more deserving of these social aids. In the other interviews the perception is towards immigrants in general with a special accentuation on immigrants from Pakistan, India, and Morocco, who are seen as abusing the aid that are given. The regional institutional body as well as the school is considered to be allowing these practices and being too generous with social aid. The overall opinion from the interviews is that there needs to be more transparency and a higher quality of services and more control of who benefits from these aids.

Accordingly, the perception that immigrant children and families receive more benefits and preferential treatment lowers trust in the competence of the school direction and administration and higher level institutions.

2.5. Data Discussion

My data reveals that non-European immigrants, especially the ones from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Morocco and India are the object of negative representations and are differentiated from European immigration. Immigrant parents are perceived as not providing a healthy home environment because they are not aware of their children's' behavior in the school yard and park and they are not disciplined enough. In interviews, it has also come up that immigrant parents use physical violence with their children, do not care to communicate with the teachers and do not attend meetings to hear about their child's advancement in schools. Also, native families believe that immigrant families do not transmit the right educational values to their children because they believe that their values and cultural practices clash with the school's (Smyth, 2009). Therefore, parent responsibilities such as being aware of child's behavior, providing a healthy home environment and promoting the school's values are seen as unfulfilled by immigrant parents. Native families do not think that immigrant parents are fulfilling their

responsabilities towards school which leads to distrustful relations between them (Forsyth et al, 2011). Most of these negative representations that we have detected in the interviews are related to immigrant parents' lower socio-economic status and their necessity to work under inflexible working hours, all of which can pose difficulties for their involvement in formal and informal school activities and learning the language. However, the interviewees saw ethnicity and culture as the main impediment in the adaptation of immigrant families in schools. They ascribed the underachievement of immigrant students to their deficient culture and place of origin rather than to the structural obstacles that these students face (Dei, 2008). As explained by Franze (2003) the educational difficulties of immigrants are attributed to their ethnic and cultural differences which are exaggerated and are portrayed as insurmountable giving away to a culturalist discourse of exclusion and racism (Stolcke, 1995). The categories of ethnicity, culture and religion are primordialized and are seen as the determinants for the uncivil and morally deficient behavior of the families (Lentin 2008; Geulen 2011). The Muslim religion in particular has a negative connotation, and as other school ethnographies have revealed it is linked to the pejorative historical connotation of "Moors" (Franze, 2008; Rios-Rojas, 2014, pg.10). As Carrasco et al (2011) pointed out, Islam is seen as a barrier for the learning and participation of Muslim families in schools.

These representations reinforce the idea of exclusion and give away to the possibility of exercising racism where more restrictive policies are demanded from schools and local institutions, thus affecting the native parents trust in them. There is a perception that these institutions are prioritizing the needs of the immigrants at the expense of the native population (Finney and Simpson, 2009).

At the school level, the aspects of trust that are most affected are the competence, reliability and openness of the school staff. The interviewees that have a negative image of immigration do worry that the school is not doing enough to counteract the negative effects of immigration and that is not implementing the right policies or undertaking the necessary measures. They have pointed out that the staff should make the values of the school clear to the immigrant parents, have more cultural mediators, and not let their religious and cultural norms influence the school. As to the measure of reliability, the interviewees have also said that the school cannot have an equal standard for all students as they have to pay more attention to immigrant children. Interviewees have mentioned that the openness of the schools is slightly deteriorated as native parents think that the school does not listen to their demands regarding immigration and prioritizes the needs

of immigrant parents, pointing out that there are not enough channels for native families to share their concerns. However, my data shows that the interviewees who have not taken their children to a public school of the neighborhood because of high levels of immigration are most distrustful of these schools. While the ones that have children inside the public schools, have a better opinion and are overall more trustful of their schools. Therefore, the image of deteriorated high diversity schools can be mitigated by the school staff once parents inscribe their children.

The data collected indicate that a negative representation of immigration does have an impact on the perceived relationship between children, between parents, between children and teachers, and between parents and administration and schools. The relationship between these different groups is essential for forming trust in schools. Unhealthy school relations do lead to a worse perception of the school climate by the parents and family members of children. The interviewees expressed feelings of less social cohesion, community and social network in schools of diversity, all of which impedes trustful relations to be formed (Coleman, 1988). Prejudice and racial bias lower the possibility of contact, communication and community building between immigrant and natives accentuating the differentiation between them even more.

Similarly, negative perceptions on diversity derive in less trust in the school direction and administration. Native parents think that there should be more control of who enters the school and how immigration is managed. Contrary to these trust relationships, native parents have complete trust in their teachers in the school. They believe that teachers deal with immigration adequately, teach well, and are very competent and reliable. There is no questioning whether teachers are in any way excluding immigrant children in the classroom or that simply they are unprepared to deal with diversity. Also, there is high trust in the way that PA representatives are organizing the activities and native families are seen as investing time and a lot of effort in making the school community function.

We see that the effect of negative representations of immigration do not affect the same way all school groups. There is high in-group trust (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2006), that is in teachers and other native families, however this is not the case with the school direction. There is less trust in the school direction which is seen as having a more implementationist role for executing restrictionist policies, while teachers or PA representatives do not.

Apart from the quality of relations, other elements of school climate such as the atmosphere of the school, and elements of school culture, the norms and values, are seen as deteriorated by immigrants. Exemptions because of religious holidays, wearing a veil, the lack of participation of the immigrant parents in formal and informal school activities, religious practices interfering with field trips, segregation in the school yard, not attending birthday parties of native children, not knowing the language, and not integrating in the native's culture and deteriorated exterior image of the school are seen as damaging. Parents felt there was a lack of common values with immigrant families and as a result less clarity of common educational goals and interconnectedness within the school.

Thus, when there is a negative image of immigration based on native's opinion on the school relations and norms, features of school climate and culture important for trust, are seen as deteriorated.

Analyzing the connection of immigration and trust, I have detected that when there is a positive opinion, perceptions about immigrants do not affect negatively trust in schools. Parents with no prejudice and racial bias do not think that immigrant families are not educating their children properly or not participating in school activities because they are careless. They believe that the school staff and native families in the PA are mutually responsible for approaching immigrant families, although they think there needs to be more institutional support for approximating immigrant families to the school. They do not perceive that immigrants impose their norms and values in schools and even see it beneficial if the school takes the different religions, culture, and languages into the programme. As they are more understanding of immigrant behavior and culture, they described the school community as cohesive where a generally positive atmosphere prevails. Also, there is no perception of a lower quality of education. This is why they do not have more demands from the school direction and administration in relation to immigration.

However, all interviewees, regardless if their opinion is positive or negative on immigration, generally think that the effects of immigration should be resolved by the city level institutions rather than just their local schools. The education institutions and local government are seen as the main institutions that did not react on time when immigration became more prominent in Barcelona and they allowed the formation of "ghettoes" by different nationalities and an overrepresentation of immigrants in certain schools. They are urged to redistribute the levels of immigration across the school system and to promote a better image of these schools. The interviewees complained about the

institutional abandonment and neglect of high diversity schools seen in the lack of human and financial resources and unequal conditions in comparison to other schools with lower levels of immigration.

The distrust in the local level institutions is followed by general distrust in the education system, portrayed as antiquated and in the need of renovation, which projects negatively in the trust that native parents have in public schools. Therefore, many opt out for semi-private schools which apart from having fewer immigrants follow more closely the work of their students and have more means to fulfill their school project.

We have to have in mind that the reduced government spending in education as a consequence of the recent austerity measures that Spain has undergone has caused a general institutional dissatisfaction. The negative image of immigration coupled with the previous discontent with government policies results in an overall distrust in the education institutions.

The fact that many of the criteria of good school functioning are not so easily identifiable when choosing the place of enrolling their children (Sindic el defensor de les persones, 2016) has a consequence that a significant part of parents makes their judgment based on opinions of other parents and rumors about a certain school and its social composition. Therefore, the ethnic composition of a school becomes an equivalent measure for its quality (Alegre et al 2010). So, parents are guided by the social composition of the school, avoiding high levels of immigration, rather than being guided by the school project. Even though in the discourse of parents with high education the school project masks the importance they give to the social composition which ends up weighing more.

Comparing the two districts, Ciutat Vella and Sants Montjuic, I have detected a more negative opinion of interviewees living with more immigration. Especially cultural distance and the bad image of schools has come up as a more recurrent theme in Ciutat Vella, while the topic that immigrants receive priority treatment and more social benefits has come up equally in both neighborhoods. This can be related to the fact that in Ciutat Vella there is more immigration from Pakistan and Morocco, which are seen as more culturally distant and different from the natives than the Latin American immigrants who are more present in Sants-Montjuic.

2.6. Conclusions

In this paper I have looked at how opinions of immigration reflect on the trust in local schools of the native families. Also, I have tried to depict which are the main perceptions about immigrants that natives view in the school context and which aspects of trust are affected by these representations.

The data from the fieldwork indicate that the evaluation of the immigrants by the natives is based on their value system. The cultural, social and physical distance perceived by the natives, and different language and religion of the immigrants constitute the major sources of prejudice and racial bias. Immigrants are attributed negative characteristics and modes of behavior which are stereotyped and generalized into a whole group taking away their individuality.

In the interview analysis, we have seen that these negative representations, marked by prejudice and racism, derive in distrust within the schools and in higher level institutions such as education and city or regional level institutions. While there is complete trust in teachers and native families. However, regardless if the perception of immigration in schools is positive or negative, all interviewees have expressed a general distrust in higher level education institutions and their negligence when dealing with schools in diverse neighborhoods.

Further research should explore the effect of immigration on trust in a different institutional setting than the Spanish one and see to what extent can a trustful school environment mitigate the effects of prejudice and racism and whether with prejudice reduction practices in schools' trust is increased. Another point worth contemplating is the mechanisms through which negative representations lead to less trust in implementations institutions that is the regional government, municipality and the Consortium of Education and the school administration while trust in teachers is not altered.

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3. CHAPTER 3: Perceptions of intercultural relations and school trust among immigrant families

Abstract

Do immigrant parents trust the schools to which their children go? In Spain, previous research has pointed out that the expectations of immigrant families towards education are overall positive (Terren and Carrasco, 2007; Leiva, 2011). Nevertheless, it is not very clear how intercultural relations, between immigrant families and the schools staff as well as other native families, affect the trust that immigrant families place in schools. In this article, I explore what is the predominant perception of relations with the school and native parents by immigrant families and whether they perceive discrimination or positive contact, and how this affects their trust in schools. In order to obtain my data, I conducted qualitative interviews with immigrant parents from differing origins throughout four neighborhoods in Barcelona. I combined it with participant observation in four schools with different immigration levels. My results show that the trust immigrant parents place in schools varies according to the three main perceptions of intercultural relations I have detected: blatant and subtle discrimination, intercultural tension, and negative views on high levels of immigration in schools.

Key factors: *discrimination, intercultural relations, immigrant families, school trust*

3.1 Introduction

Immigrant parents are said to put high amounts of hope into the schooling of their children and trust in the education system of the host country (Leiva, 2011). However, the initial expectations and plans for the education that immigrants have of their children when they come to a new country are intertwined with the reality that they encounter, the openness of the school and the reception of the already established families. The perceptions about immigrants and how welcoming the schools' staff and other families are to them are important for the child's schooling process (Banks, 1993).

The immigration flows to the Catalan education system have encompassed a variety of children with different languages, and nationalities being the most numerous immigrant students from Africa (40,9%), Latinamerica (24.4%), and Asia (14%), reversing the trend from previous decades when immigrant students from South America were predominant (Domingo and Bayona, 2016). The weight of the rapid growth of these pupils in compulsory education (from 6 to 16) and their high presence in the obligatory pre-school education has been assumed mostly by public schools (Carrasco and Gibson, 2010). It has been recorded that native families avoid schools with high immigrant concentration. In this segregation process language, religion or skin color plays a role (Castaño and Gomez, 2013). Usually poorer immigrant families, children and parents, are stereotyped and are the objects of prejudices (Carrasco, 2004). In this context, I want to explore how immigrant families perceive their integration and relations with natives and other immigrant families in the school setting and how it influences their trust in schools.

Regarding immigrant families, research has centered mostly on their perceptions of relations with schools, discrimination or of how welcoming native families and schools are to them (Carrasco, 2004; Garreta, 2009; Ichou and Oberti, 2014; Hernandez et al, 2016). What we do not know is how these perceptions about the different relations formed in schools affect immigrant family trust in schools and education institutions. Also, the literature on the relation between families of different immigrant groups is scarce. In order to reveal more about these processes, in this article I pursue the following questions:

How are relations with natives and other immigrant groups perceived by immigrant families in schools?

How is trust in schools manifested by immigrant families and how it is negotiated within the context of intercultural relations?

In order to answer such questions, I conducted an exploratory study in order to shed light on the main concepts, ideas, issues and factors that underpin the relationship between immigrants and natives and trust from an immigrant perspective.

Accordingly, I start by introducing a brief theoretical framework with the main literature related to trust and intercultural relations in schools within a framework of intercultural education. Afterwards, I explain the methodology I used to obtain the data and the details of the fieldwork I carried out in schools in four different neighborhoods in Barcelona. Through the data analysis I examine what are the different dimensions of intercultural relations that are formed between immigrant and native families. At the same time, I explain how trust in schools is formed for immigrant families depending on intercultural relations. With the results of the study I present the explanatory factors and draw conclusions of how immigrants perceive trust in the schooling system according to their perceptions of intercultural contact.

3.2. Theoretical Framework

Intercultural interactions are becoming more frequent in today's globalized world. This reality is reflected in schools which are sites of great diversity of languages, cultures, nationalities, religions and intercultural dialogue among people of different origins. Schools have the capacity to be socializing and integrating spaces where interactions of families of various immigrant groups, native families as well as school staff takes place.

For the successful integration of immigrants, schools need to accept and respect the different cultures of the families and help them contribute together to the school community and climate (Banks, 1993). The similarities and differences of parenting styles and demands between families of different cultural groups have to be negotiated and common practices need to be implemented in schools.

Solid family-school relations, especially in the case of immigrants, are important for the continuity between the child's home and school environment and their better educational achievement (Epstein, 1995; Smit et al., 2001). More recently, in discussions in research in family-school relations the concept of trust is getting more attention. However, there are not many studies that have researched family trust in schools and even less so the link between cultural diversity and trust.

As a relational concept, trust in schools is dependent on the social exchanges and interactions between each school group that is between teachers, school administration, parents and students. In the case of families, trust depends on how much they perceive the school to be open to their demands, if the school keeps them informed, has high quality of education that is if it is competent, keeps high standards for all children, respects their values and expertise and acts in a benevolent way by looking for their child's best interest.

Very important conditions for trust are a strong schools' community and the existence of associations and voluntary organizations (Barbara and Schneider, 2003). Therefore, parent involvement and community-school relations, such as the dynamics in the parent associations and formal and informal meetings, are the cornerstone of family trust in schools (Ogbu, 1981; Forsyth et al, 2011). Overall, family trust, as I will analyse in this paper is the combination of parent trust in the school direction and administration in other parents and in teachers as well as their perceptions of the community, school culture and climate (Adams and Barnees, 2002; Forsyth et al., 2011)

Trust is formed over time, through continued interactions and when there is not much contact, in diverse schools, families and educators may rely on the expectations of behaviour attributed to a particular race, religion and nationality (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000; Bryk and Schneider, 2002). In schools with diversity, the different value systems between the host society and between native parents and different immigrant groups might hamper trust in schools. Immigrant families can perceive that their parenting styles and cultural beliefs clash with the mainstream school practices and expectations of parent involvement (Crozier, 2001; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Theodorou, 2007; Poureslami et al., 2013). Especially non-Western immigrants encounter barriers for their integration and participation from native and European families (Carrasco, 2008; Paniaguas, 2017). Immigrant families might feel discriminated or they might have demands that are contrary to the school's and majority families' values that would lead to intercultural tension. The lack of recognition of their cultural and religious background, language, community practices and forms of socialization, can lead immigrant families to perceive that there is no equal treatment, reinforcing cultural boundaries between families and schools (Lipman, 1997). This can be seen by the families as barriers for their integration hindering the trust towards education institutions (Carrasco, 2009).

This is an important challenge for intercultural education as it needs to redirect its attention to yet another context which is the family and the factors that are involved in constructing a solid and trustful family-school partnership. Religious diversity, gender

issues related to religion, mother tongue instruction, various dietary needs and overall different cultural demands from immigrant parents can pose major challenge for schools in Europe (Zilliacus, 2009). Multiculturalism and interculturalism have raised questions about the extent to which there should be accommodation of the new arrivals and their cultural demands and to what extent they should adapt to the norms of the host society.

Considering the backlash against multiculturalism⁹, the Council of Europe and its White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (2008) and UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education (2006) wanted to establish new cultural dynamics through intercultural education¹⁰ that tries to go beyond the more passive co-existence and mere acceptance among cultures, propagated by multicultural education, and towards a more active dialogue and understanding among different cultural groups (UNESCO, 2006). Interculturalism recognizes and respects diversity but it interrogates more critically what differences are acceptable and what cultural practices can be seen as illiberal and contradictory to fundamental human rights (Zapata-Barrero and Triandafyllidou, 2012; Dobbernack and Modood, 2013). Intercultural education has foreseen also a curriculum that is inclusive of minority culture and language, the use of the mother tongue for initial instruction with a strong cultural component, and the consideration for different religions and the practices that might arise from this, anti-discriminatory policies and an overall celebration of pluralism and equality but accentuating the importance of intercultural contact and dialogue (Council of Europe, 2008).

In an intercultural framework the demands and values of immigrant families should be taken into consideration and for a successful intercultural education the participation of parents from different cultural backgrounds and the facilitation of integration of immigrants in the schooling system is necessary (UNESCO, 2006). Therefore, the school should respect differences and consider the demands by families, bearing in mind if the demand is contrary to any fundamental human right or if it would impede the realization of education activities and what consequences its implementation

⁹Multiculturalism on education has been contested by both its opponents and proponents, the first ones criticize it for creating “parallel lives” and not propagating sufficient integration by not embodying the religious and cultural values of the state in the school practices, and the proponents of multiculturalism for not considering sufficiently the power relations and treating cultural and religious differences in a tokenistic way (Lentin, 2001; Coulby, 2006).

