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The reception classroom as a space for language learning: the teacher's perspective

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The reception classroom as a space for language learning: the teacher's perspective

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The arrival of a significant number of newly-arrived pupils, especially over recent years, has caused an important change in the daily life of schools and has meant an important challenge for the school community. The reception of newly-arrived pupils has become one of the biggest challenges of schools and is expressed in the *Pla d'acollida i integració* that each school has. Faced with this reality, in the last five years the Education Department has created reception classrooms as a response to integrate newly-arrived students. A document (*Pla per la Llengua i la Cohesió Social, aules d'acollida*) establishes that good reception, good integration and the guarantee that everybody must have the same possibilities and opportunities are elements that contribute to making our society as cohesive, plural and open to the world and to new cultures as possible. The reception classroom is considered to be one of the means to make education centers more diverse and multicultural, but there are other initiatives such as the *Plans Educatius d'Entorn.*

In this project I will focus firstly on the results of my research. Secondly, I will reflect on my impressions of the project, and finally I will present some proposals for my future research. The first reason that led me to start this research was that I wanted to introduce myself in a reception classroom and study how communication takes place in this multicultural space. After some visits to reception classrooms I noticed that there was a teacher of Catalan teaching Catalan and a teacher of English teaching Catalan, so my curiosity about the existence of a specific teaching profile for reception classrooms lessons was instigated. As I saw there was no specific professional profile, I wanted to know what the profile of the teacher of the reception classroom was. The main aim of the reception classroom is to help students learn the Catalan language, so the most similar subject to this task was the Catalan language subject. Maybe it was what the Education Department thought and concluded that Catalan teachers had to be those teachers better prepared to help the newcomers learn Catalan, because they control the language perfectly. In some ways it became the norm and most of the teachers teaching in reception classroom are teachers of Catalan; however, there are also some teachers of English and sporadically teachers from other subjects.

But not all teachers are prepared to stop teaching Catalan literature and grammar to Catalan students and start teaching Catalan as a second language to immigrants. In principle, in the Catalan philology degree they did not study Catalan to teach it as a second language, and they do not have to have second language teaching strategies. All these reflections made me work with the hypothesis that led me to this research. I suspected that maybe the Catalan teachers who are teachers of English may have more qualities to teach Catalan as a second language because they have learned a second language previously, and the English philology degree is partly directed to students who want to be teachers of a second language. Therefore, there is not a specific professional profile for teaching Catalan as a second language and the teachers of Catalan in high schools are usually the ones elected because they dominate the language. From these reflections appeared the questions for my research:

- What practices do reception classroom teachers in the reception classroom undertake?
- What do they think about diversity and multiculturalism?
- What are the existing differences between two reception classroom teachers with different professional backgrounds?
- What are the existing similarities between two reception classroom teachers with different professional backgrounds?

What I wanted to figure out was which teachers were the ones who teach Catalan as a second language in a reception classroom by interviewing two teachers with different professional profiles. Through the interviews I wanted to see the similar or different points of view the two teachers had, and what tasks they did as second language teachers in the reception classroom. With the results I aimed to contribute to the field of Catalan teaching as a second language to immigrants. Following the work of authors such as Cenoz and Genesee (1998), Miller (2003) Coelho (2005), Nussbaum and Unamuno (2006) and Villalba & Hernández (2004) among others, that have recently focused on second language teaching to immigrants, the aims of this study are to visit two lessons in two reception classrooms and introduce myself to the reality of a multicultural classroom through the two teachers' points of view.

After this brief introduction, chapter 2 consists of the theoretical background of the key concepts of this research: multilingualism, intercultural communication, intercultural

communicative competence and second language learning and teaching to immigrants. Chapter 2 is divided into three sections; in the first one I review the different integration theories about society and schools. In the second one I refer to intercultural communication theories and intercultural communicative competence. In the last section of this chapter I deal with some theories of second language learning and teaching of immigrants.

Chapter 3 concentrates on the methodology employed in this research project and it is divided into two sections. The first section is about the methodology used in order to collect the data: ethnography and interviews. In the second section I present the method used as a complement for the analysis; the SPEAKING model (Hymes 1974) and the Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992), the analytical method used for analysis of the transcribed interviews.

In chapter 4 I present the contextual background in which my study should be considered. In the first part I present an overview of the context of immigration in Spain and Catalonia, the reception classroom in schools, and the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia. The second part will focus on the school context of the two teachers interviewed and their respective classrooms.

Chapter 5 contains the analysis of the data itself, and it is divided into two sections. The first consists of an ethnographic analysis of the two reception classrooms visited and the second section is the analysis of the two texts produced during the interviews through some of the elements of social practice, discursive practice and textual practices, as proposed by Fairclough (1992).

The conclusions will offer a review of the results of the analysis and a personal conclusion of this study. In this there are also some reflections for future research.

2.   THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section I will describe the concepts that are going to be present in the analysis and the contextualization block of my research. The theoretical background is divided into three parts; the first one is about multilingualism, in which I distinguish social multilingualism, school multilingualism and individual multilingualism. In the second block I will attempt to define intercultural competence in general and from an educational perspective. In the second block I am going to refer to the concepts of intercultural competence and intercultural communicative competence. Finally, I will deal with second language learning theories placing special emphasis on Catalan being taught as a second language. These concepts are important in this paper because they explain the different theoretical items related to the reception classroom task.

2.1   Multilingualism

In this section I will draw on work by Lasagabaster (2003) to distinguish three different types of multilingualism, I will refer to Turell (2001), Weinreich (1968) and Martin Rojo (2002) to explain social multilingualism. Cenoz and Genesee (1998), Coelho (2005), Cummins (2001), Cots and Díaz-Torrent (2005) and Nunan and Lam (1998) are the reference authors I use in the school multilingualism block, and for the last part I resort to the work of Cenoz and Genesee (1998), Cook (1996) and Nussbaum and Unamuno (2006) to define multilingual competence and explain individual multilingualism.

2.1.1. Social multilingualism

According to the European magazine Cafabal, in Europe 250 languages are spoken in everyday life. Most of these languages are not official languages and 148 of them are minority languages. Languages have coexisted over the times, so multilingualism is not a new phenomenon. In medieval Europe, linguistic diversity was higher still, but the ancient languages have been dying over recent decades and only the most resistant languages have survived, but their future is totally uncertain. Although from the XVI century there has been a tendency to homogenize European languages and marginalize minority languages, in the middle of the last century, minority language speakers became aware of the cultural value that a language represents and the tendency now is

to be against language oppression. This situation creates opposing behaviours: to facilitate communication between countries there is an increasing tendency to have a common language and English is becoming this standard language, but we also give a high status to the rest of the European languages, including the minority languages, because they are part of the European cultural value.

Lasagabaster (2003) thinks that nowadays being multilingual is a benefit. A multilingual individual is someone who speaks more than two languages and who has world cultural knowledge. He says that among the different reasons that have driven the world to multiple multilingual situations, there are four outstanding factors: English as a common language for global communication, the increase of migratory routes, aiming to restore minority languages to a prominent position, and the ancient colonial presence. This author distinguishes what he calls three different types of multilingualism: social multilingualism, individual multilingualism and school/university multilingualism. Social multilingualism refers to a community in which there are more than two languages coexisting. Individual multilingualism consists of an individual using more than two languages in his/her daily life, and school/university multilingualism can be defined as the presence of more than two languages in the educational curriculum.

There is a tendency to think that there is a language for each nation but Spain is an example of the multilingualism that exists in some countries. Turell (2001) mentions Article No. 3 of the Spanish Constitution (1978) that recognizes Spain's national and linguistic plurality to the extent of granting an official status not only to the Spanish languages in the whole territory, but also to the other "Spanish" (that is, pertaining to Spain as a state) languages spoken in the Autonomous Communities commonly known as "historical", that is, Basque in the Basque country, Catalan in Catalonia, as well as the other Catalan-speaking countries, and Galician in Galicia. As in Spain, in all the countries in Europe and the world there have been different language speakers, a nearby example being multilingualism in the British isles where English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish are all official languages.

In multilingual societies not all speakers need to be multilingual. When all speakers are multilingual, linguists classify the community according to the functional distribution of the languages involved: diglossia, ambilingualism and bipart-lingualism. There can be

diglossia if there is a structural functional distribution of the languages involved; the society is then called 'diglossic'. Typical diglossic areas are those areas in Europe where a regional language is used in informal, usually oral, contexts, while the state language is used in more formal situations. There can also be ambilingualism, if the functional distribution of the languages involved is not observed. In a typical ambilingual area it is nearly impossible to tell which language is used when in a given setting. Ambilingual tendencies can be found in Luxemburg, Singapore, in some places in Canada or in border regions with many cross-border contacts. If more than one language is spoken in a small area, but if the large majority of speakers are monolingual, who have little contact with speakers from neighbouring ethnic groups, an area is called bipart-lingual. The typical example is the Balkans (Mallart 2006).

From my point of view, it is possible to distinguish two different types of social multilingualism: multilingualism in a country and the multilingualism between countries. The first one refers to the different official languages in a specific community. The second one refers to the multilingualism that arises from communication between different countries, sometimes belonging to the same state or union as happens in the European Union. Multilingualism in a country is formed by what Turell (2001) calls the *established minorities* and the *new migrant minorities*. In Spain there are the *large established* communities, such as the Basque, the Catalans and the Galicians and the *smaller established* minorities which include the Astur-Leonese speakers, in Asturias, the speakers of Aragonese, in Aragón, and the Aranese people, the Occitan speech community of the Aran Valley. The first group includes the official languages and the second group includes the languages that are not official. The *new migrant* minorities include those communities that have migrated recently or not so recently for several reasons. These contain minorities in Spain from Western Europe, South America, North America, Black Africa, the Magreb, Green Cape, Asia and Eastern Europe. The *new migrant* minorities speak their own languages in private situations, with family, with friends, when they telephone their country, etc. so the new community has to take all these languages into account because although they are minority languages in the new community, they have a specific presence.

A second kind of multilingualism is the one that refers to the different languages spoken in the neighbouring countries and that, in some sense, are present in the country,

because the neighbouring languages need to be known in order to maintain international communication. Weinreich (1968) introduced the concept of languages in contact: this happens when the speakers of the two communities speak both languages alternatively. We can find several situations in which there is language contact: in our everyday lives, when we buy products made in Spain or in China, we can infer that the neighbouring languages are important in our society because we can read the ingredients written on the packaging of the product and most of the time they are written in at least four European languages like English, Spanish and Italian, and three international languages like Arabic, Chinese and Russian.

In this existing multilingualism in societies we can see a majority group that is the one consisting of the autochthonous people, and a minority group that is usually the one composed of immigrant people. Following the work of Martin Rojo (2002), I am going to introduce the different models of socialization and integration in society from a linguistic point of view and the consequences of acculturation strategies. Assimilation is the first strategy: it happens when it is believed that cultural and language diversity are a problem and the best way to follow is homogenization. This ideology tends to eliminate the cultural differences and from a linguistic point of view, it aims to change the vernacular language for the dominant language in the reception community. In this case, the immigrant people feel they need to give up their original language in order to acquire the language of their new community. Assimilation leads to contempt and discrimination because a tendency to believe that the minority culture members are inferior appears. When minority identities and the cultural and linguistic characteristics are maintained in a society and the intergroupal relationships are promoted, the underlying ideology is an integrationist one. From this point of view, the reception community would be open to have a multilingual and multicultural society, which means taking into account the minority and the majority languages and cultures. When a society maintains the minority identities and the cultural and linguistic characteristics but does not promote intergroupal relationships, then we are faced with a segregationist ideology. In this case the minority languages and cultures are recognized but they are given a specific place for their usual development. This ideology promotes inequality because although diversity is accepted, there is no social cohesion. The last ideology is the one related to the marginalization because there is no aim to maintain the minorities' characteristics or to promote the intergroupal relationships. In this case a society does

not favour any attempt at diversity. This tendency can become the last process of a strong assimilation ideology that can end in discrimination or segregation, and extreme cases of segregation end in marginalization. Some historical examples are 'ghettos' that happened in Germany during the Second World War, or apartheid in South Africa.

	Are minority identities and their cultural and linguistic characteristics maintained?	
Are intergroupal relationships promoted?	YES	NO
YES	Integration	Assimilation
NO	Segregation	Marginalization

Table 1. Adaptation models

Huguet and Lasagabaster (2007) say that the social model that adapts better to a multilingual society is integration because is the most open model that includes all cultures and languages. Multilingualism in Europe is a positive factor. Huguet and Lasagabaster (2007) point out that multilingualism is an added value in today's European border-free single market. The authors think that this multilingualism should help to promote tolerance and a better understanding amongst Europeans, to prepare people to live in a multicultural society, to equip citizens to participate in public life, to strengthen social cohesion and solidarity, while at the same time mitigating the spread of xenophobia and parochialism among current and future generations.

2.1.2. School multilingualism

The school has to adapt the student's curriculum to the social necessities as it is the first institution to feel the repercussions of social changes. Cummins (2001) says that due to the increasing number of immigrants arriving in Spain and the higher number of births from immigrant women, it seems evident that this is going to affect the educational system in the sense that it will require new methods. In society there is intercultural contact and in schools too. The educators need to prepare the school children for global citizenship and they have to do so through using diversity as a source of wealth.

In an attempt to keep multilingualism as one of the main characteristics of Europe's identity in 1995 the White Paper on education and training entitled *Teaching and*

Learning: Towards a Learning Society proposed that EU citizens should be proficient in three European languages, that is to say, in their mother tongue and two other community languages (Lasagabaster 2003). Despite some conservative government policies, available data indicate that there are many more bilingual or multilingual individuals in the world than there are monolingual. In addition, many more children are educated via a second or a later-acquired language than the number of children educated exclusively via a first language. Bilingual or multilingual education is a normal experience in many parts of the world and is widespread, not only in officially recognized bilingual and multilingual communities, but all over the world.