¹⁰The term interculturalism refers to the “interactions, negotiations and processes” (Gundara, 2000, p.233) and intercultural dialogue to an “open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage on the basis of mutual understanding and respect” (Council of Europe 2008, p.10)

would have for the child and the school. However, the different interpretations and accommodations of laws as well as intercultural programs in schools could lead to intercultural tension between the family and the school (Canimas and Carbonell, 2008).

Considering this previous research, I want to explore how trust towards the school is manifested by immigrant families and how it is negotiated within an intercultural context and relations with the native families and other immigrant groups in the school. What I suggest here to is to interpret the discourse of immigrant families and their daily interactions and the opportunities and obstacles that they encounter and how they are met by different school groups such as teachers, staff and administration and other parents. (Bryk and Schneider, 2002).

Perceptions of intercultural relations can range from positive to tense relations, marked by prejudice and discrimination (Stephan and Stephan, 2001). I will try to find to what extent immigrants perceive discrimination, understood as ‘actions carried out by members of dominant groups, or their representatives that have a differential and harmful impact on members of subordinate groups’ (Bruß 2008, p. 887) or to what extent they do not perceive any tension and feel there is a positive relation. I distinguish between blatant which is open and direct, versus subtle, that is indirect and more ambiguous, discriminatory acts experienced by members of stigmatized groups (Deitch et al, 2003).

3.3. Methodology and Fieldwork

In order to obtain my data, I have used a qualitative methodology combining interviews and participant observation. The data collection process was done in two stages and all of the research was done in the two districts Ciutat Vella and Sants Montjuic. In the first stage I reached out to different immigrant groups that have children in the schools inside the neighborhoods of my interest. I tried to encompass as varied of a sample as possible, so I talked to parents whose children are in four public and two semi-private schools in Ciutat Vella and in four public and one semi-private in Sants-Monjutić. I contacted parents in the school yards, parks and public libraries and conducted individual as well as group interviews. I carried out semi-structured interviews and used a general interview guide as it is considered a better way to identify individual views and overall for grasping perceptions on phenomena (Ritche and Lewis 2003; Corbetta 2003). A total of 43 individual interviews were conducted and 5 group interviews.

As I mentioned in the introduction, I tried to encompass a diverse sample of immigrant groups with varying nationalities and religions to understand their different perceptions of intercultural relations. The immigrants I interviewed were mainly from Pakistan (9), Morocco (8), Philippines (8), Dominican Republic (4), Ecuador (3), Colombia (2), Peru (2), Venezuela (1), Argentina (1), Brazil (1), Japan (1), India (1), Iran (1), Algeria (1), Guinea (1), United Kingdom (1), Hungary (1), and Russia (1).

After an initial approach and an overview of the opinions of immigrants about the schools I moved into the second stage of the data collection. Since the social context can be revealing of how the immigrant population interacts with the native population, in this stage I attended the main formal and informal activities of schools such as parent association (PA) and school meetings and I carried out participant observation. I did my fieldwork in four schools in each of the neighborhoods under study. Two schools were located in Sants Montjuic, low to middle complexity¹¹ schools with 5% and 20% of immigration respectively. The other two schools were in Ciutat Vella labeled as high complexity schools with 60% and 65% of immigration. In this way I could see the difference of opinion between parents in schools with high and low immigration levels.

Participant observation gave me the possibility to learn about the daily activities and time spent on them, the routines, interactions, communication patterns and nonverbal expressions of feelings of the parents under study (Schmuck, 1997; Kawulich, 2005). Most importantly, I could check the veracity of the data collected in the first stage and observe events that interviewees have described and discover activities or modes of behavior that could not be grasped by interview methods (Marshall and Rossman, 1995).

In the data analysis of the interviews and participant observation I coded and catalogued the data in predominant themes and patterns (Miles and Huberman, 1994) focusing on immigrant demands and how they are met by the school. I took into consideration the different personal experiences immigrants may have with the native population, their country of origin, time of arrival to Spain, and knowledge of language as well as expectations of education of their children. Although, I have approached the fieldwork with a theoretical background, I simultaneously integrate inductive theoretical insights in the data analysis (Wilson and Chaddha, 2010). Combining both the deductive

¹¹In Barcelona schools are divided in low, middle, and high complexity schools depending on the level of instruction, job occupation and income of the family members, percentage of students with special education needs, and percentage of immigrant students. High complexity schools have higher levels of students in the risk of exclusion and higher diversity levels.

and inductive methods, I aimed at a thorough analysis of how relations between immigrants and natives influence trust in schools while both challenging and contributing to the existent theory on the issue.

3.4. Data Analysis

Analyzing my data, I make my own distinction of the principal immigrant perceptions of intercultural relations categorizing them as perceived discrimination, which I divide into blatant and subtle discrimination, intercultural tension experienced with the school and intercultural tension with other immigrant groups. For each of these three dimensions I distinguish between different sub dimensions that I will develop in my analysis. I categorize each perception as a result of the experiences or situations the interviewees have lived in the schools and the affective links they have expressed towards other ethnic groups (Mendes, 2009). In the data analysis, I will explain how each perception of intercultural relations is constructed and how it affects trust in schools.

3.4.1 Perceived discrimination

Throughout my analysis I distinguish between blatant and subtle discrimination (Deitch et al, 2003). I encountered very few cases of blatant discrimination, but I do understand that the biggest limitation of our study is that it is a very challenging task to have parents readily state their experiences of discrimination, because of the insecurity they can feel with the interviewer. The subtle discrimination is more common, but at the same time harder to address as it would not necessarily be acknowledged as discrimination by the school or it would happen unintentionally.

a) Perceived blatant discrimination

In cases of perceived blatant discrimination immigrant parents, who do not receive the necessary support from the staff and director, or this support is delayed, may feel less trustful towards the school. An example of this is the case of a Moroccan mother whose child changed schools and entered a principally homogeneous school with very little percentage of immigrants. The classmates, teachers and other parents were using exclusionary practices and labeled the child as problematic:

“In School A¹² the children did not want a new classmate, because he has a different religion, because there were not many children from Morocco, that's why he had a problem. My kid passed third grade there and in the fourth grade he did not want to go to that school. The boy wanted to go back to School B. The children insulted him a lot and did not want to play with him. Now it is better, but we have had many problems in this school. There are parents who do not teach their children that everyone has their own culture. Maybe it's the parents' fault.” (P1FG¹³, Morocco, 35)

His parents complained to the school, but the response was not immediate because the school direction and teachers thought that the child could not keep up with the studies since he previously went to schools with bad reputation. We can see it in the following extract:

“A: At first, they told me that the problem is in my son and I told them to call the other schools where he studied. I showed them my kid's grades at the two previous schools. They said that the first school has a low level, but they could not say the same for the second school, it has won a prize a few years ago. They called the schools and saw that he did not have any problems before. I told them that my child became nervous at their school. I told them that if they do not solve the problem I will denounce them. Q: They did not help you at first and you had to press? A: Yes, press, press...” (P1FG, Morocco, 35)

The divergence of opinion between the Moroccan mother's demand and the response of the school to their problem, lead her to feel her interest and that of her child were not represented by the school. She was overly more satisfied with the previous schools with more immigrants where she felt her son and her were well accepted by the whole community. Even though School A is considered the best school in the vicinity, the whole treatment that she and her child received was better in a school with poor reputation among not only the parents but also the teachers. The bad image of the school is associated with the presence of children of immigrant and Roma origin.

¹²The names of the schools are not given because of confidentiality reasons

¹³The names of the participants are not given because of confidentiality reasons. They are marked as P= participant and the neighborhood they live in R=Raval, Gotico=G, MP=Marina del Port, Font de la Guatlla= FG

Another similar example is of two Dominican mothers that did not identify with the majority native population. Their phenotype and pertaining to the lower social class were acting as the divisionary line with the native mothers and the school. This resulted in one mother changing her child to a school with mostly immigrants while the other mother stayed but did not feel accepted by the rest of the parents in the school.

I1: From teachers to mothers they are racist in School C.

Q: How do you notice it?

I1: The way they treat you, they do not greet you, they do not let their children play with yours. I have heard the children, even the little ones, say mother look that is a black woman. When the child says it is because the mother says it (...)

I did not have this problem in (the other) School D. There are children who have left because of the behavior of the teachers, because when they are interviewed they go from there (School C) to School D.

I2: In this school (School C) there is more classism than racism.

I1: In School D I could not pay for the dining room. Despite this, the director did let my child eat. The treatment is different if you cannot pay.” (Group interview MP, Dominican Republic)

The school with more immigration was considerate with payment delays¹⁴ as the socioeconomic status of the parents was similar. This created a more welcoming school climate and a sense of equal treatment of all families. While in the school with predominantly middle-class native parents the school would not allow payment delays by families or give as much class reinforcement resulting in the marginalization of the Dominican mothers because of their lower economic means. Similarly, they did not have the sense of belonging to the parent community because they could not keep up with the native parents’ standards and costs for the organization of after school meetings.

From the interviews I had with these families I can conclude that in case of blatant discrimination immigrant parents identify more with other minorities and they do not feel they belong in a school with predominantly native families. They develop a distrustful relationship with the school with mostly native children because they are not given the necessary support from the school staff in terms of academic reinforcement, help with their child’s integration and they were excluded from the parent community, which do not always respect their religious and cultural identity. The school and its staff are not

¹⁴The Consortium of Education grants individual dining aids (which cover the entire or part of the cost of the service) to students belonging to families in disadvantaged socio-economic situations. Families apply for these aids through the administration but the school manages them.

regarded as benevolent, reliable and open and the school climate, that is the overall quality of relations and atmosphere, is not seen as inclusive. When the immigrant families I interviewed have their child enrolled in a school with more diversity, they are able to establish a trustful relationship with the school because they perceive a more cooperative and welcoming atmosphere permitting them to ask for help if needed and making them feel part of the community. They feel more secure in an environment with a higher percentage of immigration and a school that was accommodated to the necessities of a diverse student body¹⁵. These types of schools pay more attention to the different cultural and religious holidays, festivities and immigrant families did not stand out as different. Even though their identity was not represented in the school curriculum these schools managed to give visibility to the cultures of origin by having a more inclusive school climate.

My data shows that immigrant parents that have experienced blatant discrimination feel more welcomed in schools with more immigration rather than in schools with predominantly native students. Their sense of exclusion from the native population in the school captured more than one social category. The intersectionality between ethnicity, religion, culture, phenotype as well as their lower socio-economic status (Hancock, 2007, pg. 64) differentiated them from the majority.

b) Perceived subtle discrimination

Subtle discrimination towards immigrant parents is manifested through their lower possibility to voice out their concerns in the formal school meetings, unequal treatment towards their children in the classroom and the (lack of) approximation of immigrant parents to the school and the participatory processes, as we will see in detail in this section.

¹⁵In Barcelona schools with high levels of immigration, labeled as high complexity schools, receive more resources from the Consortium of Education in terms of extra teachers, lower student-teacher ratio, an extra teaching hour, and they could be assigned social workers, psychologist and intercultural mediators.

I) Lower possibility to voice out concerns

At formal school meetings, language acts as a barrier for immigrant parents from the school because they can not participate much and because they feel they have a lower possibility to voice out their concerns in the school when compared to the native parents.

“I1: In the meetings only Catalans speak. They say that it is obligatory to speak Catalan¹⁶. Spanish we can understand but not Catalan. We sit for ten minutes at the meeting and then we leave because we do not understand anything. We say to the teacher or director we do not understand anything and they have told me that it is obligatory to speak in Catalan. In the PA they also speak in Catalan. Then they explain a little.
Q: Have you told them if they can change the language of the meeting?
I1: We have told them many times.” (Group interview FG, two mothers from Morocco)

I could confirm the veracity of the statement during fieldwork in this school where I attended the first parent meeting of the year. In the meeting there were 20 parents from which 7 were non-Spanish. The teacher spoke in Catalan despite the fact that several immigrant mothers asked her to talk in Spanish. As it was the official school policy to hold all meetings in Catalan, the teacher decided to translate simultaneously some parts of the meeting into Spanish, but not all of it and she was leaving out some important aspects such as the day of the week that the children were supposed to hand in the homework. I noticed that the two Moroccan mothers of this class were not present at the meeting and when I asked the teacher about them, she said they were not there because they do not know the language well, so they preferred one to one meetings where they can speak Spanish.

Although these mothers feel unfair treatment, they do not perceive this as an act of discrimination and were still satisfied with the school. The reasons that could explain such satisfaction includes: on the one hand, their frame of reference is the school in their home country which they believe is less competent than their current school. This fact makes them overlook their unequal status in certain aspects of school participation. On

¹⁶According to the Article 21.1 of the Law on language policy Catalan must be used normally as a language for teaching and learning in non-university education. However, article 9 of the Law states that if a person requests to receive communication and notifications in Spanish it is their right as citizens.

the other hand, I also found out that they previously had their child in a school with high immigration levels and they moved their children to their current school which is considered to be a good school in the neighborhood. Even though they do not feel they fully belong in this school's community with the other families they preferred to be in a school with good reputation. Therefore, their comparison with the education system in their home country, the differentiation from the school with high immigration and the positive image that the school has in the neighborhood are the factors that minimized the impact on distrust and hence resulted in their satisfaction and trust.

II) Unequal treatment towards immigrant children

The relations between the teachers and the children in the classroom are also a source of subtle discriminatory behavior, as we can see in this example in which Pakistani mothers complained that their children are not treated the same as their Spanish classmates:

"Q: Do they perceive any kind of discrimination in school?

I1: Yes. My children say that when we speak, the teachers do not listen.

When another girl speaks, a Spaniard, they listen.

They have preferences.

I2: Yes.

I3: Me too. Many times my children say when they talk to the teacher they do not listen.

Q: Have you talked to the teachers?

I1: No. Because if we talk, it makes little difference (...)

Q: Do you trust the school?

I1: Yes". (Group interview R, four Pakistani mothers)

These Pakistani mothers said they trusted the school, despite the perceived discrimination towards their children. Further in the interview with them, they stated that their trust in schools was not altered because the administration together with native parents is regarded as very welcoming. They feel they have the support from some school groups, especially the administration, which can influence considerably the norms and policies being implemented, making them feel they are protected and that they are not in a notably vulnerable position. Accordingly, this perceived support and an overall positive school climate compensate for the lack of trust that they can have towards the school groups that discriminate towards them. Despite some discrimination, they feel that the school is still the most welcoming and trustful institution.

a) (Lack of) approximation between the school and immigrants

Another aspect of subtle discrimination is the lack of information and proper communication between the school and immigrant families, which results in their low level of participation and school involvement. Furthermore, there is a contradiction between immigrants' concern for more tolerance towards their culture and tradition and their inactivity in voicing it out to the school, as we will see.

My data shows that immigrant parents do not easily share information nor complain to the school because of the language barrier, because they are not completely aware of their rights to do so, are not properly informed by the school staff and perceive barriers to access.

Accordingly, language is an obstacle for immigrant parents to uphold their demands and concerns. Usually, Moroccan and Pakistani families are counting on one person from their community that is more active in the PA to represent them. Therefore, a relationship with the PA is established through an intermediary but there is no direct communication and participation in these cases. Also, the issues that are discussed within a community are not entirely transmitted to the PA. This leaves a gap between the school and the parents, where the school is unaware of the necessities of all immigrant parents. For instance, the Pakistani mothers, from the previous examples, complain mostly to each other and do not directly address their concerns to the school director in order to avoid problems, although they have a good relation with the administration.

Additionally, the lack of approximation of immigrant parents to the school is because they are not aware of the different possibilities of how they can voice their concerns.

Parents from Pakistan and Morocco value the knowledge that their children receive in the mosque and want it to be reflected in the school because for them it is complementary education. They prefer to have the possibility to have Arabic as an extracurricular activity and a class in Islamic religion. Since they do not have this option in the school they take their children on a regular basis to the mosque which limits their time for participation in other extracurricular activities. Nevertheless, these parents do not think they could actually demand this from the school, even though their perceptions of their relations with the school is good. We can see this in the following example:

“Q: Are you part of the PA?

I: What is the PA? (...)

Q: Does your daughter go to the mosque?

I: Yes, once a week to learn Arabic.

Q: And would you like to have an Arabic class at school, as an extracurricular?

I: Very much. Because the imam does not know how to teach children. He speaks of the Qoran. All Moroccan mothers think the same. And the mosque is expensive. It would be great to have it as part of the school.

Q: Have you asked the school for it?

I: No.

Q: Why?

I: I don't know.” (P4G, Morocco, 34)

Additionally, not all parents perceive that there is an equal opportunity for parent participation as it seems that the activities and rules at the PA are already set up by the native parents:

“I went to some meetings at the beginning and what I saw is all Spanish and a group that is a little bit closed. I made a proposal and they gave me a look of here comes this woman to propose something. They did not listen to me much, they ignored me. I did not like it very much. Things are already done that way and do not come here to propose anything new because it is not going to happen. I did not give it many opportunities either.” (P6G, Argentina, 40).

Overall, we can say that there is not enough communication and transmission of information from both immigrant parents and the school. For instance, the school never informs immigrant families that can have the right to religious education if they request it and if the minimum number of students is met¹⁷. Also, from the observations and interviews I carried out, I could see the barriers that immigrant parents find when trying to enter participatory spaces in the school. This happens in a subtle way in which native parents are not aware of the exclusionary practices that they themselves employ. I have observed that native parents do not know how to open up the PA for immigrant participation and they do not explain or ask them directly to participate and they do not include the activities that immigrant parents could be potentially interested in. It is mostly the more active parents, who are usually native and European parents that establish the

¹⁷

Law 26/1992: Cooperation Agreement of the State with the Islamic Commission of Spain

rules and they are often closed groups with their working dynamics already set up which draws back families with different cultural backgrounds to join.

The PAs communicate at the beginning of the year about the initial meeting and in schools with more diversity they also do it in different languages representing the language of the biggest communities. However, the expectations and requirements of parent-involvement are not always made explicit. As Bernstein explains (1997, p.60) this results in only parents that know how to navigate the system and have access to the “privileged” knowledge to get involved while the others that are not aware of the unspoken rules are in a position of disadvantage.

The lack of knowledge of how to remove communication barriers, coupled with the lack of time of the parents in the PA makes it difficult for them to approach immigrant families. As it is a voluntary task parents do not have the time to develop the PA projects or strategies to involve immigrant parents, communicate with them outside the PA hours and see what they could be interested in.

I also noticed similar practices in formal school relations between parents and the school. Lack of experience in dealing with diverse groups and the need to keep up with the set schedules did not leave much room for teachers to encourage immigrant parents in taking initiative and participating.

In conclusion, we see that when there is subtle discrimination immigrant parents tend to disregard conflicts and are still trustful towards the school. Discrimination by a certain school group does not have to deteriorate trust if the parents feel they are well accepted and have the support of other school groups especially from the direction. Similarly, subtle discrimination or unfair treatment is also not given too much importance when the school is perceived as better than the one in the home country and if the school’s exterior image is positive. However, I noticed that the school does not properly inform immigrant parents about its different boards and they do not always regard the school to be open to their demands, especially when they try to access the participatory spaces. Also, complaints and concerns about the education of their children are usually discussed within their community and not so often voiced out to the school. This indicates that there are not enough mechanisms provided by the school for these parents to feel more welcomed and trustful to discuss their concerns with the school. Overall, the lack of approximation of immigrant parents to the school and the barriers that some encountered when trying to participate lower their possibility of school involvement. This has negative consequences on trust as it diminishes the possibility of communication and affective

relationships to be formed deteriorating the school climate and affective mechanisms that is the sense of belonging to the school community (Barnes, Mitchell, Forsyth, & Adams, 2005; Ferguson, 2008).

3.4.2 Intercultural tension with the school

Moving on to the second major perception of intercultural relations, we have intercultural tension felt by immigrants with the school. The different education values, the perception that the school does not recognize the cultural and religious background of immigrant families and the clash of different value systems is a source of intercultural tension between immigrants and the school.

a) Different education values

In a school where most of the student body is from Pakistan and Bangladesh¹⁸, my informants consider the school curriculum and the teachers to be disrespectful towards certain religious issues. This creates tension as we can see it in the following example:

"I1: There are times that they discriminate with religion as well. In a few days there is a school party which includes dancing and we do not want our daughters to be paired with boys. One teacher wants the children to dance in pairs. She is the physical education teacher. The teacher does not want to change this. She has done a reading about religion to the children for an hour and a half about the difference between the Catholic and Muslim religion. She said that Islam is not good. Not with those words, but... And children do not know much about this topic and they cannot respond. When we respect the religion of teachers why teachers do not respect our religion?" (Group interview R, four Pakistani mothers)

About the dancing issue the Pakistani mothers feel there is discrimination not only because the teacher makes the female and male students pair up but also because he denigrates their religion in front of the children. Similarly, the swimming class, which is obligatory in this school's curriculum, the Pakistani community does not want their female children to attend it after a certain age. As with the dancing, they feel that their

¹⁸ Data Consortium of Education

culture and religious identity is not secured and respected, making them distrustful towards the school curriculum and what certain teachers are teaching.

These families feel that these courses interfere with their religious freedom however the exemption from the classes also undermines the child's right to receive full education. In this case, the school decided to give an opt-out option for the ones that did not want to attend the swimming class in order to avoid tension with the families, while they were unaware of any conflict because of female and male children dancing together. The children do not have any problem, but it is the mothers that want the school to be more understanding of their religion. Consequently, we can see a growing distance between children's and parents' expectations of schooling, and the family's vision clashes with the school's practices (Carrasco, 2002). Moreover, the parents feel uncertain that their culture and religion would be secured through teachers making them distrustful towards the norms and values of the school that is the school culture.

b) Cultural and religious demands

In the school with the majority Pakistani families, they had certain demands such as the addition of the food halal, Islamic class and Urdu class as part of the school curriculum, and a change of the teaching schedule so it fit better their routines. They tried raising these issues at parent teacher and PA meetings, when they inscribed their children to the school, but then over time they stopped going as they were told that those issues were for the school council¹⁹, and then they were not given any additional information about when it meets leaving them in the same position as before.

They seemed unaware that the school council meets every two years or whether and how they could attend it. These mothers had the perception that the main parent representative bodies were not concerned about their requests nor that they can make a difference with their participation. This resulted in their lower school involvement,

¹⁹ The school council is composed of the representatives of the entire educational community, which is teachers, students, families and administration, representative of the local administration and the members are elected by the school community. Board members are elected for a period of four years and renewed every two years. The main function of the school board is to participate in decision-making in relation to those important issues for the operation and organization of the center: the educational project, general programming, economic management, conflict resolution, extracurricular activities, and school hours.

distrust that their presence in the participatory boards is wanted and they stopped transmitting their complaints to the school.

Consequently, the PA and the school administration were concerned about the lack of participation of the families from Pakistan and Bangladesh and they organized several initiatives in order to breach the communication gap that existed. At the next school year, I attended two PA meetings where the organizers made special efforts for these families to come by providing an occasional translator, insisting on their attendance, and having one of the Pakistani mothers as the main organizer. At these meetings they showed up and together with the organizers they have managed to arrange Urdu and Islamic classes as extracurricular activities for their children and Spanish and Catalan classes for the mothers as well as a dining option more in accordance to their dietary needs.

One of the PA organizers explained to me that the communication with these mothers is improving and that they are opening up to the school compared to before when “they wanted everything as it is done in their country, now they know that they are in a different country and that things are done differently” (P7 R, Philippines).

The PA and the school discourse about these families that they are closed coupled with the families’ lack of knowledge of the rules makes their approximation to the school difficult. The PA managed to channel some of the demands of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi families and they were more satisfied but they still think that all requests were not given full consideration and that the school listens to them only when it is under their rules. Even so, the effort that the school put in resolving their demands made possible a more cooperative and inclusive school climate and culture as the religious and cultural norms and values of the Pakistani families is acknowledged by the school and it diminished the tension. This resulted in a better relation with the Pakistani families and their higher involvement and sense of belonging to the school. Therefore, intercultural tension can be overcome when the school tries to achieve a compromise and takes into consideration the cultural and religious demands of the families which results in more trustful dynamics.

c) Clash of value systems

As we previously saw, the Pakistani families were not really aware what topics and concerns could be discussed in the PA or the school council. This made me wonder

to what extent their statement of trusting the school is dependent on their lack of knowledge of school rules and mere compliance with the school norms.

I have observed that tension arises when the demands of immigrant parents are not in line with the established school norms as they cannot easily access the different school boards and are not always listened to, as we can see in the following example:

“I: Well, as for the activities for children, if we ask for something, for example Arabic or religion they say no! While, the others asked to go to excursions for the primary school, have English during lunch time, do robotics, play the guitar, etc ... all of these were accepted.

Q: And in the PA?

I: Or in the school council. I could not ask for anything. Or they simply ignore it. I am a (elected) member of the school council.

Q: Do you trust the school or not?

I: No. Because they have made me loose it” (P5G, Morocco, 36)

The seemingly neutral activities proposed by native and European parents that this interviewee enlisted are supposed to be inclusive for all students but do not coincide with what the Moroccan families want for their children. This mother’s continuous demand to the school council, direction and the PA was not taken into account, which she perceived as differential treatment towards her community. The divergent interests about the after school activities, culture and religion related activities versus the secular principles that the school and the native and European parents want, and low responsiveness from the school end up in tension and distrust.

At this school, with over 60% immigrant population²⁰, the Moroccan families demanded the halal food at the school council and direction but it was rejected. The school administration’s response was that they did not want to have a dining option that is linked to one religion. For this reason, the Moroccan community through their representative of the school council, requested it to the Consortium of Education which decided that the school needs to respect the religious diversity and should implement the dietary option with halal meat²¹. The school included this dining option for the Moroccan families but

²⁰Data Consortium of Education

²¹The companies awarded the services of the dining option of the educational centers must guarantee the specific menus that families demand for cultural and religious reasons. At the same time, they should ensure that the provision of the specific menu does not imply an increase in the price of the dining (Decree 160/1996, Consortium of Education)

it was met with opposition from the school direction, some professors and native parents and they disliked how the Moroccan community handled the situation by going through the Consortium of Education rather than leaving the issue at the school level.

At the next school year, during my fieldwork several Moroccan families were signing a petition for Arabic language classes from a representative of an Arab association. They said they never tried making this request to the school because they did not think they had this possibility. As they were not satisfied with the schedule offered by the Arab association, they went directly to the municipality to ask for the Arab classes as an extracurricular activity because it was easier and they felt more comfortable than asking at the PA.

Even though the school administration and the PA underwent a change of personnel and were opening up the participatory spaces, the trust that the school and the PA would look for the interests of the community was not so easily restored. The organizers at the PA, local and European parents, perceived that they wanted the Moroccan families to understand that all parents make the community and that they should equally organize the activities and get involved and not look for outside solutions.

From these events, we can see that the Moroccan families did not consider the PA as the right place where they can freely ask for the food halal and Arab classes which resulted in the externalization of their request to an Arab association, the Municipality and Consortium of Education. Even though most Moroccan families were trustful towards the school they did not consider it to be open enough for them to approach it with their concerns relying more on their community and on outside institutions rather than on the spaces provided by the school. Also, the divergence of opinion between the Moroccan community and the PA organizers of how activities should be organized and whose responsibility it is to arrange them created tension.

These types of misunderstandings seemed to be a recurrent issue in schools where there was a significant number of Moroccan families and when they demanded the Arab classes or the halal food. As the school inspector from the Consortium of Education explained to me, this was not the only school where this type of conflicts was ongoing

and that in schools where the predominant community was Pakistani there was a more peaceful environment and less tension with the local population:

“I: This school is not the only one where there was a problem between the Catalans and Moroccans (...). In Catalonia, the Moroccan population has been here for a long time, and it has the most number of immigrants. Since it is a large Moroccan population, some regard them in a negative light, and the Moroccans, as they are many they want to be respected, acknowledged and to have more rights (...)

Q: (In other schools) Do they make demands and request the menu halal?

I: Because they are many. And they are organized in Catalonia. The Pakistani community is in Raval, but they are not so organized. The Moroccans have associations in Catalonia and they advise them about their rights.” (School inspector, Consortium of Education)

The accommodation of religious and cultural demands, such as the food halal and Islamic class, created tension in both schools of my research as they were secular schools that did not identify with any religion. However, as we saw before there was no conflict in the school with majority of Pakistani families because they were not very persistent with their demands since they did not know all the possibilities of participation. Also, the school managed to give them an intermediate solution by fulfilling part of their requests and it resulted in a more trustful relationship with the families. While the Moroccan families were aware of all the means available to them and they went to the institutions beyond the school to pursue their demands which created tension. Different perceptions about family involvement, the delayed response and the non-compliance of the school to the Moroccan community demands created tension with the families and resulted in the perception that the school was not open to their requests. Therefore, when immigrant parents participate in ways that are not established by the school or are contrary to the norms this is a source of tension which affects negatively family trust as the families see the school as closed to their demands and not considerate and respectful of their cultural values.

I can conclude that trust is dependent on how actively families pursue their demands and how much they clash with the established norms of the school. Nevertheless, even when there is intercultural tension trust can be established if the school is responsive and tries to offer a solution to the demands of the families.

3.4.3 Intercultural tension with other immigrant parents

The third perception that is prominent among the immigrants I interviewed is identification with the local parents and tense relations among different immigrant groups in the school.

In several interviews it did come up that it would be better if there were more locals in schools.

“I think there is a lot of Pakistani, Bengali, Hindu and they all speak the same language. In other schools like the private school they are more confident they speak better Spanish, there are more Spanish children.

For me this is too expensive if I have money for later I would put them in the private school.” (Group interview R, two Pakistani mothers)

“Where there are many Moroccans, it will not contribute to my children. Since they were born here, they have to learn new things. It does not contribute with anything. We live in Spain.” (P7FG, Morocco, 35)

Immigrant parents identify more with the natives and see negatively the presence of too many immigrants in schools internalizing the public hegemonic discourse on immigration and its integration. In line with this discourse, for them a school with more natives meant higher quality and the best education that they could give their children.

"I: Before, there were many Spanish who said that they would not go to this school because there is a lot of immigration.

Q: You said that the school has changed?

I: Yes. There are many Spanish.

Q: Is this why you said that it got better?

I: Yes.” (P8G, Morocco, 30)

The interviewees have mentioned that the children would integrate more easily and learn the language better if there were more Spanish in the schools.

There was a tendency for Moroccan and Latin American parents to choose their school according to what other Spanish mothers would recommend rather than their co-nationals. It seemed to give more value to the quality of the school.

“Because the people I know, because of the neighbors, and the mothers that I know from kindergarten, they gave me information that is the best

(neighborhood school) ... They are mostly Spanish, Catalans”. (P9MP, Morocco, 32)

I noticed similar tendencies for European parents who avoided schools with a high percentage of certain nationalities.

“In that neighborhood there is immigration from Bangladesh, Pakistan, Morocco, but that does not represent Catalan society. I think the most balanced is when there is a little bit of everything because we are here, there are Catalans, Spaniards. In this park, almost none in this park, is Catalan, they are from France, Switzerland, Italy, some locals but there is a little bit of everything”. (P10G, Hungary, 36)

The interviewee aspired for a balance between different nationalities as the best option. She explains how in the park there is a good mixture of nationalities, but from what I observed in this particular playground there was always only parents who are from European origin and no one from Pakistan, Bangladesh, India or Maghreb. She had a preference for diversity, but only of European origin, as diversity from Asia and Maghreb was not regarded the same way.

This very much resembled the discourse of native parents, which I discussed in the previous chapter, who regarded Western European immigrants in a positive light and the schools where they went as good schools, mostly because there they would integrate to the customs of the local society and would not pose problems as immigrants from other origins. Also, the school community with these immigrant parents was described as exemplary because they were very open and ready to collaborate in after school activities. Another interviewee stated the same preference:

“I: So the Council designated me a place in a school in Raval which I didn’t like. So I asked for School F. I went to School G and I didn’t like it.

Q: Why?

I: I didn’t like the attitude of the staff, I didn’t think they were particularly welcoming, I didn’t like the building itself. To be absolutely frank I wanted my son to go to a school that is representative of society and a mixture of children. And there he would be the only white kid of the school.” (P11G, United Kingdom, 39)

The interviewee’s priority for choosing the school was more determined by its composition although she also put an emphasis on the lack of motivation of the staff and the unsatisfactory infrastructure of the school. Whereas when I went to this particular

school, on the first parent meeting, I got quite the opposite impression. The teachers were engaged with the parents and they enthusiastically explained how the programme was based on an innovative educational project and they showed us around the building which was in a good state and had an ample theater and yard. Comparing it to the other school that this British mother requested, it had a similar infrastructure and an even more welcoming school entrance yard. Despite this, for the interviewee, the prevalence of nationalities from Pakistan and Bangladesh made her more insecure of the school climate, not only of the community but also of the overall school atmosphere which resonated in her statement of presenting the school staff as unmotivated. As she explained later on in the interview, it would be harder for her child to make friends in this school or for her to socialize with the other mothers as their Muslim culture acted as a barrier. The ethnic composition of the school was equated with the overall competence of the staff and climate of the school, which was seen as deteriorated.

Apart from the language, the quality of classes as well as the sociocultural level is perceived to be lower because of certain type of immigration.

“Q: What about the School F?

I: I see many foreigners. There is no good quality.

Q: You are also a foreigner?

I: We learn, we get together with the Spaniards. If you see the Pakistanis, Indians they keep their culture. I can educate my daughter not to say or do something bad. They do not teach their child not to fight, they do not care. One has to teach their children proper manners, and they do not do this. And I do not like it. I have to show the right manners to my daughter are, this is my obligation. If one hurts someone, one should apologize. You ask for permission. They are very closed. Even if there is a problem with the children, the parents do not understand. They do not care. Ok I'm a foreigner but I have my manners. Second thing is the hygiene, they have lice. That too...Foreigners...

I want to choose a school that has good quality of everything. You understand?

Other schools in the Raval have this type of foreigners.

Yes. What I'm saying is that it has to be a quality of...I do not know how to explain to you... they lack culture.

Q: Does this negatively affect the school?

I: Yes because the child hears bad words from so-and-so, they fight...” (P12R, Morocco, 32)

Differentiation between one's own nationality and other nationalities was used by the interviewees as the most common means of stating the different status between immigrant groups. As we saw in this extract, the Pakistani and Hindu were represented as “the other foreigners” that are not able to integrate because of their allegedly flawed

culture. Other interviewees have expressed similar discontent with some immigrant groups, for instance, Philipino and Latin Americans towards Moroccans and in general Muslim immigrants. Their statements resembled very much the ones of the native population, such as blaming the Muslim culture for being inappropriate for studying and that Moroccan children as always fighting and taking all school places and scholarships. The school climate was described as negative and there was distrust that other immigrant parents are teaching their children the right values at home.

Apart from other immigrant groups, some parents distanced themselves from their co-nationals and showed their preference and resemblance with the locals.

“I: I prefer the Spanish than the Moroccans. Because of the mentality. I prefer to talk about interesting things than about what one woman has bought or what her husband has bought. All foreigners not only Moroccans (...)

Here most foreigners do not have studies. They come from villages.

Q: Are these reflected in children?

I: Of course.

They do not value education. 90% of them do not have studies. When you talk to them what they are going to talk about culture? They talk about food, nothing serious.” (P13FG, Morocco, 35)

In this extract we see that the interviewee’s identification with the native population is also related to the education level and the rural provenance of the majority of foreigners which affects the quality of parents’ relations, the community and the school’s competence. The interviewee chose another school since she heard from the director of the kindergarten that the school which would be designated to her was not a quality school because of the high levels of immigration.

Immigrants that have a negative view of elevated immigration levels have the similar concerns about schools as native parents do. In their speech, they reproduce the same prejudices and have negative perceptions about immigration as the ones we encountered by natives and presented in our previous chapter. They believe that with higher immigration the quality of the school is lower, as teachers have to spend more time showing newcomers the language and that immigrant parents do not teach the children the right values. This was also reflected in the overall school atmosphere seen by interviewees as “more loose”. These schools are seen as having lower quality and there is less control and less discipline and the right school policies are not being implemented by the school staff.

Overall, schools with more immigration are seen by these immigrant parents as being less competent, reliable as well as having a less welcoming school community and atmosphere. Accordingly, good quality of education is associated with lower levels of immigration and more locals.