There are two different processes in language learning, described in Cots and Díaz-Torrent (2005) that take place simultaneously in the school. On the one hand there are native pupils who learn foreign languages and on the other hand there are immigrant students who learn the community languages. The first process is a centrifugal process that occurs in an industrialized country where their members expect to learn a foreign language and want to know the culture of the foreign country in order to promote themselves socially, culturally and professionally. This is the case of learning a language such as English, German or French. The second is a centripetal process, which takes place when individuals belonging to a specific society leave their community and go to another society with the idea of settling down in a new country and finding political and economic shelter. Cots and Díaz-Torrent say there is a lack of common ground in societies when the two processes are developed. The school is an ideal environment to work with the different experiences and knowledge of all the participants in these processes. In order to have real multilingualism in school and not monolingualism, all the teachers involved in language learning processes should work together. The foreign language teachers should contribute with their experience to communicative approaches and the teachers who deal with the reception of the new immigrant students should also contribute with their linguistic immersion experience.

Creating a multilingual environment means making intercultural communication easier. The relationship between autochthonous and migrant students is one of the most important factors to develop multilingualism in the school. They exchange their experiences and their knowledge and it makes the migrant students find strong reasons and have high motivation to learn the community language and, at the same time, it

makes the autochthonous students learn about other cultures and extend their world knowledge. Coelho (2005) says that a multicultural school must be an inclusive school and it means that the presence of all the languages that the schoolboys and girls represent must be in the center. An inclusive school is multilingual, not only because it has students coming from different parts of the world, but also because it makes the linguistic use of the languages that are present in the school clear. The main aim of an inclusive curriculum is teaching without replacing any point of view, so the teachers must help the pupils to explore different perspectives and encourage them to articulate the values and beliefs that form part of their lives.

The students' mother tongues are very significant for their general development (cognitive, social and linguistic). Therefore, the school must promote each student's mother tongue maintenance and their continuous development. The school must give those languages the same status as the community language or languages (Cummins; 2001). Corson (1993) says that it is axiomatic that the best way to educate children is through their mother tongue, so the schools need to have specific methods to compensate for the fact that there is an increasing amount of students who are being educated in a language that is not their mother tongue. It is important to take into account that, although schools offer specific methods for the students who do not speak the community language when they are provided a school, most of the students obtain basic skills of interpersonal communication after two years of immersion. We cannot forget that a period of at least five years is needed for second language learners to acquire an academic cognitive competence. According to Cummins (2001), it is necessary to be in the foreign language speaking country/environment about six years. In Catalonia students receive specific lessons during a period of two years and after this period they are considered students who have the same linguistic competence as any other native.

By multilingual education Nunan and Lam (1998) mean programmes in which more than two languages are taught and academic instruction is presented through more than two languages. The authors provide us an overview of the types of educational models that have been adopted in multilingual communities. They distinguish between what they define as Dominant Languages (DLs) and Non-Dominant Languages (NDLs). As there are almost 6.000 languages in the world and only about 150 countries, the authors

think that the languages that come to dominate are those used by the political and economic elites within a country. Thus, language dominance is really the dominance of a particular ethnic group over one or more other ethnic groups in a bilingual or a multilingual society. The term DLs refers to languages that have relatively high social status or more political power and NDLs are the languages that have relatively low social status or less political power[1]. I am going to explain the authors' proposal of the different models of language dominance according to the language situation in the context through table 2. There are two different tendencies for the NDLs, the programs can maintain or shift them.

	NDL is valued as a Target Language	NDL is not valued as a Target Language
It is used as a medium of instruction	Language maintenance (type B)	Language shift (type B)
It is not used as a medium of instruction	Language maintenance (type A)	Language shift (type A)

Table 2. NDL tendencies of shift

There is a Language shift type A when an NDL is not valued as a target language and is not used as a medium of instruction. In this situation the following models of language dominance may be carried out:

1. Submersion programs: the NDL is totally ignored in the school.

2. DL intensive programs: the NDL is ignored but there is an acknowledgement that there are people who do not know the DL and intensive classes are offered in order to teach the DL rapidly to the people who do not know it.

3. Cultural Sensitivity programs: the teachers and pupils may learn songs in the NDL but there is no specific goal to learn the language.

Language shift B refers to a model in which the NDL is not valued as a target language but it is used as a medium of instruction:

1. Transitional Bilingual programs: language is ignored and it does not have value but it is taught in order to help the children to learn the DL, which is the real valued language.

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[1] Nunan and Lam (1998) say that these definitions can sometimes be misleading because a language with social status or political power may not always be the ethnic language of the majority of the population and a NDLs language or dialect in a specific multilingual setting can very well be the national language in another country.

2. Bridging programs: the two languages are taught. Although the NDL is taught, the valued language is the DL.

The language maintenance models can be of two types too. In type A the NDL is valued as a target language but it is not taught as a medium of instruction. Nunan and Lam describe the heritage language program and the foreign or modern language program for this situation:

1. Heritage Language programs: do not value the NDL but people can learn the language outside school; it is understood that pupils who want to learn this language do it for a cultural heritage value.

2. Foreign or Modern Language programs: to teach a foreign language to the autochthonous speakers.

The second type of language maintenance model is the type B where the NDL is valued as a target language and is also used as a medium of instruction. In this type there are the following programs:

3. The Language Shelter Programs: the NDL is the language of instruction and the DL is only a subject.

4. The Protected Language programs: students are taught through the NDL even in the university and speaking the DL is optional.

5. In Canadian immersion programs the DL speakers have to be immersed in the NDL.

6. Language Exposure Time programs: teach both languages, the NDL and the DL equally, some subjects with one language and some others with another language.

In Catalonia there is a language maintenance in which the NDL language is used as a language of instruction. Although some Spanish speaking people and institutions may think that the language of the country is the Spanish and it is not used as a language of instruction in the schools, Catalan teachers working for the Generalitat are obliged by law to teach in Catalan.

<u>2.1.3   Individual multilingualism</u>

The use of minority languages and interest in their maintenance and revival is creating situations in which more than two languages co-exist and are necessary in everyday communication. Thus, the individual needs to know the languages in order to communicate. For that reason individual multilingualism is promoted by educational programs that use languages other than the first language of media of instruction and they aim for communicative proficiency in more than two languages. It is also promoted in other fields such as cultural associations with cultural meetings and television, among others.

Multilingualism and multilingual acquisition are often considered as simply variations on bilingualism and second language acquisition and SLA is often used as a cover term to refer to any language other than the first language (see for instance: Cenoz and Genesee 1998). Like bilingual acquisition and bilingualism, multilingual acquisition and multilingualism are complex because they can occur in three different situations: according to Nussbaum and Unamuno (2006) an individual can acquire multilingual competence simultaneously or successively in the time. We can easily imagine a couple composed of a Spanish woman and a German man who are living in Catalonia; they have a son who speaks Spanish to his mother, German to his father, Catalan at school and English in the afternoons with his English nanny. This son is acquiring four languages simultaneously and he is a multilingual individual because he speaks more than two languages in different situations. His parents are multilingual because they live in Catalonia so they may speak Catalan and they can speak to each other in either Spanish or German, but they learnt their foreign languages in different periods of their lives, so they acquired multilingual competence successively over time.

During the multilingual acquisition process, languages can be learnt formally (through instruction) or naturally (outside school). More than one language can be learnt naturally, as is the case of the multilingual son I have just mentioned, and is also the case of many people living in a bilingual community. When a language is learnt through instruction it is usually a foreign language that students do not need for the communication in their autochthonous society, except for the newcomers, but that is necessary for the personal curriculum vitae. Learning a language naturally can be an

unconscious process but being multilingual through instruction is more complex because it requires having specific skills and a lot of motivation. Being multilingual can also occur in different periods of life, like in childhood, adolescence or adulthood, so there is not any specific age for becoming multilingual. I conclude this point with the idea that multilingual competence is acquired during life through experience of participation in communicative acts and different language contexts (Cummins 2001).

A multilingual individual may not need the same levels of proficiency in all of his languages in all of the same discourse domains as monolinguals. Cook (1996) has proposed the notion of *multicompetence* to designate a unique form of language competence that is not necessarily comparable to that of monolinguals. Cook says that second language users should not be viewed as imitation monolinguals in a second language, but rather they should be seen to possess unique forms of competence, or competencies in their own right (Cook, 1996) because multilingual speakers tend to use different languages in different situations for different purposes. I would like to refer to Nussbaum and Unamuno (2006) who distinguish plurilingual competence from multilingual competence. They say that someone with plurilingual competence is able to use one or several languages in his everyday life and depending on the contexts he can use one language or another, whereas having multilingual competence means being able to use more than one language in the same communicative exchange and being able to use several languages in his everyday life depending on the contexts.

Multilingual competence can be presented both as an advantage and as a disadvantage. For some specific roles in society multilingual practices are assimilated as positive because they ensure the survival of minority languages, their generational transmission, and so it is a value promoted by some linguistic communities that resist assimilation or disappearance. Multilingual competence is also a positive factor in individuals because multilingualism makes them less ethnocentric and more educated. However, multilingualism is not always seen as a positive factor because using different languages in communication can lead to misunderstandings and this represents a handicap for everyday communicative processes.

Catalan students in Catalonia finish secondary school with a proficiency level in Catalan and Spanish, the two official languages of the community. They also have a

good level in English because in the high schools they study English as a foreign language, which is a language with a high social prestige. When the newcomers enter the Catalan educational system, they have to finish secondary school with proficiency in Catalan and in Spanish and with a good level in English like the autochthonous students, with the difference that for them Catalan is not their mother tongue but only one of their foreign languages. In schools it is not considered that the newcomers arrive in the centre with their language knowledge, they may know their mother tongue and probably one or two neighbouring or foreign languages. The following is a specific case: Youseff is a boy from a specific area in the Atlas in Morocco, his mother tongue is Amazic but at school he learns through standard Arab and as a foreign language he studies French. When he is thirteen years old he emigrates to Catalonia with his family and starts at a high school in Lleida and he cannot choose what languages he wants to study. He is forced to learn Catalan, Spanish and English and nobody lets him continue with his study of French or standard Arab, and after some years he may forget his second languages. He is going to maintain his mother tongue because at home they may talk in Amazic.

2.2.   Intercultural communication

As was said in the first theoretical background part, modern European societies are increasingly multilingual because the continuous acceleration of international cooperation in politics, business, education, and in the private sphere, as well as massive migration into Europe in the last thirty years, have created strong linguistic and cultural diversity. This situation has been studied within interactional sociolinguistics following the work of Dell Hymes (1974) and John Gumperz (1979), among others. In the study of globalization and multicultural societies, communication is often their basic concept and globalization can be observed as the worldwide expansion of a functionally differentiated European society through communication with other cultures. When people from different cultures communicate, they show their cultural background; they show the shared system of symbols, beliefs, attitudes, values, expectations, and norms of behavior, which are the characteristics that make them belong to a coherent group of people whether resident wholly or partly within state territories, or existing without residence in any particular territory (Gudykunst, 1998; Fitzgerald, 2000; Hall 1976).

In this research I focus on intercultural communication from a linguistic point of view. I emphasize the communication event and the cultural differences that are involved in intercultural communication through the experience of authors such as Gudykunst (1998), Fitzgerald (2003), Hall (1976-1983) and Clyne (1994), who propose different frameworks in the study of what happens between individuals when there is intercultural communication. Byram (1997) focuses on the different levels of competence that second language speakers may have in intercultural communication. In the second block I explain the intercultural communicative competence from Byram's point of view. When the interlocutors in an intercultural communicative event are aware of the existing cultural, linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse differences, it is possible that the encounter will end successfully (Byram 1997).

In the third block I focus on intercultural education and the school, because educational centers are intercultural spaces in which there are intercultural communication events. This is because students with different cultures who speak different languages interact every day with a language that is not their mother tongue, and autochthonous teachers and students learn to communicate with individuals who have very different cultural backgrounds. Thus, schools are a good place to make students become interculturally competent. However, it seems that intercultural education is still a utopian (Coelho 1998), and most of the time there is only intercultural contact among the students who are non-native students because the tendency is that students form groups depending on their origins. Interculturality should be present in the curriculum through some premises that teachers and students should take into account, and this is a present challenge for all teachers (Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Educació, 1998).

2.2.1. Communication and culture

Nowadays it is interesting to see the amount of intercultural encounters that take place in our present Catalan society because of the great range of cultures that coexist in everyday life. I place special attention on communication at school because it is one of the institutions where interaction between individuals with different cultural backgrounds is more evident. We can observe children from different cultures communicating and trying to understand each other without being especially conscious of the strategies they are using. Gudykunst (1998) explains that when interacting with

others, participants make predictions (consciously or unconsciously) and communicators must rely on their knowledge of past events and expectations about future events. Miller & Steinberg (1975) suggest that there are two types of factors that influence the nature of the predictions communicators make; the situational factors and the dispositional factors. The first refer to the features of the communicative setting, such as the place, the time or the physical setting in which communication takes place. Dispositional factors refer to the past experiences and expectations that cause individuals to perceive certain behaviors and interpret them in selected ways. All these authors talk about norms and rules that can be implicit in the interaction but to which people generally subscribe. The interesting point is that when people belonging to the same culture communicate, the rules and norms do not have to be explicit because everybody tends to follow them and individuals expect them to be settled in the communicative event, but when interacting with people from other cultures who have another cultural background, the difficulties can be greater because their norms and rules in the communicative event are different and they are also implicit. Therefore, two individuals speak the same language; they may have problems communicating because they may expect a different situation of the conversation (Gudykunst 1998).