3.5 Data discussion

So far, we have seen how the different perceptions of intercultural relations affect family trust in schools expressed through how they view the policies that the school implements in relation to their demands, the teachers, direction and administration, other parents and the overall community and the school culture and climate. In the cases of perceived blatant discrimination, I have previously described, trust in schools is eroded and parents do not see the school and its staff acting in a benevolent, reliable and open way and the overall school climate is perceived as unwelcoming. Moreover, these families feel better accepted in schools with more immigration. This is in line with the findings of Demanet et al. (2012) that immigrants feel more comfortable in schools with ethnic diversity. This is because as immigrant families can be more discriminated, because of their lower socioeconomic status and different culture, according to the segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) immigrant families can provide each other more support and social capital than native families. However, in my findings this happens only in cases of blatant discrimination. Because parents that have experienced subtle discrimination are still trustful towards the school if they have support from the direction, the school has a good reputation and if they regard their new school to be better than the one in their home country. Subtle discrimination also happens as the school does not effectively communicate immigrant parents about their rights and the rules for participation, resulting in their lower approximation to the school and deteriorating the possibility of more quality relations to be formed which are necessary for trust.

I have found that different cultural and religious values and expectations of education are a source of intercultural tension between immigrant families and the school. This tension results in families becoming distrustful of the school culture, that is the norms and values that the school promotes. In some cases, parents can have a feeling that they are losing control over their children's education, or they might feel pressured from their own community to reinforce their cultural norms (Carrasco et al., 2001). This can

lead immigrant families to regard the school staff to be disrespectful of their culture and religion, thus diminishing their trust towards them.

However, trust is also dependent upon how actively families pursue their demands and if they are in line with the established school norms. The school is not regarded to be open in the case of families who try participate and make demands related to their religious and cultural backgrounds that are not set by the mainstream expectations of family involvement. Immigrant communities, such as the Moroccan one, that are organized and have other resources at their disposal outside the school have more information about the cultural and religious demands they can make. This often creates conflict with the school that leads to distrust from both the school staff and the families. In contrast, the Pakistani community, which has migrated more recently to Spain and is not as organized, can only rely on the school which leads to less tension with the school staff.

Furthermore, when there is a clash of education and value systems between the school and immigrant families trust is also dependent up to what extent the school manages to meet the demands of the families. If the families' demands are totally rejected by the school, this leads to lower involvement and collaboration of immigrant families with the school (Garreta, 2008; Carrasco et al, 2009), therefore, less possibilities for trust to develop. I can state the school that is more willing to implement the principles of intercultural education (that is offer religious class, respect different dietary needs, give mother tongue instruction and overall fulfill the demands of the families taking into account their background) can establish a more trustful relation with immigrant parents. Additionally, I noticed that schools with very established communities and set norms can have a counter effect on the trust of immigrant parents which have divergent interests from the majority. As noted in the work of Bushnell (2001) school communities are not always positive as they tend to put aside different opinions and push for homogeneity.

The more educated immigrant families believe that by being more present in the school the teachers would treat their children better. This makes them more aware of what was going on in the school and it gives them the impetus to participate. However, most of the immigrant parents I interviewed are not so ready to share their concerns with the school staff and prefer to do it through their community. This means that schools need to find different mechanisms through which immigrant parents can approach the school and form trustful relationships. Immigrant parents are not always aware of the rules of participation and the communication style of the school and might feel insecure to

approach the school (Bertran, 2005). Parent involvement strategies promoted by schools need to make parents feel invited and that the school and staff care about their concerns as well as clarify the expectations of parent involvement (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1997). In Spain, parent involvement in schools is regarded through the extent to which they participate in the PA or other formal participatory boards in the school, while immigrant parents are involved in their children's education through other ways such as their community or religious associations, one to one meetings with teaching staff, as well as taking their children to the school support organizations in the neighborhood. Thus, the involvement of immigrant families is invisible and undervalued by the school and it is not taken as part of the school culture (Ballestin, 2008). While these types of involvement in the immigrant community social structures and associations can pose major benefits for the children's success (Barret, 2010) and should be equally valued by the school. Previous research in Spain (Pamies 2006; Carrasco et al. 2009) has shown that if the school uses the social capital and practices that immigrant families and their communities have this can pose benefits for the children's integration in the education system. A continuity between the family and school can lead to the student's higher achievement and development of pro-school attitudes (Pamies, 2006; Carrasco et al. 2009).

The families that adopt more negative views on high levels of immigration prefer certain type of immigration depending on their origin and sociocultural level. For them the schools with high levels of immigration are not as competent and reliable and they are regarded as not having a proper school community because parents are not bringing in the right values to the school.

Notwithstanding, most of the immigrants that I have talked to would prefer to be in schools with more natives, so that their children could be in contact with the language and cultural practices that are accepted by the local school system. Even though some of these parents are attached to their tradition, they still think that their children would benefit from the contact with Spanish children because it would make the process of school integration milder. Resembling Ogbu's description of voluntary minorities, these parents see the benefits in resembling the educational strategies of the native population. It is only the parents who have experienced blatant discrimination themselves or through their children, that feel more comfortable in schools with higher levels of diversity.

Apart from this, I have noticed some general patterns among the immigrants I have interviewed related to expectations from the school. I encountered that immigrant parents, especially from Asia and Latin America, have a differing view on the education

of their children from native parents, at least for primary schools. These immigrant parents insist more on traditional teaching methods, more homework and discipline from part of the school and teachers. From the parents I have interviewed 46% of the ones who are in a public school would prefer a semi-private or private school or they would inscribe their child in one if they had the necessary means. However, they often do not have the choice to do so as they cannot afford semi-private schools. The parents that are in a semi-private school believe that they made the right choice inscribing their children in these schools. Both groups of parents believe that these schools comply more with their vision of good schooling with stricter rules and they do a better follow up and keep the families informed about their child's educational path. We also should bear in mind that some immigrants that I interviewed regard Spain as a transitory country which is why they do not place so much effort in integrating and getting involved in school processes. Their education can be described by the concept of transnational training developed by Nyiri (2014) as they aspire to be trained for a more transnational world rather than for occupying a minority status in a society.

3.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, in this article we have seen that the trust immigrants place in schools depends upon the treatment immigrants receive from them, especially in regard to their cultural values, their relations with native parents, and their perceptions of other immigrant groups. Blatant discrimination can be a detonator for immigrants being less trustful towards schools that are dominated by natives. If school experiences or relations are negative and tense, trust in schools can still be established under a certain context such as when immigrants receive good treatment at least from some school groups, regard their new school as better compared to the one in their home country, are hoping for a better future, higher standard of living and good acceptance in the host society. However, we need to bear in mind that their relations with the school can be improved or deteriorated depending on how much they are involved in the participatory process and if the requests they have from the school abide to the established norms.

When there is a trustful school environment schools can form solid partnerships with families, and encourage their involvement in the school. In the case of immigrants, family involvement and trustful family school relations are especially important, as they are linked to an easier integration and higher achievement and learning of the children

(Adams & Christenson, 2000). Therefore, since the school administration, as we previously saw, has an important role in developing trust, it needs to reassure its support and reliability to immigrant families. In order to form trustful relations with immigrant families, schools need to create an inclusive school culture and climate by showing respect to the different cultural and religious backgrounds of immigrant families, address their concerns, remove the possible barriers for their participation, improve the communication with these families and clarify the parental role towards the school.

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4. CHAPTER 4: FAMILY-SCHOOL RELATIONS AND TRUST IN AN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT

Abstract

This article is an effort to broaden our understanding of the ways in which schools foster family trust in an intercultural context. In schools with diversity the misconceptions about the behavior, responsibilities, roles and the expectations of family involvement between schools and families, especially immigrant ones, can cause mistrust. Moreover, research in Spain has indicated the problematic relationship that can develop between immigrant families and the school as well as lack of social cohesion within high diversity schools between immigrant and native families (Garreta 2008, 2009; Carrasco et al. 2009). In this article I explore what are the main discourses, practices, and initiatives that schools and education professionals have concerning family-school relations and trust in Spain. Based on fieldwork in five public primary schools in the city of Barcelona and in-depth interviews with education professionals and Parent Association representatives I explore two elements. First, I describe their views on immigrant family-school relations, and second, I show through which practices education professionals create a trustful school climate and positive intercultural relations, and which obstacles they encounter in this process. Additionally, I explore the various practices that have unintended consequences, resulting in misunderstandings between families and schools, thus creating impediments for forming a trustful relation.

Key words: *school trust, family involvement, family school relations, school community, education professionals*

4.1 Introduction

In recent discussions in education, the concept of trust is gaining more protagonism and it is seen as an important predictor of good, successful and effective schools (Cunningham and Gresso, 1993; Forsyth et al., 2002). Furthermore, research has shown that trust enhances teaching innovation, collective practices among its members, high academic standards, higher school commitment, parent outreach, cooperation and overall school improvement (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Forsyth, P., Barnes, L., & Adams, C. 2006). However, in schools with cultural diversity trust might be harder to build and sustain because of the diverging norms and expectations of behavior among the different cultures, nationalities and religions (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000). The misconceptions about the behavior, responsibilities, roles and the expectations of family involvement between schools and families, especially immigrant ones, can cause mistrust (Ferguson, 2008). Also, the social, cultural and economic factors can further obfuscate the cooperation among immigrant families and schools (Theodorou, 2007; Doucet, 2011).

In order to remedy this, schools need to be integrating spaces for newly arrived as well as already settled migrants and a place of positive contact with native families and educators. Therefore, in an intercultural context, education professionals need to build trust by approximating immigrant families to the school, strengthening the cohesion between immigrant and native families and assuring the quality of education. Through forming a trustful school environment schools can integrate better and foster relations with parents which is especially important in the case of immigrant families who can be in a position of disadvantage in their relation to the school (Banks, 1993).

Research in Spain has indicated the problematic relationship that can develop between immigrant families and the school as well as the lack of social cohesion within high diversity schools between immigrant and native families (Terrén and Carrasco, 2007; Garreta 2008, 2009; Carrasco et al. 2009). In this context, I want to explore what is the institutional view of immigrant family involvement, cohesion and trust in public primary schools in Barcelona.

Therefore, this article is an effort to broaden our understanding of the ways in which schools foster family trust in an intercultural context since the literature on this topic is currently lacking. I want to comprehend and explore the main discourses, practices, and initiatives that schools and education professionals have concerning family school relations and trust. I want to describe the current situation in schools and the problems that education professionals perceive and how they try to resolve them. Through looking at what are the good practices carried out in schools as well as their possible shortcomings, I will show how trustful relations can be formed in an intercultural context.

Accordingly, I start by situating my research within the literature on trust and family involvement in schools. Afterwards, based on my extensive fieldwork in five schools in the city of Barcelona and in-depth interviews with education professionals and Parent Association (PA) coordinators, I describe, first, their views and the conflicts they perceive in immigrant family-school relations. Then, I explain what the possible causes for these conflicts are and, third, I show through which practices education professionals create a trustful school climate and positive intercultural relations and which obstacles they encounter in this process. I also try to shed light on which practices have unintended consequences and result in misunderstandings between families and schools and create impediments for forming a trustful relation.

4.2. Theoretical framework

In order to answer my research questions, I departure from a theoretical framework that is divided in two parts. In the first part I define and conceptualize school trust by explaining how trust is formed through social exchanges and a favorable school culture and climate. In the second part I explain the importance of parental involvement for school trust and what are the challenges for family school relations in an intercultural context.

4.2.1 School trust

Schools with high levels of trust are characterized by a strong school community based on cooperation and cohesion, in which adults share a common vision, shared

responsibilities and a network of supportive relations (Bryk and Driscoll, 1988, p.4). Another important aspect of trust is the internal context of the school that is the culture and climate. As I have explained in the introduction, the school culture is represented through the shared orientations, norms and values and expectation of behavior that predominate in the school (Peterson and Deal, 1998). The climate of the school is based on the collective perception by its members of the enduring quality of the school in terms of its atmosphere, quality of relations and the exterior image it projects to the outside (Hoy and Miskel, 1996; Carrasco, 2004; Glisson and Green, 2006). The climate is the essence of the school that makes the members such as teachers, parents and students feel they belong and are part of the school (Freiberg and Stein, 1999; Angus et al, 2009).

Therefore, the nature of social exchanges between the different school groups, relations within the community and the climate and culture determine the trust that is existent in the school (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 1998). In addition, the different school groups share the responsibility for forming a trust culture in schools by abiding by their role and expectations of behavior.

The school administration and especially teachers shape parents trust in schools. The school administrations' role is to control the norms and policies of the school. While the teachers' role is to collaborate with parents, discuss student's progress and incentivize student's learning (Hatch, 2006). Parental role and responsibility to the schools involves communicating with teachers, providing a healthy home atmosphere for studying, following the child's academic achievement and behavior and reinforcing school's values at home (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Hatch, 2006). When there is understanding among parents and the school staff about the learning habits, children's academic progress, and learning attitudes and interactions with other children, there is an environment of trust from which students also benefit.

If teachers, administrators and parents behave according to their mutual expectations and roles there is reciprocity and trust in their actions. In case of one school group neglecting and not fulfilling their responsibilities trust is diminished. With families from different ethnic and cultural background, the mutual understanding between parents and schools staff about each other's roles and responsibilities can be harder to reach, thus making trust relations harder to be formed.

4.2.2 School's Role in Family School Relations and Parental Involvement

One important responsibility of schools towards parents is to enhance family school relations and the responsibility of parents to schools is to get involved in school activities. School-family relations and effective parent involvement are linked to parent trust in schools (Adams and Christenson, 2000; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Lopez et al. (2001) and Lawson (2003) have argued that trust is essential for parents' involvement in schools and that mistrust can pose an impediment for effective family school relations especially in diverse and poor urban schools.

In order to reach high levels of school-family trust, schools need to assure communication and interaction of parents with the school as this is important for aligning the instructional practice of parents and teachers and having higher parent involvement (Driessen et al, 2004). Schools in which parent attendance and communication with schools is minimal can lead to parents and teachers acting in a separate and a non-cohesive manner. Therefore, for effective parent involvement there needs to be standardization of the roles and responsibilities of the school groups concerning the learning of children (Epstein, 2001; Sheldon, 2002).

Good school family relations and parent involvement, in the decision making bodies and as volunteers, is important because it can lead to the adaptation of school services to the necessities of families (Epstein, 1995). In this way schools can make use of the knowledge that families have of their children for improving their teaching. It is beneficial for children when schools and families share the same values about education and training and communicate between each other. Especially in the case of immigrant children, who are traditionally underserved by the education system, strong family-school relations and cooperation can improve the quality of education and student achievement (Banks, 1993; Epstein, 1995; Smit et al, 2001; Driessen et al, 2004).

According to Epstein's model (1992, 2001) there are six main types of involvement for cooperative relations between schools and parents: helping parents provide a positive home environment; communicating about the child's school progress; volunteering at school activities; supporting learning at home; involving parents in the decision-making process such as school boards and councils; and collaborating with the wider community and services.

Schools, however, do not always include in this parental involvement frame the necessities of immigrant families and their child rearing practices (Trumbull et al., 2001),

as they often serve families differently depending on their race, minority status and social class (Saravia-Shore & Martinez, 1992; McGrath and Kuriloff 1999). For many schools it is an arduous task to engage parents from low income and minority backgrounds. The lack of communication and the misconceptions about the role that the school and the families have about each other is a predominant issue in the accommodation of family-school relations (Garreta, 2008; Ferguson 2008). There can also be misunderstandings from the school about how and if immigrant families are involved in their children's schooling and about their motivation, practices and beliefs about their parenting styles.

Furthermore, immigrant parents are often underrepresented in the PAs and other school decision making bodies because of their limited knowledge of language, different needs and preoccupations rather than because of their lack of interest in the education of their children (Antunez, 2000; Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001; Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2001). It is typically native and middle class parents that are most involved in school activities and they make their voices more heard in the decision making bodies (Doucet, 2011) as they have an advantage because their home culture is very similar to the school's norms and values. Therefore, parents from a migrant background usually are in a disadvantaged position concerning information and power when they enter school forums (Fine, 1993).

For this reason, schools need to engage immigrant families through building trust with them and providing a strong community, accepting their different needs, and sharing responsibility and power with them (Henderson and Mapp, 2002). This can be done through having a more positive stance towards the efficacy of immigrant parent involvement, providing a welcoming climate and initiating communication and diversifying parental involvement programs (Desimone et al., 2000; Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Kessler-Sklar & Baker, 2000; Wolff, 2002). They can make family involvement more comprehensive, culturally relevant and not threatening for immigrant families as parents are more willing to participate in activities that are in line with their needs and if the activities are explained in their native language (Pryor, 2001; Desimone et al., 2000; Kim, 2009).

Apart from this, in schools where there are families from different backgrounds, native and different immigrant groups, they each have their own interests regarding family school relations. In order to reach high levels of school-family trust, the school staff needs to garner consensus among the families from different origins and assure no racial and ethnic tensions among them (Kim, 2009).

Schools, through improving their capabilities and resources (Moles, 1993), are the ones that should remove all barriers in the involvement of immigrant parents, assure social cohesion among families from different origins and form trustful family school relations. Yet, there is still research lacking on what are the practices and policies that can encourage trust in family school relations (Strier and Katz, 2016) and even less so in an intercultural context.

In Spain, although there is considerable research about family school relations (Garreta, 2008, 2009; Paniagua, 2017), there is no study that addresses what schools do to form a trustful relation with families. Considering this, my study is an attempt to understand how education professionals view relations with immigrant families and what schools do to build trust in an intercultural context with both immigrant and native families. I will analyse trust through the quality of relation with families and family involvement, social cohesion and school community, school climate and culture. I will look at how the school staff view their roles towards immigrant families and how they view the roles of families and their responsibilities to schools.

I will first focus my analysis on the discourse of the education professionals. Afterwards, I will look at the good practices that are implemented in schools to foment a trustful environment and what are the possible impediments in doing so. Accordingly, the article addresses the following main questions:

What is the view of education professionals about the relations between schools and immigrant families and the existent intercultural relations in schools?

What kind of practices and projects schools and its staff undertake to enhance family trust and what do they perceive as barriers for providing a trustful school environment in an intercultural context?

4.3. Methodology

For this chapter, within the five public primary schools that I have selected for my research, I have been looking at the presence of the immigrant population, the school programme and the extent of the activity of the PA, as well as the reputation of the school in the neighborhood.

I have collected data primarily by means of semi-structured, in-depth interviews, participant observation and school document analysis. The following table shows the

ethnic composition of the five schools, their programme and educational project, their collaboration with the neighbourhood community, and the activities that they have designed to strengthen the relation with the families.

School organisational field notes

Composition

Schools	School A-	School B-	School C	School D	School E
Immigration (%)	61%	83%	51%	25%	6%
Nationalities	Latin America (3,77), Maghreb (13,91%), Rest of Africa (0,29%), EU (6,67%), Asia (35,36%), North of America (0,58%)	Latin America (4,78), Maghreb (11,7%), Rest of Africa (0,19%), EU (11,13%), Rest of Europe (0,38%), Asia (50,94%), North of America (0,19%)	Latin America (16,31%), Maghreb (6,04%), EU (11,18%), Rest of Europe (0,91%), Asia (16,92%)	Latin America (7,16%), Maghreb (5,01%), Rest of Africa (1,43%), EU (3,58%), Rest of Europe (0,24%), Asia (7,64%)	Latin America (1,68%), Maghreb (0,42%), EU (1,68%), Rest of Europe (0,84%), Asia (0,84%)
PA coordinators	English (1), French (1), Spanish (1)	Spanish (2), Philippino (1), Pakistani (1)	Municipality employee, Spanish (2), Brazil (1), Moroccan (1)	Spanish parents (4)	Spanish parents (4)
PA	Very active	Active	Not very active	Not very active	Moderately active
School programme mention of cultural diversity	-Diversity is beneficial	-Promote the knowledge of the customs the countries where the students come from ·Understand, respect and integrate the different cultures and ethnicities that coexist in the school.	-Cultural and social diversity is one of the main values of the school	-Teaching to be respectful of cultural diversity - Knowing and respecting the origins, beliefs and customs	N/A
Educational project	-Montessori, audiovisual	-A project that enhances the use of English and linguistic diversity	-Art project	-Traditional project	-Traditional project

Schools	School A-	School B-	School C	School D	School E
Collaboration with the community	-Partnership with the Museum of Modern Art	N/A	- Partnership with the National Art Museum of Catalonia	-Collaboration with different associations of the Marina district	Partnership with the Municipal School of Music - Center of the Arts
School activities to enhance trust	-Workshops for mothers and fathers. -children's costume workshop, -parent teacher meetings	-Interview with the tutor of their children in each level. -Parent teacher meetings	-Open door days. -Families going to museums.	-PA, initial meetings -volunteer work -parent teacher meetings	-Activities for families -open door days for the families.

Table 8: School fieldnotes

Concerning the official curriculum, in the Spanish education system, the curriculum does not abide by the norms of intercultural education, paying little attention to diversity, and not being inclusive in the representation of the culture of immigrant families (Zapata-Barrero, 2011). Thus, it is up to the administration and teachers to decide up to which point they want to include an intercultural approach in their programmes or classrooms.

Analysing the programmes, I can see that all five schools advocate for an inclusive education and four emphasize the benefits of cultural diversity. It is only a low diversity school, School E, that does not make any mention about diversity in the programme and the school administration emphasize that it is a non-immigrant school which differentiated it from most schools in the neighbourhood. Two of the schools, with the highest percentage of immigration, specifically mention the importance of learning about the different cultural and religious customs and traditions in their programmes. Also, teachers with many immigrant students in the classroom try to raise awareness of the culture and main traditions of the different nationalities present in the school. However, there is no uniform standard that professionals abide to and only schools with high levels of immigration end up touching upon an intercultural approach. Furthermore, all high diversity schools pay attention to festivities and cultural events in order to give visibility to the culture of immigrant families and to make the school climate more inclusive for them. Additionally, the religious component of the mainstream festivities, such as

Christmas, is neutralised. While in low diversity schools, the celebrations and main activities are addressed to native families.

During the fieldwork, I also conducted interviews to the school directors (5), teachers (6), PA coordinators (12) and school inspectors from the Consortium of Education (3). I have interviewed first the school directors and afterwards they gave me the contact of the teachers that I could interview, while I contacted directly the PA coordinators and inspectors from the Consortium of Education.

School directors and teachers are valuable informants because they have a proximal view of the interactions that are formed in schools and they are directly involved in enhancing trust and creating a cooperative school climate and culture. Inspectors can give also an insider view of the school and they represent the views of educational institutions. While the PA coordinators can help us understand what activities and events are organized in the school and what are the PAs doing to generate trust through school involvement and family school relations. These informants could help us understand not only what are the ways of building trust but also what are the barriers that they encounter and the institutional support that is given and/or needed.

The semi-structured interviews were complemented with participant observation in the parent teacher and PA meetings and main school events in order to contextualize the individual and collective experiences of the main respondents and to get a grasp of the school climate and culture (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Lawson, 2003). Following Metz (1988), I have observed the interactions that emerge between educators and families. Additionally, I have looked at the school's documentary information such as the programme, web site content, magazine and pamphlets to better comprehend the educational project and mission of the school.

I have based my questions on the field notes, literature and pilot interviews and previous conversations with teachers, directors and education experts (Lawson, 2003). I conducted follow up interviews in order to clarify and understand better the ideas presented by the respondents and to avoid any misunderstandings. I did a verbatim account of each tape-recorded interview and extensive notes were written for the interviewees that did not want to be audiotaped.

I asked questions mainly about the perceptions of the intercultural relations between immigrant and native parents and students, immigrant parent involvement and family school relations, their view on diversity and the tools, projects that are used in

order to create a trustful school climate as well as the barriers that they have encountered in their work.

Data analyses was done through an inductive approach and thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I did first the process of open coding and I used a constant comparative method to compare within and between categories (Glasser and Strauss, 1967). Codes were related to each other, according to causal conditions, action/interaction and context in order to create the main themes of analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). When a clear pattern and interrelationship emerged with respect to the meanings given to intercultural relations and trust by the interviewees I identified the main themes. Afterwards, I framed the results into the main themes and I related them to the initial research question and literature (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

4.4. Data Analysis

From the interviews my findings indicate that the school staff, when talking about diversity, is mostly concerned with the non-European immigration, specifically from Asia and Maghreb. Therefore, I have identified what they think are the major issues that revolve around the relation and trust of these immigrant families to the school and overall the existent intercultural relations among immigrant and native families. Thus, I have classified the data in three parts. Firstly, I show what is the institutional view and the problems and conflicts that the educators have detected in the relation between schools and immigrant families, social cohesion and family involvement in schools with diversity. In the second part, I identify possible factors that may cause these problems and, in the third part, I show the good practices that schools have implemented to enhance trust and the possible shortcomings.

4.4.1 Conflicts surging from intercultural relations

The main sources of conflict between immigrant families and schools are in relation to their cultural and religious demands, social cohesion between immigrant and native families and their involvement in schools.

a) Relation between the school and immigrant families

We can say that in schools with higher levels of immigration a general positive school climate prevails. There is a close relation between teachers and students and a great implication of the teaching staff, as well as solid relations with the families.

The school directors and teachers emphasize that the main difference between the schools with high and low diversity is that immigrant parents are more trustful of the school and are not making constant demands as is the case with native parents. We can see it in the following example:

“One thing that we do not have is the control of teachers by the families. Catalans are too controlling. The (immigrant) families trust the teachers. It is a peaceful atmosphere. Everyone is equal in the school (...) In a Catalan school there are no social problems, parents are getting too informed about the pedagogy of the school. Everyone knows better than the teachers.” (Director, School C).

There is a misconception about how immigrant families show their trust to the school. For these families approaching the staff is a sign of being doubtful of teacher's work and that their way of showing trust is by not intruding too much in the activities of the staff. Also, immigrant families are less likely to oppose the school decisions and if any problems come up with children, such as discipline issues, they are easier to resolve:

“There is no absenteeism. Families are preoccupied that the children go to school (...) You talk to the parents and they are in line with the school, they do not discuss whether the children have done something or not. They are more respectful than some Catalans or other communities such as the Roma.” (Inspector, Consortium of Education).

Overall, immigrant families are described as trustful, treating teachers and staff respectfully, and not questioning much their work:

“The relationship is very good. The families from Pakistan, Latin America, trust the school, they trust us (...) They are more grateful, there is more trust than in other schools (...) Culturally they give more authority to the school. Some parents have told me if the child doesn't listen to you hit him.” (Teacher, School A)

From these examples we see that native families question teacher's performance and other minorities such as Roma are presented as disrespectful towards teacher's work. Whereas immigrant families are portrayed as trustful and not complaining especially for curriculum issues, for which full authority is given to teachers. However, this trustfulness,

although regarded in a positive light, is often associated to the inability of the immigrant families to complain because they lack education to make demands and because they come from countries whose education systems are described as backward where full authority is given to teachers who can even use physical violence for teaching purposes.

The lower presence of immigrant families in schools can be related, as Lareua (1987) has pointed out, to their lack of confidence to question the school curriculum because they fully trust the expertise of teachers. This can also be related to the initial expectation and hope that immigrant families place in their children's education and willingness to adapt the educational patterns of the majority, unlike the Roma minority who are more likely to develop an oppositional culture to the mainstream one (Ogbu, 1998). Additionally, it can be related to the lack of communication between immigrant families and schools and that they do not always get the opportunity or do not feel comfortable to voice out their concerns, especially in regard to their cultural and religious demands.

b) Cultural and religious demands of immigrant families

In Spain, the accommodation of cultural and religious demands, such as the celebration of religious holidays, provision of confessional classes as well as dietary requirements is legally provided for in the agreements between the Muslim, Jewish and Evangelic communities and the state (Zapata-Barrero and Witte, 2007). Nevertheless, in practice there is a lack of clear implementation of the demands and the school decides to what extent they want to accommodate.

In all schools of the fieldwork, the administration and education professionals hold the opinion that religion should be kept outside of the public realm which the school belongs to. The Catholic religion is part of the official curriculum therefore all schools are obliged to give it and the students might choose an opt out class. Regarding the Muslim or Protestant religious classes, even though they are legally provided for²², there

²²The Constitution establishes through its article 27.3 that "the public powers guarantee the right that assists the parents so that their children receive the religious and moral formation that is in accordance with their own convictions". Additionally, the cooperation agreements between the Spanish state and the Jewish, Evangelic and Muslim communities guarantees confessional education in primary and secondary public and private schools. In Catalonia at the moment there is no school that offers confessional classes because of the disagreement with the Spanish state about who should be financing them

is no school that offers them. The school directors consider it is up to the Department of Education to implement the religious classes of minority groups and they were unaware if it provided teachers that are trained to give them. As the administration is against the idea of having confessional classes related to any religion in the official curriculum, no school director has ever looked into the issue or made clear to immigrant families that they could potentially request them.

Another unresolved question related to religion and a possible source of friction between the families and the school is the celebration of religious holidays of the biggest immigrant communities:

“There are problems with schools that have a lot of immigration, the majority Muslim community, asks for the celebration of religious parties to be celebrated in schools as Ramadan, the lamb festival (...) Here in Catalonia what happens is that the students will not go this day to school (...) Perhaps the school should reach an agreement with them“ (Education inspector, Consortium of Education)

Additionally, the question of religion has come up mostly in discussions about the dietary needs of the Muslim families and the provision of the food halal as it has a religious connotation. In two of the five schools of my research, the administration was hesitant in implementing this dining option. In a low diversity school, there was a notion that immigrant families need to adapt to the requirements of the Catalan school system and no religious exemptions should be given. Ultimately, the school staff praised the immigrant families that do not make demands that are outside of the established norms:

“Sometimes we want to make immigration easier that we do not do it well. If a girl has to do physical education then she does it, if you have to eat *butifarra* you have to do it, one thing is if you say I do not eat pork, fantastic, but why do we have to have halal. Here we have certain hygiene measures, I do not know if they are good or bad, but why do we have to stop doing in the school (...) I don’t know; the Chinese do not demand anything. They come, they do their thing and they go.” (School director, School E)

In schools with high diversity, the administration is more flexible in terms of what they view as proper integration. The general discourse is that immigrant families should take their time and should not be obliged to assimilate completely to the requirements of the host education system nor be pushed against their will to do activities that were contrary to their religious and cultural beliefs. This can be seen in the case of School B; whose administration shows understanding for Muslim families that do not allow their female children to attend swimming class after a certain age. As well as school C, which

would not oppose female children wearing a veil in case they had a demand. Both school administrations believe that they need to respect the families' decision up to a reasonable extent.

Overall, the implementation of religious accommodation is unresolved in the Catalan education system. The school staff does not always inform immigrant families about their rights and which cultural and religious claims they can pursue. The implementation of the demands depends on the extent to which the families are persistent in their request. In a context where each school decides upon the extent of accommodation of religious claims, the school administration and native families can easily oppose their implementation. The lack of a clear integration policy and proper implementation of religious and cultural demands can create conflicts and tensions between immigrant and native families and the schools that can lead to distrust and hamper intercultural relations.

c) Social cohesion between families

The school staff and the PA coordinators point out the importance of cohesion among families in the school as they are beneficial for the children. The staff in schools with more immigration believe that there is less cohesion among non-European families in schools with diversity and weak relations among families of different immigrant groups.

“These cultures do not make groups (...) The groups are important because there can be more activities and the children relate to each other. The families from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Morocco do not relate to each other” (Teacher, School A)

In line with this, the PA coordinators have differentiated the relations that are established among families of European and non-European origin. They have praised the strong network that is established with immigrant families from European origin, characterized by solid relations that are based on constant contact and reliance on one another. However, this is not the case with non-European parents with whom relations are perceived as more distant or almost non-existent. The relations that immigrant families have within their own community are not taken into consideration by the school.

In high diversity schools, it is believed that in schools where local families prevail there is a stronger community and there is a perception that the PAs are more active.

“There is more cohesion in P3²³ in Catalan schools, because of the culture they organize themselves and make trips alone. Here the parents do not take initiative. Here it is very difficult for them to meet outside the school. While schools with more Catalans the parents meet more and they have their groups.” (Teacher, School A)

This might not be necessarily true as I have encountered the same concerns talking to school directors that do not perceive much cohesion among families in schools with the native population where the activity and involvement of the families in the PA is low.

“There is not a great community, not even with the families from here. When we organize a workshop three families come”. (School director, School E)

Even though when there is more immigration, the PAs usually have weak organizational structures (Panaiguas, 2017), in the schools of my research there are more activities and projects organized by the PAs in the schools with more diversity. In these schools the staff together with the PA coordinators, who are usually of Spanish or European origin, are overly more implicated and put more effort in order to involve immigrant families, even if they are not certain of how this should be done. While in the schools with lower levels of diversity there is not such an engagement of the staff and the PA coordinators, or mutual collaboration, and there are no special policies to counteract this. Therefore, the schools with more diversity end up having more activities, initiatives and events and an overall higher implication of the school and families than schools with lower levels of immigration, whose PAs are not very active. Even if the PAs might be weaker in high diversity schools, this has a positive effect as the whole community, families with teachers, work together and become more engaged to create more social cohesion by implementing different programmes and projects.

d) Immigrant family involvement in school activities

The main ways parents get involved is through the PA, school council, parent-teacher meetings, and attending open door days. In order to give visibility to the work inside the classroom, in most schools there is an open door policy for families, so that they can enter the class of their child. Therefore, there are participation days where families can engage in activities with their children. Parent involvement is presented by

²³P3- pre-school education starting at three years old

the school staff as a way for parents to cooperate with the school and to channel their demands with the purpose of benefiting the education of their children.

Concerning immigrant families, as noted in other investigations (Ortiz, 2006), the school directors claim that immigrant families trust in teacher's performance and in the institution make them less involved in open door days or at the school meetings.

“In these countries (Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India) since they completely trust that the teacher is educating their children, when you tell them to come to the classroom it is harder for them to come since the teacher is the boss.” (Teacher, School A).

The lower participation rate in the PA of non-European immigrant families is a major concern in schools with high diversity. The school staff and PA coordinators, mostly native and European families, insist in involving these families although they do not know what is the best approach to make the PA more inviting for them.

“It has always been difficult. There have always been local parents (involved in the PA). Now, it is the European parents, parents with higher socio-economic status, one Maghrebi family with higher socio-economic status. But it is difficult... We have the objective to make families from other countries participate (School director, School A).

We can see there is a different perception of what should involvement in the PA look like between immigrant families, on one hand, and the PA coordinators and school staff, on the other hand. The PA coordinators constantly reiterate that they are the ones putting a lot of effort to involve immigrant families, who are portrayed as inactive. This, coupled with the lack of time, makes them feel overwhelmed with the tasks they have to carry out as coordinators:

“They think you work here, it is a voluntary, collective work” (PA coordinator, School B)

“The community does not work that way the community is all of us.” (PA coordinator, School A)

Although the school and the PA coordinators lament the non-presence of parents of non-European origin, not all forms of participation are welcomed and often their demands are regarded as serving the interests solely of their own community and their way of participating seem to be inadequate and overbearing (Graue et al. 2001).

“They (the Moroccan families) have to propose and take action to get what they want. Because they are always complaining but they are not so constructive.” (PA coordinator).

The more engaged European parents, despite evoking immigrant family involvement, at the same time unintentionally shut out parents that are trying to approach the PA. From my observations I saw a non-inviting behavior, which resulted in exclusion of non-European immigrant families getting implicated.

Similar to the findings of McGrath and Kuriloff (1999) and Carrasco et al (2009) and Paniaguas (2017) in Spain, I have also encountered that the school staff and more involved families, in this case European ones, would sometimes oppose the suggestions made by the less involved families, that is immigrant families, which could make them reticent to make further demands.

In all schools it is the native and European families who are dictating the pace and degree of involvement, as well as the nature of activities (McGrath and Kuriloff 1999; Lightfoot 2004; Smith, 2009). The right form of parent involvement is represented by the local and European families, while the non-European families parenting styles are portrayed as inferior, characterized by inactivity in approaching the school. This lack of interest in the school is seen as rooted in their culture:

“It is their culture. The locals if they have a question they ask. They (non-European immigrant families) are not accustomed. They go to leave the child and they go to pick it up. I do not know if they are not interested, they are not accustomed, they do not have the need, or they do not know they can do it. In the Spanish and European community, they do ask. I do not know if it is trust, the culture, or the knowledge. They would not ask why are you doing this school trip and not another one.” (Municipality employee, School C)

Overall, there is an over-reliance on Spanish and European families to lead the PA, as the school staff’s expectations of parent involvement are lower for immigrant parents (Kohl et al., 2000). Therefore, as Bertran (2005) has shown, the school staff develops paternalistic or supportive relationships towards immigrant families depending on their socioeconomic status and on their place of origin.