According to Fitzgerald (2003), in the past, spoken communication was seen as a process in which one person had a thought and then put it into words in order to transfer the thought to others. At present, all communication is potentially problematic, especially when there are differences in cultural background, because the interaction of all participants and the meanings exchanged by speaking are not given in the words alone, and they are also constructed partly out of what the listeners interpret them to mean. Communication is concerned with making meanings, and the meaning depends very much on the specific cultural context and literacies involved. In other words, communication is first and foremost a cultural practice, and so when people from different cultures who have different values and an unshared world knowledge have to communicate, there can be misunderstanding or non understanding. Robinson (1985) talks about cross cultural misunderstandings through the unshared assumptions about the purpose of the interaction between two individuals in a situation of communication. She also says that the different ways of structuring the information and the arguments in a conversation and the different ways of speaking and interacting can lead to a misunderstanding

The communicative situation can convey a particular intention, which Clyne (1994) calls a speech act. The speech act is present in all communicative situations in all cultures. Depending on the speaker's purpose, the speech act has either one communicative intention or another. The speech act can be a complaint when the speaker's purpose is to express disappointment; it can also be a directive if the speaker includes direct or indirect requests and instructions; in a comissive act the speaker commits himself to a future act; when making an apology, he wants to express regret, or it can also be a small talk when the speaker has no clear goal other than to establish contact and so he uses it as emphatic communication. When the expectations of the speech act are not the same for the interlocutors there can be what Fitzgerald (2003) calls cultural clash, in spite of the fact that they speak the same language and they understand each other. The reasons can be conflicting because, although there is understanding, the values of interlocutors vary from the values represented in the message. There can be a cultural clash because there is no shifting of frames and the result is friction and alienation. This is possibly exacerbated by an incomplete understanding on the part of the listeners of the significance of the views in the cultural system of the producer of the message. There can be a tendency to take for granted that one's views are universally applicable and conflict increases when views are expressed in irritating terms to the other side. Cultural clash may also take place at the level of interaction (rather than at the level of underlying values) when interlocutors have different styles or different levels of competence in the language.

Hall (1976-1983), Gudykunst et al (1988) and Clyne (1994) proposed different frameworks of communication styles because the communication style in an interaction is one of the factors that most contributes to problems in intercultural communication. A communication style refers to the way communication resources are used and understood in a particular culture (Clancy 1986); it arises from shared beliefs about people and the way they should relate. Usually the cultures from the north, in cold countries, tend to be more reserved and cold, people do not touch each other when they meet and talk. The Swedish, for instance, never mix colleagues with family and a work colleague, for a Swede, will rarely become a close friend. Cultures from the south, where the climate is hotter, tend to be friendly, when they meet they kiss each other and they might invite someone to have a meal in their houses even though they have only

met on the street (Ake Daun 1984). These cultural differences become evident in the communicative event and sometimes, when people are not aware of them, there can be a breakdown in communication because one of the interlocutors may not feel comfortable in the situation. The different communication styles also tend to be the basis for the appearance of stereotypes such as the Spanish being noisy or the British being rude.

There are many theories that set principles to help interpret the basis of intercultural communication. These theories contribute to a basic guideline on how to address situations. These guidelines help prevent clashes between different cultural groups caused by misperceptions. The basic skills of intercultural communication are fundamentally general communication skills that can be used universally by all cultures and races. These skills are simply tweaked in a direction that takes cultural limitation into consideration. An example of such communication skills in the intercultural environment is to listen without judging, repeat what you understand, confirm meanings, give suggestions and acknowledge a mutual understanding. It is in that sense that teachers in high schools, especially teachers in reception classrooms, need to be aware of the existing differences among cultures and they have to make their students acquire multicultural skills, including the development of cultural knowledge and awareness. By raising cultural awareness we can avoid conflicts and make communication easier, especially at the beginning with students coming from very different cultures.

2.2.2   Intercultural communicative competente

In this part I am going to talk about intercultural communication and intercultural communicative competence. Immigrant students in Catalan reception classrooms may be considered intercultural speakers[2] because they are in an immersion environment, they are learning a new culture and a new language and they are sharing these experiences with other students who have different cultural backgrounds. Therefore the reception classroom can be seen as an intercultural communicative situation in the school. Reception classrooms in Catalonia are intercultural spaces because there are students from different cultures who communicate, interact and share experiences and

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[2] I use the concept intercultural speaker according to Byram (1997), who introduces the concept to describe interlocutors involved in intercultural communication and interaction.

the communication is intercultural if and when different cultural perspectives prevent the creation of a single, shared culture (Carbaugh, 1990).

The concept of communicative competence (CC) was developed by Hymes, who argued that linguists wishing to understand first language acquisition needed to pay attention to the way in which not only grammatical competence but also the ability to use language appropriately was acquired. He thus placed emphasis on sociolinguistic competence. Later, Stern (1983) introduced the sociocultural component in the interaction and communication within a social group, but it was Van Ek (1983) who first implemented the concept of communicative competence for educational purposes. He talks about six different competences: linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, strategic, socio-cultural and social competence. Byram (1997) argues in more detail that the most desirable outcome is a learner with the ability to see and manage the relationship between themselves and their own cultural beliefs, behaviours and meanings, as expressed in a foreign language and those of their interlocutors expressed in the same language, or even a combination of languages that may be the interlocutor's native one or not.

Byram (1997) criticizes the tendency to use a native-speaker model in foreign language teaching. The idea is that someone has a proficiency in a language when he has the same level as a native speaker. He says this is often an assumption when only the linguistic competence of each is in question: there is the native and there is the learner attempting to reach native or 'near-native' competence. This is an impossible target that leads the learner to frustration and to the idea that he must abandon his language and his culture in order to be accepted in another language. Therefore, it is more appropriate to develop an intercultural style (Kasper 1995, quoted in Byram 1997). Although there can be a tendency to think that the student's aim in the reception classroom is to learn the language of the country as soon as possible and as fast as possible in order to be able to attend the usual lessons, the reception classroom teacher's tasks are to help students cross the cultural and linguistic boundaries in order to acquire intercultural communicative competence.

According to Bourdieu (1991) the aim of foreign language teaching is providing learners with the means of interacting with any speaker of another language, whatever field or capital they bring to the interaction. The teachers in multicultural schools should

work to create a community group in the school and all the students' cultural values and beliefs must be valued. It is also important for the school not to teach cultural values or attach importance to some specific cultural events. The school should teach students to live in their own with their specific cultural characteristics (Coelho 2005).

In an intercultural communicative situation the speakers bring also their linguistic competence, their world knowledge, their social identity, their attitudes and skills of interpretation and their skills of discovering and interaction. The knowledge, the attitudes and the skills can be acquired without the intervention of a teacher and if someone acquires these three elements it means that he is communicatively competent. Teaching may contribute to intercultural learning by including critical cultural awareness. The intercultural speaker needs to know his culture and the interlocutor's culture by which we refer to the understanding, developed over time, of a number of inter-related cultural processes which include communication. The intercultural communicator also needs to learn different ways of speaking and interacting, different means of self-presentation, and ways of structuring social relations around what is meaningful to the group. He also needs to learn ways of representing one's own group to in-group and out-group members, and the discourses used to do this and having cultural knowledge also means understanding the connection of local meanings and their relation to a larger system of meanings associated with wider social, political and economic relations (Roberts et al 2001). The intercultural speaker needs to learn language through its emphasis on its socio-cultural dimension, which means learning a language in a situation of real communication. It is in this way that someone can become interculturally competent in an interaction.

The elements of competence described above are those needed for having communicative competence but there are four elements more that an individual needs to learn in order to have intercultural competence: curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own is important in order to understand different cultures and having attitudes for being intercultural competent. The knowledge of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in the interlocutor's country, and of the general process of societal and individual interaction, is another important step for acquiring intercultural competence. The skill of discovery and interaction take the ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural

practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction. One of the most important elements for having intercultural communication is the critical cultural awareness that let an individual evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries.

2.2.2   Intercultural education and the school

The intercultural education concept appeared for the first time in Canada and specifically in Quebec in the 1970s. It was elaborated as a model to manage diversity. There is a distinction between interculturality and multiculturality; they are concepts that belong to the same semantic field but they do not mean exactly the same. We talk about multiculturality when we want to recognize the coexistence of different cultures in a specific context. The term interculturality has a different meaning: the recognition of a specific situation and the efforts made in order to achieve the coexistence of all the groups in harmonic whole. Thus interculturality does not define a reality; it defines the intention to manage the situation through a specific model.

Based on these two concepts two socio-political positions can be established: multiliculturalism and interculturalism. The first position is associated with an assimilationist perspective that aims at assimilating to homogenize the different cultures to the main culture; thus one of the most important premises of the multicultural concept is to recognize and respect cultural differences, because in that sense it promotes equality, but this perspective has been criticized because it does not promote the coexistence. The second position is associated with the integrationist perspective and promotes the relationship among other cultures, and aims to avoid ethnocentrism. It also expects to spread critical dialogue among cultures, including the culture of the country, and faces conflicts in a positive way. Coelho (1998) says that in general, in the school context there is still an egocentric education and teachers in multicultural schools need general background information on the sources of cultural diversity and on contemporary immigration policies and procedures in order to understand why their classrooms are becoming increasingly diverse. An important purpose for intercultural education is to obtain an integrated environment in the school without serious conflicts

or excluding individuals and with everybody respecting the cultural diversity in the school.

To carry out what the intercultural communication represents in schools there is a guide described in its broadest sense by the Generalitat de Catalunya with four basic categories to accomplish the intercultural education purposes. They constitute reference points in the Catalan educational system to design and to think about intercultural curricular planning. One of the important things to cultivate positive intercultural attitudes is introducing in lessons the idea of respect and tolerance when faced with other cultural ways of understanding life and appreciate the elements of the different cultural backgrounds that other humans have. It is also very important to have an open attitude to facilitate the personal enrichment through the incorporation of other elements from other cultural models into our society. Empathy is a key word for tolerance and comprehension of others, so students and teachers should understand other cultural values in a critical way. To defy stereotypes from other ethnic groups is very important in order to be able to gain a real idea of others' cultures because usually general stereotypes are negative and make relationships more difficult. The critical sense in the analyses of different cultures is a component that the Catalan Education Department has also taken into consideration; they consider it to be important to be identified with the cultural community one belongs to but also to be open to other cultures' realities.

Students need to learn culture at school. To improve the pupils' cultural, academic and personal concept they have to learn to receive and accept each pupil as a person, take notice of the valuable aspects of the pupil's behaviour and the pupil's academic progress, encourage students to participate in school activities in order to avoid any kind of marginalization and introduce the foreign pupil's cultural elements as a normal thing in the high school. As Coelho (1998) points out the school should be decorated with the typical elements of their cultures. The promotion of cooperation and coexistence between students with different cultures in the school and the promotion of equality of opportunities for all the students through the intercultural communication are two ideas that can let the students experience the diversity as a normal thing. In this process the teachers can help the students to find out cultural differences among all the students or stimulate cooperative games. To help the students with low level of integration the teachers can plan curricular adaptations to answer different motivations, abilities and

learning styles. In that sense they take into account the minority students' cultural discontinuities in everyday experiences too. Some people may think that some of these conducts can end with positive discrimination but if the aim is having equal opportunities for everyone, some students are going to need some help.

Intercultural education is the pedagogical answer to the future requirements of preparing inhabitants with the appropriate skills to manage themselves in a multicultural and democratic society. That is why intercultural education cannot only be seen as a nice, democratic ideal but as a feasible, useful, educational approach for both teachers and pupils. Although this research focuses on the reception class, there should be intercultural communication in the whole school and even in society.

2.3   Second language learning and teaching to immigrants

Families leaving their origins and going to other countries to start new lives have different purposes in life to those people who have a stable job and do not need to move anywhere nor miss anything. The immigration process is a hard and long phase for the adult people who decide to start a new life and aim to have better conditions, but it is more problematic still for the children and especially teenagers who feel forced to leave their homes, their friends, relatives and so on (Coelho 1998; Villalba and Hernandez 2004). People who migrate need to learn the language of the country in which they are living because when they know the language their life will change substantially and they will be able to adapt easily to their new life, understand information and then act depending on the social environment.

Immigration represents a great challenge for teachers in general who have to communicate with the new students in a language that most of the time they do not know and so they do not understand the teacher's lessons. For the students' tutors it is also a challenge because they have to prepare an adjusted curriculum for them. There is also an important challenge for the teachers who have to teach the language of the country as a second language to the immigrant students because there is not a specific teaching profile for this in schools. Furthermore, we need to take into account the wide range of cultural and linguistic diversity and the different levels of literacy that the immigrant students have depending on their origins (Villalba and Hernández 2004).

This section is divided into three different blocks which focus respectively on the second language acquisition process, socialization and language learning theory, and second language learning and teaching immigrants. In the second part acculturation is also explained, a term used by some authors who point out that learning a second language as a reception language entails acculturation. I am going to explain it through the four steps that Coelho (1998) proposes of the acculturation process of immigrant students.

2.3.1   Second language acquisition

Second language acquisition is the process by which people learn a second language in addition to their native language. Ellis (1994) clarifies that acquiring a second language is not a uniform phenomenon. For this author, learning a second language is the product of many factors pertaining to the learner, on the one hand, and the learning situation on the other. Therefore, it is important to understand that different learners in different situations learn a second language in different ways. However, the term second language acquisition aims to define the common factors that are involved in the process of learning a second language. It is interesting to see that second language acquisition sometimes is contrasted with second language learning on the assumption that these are different processes. In this study both terms are going to be useful because the term second language acquisition is used to refer to picking up a second language through exposure, which is the case of the immigrant students living in Catalonia and find themselves in an immersion situation. The term second language learning is used to refer to the conscious study of a second language, which is the immigrant students' case in Catalonia because they have special lessons for the learning of Catalan.