Consequently, it may have become apparent that despite the positive will that the staff and PA coordinators are investing in involving immigrant families, they are trying to confine them to the mainstream norms of parent involvement that are already established by the more active parents, usually European middle-class families, and the school itself. This leads to a lower possibility for immigrant families’ voices to be heard or to form new

practices of participating that are more in line with the immigrant families' necessities (Doucet, 2011).

4.4.2 Possible causes of conflicts

Possible causes for the above mentioned problems and conflicts between immigrant families and schools lay in the misconceptions that the school staff has about the reasons for the lower participation of immigrant families in school activities, and the misunderstandings related to their cultural and education values.

a) Misconceptions about the participation of immigrant families

The non-participation of immigrant families is seen as a lack of interest of the families in the school and it is seen as related to their culture and the social status that the immigrant group has in the majority society (Lareau and McNamara Horvat, 1999). Furthermore, the lower participation of immigrant families is attributed to the cultural and religious differences which are seen as the main impediment for their involvement. The unarticulated assumptions and misconceptions about these differences between the families and the schools lead to difficulties in forging family-school relations.

The low attendance in school activities and meetings is attributed mostly to the non-participatory culture and a weaker role of parents in the education systems in the countries of origin. However, these assumptions are produced without the school staff and professionals having any direct experience or real knowledge about the culture and schooling in the countries of origin of immigrant families. Therefore, they tend to disregard the class differences, private and public education and rural and urban contexts that exist in these countries (Rios-Rojas, 2014).

“If the idea that a Pakistani family has (about schooling) is to leave their child at school and goes away and the father agrees and never protests but does nothing else. It's hard to advance in a context like Raval ... It is the culture (...) In Morocco the father does not go to school for anything. It is hard to organize a PA; the families do not know that a PA exists”. (Inspector, Consortium of Education).

Even though the school staff does not reproach the immigrant families, their lower presence in these activities and meetings is regarded as a lack of interest in the work of the school:

“The ones who do not come we know it is not distrust, we know that for them the relation with the school is not a priority” (School director, School A)

Apart from the lack of interest, the school staff claims that the low participation is also linked to these families’ traditional gender roles, where the father would be the one to come to meetings for the serious issues concerning their children’s education. However, since the fathers work, they can not attend the meetings and the mothers have a lower knowledge of the language. Added to this is the fact that most of these families have numerous children and do not have an extended family to leave them with. Despite this, culture is seen as the primary reason for their non-involvement while language, working schedules, and other barriers are seen as secondary reasons for their non-participation.

Regarding the mothers, the fact that they are not working and at the same time not participating, is seen as a major neglect from their part towards the PA and is associated to their non-proactive culture:

“I work part time and a lot of European parents’ work part or full time the Pakistani they don’t. Having said that when I was trying to organize a meeting for the Pakistani party it is difficult to get them to meet. I mean “you don’t work let’s meet” (...) It must be in their culture it is so different. Sometimes I don’t think the women are very proactive. It is the man who goes to work and women do house work I don’t think culturally they are very proactive to do extra things. (PA coordinator, School A)

Apart from this, the religious issue would come up when talking about the Pakistani and Moroccan families, as it is regarded that their community practices are getting on the way of school involvement. The PA coordinators would complain that when some activities are organized, the families’ priorities are to take their children to the mosque, which makes it difficult to coordinate the schedule with them:

“The hours of the activity were from 11:30 to 13:30 because the yard is open at that time. The Moroccans and Pakistani they are in the mosque (At this time). But they are also in the mosque in the afternoon.” (PA coordinator, School A)

Similarly, the school staff explains that there are different interests with the Muslim families about the extracurricular activities. The school staff perceive they would be less willing to inscribe their children in creative activities, such as music and dance, because it is contrary to their religion.

However, immigrant families list primarily the economic factor, as well as a preference for their children to attend activities that could be more beneficial for their

future. This corresponds with their opinion that the school is already too lenient and that it is not the place for play related activities (Pamies, 2006). In non-Western countries of origin, leisure and artistic activities are considered to pertain to the entertainment sphere and are not regarded as pedagogical. For these immigrant families, leisure is not linked to formal education, as it is the case for native families, and it is seen as a western concept (Bertran, 2005).

Therefore, the school staff's wrong assumptions and lack of knowledge of how much religion influences the immigrant families' decisions lead to misunderstandings between the families and the schools. The lack of information about the immigrant families and their countries of origin contributes to perpetuate the stereotypes about their lack of capacities and their further stigmatization (Carrasco, 2004; Pamies, 2006). This results in the school staff not knowing the reason for these families not inscribing their children to the extracurricular activities and not being able to make these activities more appealing to them.

The education professionals list traditional family arrangements, culture and religion, as the main causes for the non-participation of the immigrant families, as well as the perceived lack of interest in the schools' activities. While the lack of time and understanding of immigrant families about the school's expectations from them are disregarded by the school staff. From my observation, I have noted that there is a different role attribution that the school and immigrant families have about parent involvement (Lawson, 2003). This different role attribution is present in schools with the local population. However, it is accentuated in schools with immigrant families, as not only definition of roles is not clear, but also distinct cultural and religious cues lead to misunderstandings.

b) Different education values

There is a general view from the school staff that non-European families are not as concerned with the education of their children and that their education values are different from the school's (Hauser-Cram et al., 2003; Kohl et al., 2000). As previous research in Spain has pointed out (Carrasco et al. 2009) the school staff interpret the lower involvement in activities as a lack of interest of immigrant parents that affects negatively

the academic achievement of their children. The school staff tend to underestimate the importance that education plays in their migratory projects.

The school staff regard the high mobility of immigrant families as causing problems in the educational achievement of these pupils. Usually, families from Asia and Maghreb, because of their working schedules, take their children in the middle of the school year for a month back to their home country. Teachers try to compensate by giving homework and tasks that the child can do while absent, however they think that this time spent abroad is still reflected negatively in their grades.

The teachers believe that these immigrant families have other priorities and the education of their children is not the most important one. Their cultural and education values are portrayed to be worse than the native ones, which are seen as an unbridgeable problem, as we can see in the following example:

“They should understand that school is important. For them school is important but the family is even more important. The Occidental culture is not like that. We can’t do anything about this” (Teacher, School A)

We can observe there is a hegemonic vision that immigrant families need to be educated according to the native values and that they need guidance to understand what is best for their children. Similarly, there is a tendency among the school staff and education inspectors to have a low expectation that the immigrant families are able to provide the needed tutoring and support for the children, or at least what they comprehend to be the right one (Carr & Wilson, 1997; Epstein, 1995; Redding, 2000). The school staff holds the opinion that these families do not transmit appropriate values to their children that would help them in their educational achievement.

“The majority of these mothers does not work but they are not there with the children, it is a different thing for them. These mothers think that spending time with the children is having them around. To me it means playing with the kids, participating, going together to places. They do not have the level (...) It is cultural. “(Inspector, Consorci d’Educacio)

The families’ education expectations for the children are regarded to be lower compared to the native population, since they have a low educational level. The inspectors of education and teachers believe that this is even more observable with the female children, as families have different standards for the future of males and females. The divergent values between the school and these families, as explained to us by the

educational inspector, should be mitigated by approximating them to the principles and norms of the Spanish education system:

“In the school they have to work with the mothers and work with them, bring them closer to our understandings. They have their own.” (Inspector, Consortium of Education).

The families are portrayed to be culturally distant, sticking to their cultural manners that alienate them from the receptor society, as oppose to European immigrants who accommodate easily to the schooling system. The linguistic, social and family models that the Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Moroccans adhere to are considered to be an impediment for their proper integration. The main problems that arise with these families are gender differences, the non-working mothers that stay in their homes without having contact with the external world, as well as their mentality are seen to be an unsuitable influence for their children. The parents' and their children's culture is regarded as deficient (Scott-Jones, 1993) that needs to be compensated for rather than representing any benefits. Therefore, the institutional view is that their integration in the schools should be done through assimilation as they are not prepared for the requirements of the education system. Although extensive research has shown that bringing the social capital of families rather than assimilating them to the existing one can pose greater benefits for the adaptation of students in schools (Carrasco et al. 2009).

Overall, educators regard there is less trust in schools with diversity. They perceive a deteriorated school climate because there is less cohesion and lower family involvement. There is an opinion that immigrant families are not able to fully integrate in the school system and adopt the native educational and cultural values, which has negative impact on the school culture.

4.3. Possible solutions

I will now look at the good practices, and their possible shortcomings, that schools have implemented to enhance trust by narrowing the distance between the school and immigrant families, improving the existent intercultural relations, and appealing to native families. These include different parent involvement activities, programmes to improve the educational achievement of immigrant pupils and ameliorate the image of the school.

a) Increasing immigrant-family involvement

Schools with high diversity developed several initiatives with a purpose of involving immigrant families. One of these initiatives included improving the communication strategy in order to specifically reach immigrant families. In most schools, the main events are usually communicated through the whatsapp group of the PA, school boards, web page, blog, notification in the children's agenda, and in an initial meeting in the school. Apart from this, activities are announced in the language of the biggest communities present in the school.

Nevertheless, even though the school provides abundant information, the communication with the families is not necessarily effective. For instance, in school A, many of the immigrant families that the PA coordinators want to involve are not present in the whatsapp group of the PA and why this type of miscommunications happen is unknown by the coordinators or the school staff. Individual phone calls, email, and direct approach to the families are underused and they are employed only occasionally because they are time consuming. While, in my observations and coinciding with the findings of other school ethnographies (Garreta, 2011), these strategies seem to be the most effective. This is the case in School B which creates working groups with each main immigrant community present in the school and explains how the schools work favouring more participation of families in the meetings.

Other initiatives which help increase the participation rate of the immigrant families include using translators and cultural mediators for the main meetings and activities. However, this practice is more problematic when there is a mix of nationalities as it would slow down the pace of the meetings and it is only possible in schools with one predominant nationality.

Considering the gendered nature of school-family relationships (Cooper, 2007) in all schools with a considerable percentage of Asian and Maghrebi families, the staff tries to contact and engage the mothers, as they spend more time with their children and are easier to reach than the fathers. One of the ways of reaching the mothers is through offering them language classes taught by students from the school or retired teachers. Also giving a voice to immigrant families in the main participative bodies, as for example

school A which encourages the families of the main nationalities to be represented in the school council, results in their higher implication. Also, School C manages to involve families in the artistic project of the school. The families would come to the class to see their children's work and then jointly make together an artistic project or would come to see the various artistic installations made by students in the schools.

It is in the two schools with less immigration that the administration does not know how to make the school meetings and activities more participative and open and does not make any special policies to specifically target immigrant families as they also do not see it an issue they need to address. On the contrary, most initiatives do take place in schools where immigration rates are higher, precisely because there is less participation in formal meetings.

b) PA involvement

Concerning the informal school meetings, high diversity schools put a lot of effort in involving immigrant families. One of these schools is School A, which has a very active PA, with over twenty extracurricular activities. Over the course of my fieldwork, there were misunderstandings about the degree of parent involvement between the PA coordinators and immigrant families. Despite this, the coordinators were successful in getting immigrant families more engaged, by involving them in specific actions and in already set projects, rather than evoking family involvement in general.

In this school, the PA organized a joint project, involving two years of artistic and educational activities with a school in Pakistan. The PA coordinators took special care to involve the Pakistani families and to approach them directly. At first, problems in communication, as well as cultural differences, had to be overcome in order to reach the Pakistani mothers. The main organizer of this project, an English mother, explained that she had to insist and persuade the Pakistani mothers to participate:

“It has taken me 5, 6 weeks to get the Pakistanis moms involved in the party and I have to speak to them very slowly in Spanish. Their level of Spanish is very low, some of them do not speak English, I don't speak Urdu. It has been really difficult to have their help and input to help with the party this Saturday. The party is for everybody we are celebrating the link between School A and the school in Pakistan. (...) I send them a voice mail because they cannot read or speak Spanish. Maybe two will come and others won't come. It is just like getting blood from the stone. It is more of a cultural thing. (PA coordinator, School A)

The PA coordinator managed to establish a trustful relation with the Pakistani families' overtime by involving an influential person of the community who summoned the others. After these new projects and initiatives were implemented the PA coordinators were certain that they managed to make the PA more inclusive for everyone. However, they emphasized that it is the PA coordinators that put the effort, while the immigrant families are inactive.

“None of the active organizers is Moroccan or Pakistani. They have organized the Pakistani party, but it was the English mother who was the main organizer). This is the objective of the PA for this year. For the moment, we have made a progress so that they feel included, but they still have not made the next step which is to participate” (PA coordinator, School A)

Nevertheless, the events that were celebrated in the school around the project were attended mainly by the Pakistani community and the PA coordinators, while other nationalities were not present. As with the mother-tongue language classes they were solely attended by the children of minorities and they did not seem appealing for the native and European families. These extracurricular activities were successful, and they did achieve to get the Pakistani families more involved, however, they did not potentiate intercultural relations.

Another example of good practices is the case of school C, with high levels of diversity, which received support from the local government to establish and organize a PA. A professional was coming once a month to the school and she was summoning the parents to explain how the PA functions. The engagement of the professional was successful, and she managed to establish the organizational structure of the PA by sending individual letters in the native language of the families, talking directly to parents, and insisting on their involvement. Over the course of a school year, the PA became active and 53 families started attending the activities.

The professional did manage to bridge the gap between the school and families, by encouraging an exchange of opinions and parents to share their ideas and preoccupations. An open and welcoming school climate was created, so that parents felt they are needed in the school. Nevertheless, she considered immigrant families to be delegating the whole responsibility to the school because of their lack of concern regarding involvement in their children's education:

“(Parents with) Different cultures do not see the importance of the conferences. They want to put the educational responsibility in the centre. It is enough for them. They already trust. It is not important for them. They think ‘I’ve done my job by leaving the child to the school and I’m going home’. Now they are seeing the importance of the extracurricular activities.” (Municipality employee, School C)

Due to her insufficient knowledge about the cultures of the families and their parenting styles, she viewed their way of upbringing children from a perspective of deficit. The professional disregarded other ways in which immigrant families were involved in their children’s education, at home or through their community. She only regarded parent involvement through the implication in the PA and she did not manage to bring their child rearing practices closer to the school. Her main mission was to approximate the families to the native culture and ways while the representation of their culture was confined to the interculturality events taking place once a year.

Therefore, the professional acquired the same stance of the school in regard to the immigrant families and transmitted the model of family involvement of the school to them. In spite of the initial success of establishing the PA, for more sustainable initiatives, it seems obvious that there is a need for professionals who are really neutral actors between the school and families and who can simultaneously relate to both groups. Accordingly, it would be better if they are familiar with the culture of the communities and their ways of parental involvement so that they can also approximate the families’ views to the school, and link school-based and home-based activities.

c) Improving the school’s competence and learning environment

The educational projects of the high diversity schools are based on innovative and creative methodologies and involve a project-based curriculum covering different thematic areas throughout the year. The educational professionals working on these projects emphasize the importance of learning in a non-traditional way when there are different nationalities and children that have language difficulties.

Two high diversity schools of my research, inspired by the Magnet Schools²⁴ in the US, developed educational projects related to specific thematic areas, with a goal of

²⁴The programme Magnet Schools, operating since the seventies, was established to desegregate schools in the United States. Magnet school would offer specialized curriculum to attract children of different socio-economic status, race and achievement that go beyond the usual boundaries determined by school zones

becoming a reference school for families and the educational community. School A had an audio-visual project, and School C a strong art project and they adapted the curricula to these thematic areas. Both schools developed partnerships with prestigious institutions in a specific field of expertise that can transfer their knowledge to the students through activities with the school. Apart from this, the high diversity schools worked in collaboration with neighborhood associations that gave educational support to children with learning difficulties or children coming from disfavored households.

Overall, the high diversity schools receive more resources from the Consortium of Education and the district in terms of human and financial support to assist immigrant children. Nevertheless, the administration does not think that the human resources are enough, as the teacher-student ratio is still significantly low to address the necessities of a diverse student body. Also, the high mobility of teachers impedes projects and initiatives to be sustained. However, it is in the low diversity schools that the administration complains about not receiving enough support and information from the Department of Education in order to receive properly immigrant children. It is in these schools where the staff lacks knowledge and support to manage diversity.

A way to tackle this problem would be to have a structural change and standardization of intercultural education in the education system in order for all schools to apply it in their school programmes regardless of their level of diversity. In this way, all education professionals would have the necessary information on how to make the classroom activities more inclusive and it would not be left to the discretion of the teacher.

d) School image

A considerable amount of time and effort is put by the school administration in improving the image of the high diversity schools among the native population, so that they inscribe their children in the schools. At the same time, increasing the inscription rate of native students seems to improve the image of the school and in turn attract more native parents, since the ethnic composition of the school is an equivalent measure of the public image it projects to the outside (Alegre et al., 2010).

The school directors have a goal to make the schools more representative of the neighborhoods they are in, by having a student population that reflects the ethnic composition of the neighborhood. According to the administration, the division between non-European immigrant students in certain schools and native and European students in other schools creates extra workload for the schools with a high immigrant concentration. Moreover, the existent division between semi-private and public schools segregates additionally the families that could not pay the semi-private schools resulting in the concentration of non-European families with a low socio-economic status in public schools.

Having a higher native student population is seen as beneficial for the immigrant children, as they can learn the language faster and integrate better in the schooling system. The school administrations' underlying idea is that the native families can guide the immigrant families through the system. Although diversity is generally referred to as valuable, the administration prefers the school to be more local and to create schools that are equivalent of low immigration schools in terms of quality and community.

For this purpose, the schools align with the education institutions, Department of Education and Consortium of Education, and the local government (whose preoccupation is the desegregation of the schools) and arrange different initiatives to attract native parents. These institutions summon the neighborhood schools to present their project to native parents that are in the process of choosing schools. In these meetings, it is only native and European families that are inscribed in the school sharing their experience, while families from immigrant communities are not present, as the educational professionals want to show the school in the best light and show that also European families are satisfied with the educational projects of the centers. Similarly, open door days are organized to show the school to parents, sometimes only to native and European families, from the neighborhood kindergartens.

The education institutions are investing more money and propagate the implementation of innovative and creative projects, that do not use a traditional teaching methodology in these schools. These educational projects, apart from increasing student achievement, are targeted at native parents who prefer this type of pedagogy. All of the initiatives and meetings led by local institutions for improving the image and conditions in high diversity schools involve only native families, while immigrant families are excluded from participation.

Other strategies used by the schools to attract native families with a high sociocultural level include linking the school with prestigious institutions, such as art museums or music halls. Having an active PA that has a lot of activities is also a way to improve the image of the school:

“It is a school line that helps and gives visibility to the school and improves the image. The objective, apart from improving the methodology, was to change the image.” (Director, School C)

“If there is a PA, it gives an outside image that things work.” (Municipality employee, School C)

By contacting native families, having an innovative project and an active PA, School A and School C are successful in inscribing more local families to the school.

Nevertheless, the educational professionals believe that it is the ethnic composition of the school that overweighs the school project when families choose their children's school. The school with 5% of immigration has a traditional project and is still the school with the best reputation in one of the neighbourhoods of our study.

To sum up, in schools with high diversity the administration knows that families prefer traditional teaching methods. Even so, innovative projects are implemented because they are viewed as the best methodology and they also improve the image of the school. Therefore, it is not clear to what extent the projects are made for immigrant families or for attracting native families and what is more important for the administration.

4.5 Conclusions

In this article I have first given an overview of the discourses of educational professionals and PA coordinators about immigrant families and the conflicts they have encountered in an intercultural context. The second part of the article I have pointed out the possible causes for the emergence of these conflicts and in the third part I showed the practices that are implemented for fostering trust and family school relations in five public primary schools in Barcelona.

As we have seen in the data analysis, intercultural tension that is perceived by the school staff leads to perception of a deteriorated and less cohesive school culture and

climate and less effective parental involvement initiatives. Considering my observations and analysis, here are some recommendations for improving the current situation and minimizing the negative consequences of intercultural tension. My qualitative findings reveal that the factors that are relevant for enhancing school family relations and trust are:

- Improving communication with families:
 - ✓ There is a need of direct communication with families such as individual interviews with parents and support for parents at home
 - ✓ The school staff should explain the expectations of parental involvement to immigrant families and what benefits it presents in their children's education.
 - ✓ The school needs to not merely inform but also to communicate effectively the events that are organized in order to reach all parents and make activities more specific rather than evoke generalized parent involvement.
 - ✓ It is effective to give voice to immigrant families in the main school decision bodies, contact the families directly and reach out to mothers as they are more available.
- Improving parental involvement:
 - ✓ Diversify parent involvement activities in order for them to be more inclusive for immigrant families.
 - ✓ Improve intercultural relations and social cohesion among families from different nationalities in the school.
 - ✓ Tailor extracurricular activities according to the interests and necessities of immigrant families. The school should adapt to them rather than the other way around.
 - ✓ Include specific programmes targeting immigrant families and their school involvement in low diversity schools.
 - ✓ Standardize the responsibilities for parental involvement in order for all families to know what it entails.
 - ✓ Involve immigrant families in the decision-making processes and take into account their opinions in the initiatives developed by local institutions for improving the conditions of high diversity schools. Initiatives of improving the image of schools and attracting native families are important, however, the school administration should not disregard the necessities of immigrant families.

- Improving intercultural skills of education professionals:
 - ✓ Understand the concerns and aspirations that immigrant families have in relation to the education of their children in order to be able to better guide parents about how to achieve their goals. In these ways, the school staff could understand how immigrant families are involved in the education of their children and their impediments for not being more involved.
 - ✓ Understand that not all parents are able to perform the roles that are expected from them and that families might have different assumptions about parent involvement
 - ✓ Have a higher knowledge about the education systems in the countries of origin of the nationalities represented in the school and their cultural and religious practices would lead to less misunderstandings between the staff and the families. Consider the benefits that the immigrant families can present to the education of their children and foster activities related to this, as well as give parents more support for being involved at home.
 - ✓ Exchange experience between school staff that has worked in diverse schools with the schools that have recently started receiving immigration as well as providing skills and tools to make a trustful and inclusive culture and climate would be helpful.
- Having boundary spanners
 - ✓ Have boundary spanners (Bond and Keys, 1993), who can mediate between the school and families and mitigate the different roles that the school, PA coordinators and immigrant families attribute to family involvement in the PA and school activities. These are needed because of the lack of time, resources and knowledge of dealing with diversity the school staff and PA coordinators have. In this way, the meaning of parent involvement can be clarified for both native and immigrant parents and the initiatives and activities can be planned accordingly.
 - ✓ They should have sufficient knowledge about the different parenting styles of the families and who do not act out only on behalf of the school, could represent the interests of both parts.
 - ✓ They should be aware of the necessities and aspirations of the parents regarding their children's education and to make school activities responsive

to the home cultures of the families and their community practices and approximate them to the school.

- Standardizing intercultural education and cultural and religious demands:
 - ✓ The school curriculum needs to be inclusive of the culture of immigrant families, present their values as beneficial and take into account the curricular concerns of immigrant families.
 - ✓ A structural change and standardization of intercultural education in the education system in order for all schools to apply it in their school programmes regardless of their level of diversity would be beneficial.
 - ✓ Studying the language and culture of the immigrant families as part of the official curriculum and intercultural didactic material should be provided for in all schools.
 - ✓ Uniform implementation of cultural and religious claims across schools. The dietary requirements, religious classes and celebration of the main holidays of the communities need to be assured in all schools. This would lead to improved intercultural relations and a trustful environment without ethnic tension in which no family could oppose the claims of the other.
- Enhance intercultural relations among families from different origins

Overall, from my research I can conclude that the high diversity schools do try to make the climate and culture more inclusive for immigrant families and they do try to improve family school relations. Nevertheless, education professionals view the culture and the parental involvement practices of immigrant families from a perspective of deficit (Lott, 2011; Banks, 2009) and they together with the European families impose the norms of family involvement. Teachers perception that parents are not providing an appropriate home environment or transmitting the school's values at home (Adams and Christenson, 2000) contributes to less possibilities for trustful relations to develop. In line with the study made by Carrasco et al. (2011), schools even though they make efforts to present themselves as inclusive, are unable to erase the interethnic borders that impede the real inclusion of immigrant families. This is especially the case with Muslim families as their religion is stigmatized and it is seen as incompatible with succeeding in the Spanish education system. While, the dominating forms of socialization and school practices pose barriers for the incorporation of the necessities of immigrant families. This results in the distancing of immigrant families from the schools and therefore trustful relations are

harder to establish. For their efforts of schools to be more effective, the school needs to move away from what it considers to be the right way of participation and to be more understanding of what possibilities families have to participate and what are the more effective ways that work for them. Seeing what the misunderstandings and misconceptions about the right ways of participation between schools and families are and clearing them out is key to build more cooperative relations between the two (Collet-Sabe and Tort, 2008). Schools have to be aware of the resistance that native families pose to the immigrant families and how that creates tensions among them. Schools should ease possible tensions between immigrant and native families and try to be responsive to the needs of both groups, as now they are, unintentionally, taking into consideration the needs of European middle-class families. Also, for a more trustful school climate schools should try to enhance intercultural relations among families from different origins. Apart from this, the school staff needs better understanding of the cultural and education values of immigrant families, to take into account the benefits they can pose for the education system, standardize parent involvement, clarify the parental role towards the school, communicate directly with families, assure their cultural and religious claims and promote an intercultural approach in the official curriculum.

In the next chapter, I will present the conclusion from the three articles and a theoretical discussion linking my data with the theory.

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5. CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this thesis was to explore how family trust is formed in an intercultural context where old and new immigrant and native families meet. More specifically, I wanted to understand how family trust is influenced by intercultural relations that are developed between immigrant and native families and the school staff.

For reaching these objectives the thesis was divided in three main articles and each one gave the perspective of the main school groups involved that is native families, immigrant families and educational professionals.

Accordingly, in the first article I wanted to understand what the most common perceptions towards immigrants in schools are and what effects these perceptions have in relation to trust in schools. Therefore, I showed which are the main perceptions about immigrants by native families in the school context and which aspects of trust are affected by these representations. The data from this article reveals that the cultural, social and physical distance perceived by the natives, and different language and religion of the immigrants constitute the major sources of prejudice and racial bias.

These negative representations, based on prejudice and racism, result in a demand for more restrictive policies from schools and local institutions. The aspects of school trust that are most affected by these negative representations are reliability, competence and openness of the school staff. Regarding the reliability, the interviewees holding negative perceptions on immigration believe that the school staff is not putting enough effort to counteract the negative effects of immigration and that in general it is not implementing the right policies. Native families expect from schools to make the norms and values clear to immigrant parents and not let their values influence the school. As to the competence, schools with immigrants are regarded to have lower standards of quality and that the school staff has to pay more attention to immigrant children. Consequently, the interviewees think that the schools are not open to their demands regarding immigration and that they prioritize the needs of immigrant families. Further to this, natives point out that immigration negatively affects the relation between families, the children and overall the social cohesion and community of the school impeding trustful relations to be formed. Additionally, negative perceptions of immigration lead to less trust in the school direction and administration as they are urged to control and manage immigration better. Nevertheless, trust in teachers remains the same, as they are seen as

doing everything in their means and their work is not questioned. This is also the case with the PA coordinators, the Spanish and mostly European parents, who are portrayed in a positive light in comparison to immigrant parents who are described as unwilling to participate in the PAs. Therefore, in line with the theory on intercultural relations (Stephan and Stephan, 2001; Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2006), native families have a preference and higher trust in their in-group members that is teacher and other native families. However, this theory does not hold true in the relation between native families and the school direction, since native families are distrustful towards them and critical with their work and demand stricter policies from them. This is probably related to the implementationist role that school directors have concerning immigration in schools as they are the ones who are seen as able to apply different policies and rules.

The findings also reveal that native families would automatically be more trustful of schools where the majority student body is composed of native and European students than in high diversity schools. Therefore, their preference for European families results in trust in the schools where they concentrate as also shown by Lareau (2014) in the American context. Nevertheless, the opinion of high diversity schools is more negative when native families do not have their children in the school. The negative opinion on high diversity is mainly based on the image it projects and word of mouth reputation rather than on personal experiences, as Sztompka (1999) suggests. Therefore, once the families have their children inside the schools the teachers and direction can influence positively their views on the school.

From the findings we can see that intercultural relations do have an influence on trust at different levels. Conforming to the distinction established by Nooteboom (2007), Frederiksen (2012), and Richardson & Bucheri (2016), the different levels are the interpersonal level, that is towards the school administration and teachers, as well as at a more abstract institutional level. Native families with negative views on immigration distrust their local schools and the school administration which results in distrust in the education system, local government and education institutions. However, adding to the existent literature on the topic, this article reveals that all families, despite their perceptions of intercultural relations, had distrust in higher level institutions.

In the second article, I wanted to answer how is trust in schools manifested by immigrant families and how it is negotiated within the context of intercultural relations.

In this article I showed that the perceptions of intercultural relations by immigrant families affect how they view the school staff, the school culture and climate and other families. I distinguished between three types of intercultural relations: perceived blatant and subtle discrimination, intercultural tension with the school, and intercultural tension with other immigrant families.

Blatant discrimination is experienced when the school or other families directly exclude the child or the family from the social activities and the community of the school or when the school does not do anything to make the school culture and climate more inclusive. Subtle discrimination happens in a more indirect manner, often in an unconscious way, when the school does not manage to communicate with the families and approximate them to the school. In case of blatant discrimination, families do not think that the school staff looks for the best interest of their children, nor that they are reliable and open to their demands. Experiences of blatant discrimination result in immigrant families' perception of an unwelcoming school climate and culture, in which case they prefer to be in schools with more immigration. These results resemble previous research by Benner & Graham (2007), Demanet et al. (2012) and Georgiades et al. (2013) that has shown that a high number of co-ethnic peers gives immigrants a stronger sense of belonging to the school and decreases the negative effects of discrimination. Also, in high diversity schools, according to the segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), relations with other immigrant families feel more comfortable in schools of high diversity because they are able to establish more friendships, and this provides them with support and social capital. Nevertheless, my findings indicate that most of the immigrant families, despite their view on immigration, prefer to be in school with more natives as they see it as beneficial for their children, unless they experience blatant discrimination. Similarly, when there is perceived subtle discrimination, trust in school is negatively affected. However, my research also shows that there are some circumstances that can help repair the breach: if the school has a good reputation, if it is considered to be better than the one in the immigrant's home country or if immigrants feel they receive enough support from the school direction.

Intercultural tension between immigrant families and the school staff occurs because schools and families have different cultural and religious values and because of different expectations of education. Immigrant families often encounter resistance from the schools and native families for the accommodation of their religious and cultural demands. This intercultural tension results in the lack of trust in the school culture, that

is in the norms and values that the school promotes and the feeling of lack of respect towards the culture and religion of the families. Apart from respect, the other indicator of trust that is affected by intercultural tension is the openness of the school staff as the school is not seen as open to the demands of immigrant families that are not in line with the mainstream norms of family involvement. When there is intercultural tension regarding cultural and education values, trust in schools is dependent on how much the school will attain to the demands of immigrant families.

Intercultural tension with other immigrant families is manifested through the negative perceptions that families have about high levels of immigration in schools. The immigrant families that have a negative view of immigration have a similar discourse about immigration in schools as native families have. That is, they view the high diversity schools are not competent and reliable and that they do not have a suitable community because families have a low sociocultural level.

Overall, this second article shows how trust of immigrant families is dependent on the relations they have with native families and other immigrant families, the school's openness to their cultural and religious demands, the school's ability to mitigate the effects of discrimination by having an inclusive school culture and climate and the support from the school direction.

In the third article, the main questions were regarding the view of education professionals about the relations between schools and immigrant families and the existent intercultural relations. As well as about the practices schools undertake to enhance trust in an intercultural context and what are barriers for providing a trustful school environment.

To answer my questions, I presented the opinions of the education professionals and PA coordinators about immigrant family involvement, social cohesion between immigrant and native families and the ways in which schools foster family trust in an intercultural context. The article focuses on the practices in five public primary schools and it shows the conflicts that develop between immigrant families and education professionals and the possible causes of these conflicts.

Coinciding with previous research by Lott (2011) and Banks and Banks (2009), and the Spanish literature by Bertran (2005), Ballestin (2008), Carrasco et al. (2011) the findings in the third article show that education professionals view the culture and parental involvement practices of immigrant families from a perspective of deficit. They have a culturalist vision of immigrants where ethnicity and culture are seen as the main

impediments for these families to integrate in the Catalan education system. As pointed out by Ballestin (2008), López-Larrosa and Dubra, (2010) and Simpkins and Delgado (2013), education professionals distinguish between families that comply with the norms and values of the education system: the native and European families; and the ones that do not get involved in the school and do not transmit the values of the school: the non-European immigrant families. This view of educational professionals leads to the lower possibility for meaningful practices to develop and trustful relations to be formed with immigrant families. Previous research has shown that for trustful teacher-parent relationship to develop teachers should take into account parents' opinions and feedback (Adams and Christenson, 2000). However, as my data shows, teachers have a paternalistic attitude towards the immigrant families and they do not take into account their opinion which leads to less possibilities for solid family school relations to develop and for trust to be established.

In line with Laval's (2005) findings, it is important to note that the neoliberalization of education and school projects, together with the privatization of public schools and marketing strategies that schools undertake to inscribe the best students, result in further segregation and deeper inequalities between the native and immigrant families. The fact that in Catalonia each school decides its own collaboration and participation rules through the PA and that there is no uniform funding and standardized rules about parental involvement leads to an unequal system. Schools with parents that know how to work the system and who have a higher social capital have a clear advantage and better working PAs. In this policy setting, the measures of inclusion for immigrant students and families can be easily undermined, as indicated by Laval (2005), Gomolla (2006), and Paniagua (2015), and as I demonstrated with my data, it impedes trustful relations to be formed.

My findings from the three articles show that native families and education professionals that hold negative views on immigration have a culturalist view of the immigrant families and they portray their culture and values as incompatible with the norms and values of the school. These negative views are directed towards the non-European immigrants especially from Morocco, Pakistan and Bangladesh, who are seen as culturally more distant than the European immigration and whose religious values are presented as threatening. This view on immigration is best described as culturalist racism, as defined by Stolcke (1995) and Wodak and Reisigl (1999), that primordializes cultural differences and attributes to these differences to certain characteristics or modes of

behavior. We saw that native families and education professionals would present the academic underachievement of immigrant children or the lower parental involvement of immigrant parents as a result of their cultural habits, rather than the structural obstacles that these families face. Moreover, the allegedly inferior cultural and religious practices of immigrant families and their parenting styles are seen as the sources of intercultural tension and conflict in schools. The parenting styles of immigrant families clash with the school's expectations of parental responsibility as laid down by Forsyth et al, (2011). The school staff and native families regard that the immigrant families are not sufficiently aware of their child's behavior, that they do not communicate enough with the teachers and that they do not reinforce school expectations at home or that they do not provide an appropriate school environment (Adams and Christenson, 2000). These negative views that native families and the school staff have result in their perception of a deteriorated internal context of the school, the school culture and climate and the external context of the school.