Villalba and Hernandez (2004) ask themselves if it makes sense to talk about language acquisition or language learning and immigrants, distinguishing both processes with regard to other trainee groups. They say that, apparently, there is no difference because apart from the fact that they are in an immersion situation, they are children, teenagers or adults learning a new language. But instead of paying attention to some decisive aspects that help in the language learning process such as knowledge of other languages, age, the need or the time of contact with the second language, there is a tendency to

emphasize more aspects such as previous education, literacy in the mother tongue or knowledge and contact with western culture, among others.

Ellis (1994) emphasizes the fact that learning a second language is an individual process and second language learners vary on a number of dimensions related to personality, motivation, learning style, aptitude and age. Fillmore (1991) tries to homogenize some features of the second language learning process for immigrants: he talks about a) the social process that means social contact with the new society and interaction with native speakers, b) the linguistic process that is activated when there is interaction with native speakers or with texts in the second language through communicative contexts and situations, and c) the cognitive process which refers to the mechanism of the second language and internalization of the rules and the meanings. Ellis (1994) says that the full time exposure to the second language, interaction with native people and the need for communication are some facts that contribute to a faster rate of second language learning. It is in this sense that minority groups such as immigrants have very good conditions to learn the second language because they are living in the country where the language, that is the object of study, is the community language and it creates in them a special need for learning the language.

Going on with the individual characteristics of the second language learning process, Villalba and Hernandez (2004) establish a difference depending on the immigrant learner age. They quote Aguirre et al (1998) who specify that pre-school children and students from primary education learn the language in a lower period of time than children from the last courses of primary education and secondary education. In both cases the student can acquire a proficiency level, although for the teenagers the learning development process is not as evident because they do not speak as well as the younger children within the same time. The immigrant teenagers are the ones who have the worst circumstances for learning the language of the reception country because sometimes they only find themselves in an immersion situation at school. Outside the school they do not socialize with people who speak the second language and it is not favourable for the right contact with the language. Apart from this, immigrant teenagers need more help at school because the curriculum at secondary school requires dedication because the level of concepts starts to be quite high in all subjects. Therefore immigrant teenagers not only need to learn the language of the reception country but

they also need to learn it as fast as possible in order to acquire the curriculum in an academic language.

According to sociocultural theories the immigrant students should learn the language of the reception country through daily socialization (routines e.g. going shopping, talking with the neighbors, doing extra school activities). Zuengler and Miller (2006) point out that the language use in real daily situations is basic for learning a language, and participating in these situations where the language is produced is part of the language learning process. Ochs and Shcieffelin (1984) state that sociocultural information is encoded in conventional speech organization, which means that the linguistic shapes and their meanings we find in all different contexts can help the language learners to use the language like a native. In spite of the contribution of these theories, for the immigrants it is not that easy because the immigration situation does not always favour socialization with the autochthonous population. This is especially problematic for adults who do not attend school and so their exposure to the language is limited. Although children and teenagers have the possibility of going to school, Villalba and Hernández (2004) explain that there are also boys and especially girls who rarely have friendly relationships outside the family field and this fact together with low motivation and lack of necessity to progress in the language in order to have a successful conversation can result in the existence of a simplified language.

There are three main variables that need to be considered in the study of second language learning of immigrants: the age at which they immigrate, the length of residence and the age at onset of second language learning. Stevens (2006) proposed these three variables and adds that they are linearly related and the studies that only consider one or two of these variables might yield ambiguous conclusions. The relationship between age at onset of second language learning and second language proficiency in adulthood and teenagers has become an important issue in research on second language learning among immigrants, and it is well established that length of residence in the receiving country strongly affects immigrants' levels of proficiency in a second language, at least for the first several years after arrival in the destination country. Unfortunately, there are no easy statistical techniques that can unambiguously untangle the linear dependency among the trio of variables consisting of chronological

age, length of residence, and age at onset of second language acquisition among immigrants.

2.3.2   Second language acquisition as a reception language: the student's challenge

Second language acquisition as a reception language has been a discipline studied during the last twenty years (Norton 2000; Perdue, 1993). The term 'reception language' refers to the language of the reception country and to a language that is learnt in a migratory context. The studies on second language acquisition as a reception language have focused mainly on adulthood populations. The current studies state that second language acquisition constitutes an individual process in which there are a number of factors that take part in it. However they are not the same processes in each case and they do not take part in them in the same way, but learning a second language as a reception language means learning a new culture and leaving out the native culture, language and habits. Schumann (1978) holds that the social and psychological distance from the culture of the second language constitute an influence on the language acquisition because they condition the contact that learners have with the target language and the input they have available. This process may finish with the acculturation of the original culture. Linton (1963) described the general process of acculturation as involving motivation in attitudes, knowledge and behaviour. These modifications were seen to require not only the addition of new elements to an individual's cultural background, but also the elimination of certain previous elements and the reorganization of others. Thus the overall process of acculturation demands both social and psychological adaptation. (McLaughlin, 1987).

Stauble (1980) indicates that part of the acculturation process concerns the appropriate learning of linguistic habits in order to improve the target language of the speaker. Schumann's theories predict that second language learners are going to improve faster or slower in the learning of the target language depending on their abilities of social and psychological adaptation or acculturation. But Schumann's model has been criticized because although it defends the existence of a direct relation among the social factors, the psychological factors and some aspects of the second language acquisition, the model does not provide an expectation of this fact. Therefore, McLaughlin (1987) concludes that successful learners may be more positively disposed toward the target-

language group because of their positive experience with the language. Their success may be more a function of intelligence, social skills and language-learning ability than of perceived distance form the target-language group. For the authors mentioned the acculturation process is necessary to learn a second language and to integrate oneself within the new society. Coelho (1998) explains that on arrival in the new country, immigrants begin a new period of transition as they adjust to their new environment and come to terms with their new circumstances, so they commonly pass through four stages of acculturation and adjustment after arrival in their new country.

The four stages of acculturation go from the immigrants' arrival and their first impressions to acculturation itself. After the first stage, the immigrants usually suffer culture shock and the third stage represents a recovery phase where the immigrants feel optimistic and want to work in order to fit into the new society. During the first stage of arrival and first impressions, they may experience the situation as an adventure and they may be happy because their family has fulfilled their aim of starting a new phase in their life in a place with more resources. During this time they may behave as observers rather than participants because they are trying to understand their new environment. After this stage they can start feeling discomfort, dislocation and alienation because the newcomers begin to identify aspects of the new environment that are intimidating or distasteful. In the second stage they feel anxiety and frustration and the fact that they still do not speak the language very well makes it more problematic for them to understand the new culture. Identity is also very important. At this stage the newcomers try to understand their new position in their new reality and they feel they are losing their usual routines, and they experience feelings of grief in response to the loss of family and the loss of the culture that sustained them and gave them a sense of identity. Luckily after this period, when they start to speak and understand better the reception language and they start to get used to the new routines and practices, individuals begin to feel competent in overcoming difficulties and they start making friends and meet people. They start to feeling part of the new reality. It is in this stage that they experience a recovery from culture shock that brings them a renewed sense of optimism and autonomy. After another period of time, newcomers resolve internal conflicts by re-creating their identities, the original culture is discarded and the individual may abandon the first language choosing to operate in the new language. Therefore, acculturation involves acceptance of the new culture and they feel more integrated. There are

immigrants who integrate some aspects of their own culture and some other aspects of the new culture. However, others may only replace their own with own the new culture and language and if this occurs, this is not the goal of education in a multilingual and multicultural society (Coelho, 1998).

Through all these stages immigrant students are learning the reception language as a second language in an immersion environment. Their motivation is one of the components that determines the students' linguistic competence, so the ones who learn the new language with a practical goal in mind present an instrumental motivation, whereas students who wish to learn a new culture and a new language because their aim is to be members of the new community, have an integrative motivation; this latter type of learner usually obtains better results in linguistic competence (Lambert 1972). Immigrant students who feel motivated to learn the language and the culture are more likely to have successful results in the new language proficiency. But apart from the difficulty of the different stages they pass, students who have had some exposure to the new language in their own countries or whose language is related to the new language through Germanic or Latin roots may feel relatively more confident about learning the new language. However, increasingly large numbers of immigrants are arriving from very different language backgrounds with very different languages and these students may be relatively less confident about learning the new language.

The process of second language acquisition is complex; Selinker (1972) suggests that second language learners create an individual linguistic system during the learning process that could be placed between the mother tongue and the target language. This system is called interlanguage and it is a dynamic and continuous process that goes through different stages as the learner is improving his level of proficiency in the target language. Through the learning process development, learners can feel blocked and it can stop their language improvement. When learners are in an immersion situation this can occur with the grammatical aspects but is less usual in lexical aspects, although the vocabulary transference is more usual; the learner tends to produce words or linguistic structures in his mother tongue that are not correct in the target language. Teachers have to be aware of the learning development in order to help the learner improve properly and not experience regression phenomenon that cause the learner to remain in previous learning phases. During this learning process Selinker (1972) considers that second

language learning strategies and communicative strategies constitute two central processes. Serrat (2002) defines learning strategies as deliberate activities that are carried out in order to obtain certain learning objectives and communicative strategies as the different linguistic mechanisms that the learner uses in order to succeed in a communicative event. A communicative strategy can be avoiding the communicative problem, giving up the idea he had in his mind, or also defining or describing words instead of saying the word itself because there is a lack of vocabulary knowledge.

2.3.3   Teaching a second language to immigrants: the teacher's challenge

In this research we focus on the fact that with the arrival of new migrant students appears the need to teach the language of the reception country as a second language. This represents a new challenge for the teachers because, although there are teachers who are specialists in teaching a second language, it must be taken into account that the migrant students are in an immersion situation, which is the main characteristic in contrast with the first language learning lessons. The presence of migrant students represents a challenge for the teachers because to write the second language didactics it is necessary to know the mechanisms through which languages are acquired. This is not easy because there is a wide range of circumstances: students coming from different countries with a diversity of languages and levels of literacy. However, there are also common elements in the language acquisition process that are important.

Thirty years ago the educational system allowed the students to choose between learning French as a second language or English. Most of the students chose French because France is our neighboring country. Nowadays the economy has promoted the English language as the global language and no student is asked to decide whether to learn French or English in the educational systems, the Anglophone language has became the most important foreign language to communicate abroad. Nowadays there has appeared another view, at least in Europe, which is the diversity that gives us the notion of an individual who is able to add different languages in his communicative repertoire. It is in this part where immigrants play an important role, because they have their own language or languages and after the immigration process they have to learn the languages of the reception country and it is in that sense that they become plurilingual individuals. In order to tackle the linguistic diversity in the schools, the

educational systems are adopting strategies originating in traditional bilingual education (Vila, 2000), but it is important to note that for most of the newcomers bilingualism is a common fact among them, and therefore when they are assigned a school in our country they are already bilingual or multilingual students. This fact may facilitate the learning of another language (Cummins, 2001) but most of the time when they start school in our educational system they are asked to know the common European languages such as the language of the country and usually the English language, and most of the time the newcomers are not familiarized with those languages.

In Eurydice (2004) analyses four relevant questions related to diversity and second language learning in schools: linguistic diversity in the educational centers, the role of foreign languages in the curriculum, the variety of languages that are taught and the teacher's training. This author explains that there are basically two different models of linguistic support for immigrant students. They are the **integrated model** where the students are assigned a classroom and a group according to their age and then they have teachers who support their linguistic gaps, and the other model is the **separate model** in which the students receive specific attention out of the groups of their same age. The education policy in Catalonia can be seen as a mixture of the two models because the immigrant students have specific Catalan lessons in a specific classroom in the center where there are all the students from different ages who need to learn the language, but they also have their classroom assigned and they attend the common classroom to do the more sociable lessons. The process is that as the students improve their language proficiency in Catalan they reduce the timetable in the reception classroom and increases the hours spent in the common classroom. In the Basque country they have a totally integrated model, they have what they call a linguistic reinforcement teacher for the immigrant students in each center and the immigrant students attend their common classroom from the beginning but they have a teacher who is always with them and helps them with their language improvement and with their integration in the center.

Two models, integrated and separated, are intended to teach the language of the country to the immigrant students because language is the basic instrument for their academic

survival (Martin Peris[3]). Second language teaching to immigrants requires specialist teachers who are able to guarantee the same level of education that they guarantee to the rest of the educational institution. We must take into consideration that the immigrant students need to learn the language of the reception country in order to acquire a general communicative linguistic competence but they must also learn the academic language that gives them access to the school curriculum.

Second language teaching to immigrants in secondary school is more problematic because the student has troubles accessing the curriculum in language that is not his mother tongue and so he cannot participate in the ordinary lessons for some months because he cannot follow the teacher's explanations. The teachers who are not teachers of a language do not know how to adapt their lessons in order to make them easier for the new student. Villalba and Hernández (2004) give an example of this explanation:

> Imagine a science teacher who has to explain   the cellular division to a group of twenty five teenagers who are fourteen and fifteen years old and they have different levels of motivation and interest. Among these students there are three or four immigrant students coming from different countries with different mother tongues and scholar courses.

It is evident that in all classes there are different levels of motivation and interest because not all the students like the same subjects but this teacher has an additional challenge, which is explaining a complex lesson to students who are learning through a second language. Miquel, L (2002) adds to this challenge a reductionist synthesis with the idea that the learner is the center of the learning process and the activities and the evaluations should be adapted to the students. The basic element for this process is to conceive the language as a tool for interaction and communication instead of an objective to learn. Thus, the student is expected to be able to communicate with his new language but he is not expected to be a language specialist. So teachers should prepare contextualized activities with real significance that motivate the students.

Although it is not totally clear how people learn a language, whether the first or the second language, (Navarro, 2003) the most effective way to bring someone to a new

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[3] Martin Peris, E. (comunicación: abril, 2008). *La preparacion del profesor de segundas lenguas e inmigrantes. Formar para enseñar.* II Jornadas sobre Lenguas, Currículo y Alumnado Immigrante. Universidad de Deusto.

language use is the communicative approach (Miquel, L., 2005). Recent research in different disciplines converges on the idea of the communicative approach, even the documents proposed by the European council like the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment is influenced by this approach. Miquel, L. (2005) researched how teaching classes to immigrants were carried out and she noted that, in practice, the communicative approach is usually non-existent. In our country the problem consists of the fact that there is no teacher training to teach Catalan and Spanish as second languages.

3.   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I have divided this chapter into two sections. The first will consist of a description of the field-work and data collection, an introduction to the qualitative research, the ethnographic method, the diary and the interview as the methods used to collect the data. The second part will present the analytical method employed in the analysis of the contexts of the interviewees and the analysis of the interviews. The approaches used are the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974) for the analysis of the ethnographic part and the Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989) for the analysis of the interviews.

3.1   Data collection

The research that I have developed follows the principles of the ethnography of communication. It seeks to describe and understand the behaviour of a particular social or cultural group. In order to do this, researchers try to see things from the perspective of members of the group and this requires extended exposure to the field (Richards, 2003). In the following sub-section I will describe and explain why I decided to use the ethnographic method and the diary for the observation part of this study. The second sub-section will deal with the open interview, the method used to study the teacher's point of view. I will also describe the process followed to contact the participants and collect the different sorts of data.

I decided to use the ethnographic method because it seeks to describe and understand the behavior of a particular social or cultural group. I use the diary as a supplement for the analysis of the observation part in order to try to see things from the perspective of the members of the group but this requires extended exposure to the field and as I only visited two lessons I decided to supplement the observation with the qualitative in-depth interview. The in-depth interview with the two teachers will let me see the teacher's real perspective and point of view of the reception classroom through the analysis.

The data collection process can be divided into two different parts. I will describe the observation part in two reception classrooms in two high schools in Lleida province and the diary I wrote afterwards, and the in-depth interviews with the teachers of the two reception classrooms visited who have different professional backgrounds. The two

interviews were carried out in the winter of the school year 2007/08 in a specific room in each high school. The observation part was carried out on the same day of the interviews; the first observation was carried out after the interview and the second before the interview, dependeding on the teachers' timetables availability. My first aim with the observation part was to see how a reception classroom worked, kept in touch with immigration in high schools and diversity in the reception classrooms and in the centers whereas the aim of the in depth interviews was to analyse the teachers' perspectives of the reception classroom procedure, function, purposes and working with the fact that the two teachers had different teaching profiles.

3.1.2 An ethnographic approach to data collection and the diary

Ethnography is a type of qualitative research. Qualitative research is characterized by the study of the phenomena in their natural context with the purpose of finding their sense or interpretation through the meanings that people attach to them. The main aim of the qualitative method is to share those meanings through language, analysis and discourse interpretations (Denzin & Lincon, 1994). The qualitative method searches to find comprehension and interpretation of reality through the researcher's point of view, which provides a holistic view of the phenomenon. Qualitative research understands social processes as dynamic and changing processes. It emphasizes the context and the sociocultural sensitivity of the research; it does not try to universalize but to explain a specific situation. A research of this type is neither neutral nor objective. The researcher is part of the studied phenomenon, and therefore, the subject affects the context and at the same time he is affected by the research. A qualitative study aims to empower those who usually do not have what and it focuses on action and change.

Based on an approach used by Cresswell (1998) I will provide a table (table 3) in which there are seven core traditions in qualitative research that are relevant to know. The traditions described are ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology, case study, life history, action research and conversation analysis (Richards, 2003).

Focus (outcome)	Tradition	Primary means of data collection
The social world (description and interpretation of group)	**Ethnography**	Observation, interview, recording, documents
The social world (Development of theory)	**Grounded Theory**	Observation, interview, recording, documents
Lived experience (Understanding nature of experience of phenomenon)	**Phenomenology**	Interview
Particular cases (Detailed description of individual cases)	**Case study**	Interviews, documents, observation, recording
The person (Picture of individual life experience)	**Life History**	Interview
Professional action (Improvement of professional practice)	**Action Research**	Journal, interviews, documents, recording
Social interaction (Explanation of how shared understandings are constructed)	**Conversation analysis**	Recording

Table 3 Traditions in qualitative research

Fieldwork is central to all ethnography; it means that the researcher has to negotiate entry into the research site, often as a participant observer, a role in which the researcher undertakes work in the setting but at the same time gathers data (Roberts et al, 2001). During the fieldwork the ethnographer has to adapt between a "distancing perspective" and a "proximity and close familiarity" with the group. The researcher has to move back and forth between outsider and insider status since the researcher's aim is not to become a complete insider because this would mean taking for granted the sorts of beliefs, attitudes and routines that the researcher needs to remain detached from in order to observe and describe. Roberts, et al (2001) suggest three fundamental concepts that are involved in the ethnographic experience:

1.   Epistemological relativity which is the construction of knowledge. Recognising one's assumptions about knowledge, and how it is legitimised in one's own society, so as to be able to view the knowledge of other societies with a more open mind.

2.   Reflexivity: the researcher needs to have the ability to reflect critically on the way in which one's cultural background and standpoint influence one's view of other cultures.

3.   Critical consciousness: the ethnographer has to be as objective as possible; he must avoid judging others.

As seen in table 3 there are different means of data collection in ethnographic research. Participant observation is the main method for ethnography but there are also other methods such as the interview and related documents that can be used together in the same research because they are complementary. Participant observation can be of different types; there can be complete participant observation in which the researcher is part of the group he is studying and participates in the different activities. The researcher can be a participant but only as observer or an observer as participant which means that while he participates in the usual activities he collects some data and pays special attention to some aspects. Another option for the ethnographer is to be a complete observer with no interaction with the informant. It is important to be aware of the effect the ethnographer has on the group which is object of study because although he does not participate he is present at the scene and it has a special effect that the researcher has to consider in the analyses (Nussbaum, 2007[4]).

The most common method of collecting ethnographic data is participant-observation. However in my study I am just an observer and I do not participate in the class activities. I adopt this position because my time of observation is short and I prefer not to interfere in the classroom environment. Usually researchers are involved in the community for one year or more and they find it possible to perceive and understand patterned cultural behaviour of others. Although this is not the case in this study, it is going to be the case of the study which follows this. My presence in the classrooms in this study was only of one hour and I have already said I was not a participant-observer but a simple observer.

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[4] Nussbaum, L. (2007). *Análisis Interaccional para el estudio del plurilingüismo escolar.* II Congrés Internacional d'Etnografia i Educació. Barcelona 5-8 de setembre.

During the observation I wrote some notes and afterwards I wrote a diary. As this diary is written by myself, this makes the objectivity of the subsequent analysis more difficult. In a diary the data comes from different sources. First the researcher makes notes and describes the concrete elements of the situation, with this descriptive information the researcher can have information of the individuals' situation and the researcher's perception of the individuals being observed. Their expectations and needs are also written about. In my diary I also drew the map of the organization of the classrooms, the students and the teacher and I paid special attention to the maps, posters and other material that was hanging on the walls of the classrooms. In the diary there are also personal reflections, perceptions, expectations, ideas and so on. The diary together with the observation part are extra data that will complement the interviews' analysis and let me have a wider vision of the reception classroom and the teachers' activity during their lessons.

3.1.3 The open interview

Observation only gives partial access to meanings experienced by informants, so the interview is a good addition. There are different types of qualitative interviews; they can be directive or non-directive. In the first type the interviewer controls the development of the interview and in the second type the interview develops more naturally. The type of interview carried out in this study is the non-directive interview which is an open and formal interview because it was formally arranged in advance and all parties understood what was going to take place. Jones (1985 p:47-8) described non-directive interviews as follows:

> Non-directive" interviews are anything but non-directive. What one person will say to another depends on what he or she assumes the other is "up to" in the situation. If the respondents have no clear idea of what the researchers' interest and intentions are, they are less likely to feel unconstrained than constrained by the need to put energy into guessing what these are.

Kvale (1996) maintains that this type of interview is featured by the interviewer's exposition to a concrete social situation in which the obtaining of cognitive and emotional sources is expected; to obtain this, the interview must be based on four criterion:

1)   The interview must be open and the answers must be free and spontaneous, however the interviewer has to prepare a guideline in order to obtain the information he needs.

2)   The answers must be specific. Generic thoughts or diffuse ideas do not answer the specific aim of the research.

3)   The interviewer must try to make the interviewee answer all the specific topics he wants to research. The more the interviewee explains, the more hints the interviewer will have.

4)   The interview must be an in-depth interview. The personal context and the interviewee's point of view are of most importance. The interview should draw on the affective implications of the situation, the values, and the beliefs and so on.

In the guideline I prepared beforehand for the interviews I carried out on the two teachers all the topics I wanted them to explain and give their opinion. The day the two teachers agreed to be interviewed I gave them all the information about my study, the purposes and the further data processing because I wanted them to be informed. The day before the interview I sent them by e-mail the guideline with the topics I wanted to talk about during the interview in order to let them feel more comfortable. Before starting the interview I asked them if they wanted me to explain my research and my purposes again and I let them ask any question they wanted to ask me; afterwards I asked them to explain to me their teaching curriculum. Then we started the interview with the topics prepared, the first was about the teachers' assignment methods and teacher motivation to be in a reception classroom. After these topics I introduce the reception classroom's functions and processes. The material they use and prepare and can get was another topic that linked to the linguistic learning and second language teaching in the reception classroom. Another topic that I wanted the teachers to explain to me was their point of view on how they see cultural facts in second language learning, current plurilingualism in educational centres, in the reception classroom and intercultural communication. To finish the interview I asked them about the pros and cons they found in the reception classroom.

The key issues of the interview concern what, why and how: what: acquiring preknowledge of the subject matter to be investigated; why: formulating a clear purpose for the interview; and how: being familiar with different interview techniques and

deciding which to apply in the investigation. Advance preparation is essential to the interaction and outcome of the formal interview, so I prepared the questions beforehand, but although I did this, in the two interviews it was not possible to follow the same order because of the conversational feature of the interview.

List of data collected:

- Observation and diary of a lesson of a reception classroom in a high school in Lleida
- Observation and diary of a lesson of a reception classroom in a high school in Mollerussa
  - In-depth interview with a reception classroom teacher with a Catalan teaching profile.
  - In-depth interview with a reception classroom teacher with an English teaching profile.

3.2.   Analytical methods

In this sub-section I am going to talk about the two approaches I use to analyze the data. The first is the SPEAKING model developed by the sociolinguist Dell Hymes to promote the analysis of discourse series of speech events and speech acts within a cultural context. The second is Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis that explains social practice through analysis of the language in use.

3.2.1 SPEAKING model

Hymes (1974) developed the SPEAKING model to promote the analysis of discourse. In the analysis of communicative events it is important to start describing the speech community in order to understand its social organization and other salient aspects of the culture, and the ethnographer must be essentially objective and relative to the interpretation because although it is a difficult task, objectivity and relativity can impoverish the interpretation and the analysis. The researcher can better understand the culture of the community being studied if he adopts a participant role (Spradely 1979) but it is not as important if the researcher is studying his own culture and attempting to make explicit what is implicit, however it is more difficult to gain objectivity in the analysis.

Communication is divided into different events, so in society there are different communication events. They depend on the context and at the same time, the context is defined by three aspects: the physical environment, the cognitive circumstances and the linguistic context (Cots, 1999). Blackwell (1989) says that a communicative event is a bounded entity of some kind; recognizing what the boundaries are is essential for their identification. The communicative event is bounded by the three aspects of the context. Blackwell (1989) explains it with an example:

A telephone conversation is a communicative event bounded by a ring of the telephone as a "summons" and hanging up the receiver as a "close".

To analyse the communicative event I am going to use to the components which are necessary to identify, classify and describe to characterize a speech community (Hymes 1974).

The first component is the one that refers to the setting and scene; setting refers to the time and place of a speech act and, in general, to the physical circumstances, and the scene is the psychological setting or cultural definition of a scene, including characteristics such as range of formality and sense of play or seriousness. The second component is the participants. Participants refer to both the speaker and the audience or the addressees and the hearers. The third component is the ends; they are purposes, goals and outcomes and referring to Cots (2000) it is important to add that the private goals of the individuals taking part in the speech event are also included in the definition. After the ends and as the fourth component there is the act sequence which is the form and order of the event, with the form we pay attention to the grammatical and lexical composition of individual utterances and with the order we emphasize the pragmatic function of the utterances. The key is the fifth component and establishes the tone and the manner of the speech event, with regards to its formality or seriousness. The instrumentalities refer to the channel (e.g. oral, written, visual) and to the decisions the speakers have to make among the different languages/dialects/registers which they handle. As a penultimate component there are the norms of interaction and interpretation which are social rules governing the event and the participants' actions and reactions for example, not interrupting, raising the hand to ask for a turn, and others. The last component is the genre. This refers to ways of speaking recognised by the speech community and which are characterised by the co-occurrence of lexical,

grammatical, prosodic and paralinguistic features and which convey a social meaning (e.g. sermon, lecture, gossip) (Cots 2000; Hymes 1974; Blackwell 1989).