The school culture is seen as deteriorated because immigrant families' values and parenting style are considered to be unsuitable with the school norms and values and because of different expectations of behavior between immigrant families and schools. This view of the school staff of immigrant families poses a barrier for trust and solid family school relations to be formed (Lawson, 2003). Also, my data reveal that there is less trust in schools with diversity also because of the different cultural and religious values and demands of the families. High levels of immigration in schools are seen to negatively influence the relations between different school groups and the image the school projects in the neighborhood. As for the external context, that is the community and family school relations, immigrant families are seen as not abiding to the expectations of family involvement that are set up by the school and that there is not enough social cohesion in high diversity schools. Overall, the school staff have less trust in families in high diversity schools, as shown by my data and previous research (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Van Maele and Van Houtte, 2009, 2011). Also, native parents feel that schools that have predominantly native and European families have a stronger community where solid links and relationships are formed among the educators, families and students and where everyone shares a common vision of schooling and values which results in a trustful environment with strong social network closure as described by Coleman (1988) and Burt (2001). However, these are all perceptions rather than objective views of the real situation in schools, since in high diversity schools I observed the native families together with the

educators put effort to build a stronger community which results in more activities and cohesion than in low diversity schools. There is a strong dedication and implication of the educators and families that can be a basis for trustful relations to be formed. Nevertheless, my study shows that the school staff need to be more inclusive and understanding of the needs of immigrant families in order to gain their trust. The school should use the social and community capital of the immigrant families as educational resources to draw closer immigrant families to the school (Carrasco et al., 2009). Cultural responsive pedagogy, that is being aware and accepting the student's home cultural communication style and background, can be a way for teachers to gain the trust of their students (Erickson, 1987), and in this way assure parents that their values are being promoted. Including the school content of the countries of origin and assuring to immigrant families that the objectives of the school programme are inclusive of their culture and values can be a way for gaining their trust (Erickson, 1987; Patiño Santos, 2011). For this reason, education professionals need to reexamine their biases and learn about their student's backgrounds and the family's socializing and educational practices (Carrasco et al. 2009). The preconceived ideas and lack of knowledge of education professionals, as shown in my data and as Collet et al (2014) have pointed out, pose barriers to forming trustful family-school relations. Regarding immigrant families, I have seen that many misunderstandings between these families and the school staff and native families occurred because immigrant families are not explained the rules of parental involvement and their expected responsibilities to schools. Coinciding with McNamara et al (2000), clarifying the rules of parental involvement and establishing what are the shared responsibilities of families to schools and of schools to families is essential for improving immigrant family school relations. For trust to be established clarifying the expectations and obligations of both families and schools is essential as well as finding a balance between the knowledge and capabilities of the two (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Bertran, 2005). This becomes even more important in case of immigrant families as they come from different education systems.

In addition, the school staff underestimate the education expectations immigrant families have for their children and they consider them to be lower than they actually are. In line with the previous research that has demonstrated that immigrant families have high hopes and are very concerned with the education of their children (Carrasco et al. 2009; Crozier and Davies, 2007), my results reveal that immigrant parents have high education expectations for their children. Contributing to this research, I can add that there are also misunderstandings and misconceptions from the school staff about how much the

religious and cultural values, on the one hand, and how much the socioeconomic factor, on the other hand, interfere in the relation of immigrant families with the schools. This has as a consequence that the school staff is not aware of the real causes for the lower participation of immigrant families and, thus, they cannot implement the right policies to approximate immigrant families to schools. Despite this, in the case of immigrant families we saw that the school direction could easily earn their trust in schools despite other unfavorable circumstances. Whereas for native families this was the opposite, because the ones who had a negative view on immigration were precisely more distrustful towards the school direction.

Considering the demands from families, I have shown that there are discrepancies between what native and immigrant families request from the schools and education institutions and what these institutions are doing. In the first article we saw that native families request from schools to improve the image and give more resources and support to high diversity schools and desegregate the schools. As for immigrant families, they also prefer to be in schools with more native families and would prefer less immigrant concentration in certain schools. Therefore, as the well-established research by Ogbu (1998) states, immigrant families see the benefits in resembling the educational strategies of the native population. Additionally, they favor traditional teaching methods and demand stricter rules from the school direction and teachers and to be in schools with more native families. While native families have demands from both public schools and education institutions, immigrant families are only concerned with their relation with the school and do not emphasize their expectations from high level institutions as they are not very aware of their functions.

Comparing the demands of families and what schools are doing, we saw that the high diversity schools do receive more human and financial resources, however, they are not considered to be enough by educational professionals. Also, high diversity schools do work on improving their image in the neighborhood and together with the education institutions, Department of Education and Consortium of Education and the local government, they organize different initiatives to inscribe native parents in high diversity schools and work towards the desegregation. Despite this, these initiatives do not seem enough and are mostly unknown to native families and the ethnic composition of the school still outweighed other factors when native families were inscribing their children. The initiatives to attract native families also undermine the necessities of immigrant families as the school staff invest their time and resources for this purpose. As for

immigrant families, the schools do not take into account the fact that these families have a preference for traditional teaching methods and that immigrant families would appreciate stricter rules and harder work for their children.

My findings indicate that apart from aligning the policies of the schools to the requests of the families and reconciling the different interests, there is a need for better communication about the policies that are being implemented. Native families need to be assured that schools look for their interest and that diversity presents benefits for the education of their children. At the same time, immigrant families are in a disadvantaged position concerning information and power as indicated by other studies (Fine, 1993; Li, 2006). Which is why schools need to find ways to approach immigrant families and eliminate the barriers to their participation (Ramsey, 2008) but also understand what parental involvement means for immigrant families. As previous research and my data demonstrate, immigrant families often show their respect and trust in educators by not intruding too much in the school's activities (Carrasco, 2001). However, my data show that this non-intrusion of immigrant families is also due to the fact that they are not always provided with enough information about how to voice their concerns and participate or they feel their demands are not taken into consideration especially when it is related to their culture or religion.

Education professionals and native families see parental involvement in the PA or classrooms as the only way for immigrant families to be part of the school's community which, as they believe, would lead to a more cohesive and trustful environment in the schools. However, they undermine other forms of involvement, such as parental involvement at home or in religious and immigrant community association. This finding is consistent with that of Lawson (2003), that educators and more involved native families put an emphasis on parental involvement that they can observe or that is acceptable according to their values and expectations.

In the high diversity schools of my research the school administration does try to improve school family involvement and make a more inclusive school culture and climate. However, they do not manage to tailor parental involvement activities according to the needs of immigrant families and parenting models, but instead they are always imposed by the school or the more involved European families as indicated in other studies (Doucet, 2011; Paniagua, 2015). Additionally, I observed that because most education professionals either do not value the cultural background of immigrant families

or they lack the expertise, they do not manage to represent the culture of immigrant families in the school activities.

Unequal power relations that lead to distrust among immigrant families are emphasized when the schools are not taking into account the demands of immigrant families and when native families are given a priority treatment. However, schools that do give voice and power to immigrant parents in the main representative bodies and forums and open even partially to the demands of immigrant families manage to form more trustful relations. Comparing the ethnic composition of the five schools, conflicts and ethnic tensions are concurrent when there is a mixture of nationalities while in schools that have predominantly native or immigrant families from one community there are less ethnic tensions or at least they are unnoticed. Although schools with a mix of nationalities provide places for interactions that, according to contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1971) should lead to improved intercultural relations, this is often not the case in the schools of my research. Rather, there is more tensions, as researchers of the conflict perspective propagate (Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967; Bobo Zubrinsky 1996). This happens because there is a perception of limited resources by native families and educators and immigrant families are unclear about the rules about the cultural and religious demands that immigrant families can make. Also, the unequal status between immigrant and native families, as the culture of native families is represented and valued in the school as well as their overall higher status in society, leads to clashes. Apart from this, the schools of my research took a long time to resolve the tensions and conflicts surging from intercultural relations which leads to a lack of trust by both native and immigrant families and even after solutions are given trust is not so easily restored. Moreover, schools are giving priority treatment to native families, which sometimes happens unintentionally, and they are not responsive to the needs of immigrant families resulting in the lack of trust between the school staff and these families. Also, the school is not doing enough to foment intercultural relations between native and immigrant families. Therefore, in schools that have a considerable ratio of immigrant and native families a trustful environment is dependent on how much the school staff manages to assure no ethnic tensions between them (Kim, 2009). This can be done through the adaptation of the cultures of primary schools, that is the norms and values promoted by the programmes and curriculum, the shared expectations and responsibilities between different school groups, in order to be more sensitive to the culture of origin of immigrant families.

To conclude, the findings of my thesis show how family trust is manifested in schools in an intercultural context and how trust is influenced by the different intercultural relations between immigrant and native families and the school staff. Qualitative research methods have helped me understand the factors that have an impact on trust in an intercultural context and what are the important facets of school trust for immigrant and native families and how trust can be enhanced or deteriorated. Also, by using interviews and observations I could see the misunderstanding between the school staff and immigrant families and the school practices and their unintended consequences that lead to less trustful relations with immigrant families. According to the indicators of trust (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Forsyth et al. 2011), I have shown that the school trust indicators that are most influenced in an intercultural context when there are negative perceptions of intercultural relations are openness, benevolence, competence, reliability and respect. In the case of immigrant families respect of their culture and religion is the most important indicator that indicates trustful relations with the school. For the native families and educators, lower trust is also perceived because of a deteriorated school climate and culture and the unfulfillment of the expected roles and obligations of family involvement by immigrant parents as well as the lower social cohesion and community in high diversity schools. Immigrant families' negative perceptions of intercultural relations do not have to necessarily result in distrust as immigrant families can be more prone to disregard intercultural tension.

My thesis contributes to the theory by explaining how trust is affected by different intercultural relations and what are the factors that influence trust in an intercultural context. As we have seen, school trust is depended on the intercultural relations that are established between immigrant and native families and between immigrant families and the school staff. It also depends on the extent to which the school is open to the cultural and religious demands of immigrant families, if the school manages to build consensus between immigrant and native families, and if it finds common education values and objectives among families that also align with the school's objectives. Apart from this, the nature of family school relations and parental involvement are crucial for trustful relations in schools. Explaining the expectations of parental involvement to immigrant families and respecting their cultural and religious values is crucial for forming a trustful environment.

In conclusion, establishing trustful family-school relations in an intercultural context is conditioned by the schools' ability to promote parental involvement according

to immigrant families needs and to negotiate the different interests of native and immigrant families. As well as for school to ease any possible tensions between immigrant and native families in order to be responsive to both groups. My data indicate this could be done by improving communication with families, diversifying parental involvement, improving intercultural skills of education professionals, having boundary spanners who can mediate between the school and families, and standardizing intercultural education and cultural and religious demands, as well as enhancing intercultural relations between different ethnic groups.

With my findings I also contribute to establish a link between diversity and trust, by giving an overview of the trust relations of immigrant families as there are very few studies that have dealt with this topic. Furthermore, I have added to the literature about the policies that can enhance and deteriorate trust in an intercultural context which is lacking in the current literature as pointed out by Strier and Katz (2016). I have given the perspective of parents and school educators, adding to the literature which has mainly focused on teacher's trust (Van Maele et al., 2014). Also, I have given the perspective of immigrant parents which has been ignored in literature with the exception of few studies. Additionally, the thesis informs policymakers what are the views of native and immigrant families and educators and what problems and challenges they face in their daily interactions in schools, as well as what are the current practices that could be changed and what are the policies that could be implemented for forming a trustful school environment.

The limitations of this thesis are that, although I have interviewed families from ten schools, I could only carry out participant observation in five schools. Having access to more schools would have probably given me a wider picture of the intercultural relations and policies existent in the schools of the city. Also, for this thesis, I interviewed various immigrant communities who are very different in their relation to the host society, have different educational systems in their home countries and different networks and migratory patterns. This was a useful approach in order to get an overview of the opinions of different immigrant groups in Barcelona, however, for further research, it would be valuable to concentrate on specific immigrant communities and draw an in-depth understanding of their distinct relation to schools.

Because of time and resource constraints, I was not able to undertake a larger study. As this is a first exploratory study, the results are dependent upon the Barcelona

context. A bigger sample of interviewees and schools would be beneficial for a better understanding of the relation of diversity and trust.

For further research, it would be very valuable to research the same topic with the same methodology in another institutional setting that is not a Spanish one and to get data from other cities in order to see how much the context determines the relation between intercultural relations and trust. Moreover, the relationship between educational policy and parental involvement could be explored and a more in-depth study of parent associations and their relation to school to see how it influences trust. It would be useful to see what the practical forms of inclusion of parents and coexistence among families of different origins are as well as the good practices that schools undertake to involve immigrant parents in an intercultural context. Furthermore, studying trust from an ethnographic perspective could add to the comprehension of the concepts around intercultural relations and trust.

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ANNEX: GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE INTERVIEWS

1. Interview questions for native families

Age/Level of Education/Neighborhood/School

Could you tell me something about yourself? How long do you live in the neighborhood? What is your job? What studies do you have?

How many children do you have? Since when are you in this school?

Which are the most important factors or criteria for the proper functioning of the school? Do you think the school is fulfilling them? In what sense?

What is your opinion about teachers? In general, would you say they do a good job?

What challenges do you detect? What positive aspects would you highlight?

Does the school meet the criteria you expected? Is the teaching adequate?

Are you satisfied with the facilities, equipment, image of the school, location and environment of the school?

Are extracurricular activities satisfactory and useful?

What conflicts or problems do you see in the school?

Taking into account all that we have spoken, are you satisfied with the school in which your child is?

Are there immigrants in your child's school? What nationality are they? How many there are?

How do immigrants behave in school? Are there differences between different nationalities?

Would you say that they are integrated?

.Do you think that immigrants bring cultural and religious values (positive and negative) to the school? Could you highlight one?

Do you think that for the school, more diversity is positive or negative?

Do you think that classes should be offered for those immigrant students who want to keep their language of origin and in general for the rest of the students who want to learn other languages? Do you think they should be extracurricular activities or during normal hours?

Do you think the school should offer classes on other cultures for immigrants or for all students? Would you consider classes acceptable for all cultures or only for some?

Do your children go to religious class? Do you think that training in other religions, in addition to Christianity, should be included?

Do your children have a close friend as an immigrant child? What kind of relationship do you have? Have your children been in the home of an immigrant child or been in your home? And do you have a close relationship with immigrant families? Do you usually interact with the parents of the children of your children? And outside of school? And with the immigrants? (in or out of school?) Your relationship with them is generally better, worse or the same as the rest (autochthonous). You can tell me some experience (positive or negative) that you have lived with one.

Do you think that immigrants influence class dynamics? How?

Do you think that immigration is a problem for the school? In what sense?

What do you think is the biggest problem with immigration?

Do you think that immigration has any benefit for the school? In what sense?
How is the school taking care of immigration school? You would say that it is the responsibility of the school, of the teachers, or of all including parents and children) that foster tolerance and a good integration of immigrants
Would you say that the school is adequately solving these problems or is doing everything possible to enhance the benefits?

Do you think that school policy should treat them as individuals or as a special group?
What is your opinion about the special policies (economic aid) to favor the integration of immigrants?

Do you trust that the school is capable and can integrate immigrants well? Enhance the benefits of immigration? In what sense? What do you think they could do to enhance these benefits / reduce problems?

Do you think that if the organization, the administration and the teachers of the school give a better quality of services, immigration would not be so much understood as a problem for the public school?

2. Interview questions for immigrant families

Age/Level of Education/Neighborhood/School

Could you tell me something about yourself?

Where are you from? When did you come to Spain?

How old are you? How long do you live in the neighborhood? What is your job? What studies do you have? How many children do you have? Since when are you in this school?

What are the most important factors or criteria for the proper functioning of the school?

Do you think the school is fulfilling them? In what sense?

What is your opinion about teachers? In general, would you say they do a good job?

What challenges do you detect? What positive aspects would you highlight?

Does the school meet the criteria you expected? Is the teaching adequate?

Are you satisfied with the facilities, equipment, image of the school, location and environment of the school?

Are extracurricular activities satisfactory and useful?

Do you perceive any difference between local people and people from different countries in the school? Which are?

Does the school do enough to address the differences between local and immigrant people? Do you and your children feel integrated? What should the school do to make you feel more integrated?

Does the school offer enough opportunities for parents who are from outside to give their opinion about the school?

Do you think there are many differences between the culture of your country and that of here? Does this affect your relation to the school? How do you think local people perceive these cultural differences?

Is the way in which the children are educated in your country compatible with the education that is given in the school?

Are you part of the PA? In case not, why not? Do you think it is easy to participate in the PA if you are from outside?

Are you going to parent meetings?

What extracurricular activities do you prefer for your children? Does the school offer them? In case you would like to propose other classes, do you think that in the PA, the school board or the management would take your proposal into account?

What do you think about the quality of the school? Is it better or worse than in your country? Do you think your child has the same educational level as local students? In case you do not, the teachers give you support?

Did your child know Spanish / Catalan when entering school? Do you think the teachers and the classes in the school should be enough for your child to learn Spanish?

Does the school respect your religion? How do you think your religion is perceived by local people, teachers and management?

Do you think that you have the same possibilities to obtain scholarships, aid from the school or the Generalitat for the education of your children?

Do local people invite you to their children's birthdays? Do they talk to you in the yard or when they are waiting for their children? Do you think they are closed and do not let anyone in their circle or are they friendly and try to integrate the whole world?

What conflicts or problems do you perceive in the school?

Taking into account all that we have spoken, are you satisfied with the school in which your child is?

3. Interview questions for teachers and school directors

Teachers

How many immigrant children do you have in the classes?
What tools do you use in class with immigrant children?
Do you have enough support from the school and the institutions to manage diversity in class?
Any problems / challenges that you want to comment about?
What do you think of the relationships between immigrant and native children?
What do you think about the relationship between immigrant and native parents?
Do parents of immigrant children come to meetings?
Are they involved in their education?
Have you noticed some differences between different nationalities regarding the education of their children?
Do you think immigrant parents participate in school and have confidence in the school?
What do you think could be done to make parents of immigrants more involved in school?

What positive tools have you implemented to improve the interaction of natives and immigrants?
What tools would you like to implement but you have not been able to (the reasons, which will almost certainly be a lack of resources: time, money, qualified personnel)?
Have you done training to deal with diversity?
Do you feel properly trained to deal with diversity or do you think that having the possibility of receiving specialized training would improve the situation?
Have you had problems (related to diversity)?
Are there any problems you were not able to resolve, or on the contrary, problems that you have been able to resolve?
Could you give a diagnosis of the situation: that is, how are the intercultural relations in the classroom or in the school, what challenges have been overcome and which have yet to be overcome and how could they be overcome?

Directors

Can you comment on the school project and how does it deal with immigration?
How do you feel about the integration of immigrant couples in the different activities of the school (PA, school council, etc.)?

What positive tools have you implemented to improve the interaction of natives and immigrants?
What tools would you like to implement but you have not been able to (the reasons, which will almost certainly be a lack of resources: time, money, qualified personnel)?
Have you done training to deal with diversity?
Do you feel properly trained to deal with diversity or do you think that having the possibility of receiving specialized training would improve the situation?
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