3.2.2 Critical discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one approach to the analysis of language use. It considers discourse as a practical, social and cultural phenomenon. The purpose of CDA is to analyze "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak 1995: 204 quoted in Blommaert 2005). According to Blommaert (2005) CDA states that discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. Furthermore, discourse is an instrument of power, of increasing importance in contemporary societies and the way this instrument of power works is often difficult to understand, and CDA aims to make it more visible and transparent.

Through CDA language is not seen as an individual activity that reflects situational variables but as a mode of social practice in which people represent the world. Critical discourse analysis is critical in two senses: one sense is based on the ideas of the Frankfurt school (Jürgen Habermas, 2000) and the other on a shared tradition with so-called critical linguistics. According to Habermas (2000) a critical science has to be self-reflective, so it must reflect the interests on which it is based and it must take into account the historical contexts of interactions.

Wodak (1995) pointed out the general principles of CDA. The first one is that CDA is concerned with social problems, so it is not concerned with language or language use, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. This approach will allow me to discover an existing lack of knowledge in reception classroom teaching through the analyses of the different points of view, perspectives and teaching strategies of the two teachers interviewed. A second characteristic has to do with power-relations that are related to discourse and CDA studies, both power in discourse and power over discourse. CDA takes into account the relation between the speakers, in my interviews the power relations are related to knowledge, the interviewees have more power because they are the ones who have the knowledge that the interviewer needs. Another characteristic is that society and culture are dialectically

related to discourse; they are shaped by discourse and at the same time they constitute discourse. A fourth CDA characteristic is that through the analysis of texts a researcher can determine the ideological interpretation of social effects. It is also important to be conscious of the connected intertextuality of the discourses, so they are not only embedded in a particular culture, ideology or history, but are also connected intertextually to other discourses. Discourses are historical and they can only be understood in relation to their context. Discourse Analysis is interpretative, explanatory and critical. This analysis implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations. The critical factor is going to be crucial because it lets the researcher goes further than the words and the expressions in the analyses of the interviews.

Fairclough (1992) constructs a social theory of discourse with which he sketches a three-dimensional framework for conceiving and analysing discourse (Blommaert, 2005). The first dimension is *discourse as text,* which refers to the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse; it aims to analyze the different choices and patterns in vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. The second dimension is *discourse as discursive practice,* which analyzes discourse as something which is produced, circulated, distributed, and consumed in society. Approaching discourse as discursive practice means that after the analysis of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure, attention should be given to speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality, which are three aspects that link a text to its wider social context. The third dimension is *discourse as social practice,* which analyzes discourse in order to see how the context and social structures are reflected in discourse and influence the discourse (Blommaert, 2005).

DISCOURSE AS TEXT

DISCOURSE AS DISCURSIVE PRACTICE
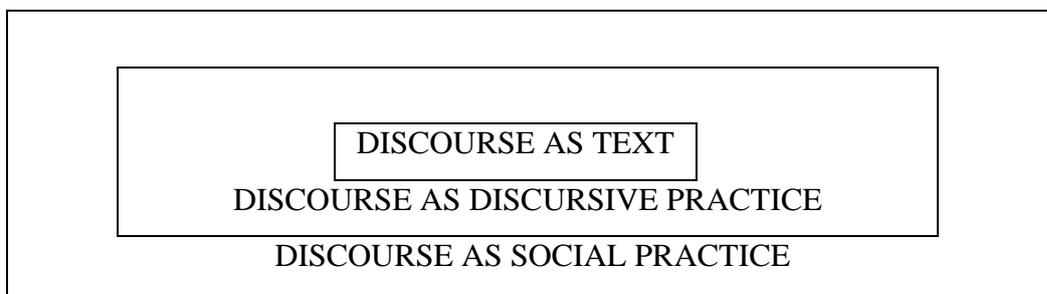
DISCOURSE AS SOCIAL PRACTICE

Figure 1:

Analytical dimensions proposed by Fairclough (1992), adaptation from Cots (2000)

Following Cots, 2000 I outline the analytical categories I am going to use in the analyses. The aim of this analytical model is to ascertain how the teachers interviewed represent their reality through some specific concepts and propositions. It must allow us to get into the teacher's discourse in order to see their perspectives. I will analyze the interviews through the three discourse dimensions or types of practice proposed by Fairlclough: social practice, discursive practice and the textual practice. For the analysis of the social dimension I will analyze social practice in which the discourse takes part and the ideological representation of the social structure that the participants aim to represent. Therefore I will analyze the social relationships, the interviews' structure and social roles and how they are represented in the interview. In the discursive dimension I will analyze the interview as a text and the interviewees as high school teachers, so I will pay attention to the connection among the textual representations and also to the connection between the textual representation and the interviewer's representation of the world. I will also analyze in this dimension intertextuality in the discursive practice that refers to the relationship between a text and others texts and voices. In the textual dimension I will analyze how the ideas are represented in the text, how the interviewees organize their texts and the types of processes and participants. In this dimension I will pay attention to the point of view that the interviewees adopt in order to see if they produce subjective or objective texts and I will analyze the vocabulary, looking at the key words and the anecdotes.
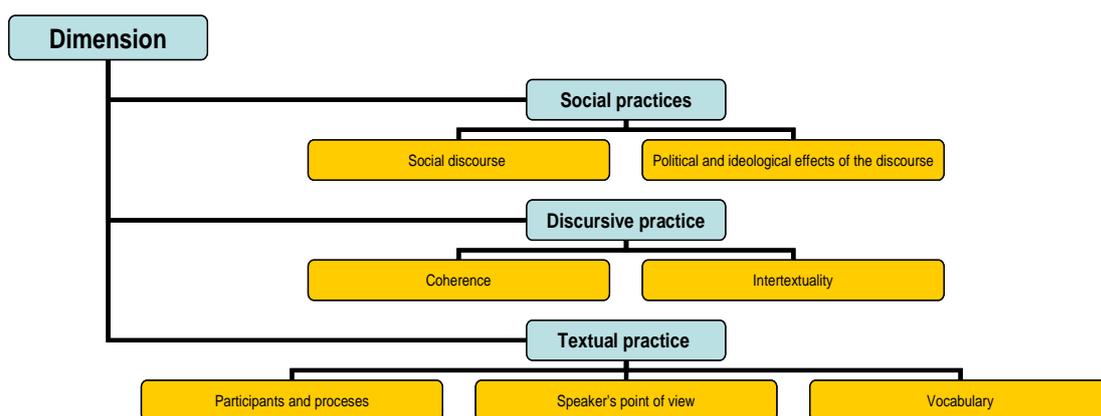
Figure 2.

Fairclough Dimension and analytical categories used for the analysis. (Adapted from Cots, 2000)

CDA lets us focus on practical and located actions as in the interviews case. We can analyze interviews as a mode of social practice and at the same time through this social practice we can obtain the information to analyze. Regarding Cots 2000, in cases such as the interview, in which there would not be social practice, if the language did not exist, the CDA analytical method is very useful because it gives a strong base for the textual and interactive analyses. The aim of the analyses in chapter 5 is to recognize the two interviewed teachers' representations of the reception classroom and the aspects related to their job such as reception classroom teachers, taking the interview and language as a social practice.

4.   RESEARCH CONTEXT

This chapter is intended to present the contextual background against which my study should be considered. In the first part I will provide the reader with an overview of the context of immigration in Spain and Catalonia, the reception classroom in educational centers, and the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia. The second part will focus on the contextual reality of the two teachers interviewed and their respective classrooms.

4.1   Immigration and education in Spain

In the last ten years we have lived through social changes that, obviously, have affected the educational system. One of these changes is the progressive increase of immigrant students in educational centers owing to increasing immigrant arrivals in the southern Spanish coasts. A retrospective look at Spain during the last ten years shows us that the country has changed and now it is a "reception country" instead of an "emitter country". Before the Spanish civil war, between 1857 and 1935 the Spanish people used to go to Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela, among other American countries, to look for work, and thus created Spanish colonies. During the civil war (1934-36) a lot of people in Spain emigrated to France, England or Germany; this movement was named the Republican Exile. During the fifties and sixties there was also a tendency to emigrate to German, Switzerland and France. Migratory movements have always been a feature of Spain but now the country is experiencing a fast increase of newcomers instead of an amount of emigration and we have had to adapt the services to the new population numbers the best we can.

A recent study from the *Jaume Bofill Foundation* quoted in *La Vanguardia* (26/05/08) shows that immigrants have an optimistic view of their present and of their future, an even more optimistic vision than the native's vision. The newcomers are satisfied with the status they get after some time in Spain and so there are fewer and fewer newcomers that want to go back to their countries after some years in Spain. The aims of most of the immigrants when they arrive in a new country are to earn money and, after some years, go back to their country. The results of a survey conducted by the *Jaume Bofill Foundation* and the *Institut d'Estudis Regionals i Metropolitans de Barcelona* published

in La Vanguardia (26/05/08) with the title of "*Les condicions de vida de la població immigrada a Catalunya*" indicate that only 10% of the newcomers who have lived in Spain for less than five years wish to go back to their countries of origin. This percentage decreases even more over the years; only 2% of the population who arrived more than ten years ago wish to go back to their countries. The following graphs show that 32% of immigrants are now living in the capital cities of Madrid and Barcelona whereas the other 78% are living in the rest of Spain. They also show that 45% of the immigrant population are women whereas 54,3% are men. Regarding the study just mentioned, women are the ones who are most in favor of going back to their countries.

In Spain there were 4.192.835 foreigners with a residence license on the 31st of May 2008 (*La Vanguardia*: 26/05/08). The Moroccan people are the most numerous colony. At 675.906, followed by the people from Romania who total 664.880 and the people from Equador at 413.642.

The presence of newcomers represents an increase in the population and this rise affects all the public institutions such as public health, social security, employment or unemployment, and also the educational system. In schools diversity represents an enrichment of cultures and languages but, at the same time, it is a challenge for the teachers and the educational curriculum because students coming from other parts of the world do not have our eurocentric vision of knowledge and so teachers must take into account the great range of diversity that becomes a reality in the classroom.

The most important need for the newcomers is to acquire communicative competence in the language of instruction (Miquel, 2005). This competence is essential to improve curricular competence and the students' social and personal development. Educational institutions have had to create special curricula for the newcomers because experience proves that natural immersion in the ordinary classrooms is not enough to acquire a linguistic competence that lets the students progress in their academic area. Systematized attention is necessary and also teachers with special training in second language teaching (Miquel, 2005). The third section of the Organic Law of Education from 2006 has two specific chapters concerning the students who integrate late into the Spanish educational system. I quote below the Articles 78 and 79 that show that it is the public administration's duty to help students who arrive after the start of the school

course. The public administration in Spain must guarantee the basic schooling of immigrant students, paying attention to their circumstances.

Artículo 78. Escolarización.

1. Corresponde a las Administraciones públicas favorecer la incorporación al sistema educativo de los alumnos que, por proceder de otros países o por cualquier otro motivo, se incorporen de forma tardía al sistema educativo español. Dicha incorporación se garantizará, en todo caso, en la edad de escolarización obligatoria. **2.** Las Administraciones educativas garantizarán que la escolarización del alumnado que acceda de forma tardía al sistema educativo español se realice atendiendo a sus circunstancias, conocimientos, edad e historial académico, de modo que se pueda incorporar al curso más adecuado a sus características y conocimientos previos, con los apoyos oportunos, y de esta forma continuar con aprovechamiento su educación.

Artículo 79. Programas específicos.

1. Corresponde a las Administraciones educativas desarrollar programas específicos para los alumnos que presenten graves carencias lingüísticas o en sus competencias o conocimientos básicos, a fin de facilitar su integración en el curso correspondiente. **2.** El desarrollo de estos programas será en todo caso simultáneo a la escolarización de los alumnos en los grupos ordinarios, conforme al nivel y evolución de su aprendizaje. **3.** Corresponde a las Administraciones educativas adoptar las medidas necesarias para que los padres o tutores del alumnado que se incorpora tardíamente al sistema educativo reciban el asesoramiento necesario sobre los derechos, deberes y oportunidades que comporta la incorporación al sistema educativo español.

The administrations must develop specific programs for the students who have a linguistic deficiency. In that sense every community in Spain has established a specific provision to help newcomer students learn the language of the community and integrate rapidly into the school system. All the communities in Spain created these measures for newcomers, but only some communities select specific teachers to help these students. In some countries the aid programs are taught by teachers depending on their timetable availability and there is not a specific teacher profile for teaching languages in Spain as second languages.

In the following section I am going to refer to the Catalan resource for integrating newcomers: reception classrooms. I am going to describe the bases of the *Pla per a la llengua i la cohesió social* established by the Education Department of the Generalitat de Catalunya that establishes the bases for the Catalan integration model.

4.1.1   <u>Immigration in Catalan educational centers</u>

During the eighties the Generalitat de Catalunya established the new legal framework for Catalan linguistic normalization in Catalonia (Law 7/1983, 18th April). This law aimed to normalize the use of Catalan in all fields and to guarantee normal and official use of the Catalan and Spanish languages. It is in this period and through this legal framework that the teaching of Catalan and in Catalan in schools began, thus the *Catalanization process* in the educational system started. Linguistic immersion for all students was the method used, with the aim of homogenizing the students without taking into account their origins.

From this moment, the Teaching Department, from the *Servei d'Ensenyament del Català* (SEDEC), started to promote the use of immersion program methodologies, and they offered many teaching training courses. But it was not until 1990, as a result of the organic law 1\1990, that Catalan legally became the language of the educational system in Catalonia, and the law 1/1998 indicated that all students, whatever their mother tongue or usual language, must be able to use Catalan and Spanish, the two official languages in Catalonia, on equal terms. In spite of these laws and the energy and motivation of a lot of teachers, the report made by the school inspection in the year 2000 described that Catalan is still a dispensable and unnecessary language. Even in the fields where linguistic immersion was carried out, there is still a lack of progress and some of the Catalan students cannot use Catalan and Spanish on equal terms when they finish their obligatory education.

Over recent years our society has experienced the effects of globalization, one of which is the continuous arrival of people from around the world, which results in the incorporation of newcomer students into the Catalan educational centers. This fact represents a great challenge for the Catalan language because it has to become the step to building multilingual centers open to the world. In order to realize good reception and good scholastic integration, which is the key for the immigrants' integration process and becoming a member of Catalan society, the Department of Education created the *Pla per la Llengua I Cohesió Social* (Pla LIC) and introduced reception classrooms and the *Plans educatius d'entorn* as integration tools for immigrant students.

The beginning of the 21st century in Catalonia is characterized by the continuous arrival of immigrants. The Pla per la Llengua i la Cohesió Social reflects this increase of newcomer students in public centers in this period of time; in the school year 1999/2000, 2.38% of the students in secondary schools were immigrants; at the end of the year 2006/2007 the percentage was 13,54%. The following graphs illustrate the increase of immigrant students in the Catalan educational system from the school year 1991/1992 to 2006/2007. The number of newcomer students has increased considerably in the last ten years: during the school year 1991-1992 there were 9.868 foreign students and in the school year 2007-2008 there were 133.000, as we can see in the following graph:
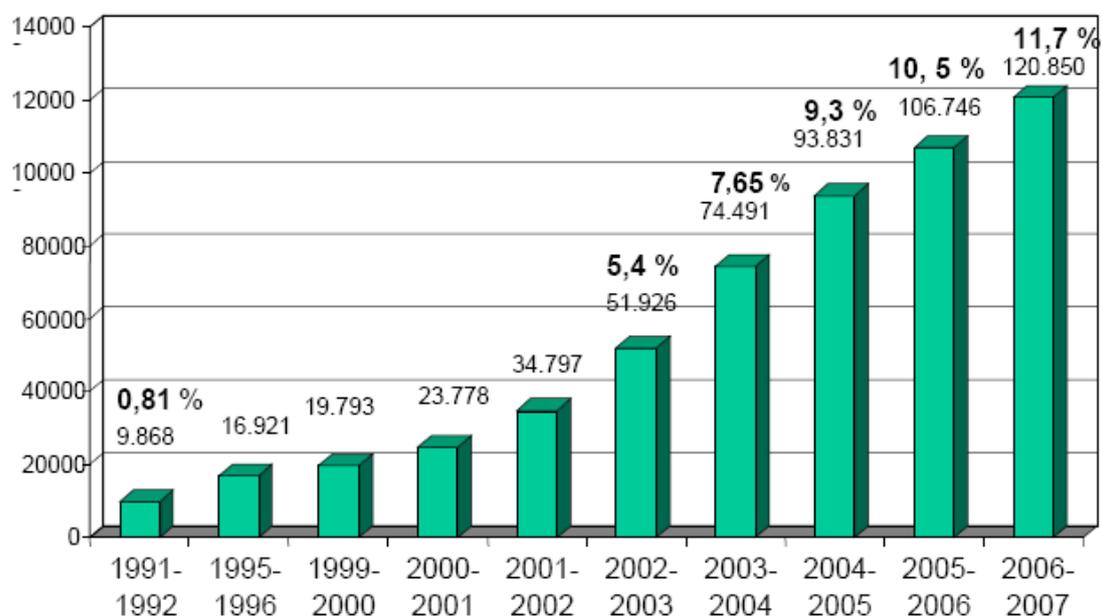
Graph1: The increase of immigrant students. Departament d'Ensenyament. Servei d'Estadística I Documentació.

The following tables show the global increase of all students during the last eight school years in private schools and public schools in pre-school education, primary education and secondary education. The information is taken from the Pla LIC made by the Education Department of the Generalitat de Catalunya:

	Child Education			Primary Education			Secondary Education		
Course	Foreign students	Total students	Average	Foreign Students	Total students	Average	Foreign Students	Total Students	Average
1999-2000	3.678	208.820	1,76	8.002	347.457	2,30	6.338	266.467	2,38
2000-2001	4,804	216.393	2.22	9.618	346.604	2,77	8.177	257.318	3,18
2001-2002	7.519	224.852	3,34	14.556	348.865	4,20	11,103	253,340	4,38
2002-2003	9.640	237.488	4.06	22.634	345.597	6,38	15,002	253,424	5,92
2003-2004	15.088	251.419	6,00	32.760	362.817	9,03	20.267	256.268	7,91
2004-2005	20.178	264.355	7,63	40.245	368.267	10,93	23.532	258.746	9,09
2005-2006	22.297	276.743	8,06	47.020	376.585	12,49	31.160	260.966	11,94
2006-2007	24.127	288.104	8,37	53.901	389.878	13,83	35.864	264.829	13,54

Table 4:

Evolution of the students in the Catalan schools. Departament d'Ensenyament. Servei d'Estadística I Documentació

Related to the newcomers' origins, the Education Department has published some tables that illustrate the number of newly-arrived students in pre-school education, primary education and secondary education and their percentages depending on their origins, organized by different courses. The differing origins of students has seen some variations; while some groups have increased a little, the group coming from countries that are not members of the EU has increased several times and the groups coming from Central America and South America have also increased, in the school year 2001-2002

had already exceeded the group coming from Maghreb, that used to be the most numerous group.

4.1.2   The reception classroom

The Education Department brought reception classrooms into operation in the academic year 2004/2005 owing to the increase of immigrants in education centers, and created the aforementioned Pla LIC. The reception classroom is a common classroom in the centers that is expected to be a flexible and dynamic space to help newly-arrived students. It is considered a resource, a methodological strategy to help immigrant students when they arrive in the Catalan educational system. According to the Pla LIC, the reception classroom has two purposes. First of all, it aims to help the immigrant students feel comfortable in the environment and valued emotionally, and secondly it also aims at providing the newcomers with the basic tools to incorporate normally into the Catalan education system. To get this the center has to activate all of its personal, didactic and methodological resources to guarantee equal educational opportunities to all the students.

The following table shows the number of reception classrooms that were established in the school year 2004/05 and how they have increased up until the year 2007/08. If we pay attention to secondary education, we see that in the year the reception classrooms were created there were only 225 centers which were provided with this service, but in the year 2005/06 they increased to 310, and in the last 07/08 year there were 347 reception classrooms in secondary education in Catalonia.

	SCHOOL YEAR 2004-05	SCHOOL YEAR 2005-06	SCHOOL YEAR 2007-08
PRIMARY EDUCATION	378	558	636
SECONDARY EDUCATION	225	310	347
PRIVATE CENTRES	46	72	91

TOTAL	649	938	1.081

Table 5. Evolution of the reception classrooms.

The management of the reception classroom is also established in the Pla LIC. It is recommended that the number of students in a reception classroom does not go above twelve students per lesson and it is also recommended that the students work half of their timetable in the reception classroom and the other half in other lessons in their ordinary classrooms. As the students improve their Catalan language they must increase their number of lessons in the ordinary classroom and cut their lessons in the reception classroom. Since a student cannot attend the reception classroom for more than two years, the Pla LIC specifies that the number of teachers participating in the reception classroom must be limited because it is important that the students create specific personal referents and feel comfortable at the beginning.

When a newly-arrived student arrives at a school, there is a protocol to follow. First of all the reception classroom teacher collects information about the student's private life such as where he is living, who he is living with, where he comes from, what languages he knows, how long he has been schooled, etc. After this interview, the teacher prepares an individual intensive plan which is a document that collects the current information of the student. After this step the teacher asks him to take a diagnostic test in order to learn about his level of academic skills. After that the reception classroom teacher, together with a figure called a Language and Social Cohesion Consultant (LIC Consultant), interview and talk to the student's parents or relatives and decide the curricula and the timetable that the student is going to follow. The LIC Consultant is a person who works for the Education Department and helps reception classroom teachers. He produces the reception and integration plans for the students and the linguistic project and collaborates with the teacher to promote and to consolidate the Catalan language.

The reception classroom entails having a full time teacher whose main responsibility is the organization and planning of the reception classroom, but there are other professionals who help in the process, one of these being the LIC Consultant, who I have already mentioned above. On the whole, the reception classroom is an open and flexible resource that must be part of the general approach in the center; it cannot be a separated unit. It must offer individual attention and a curriculum of quality. It must

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start the intensive Catalan learning and help students cross the boundary between communicative language and academic language.

4.1.3   Socio-linguistic context

The official languages in Catalonia are Catalan and Spanish; however there is another minority language, Aranese, which is spoken in the Val d'Aran and is only considered as a language specific to the valley.   Although Catalonia is a small autonomous community and has two official languages, Catalan is a very rich language that has two main dialects, eastern and western. The sociolinguistic context of this research takes place in Lleida, where the oriental dialect of Catalan is spoken. Catalonia is in its simple definition a Spanish autonomous community that borders France in the north through the Pyrenees. Catalonia has 7.354.441 inhabitants, which represents 15.96% of the total of the Spanish population on only 6.3% of Spanish land, 32.114 km². Most of the inhabitants live in the main capital and its surroundings (2.5 million) and the rest of the Catalan population live on the coasts and in the interior cities.

According to the last data obtained from *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, idescat,* in the year 2003 the Catalan language was considered the mother tongue of 40,0% of the Catalan population, the first language of 48,8% and the usual language of 50,1% of Catalans. Spanish is also used in the territory. However, it tends to be concentrated in the urban areas. In the year 2003 the Spanish language was considered the mother tongue of 53,5% of Catalans, the first language of 44,3% and the usual language of 44,1%. The law ensures that both Catalan and Spanish can be used by the citizens without prejudice in all public and private activities, even though the Generalitat usually uses Catalan in its communications and notifications addressed to the general population; however citizens can also receive information from the Generalitat in Spanish if they so desire.

Language with which the citizens of Catalonia identify themselves (2003)			
	Mother tongue	Own language	Usual language

Catalan	40.4%	48.8%	50.1%
Spanish	53.5%	44.3%	44.1%
Both	2.8%	5.2%	4.7%
Aranese	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Other languages	3.2%	1.1%	1.1%

Table 6. Language with
which the citizens of Catalonia identify themselves Idescat 2003

Immigrants in Catalonia tend to use their mother tongue to communicate with their relatives or speakers of the same language that also live in a Catalan area (Alegre et al., 2006). Immigrant children learn Catalan in school because it is the obligatory language of education in Catalonia, and they use it to communicate with the teachers and with the Catalan students. However, when they have to socialize outside school, most of them use the Spanish language, sometimes because they say that in the street they hear more Spanish than Catalan. The following quotes taken from Alegre et al., 2006, illustrate the tendency of immigrant students to talk in Spanish when they socialize more than in Catalan.

> *En la calle escucho más el castellano. El catalán, aunque es fácil no me gusta el*
>
> *Catalán, porque hay palabras con acentos y no sé cómo se pronuncian, pero en la   calle escucho mucho el castellano. (Anya from Romania)*
>
> *Aquí en general se habla más castellano. Niños y a veces profesores. Y en la calle más castellano. (Safdar from Morocco)*
>
> *En la calle depende de la gente. Porque la gente más mayor, pues habla en catalán. (Rodika from Russia)*

The immigrant students establish a clear link among the linguistic uses of the autochthonous languages. Catalan is the language for school and academic use whereas Spanish is the language of the street and of socialization. The Catalan language is perceived as the language of the school, the one required for academic achievement, but it has no value in the socialization area. Gabancho (2007) describes the different identities in Catalonia and talks about a type of teenager that is more frequent in cities

than in towns, and they are usually the sons and daughters of the Spanish immigrants who arrived in Catalonia after the civil war. This type of identity is characterised by the lack of Catalan knowledge and everything related to the Catalan culture; however, they were born in Catalonia. Most of these types of people have no university degrees because they aim to work and have a car and a big television, etc. They usually live in the same places that their parents lived in when they arrived in Catalonia – the colonies they created – and sometimes they are people of low social status. It may be for these reasons the immigrants find it easier to relate to these types of identities, because of the social status and because once they also emigrated. These new relationships make the Spanish language become the language of socialization on the streets and in big cities.

According to the data obtained from *Idescat,* Catalonia is now a multilingual community with speakers of different languages and people with different identities but with Catalan as a minority language and Spanish as a language with an increasing amount of speakers. Some studies, such as Junyent (1998), emphasise the tendency towards the extinction of Catalan because on the streets and in informal situations there is a tendency to adopt a unique language and to stop using minority languages, however in theoretical fields there is a will to maintain the minority languages. Immigrants can play an important role in favour of Catalan because they have contributed to the fast increase in the country's population, and if they learn and speak Catalan, it is less likely that it will be lost.

4.2   The research subjects and the study

I will introduce at this point the two teachers that took part in the study and the reception classrooms I visited. Both of the reception classrooms were in Lleida province, one in Lleida city and the other in Mollerussa. The city of Lleida, the capital of the Segrià region, had 127.314 inhabitants in the year 2007. Mollerussa is the capital of the Pla d'Urgell and in the year 2007 it had a population of 13.086 inhabitants. Idescat shows us that the two towns have seen an increase of their populations in the period 1991-2001. The following tables show the increase of the population in Lleida and in Mollerussa.

Population growth in Mollerussa 1996-2001

year	births	deaths	Natural growth	Migratory balance	Total growth
2001	618	447	171	433	604

Table 7: Population growth in Mollerussa 1996-2001. Idescat

Population growth in Lleida 1996-2001					
Year	Births	Deaths	Natural growth	Migratory balance	Total growth
2001	6240	5543	697	-533	164

Table 8: Population growth in Lleida 1996-2001

The general and natural tendency of the two cities is to grow. However, in the year 2001 the migratory balance in Lleida did not help to increase total growth. This was not the case in Mollerussa, where the total growth represents twice the natural growth thanks to the migratory balance. In the year 2006 there were 3.839 immigrants in Lleida, most of them from Europe, Africa and America, and in Mollerussa there were 568 immigrants, three of them from Europe and the others from unknown origins.

continent of origin of immigrants in Lleida 2006							
Rest of EU	Rest of Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Oceania	unknown	Total
153	1092	1199	1007	161	1	226	3839

Table 9: Continent of origin of immigrants in Lleida 2006. Idescat

continent of origin of immigrants in Mollerussa 2006							
Rest of EU	Rest of Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Oceania	unknown	Total
0	3	0	0	0	0	565	568

Table 10: Continent of origin of immigrants in Mollerussa 1006. Idescat

I visited two high schools in Lleida and Mollerussa because I wanted to interview two reception classroom teachers with different profiles. The teacher in Lleida was a teacher of Catalan with a Catalan philology academic background and the teacher in Mollerussa

was a teacher of English with teaching and English philology academic backgrounds. Both teachers are reception classroom teachers because they were offered this job and they accepted for personal reasons, one of these reasons being that they were offered a post near their homes, so the teacher in Lleida lives in Lleida and the teacher in Mollerussa lives in Mollerussa.

The two teachers I interviewed were women in their thirties and had previous teaching experience in high schools in Catalonia. They started to work in a reception classroom three years ago, but before that they had never taught in a reception classroom. Both of them were the reception classroom tutors during the school year 2007/08. For Maria (the teacher in Lleida) working in a reception classroom was her first contact with cultural diversity and for Laia (the teacher in Mollerussa), the reception classroom was her second contact because she had worked with the students who went on a TAE (*Taller d'Adaptació Escolar*, School Adaptation Workshop in English), the reception classroom precedent in Mollerussa the year before she started as the tutor of the reception classroom.

I decided to interview these two teachers because they were tutors of a reception classroom during the school year 07/08. I contacted Maria through another teacher of English who I knew and she accepted in the moment. I was interested in Laia because she is a teacher of English and she is tutor of the reception classroom. Finding Laia was a little bit more difficult than finding Maria, because there were only two teachers of English in the Lleida province who were tutors of a reception classroom during the school year 07/08.

The interview with Maria took one hour and a half and the interview with Laia took one hour. We conducted the interviews in special rooms where nobody interrupted us and there was no noise. During the interview we talked about the reception classroom, its function and the teacher's work and organizational parameters; we also talked about strategies and the two teachers explained some anecdotes to me. It was not my first open interview but I hoped that everything went well, because, although I had talked to the teachers by phone before, we did not know each other.

Although the situational context is not exactly the same because Lleida is bigger than Mollerussa, the reception classrooms were similar in the number of students. The students in the reception classrooms were from ages thirteen to sixteen, and they were mostly from Romania in Mollerussa, and from Romania, Africa and China in Lleida. The students in Lleida did not know that I was going to go and see their classes that day, but the students in Mollerussa were made aware of my daily-presence before I arrived.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter contains an analysis of the data listed above, using the SPEAKING model as the analytical method for the observation part and the CDA analytical method for the interviews. The two analyses address the following research question: *there is no specific profile for teaching Catalan as a second language in reception classrooms and so there are teachers with different profiles teaching the autochthonous language to immigrant students. Can a Catalan teacher with a professional profile of Catalan teaching and a Catalan teacher with a professional profile of English teaching have similar or different points of view in the task of teaching Catalan as a second language to immigrant students? How can these differences affect or help the student's Catalan learning process?*

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part contains the analysis of the observation. There is the observation of two reception classrooms observed on two different days. The second part, which is the analysis of the interviews, is divided into three sections according to the CDA. The first is the analysis of utterances and text, the second is the analysis of the interview as a type of discursive practice and the third is the analysis of the interview as type of social practice.

The first section of the chapter is based on the observation of two lessons in two reception classrooms of two high schools. The analysis of the observation part is to complement the analysis of the interviews, giving a more real and general context to the analysis of the teacher's tasks. This observation analysis is also based on an observation report that I wrote after visiting the lessons and where I wrote down some notes before and after the observation.

The analysis of the interviews is based on the complete transcription of each of them. They have been transcribed according to codes of transcription. These codes have been adapted from Gumperz, et al (1979). The interview transcriptions go with line-numbers in order to facilitate the location of particular segments. Appendix 1 includes a more extended version of the different extracts quoted in the analysis.

5.1 Speaking method

Following Gumperz (1979) and Fairclough (1992), I conceive the reception classroom as a speech community with its own particular repertoire of speech events, which can be described through the SPEAKING method introduced by Hymes (1974), in which every letter represents a concept to analyze: setting, participants, ends, act sequence, key, instruments, norms of interaction and interpretation, and genre. Lessons in the reception classroom are one of the speech events in the ordinary life of Catalan high schools in which language and cultural diversity are more evident. Nevertheless, what is interesting about this particular speech event is to see how the teachers teach a Catalan lesson to immigrant students, taking into consideration their different professional backgrounds, and how the student's attitude and behavior are in that class.

I analyze two Catalan lessons in a reception classroom in two different high schools. One is in Lleida and another in a mid-size town in the Lleida province. I am going to refer to the first one as Maria's classroom and to the second as Laia's classroom. Each high school has its own reception classroom with a tutor, who is the principal person responsible, one or two more teachers who also teach there, and the immigrant students who need to learn Catalan are the pupils who attend the lessons. In reception classroom A there were only three students the day I observed the class, whereas in reception classroom B there were six students. The number of students in a reception classroom depends on the number of newcomers who have arrived recently in the city. The timetable of the reception classroom is very flexible because it must combine the timetable of the more social subjects of the ordinary classroom with Catalan learning in the reception classroom. It is for this reason that the number of students attending a Catalan lesson in a reception classroom is not always the same. I visited each reception classroom for one hour, the equivalent to one lesson. In Maria's case, I realized the interview before the visit, and in Laia's case I realized the interview after the observation of the lessons. For the following analysis I am going to use the data obtained from the observation and the data obtained from the interviews with the teachers.

5.1.1 Setting

The two lessons occur during the morning. Maria's lesson takes place in Lleida before playground time, and Laia's lesson is after playground time. Both classrooms are only used for reception classroom lessons and they have a lot of posters on the walls, papers with information about asking things in Catalan, the Catalan alphabet, the Catalan names of things in the class, timetables, maps of Catalonia, Spain and Europe, and papers with birds and vegetables and their Catalan names. The students' tables in Maria's classroom are distributed in lines and the students' tables in Laia's classroom are distributed in circles, which gave me the impression that they work together more than in Maria's classroom. Maria's table was clean and she had a shelf with all the material well organized whereas Laia's table was full of papers, organized with folders. My first impression was that Maria was an organized teacher and Laia was untidy. However, during the lesson Laia took papers from the table and handed them out to the students, whereas Maria did not hand out anything, which made me think that she had not prepared the class.

During the lessons the teachers were always in front of the class, they were on foot and wrote things on the blackboard. Maria sometimes sat on one of the student's tables which created a very informal environment; Laia was the entire time on foot. She was serious and she corrected some exercises with the students, which created a more formal environment. In both cases, the students were in silence and they only answered the teacher's questions; in Laia's class they talked to each other, but in Maria's class they said nothing to each other. This made me think that Laia's pupils were friends and felt more comfortable talking in the class to each other, whereas Maria's pupils did not feel so comfortable and they were shy and did not seem to be friends. Maybe this was because Maria's students had been in Catalonia for less time.

From a psychological point of view it is interesting to comment on the difference between the two reception classroom teachers' attitudes in front of the students and the ordinary classroom teachers' attitudes. The teachers in the reception classroom were very kind to the students and they created a very comfortable environment without showing their power as teachers. I was able to notice this because Maria touched a pupil's face in an affectionate conversation and Laia asked a girl if she was well because she put her hand on her head several times. This type of attention is not

common in ordinary classrooms in high schools. In the interviews the two teachers explained that their attention to the reception classroom students is greater because they need it.

5.1.2   Participants: teachers and pupils

The two events are two Catalan lessons. Teachers teach their mother tongue to teenagers who have another mother tongue and most of them have different mother tongues. The two teachers teach Catalan as a second language although it is not their specialization, because the two high schools have seen an increasing number of new students who do not speak the Catalan language and have to learn the language in order to understand the common subjects. At a more personal level the two teachers teach Catalan in a reception classroom because they had jobs in other cities that are further from their houses and they were offered this job position nearer and accepted. This fact makes me think that in the beginning at least their motivation was low as they did not choose this job because they liked it. However in the interviews the teachers assured me that although at the beginning they were not really convinced of being reception classroom teachers, after three years they think it is a very gratifying job.

In the event there are the students, the teacher and myself. In Laia's class the teacher is the leader and the students are the audience, so the teacher is the one who controls the communicative event for the whole hour. Thus, the teacher is the authority figure in the class. In a reception classroom this attitude is frequent because the students do not know the language very well and they may be not used to the school system. I could see this because in Maria's class there was an Arabic boy who did not seem to be in the class during the lesson and Maria explained to me that he only could understand a few Catalan words. Laia explained to me that she had a girl who arrived and had never been in a school, so she first had to get used to the norms of the school. The teacher's functions in the reception classroom are the same as those that teachers have in ordinary lessons, which are to organize the class activities, teach the curricula they create for the students and help them if they have any problems. The two teachers explained this to me in the interviews. However, the students in the reception classroom have special needs, for example, during the observation lesson in Laia's class, one of the students had stomach-ache and she did not know how to tell the teacher, so she only put her arms above her head and it was the teacher who asked the student if she had a problem, and

after some questions the teacher was able to understand that the girl had stomachache and wanted to go home.

The students behaved as I expected; they sat down, had a pen and a notebook and listened, did the exercises and participated in the class activities, however there were always some students who said nothing because they still did not know the language. The teachers' behavior was also what I expected it to be. They helped the students, talked and explained the things they did not understand, so they were the leaders. I expected this behavior because it is usually the normal function of a class. There were three students in Maria's class, two students from Romania, one of them had recently arrived and understood nothing, and a boy from Morocco who could say and understand only a few words in Catalan. The Romanian boys were doing the second level of ESO and the boy from Morocco was in his fourth year. The Romanian boys talked more with the teacher because she was very interested in their country, so they felt more supported than the boy from Morocco. In Laia's class there were five students, four of them from Romania, and one from South America and although not all of them had the same level of Catalan, there was a quite high level in the class, because, as the teacher explained to me, most of them had arrived at the beginning of the course and for Romanians it is easy to learn Catalan because the languages are very similar.

5.1.3. Ends

From the point of view of the ends I find it important to distinguish between the general goals of the teachers and the students and the goals of the two lessons observed. The general goal for the teachers is that students learn the Catalan they need as fast as possible in order to pass the students to the ordinary classrooms, because this is what the teacher explained to me in the interviews. The Education Department's aim is to integrate the students into Catalan society through the reception classrooms, and allow the newcomers to have the same conditions as the other students. Regarding what the teachers says in the interviews, the students' main goals in general are to understand the teachers, the subjects, communicate with other students and pass the exams.

The specific goal of the lesson in Maria's class was that the students introduced themselves to me, situate their country on a map and explain things about their country and their culture. With that activity the teacher let the students know about the Catalan

culture, because when they explained something about their culture, she explained our equivalent in Catalonia to them. Therefore, in that case the teacher prepared a special activity due to my presence in the class. In Laia's class she did not prepare any special activities, and there were two goals in that class: to finish correcting a series of exercises about the syllables and learning how to write a letter in Catalan. They had to write a real letter to a student from another reception classroom in another high school. Correcting these letters would become the main activity for the next class, as the teacher said. So Laia did not pay attention to my presence in the class and she went on doing their programmed activities, whereas Maria did a special class because I was there.

5.1.4   Act sequence

In the two lessons the teachers guided the activities and the turns in the speech during the class. The students never took the initiative, because they probably did not have a good command of the language or because the teacher did not give an incentive to do so. From my point of view I think that in Maria's class the students did not participate because they were shy to talk in a language they did not know as I was there and they had to explain to me, someone they did not know, whereas in Laia's class the teacher did not give them an incentive because her class was more structured. Therefore, in Maria's classroom it was the teacher who asked the students questions and made them talk, and in Laia's classroom, as they were correcting an exercise, the teacher asked all the pupils questions in order to answer the exercises.

The teachers in both classrooms spoke Catalan. Maria did not use special words or easier words in order to make them understand better. I noticed this because the students made long sentences and then the teacher asked the questions in other words. Since the teachers also wanted to know if the students understood well what she said, they often used backchannels requests such as *m'enteneu?* (do you understand me?), *ha quedat clar?* (Is that clear?) . The students in Laia's class answered these questions with *si (*yes) but the student's in Maria's class did not answer these questions. I attribute this difference to the task they were doing; in Maria's class the activity involved talking in general about a topic (their countries and our countries) so what the students had to understand was more general and maybe they could only understand some of the things the teacher had said but not all of them, so they did not answer the teacher because they were not certain they totally understood. In Laia's class the type

of activity was different, they were correcting exercises and what the students had to understand was more specific, such as do you understand why *taula* (table) has two syllables? And the students felt more certain they understood the question and the answer and they openly agreed.

5.1.5 Key

The two lessons developed in a very comfortable atmosphere. Maria was very friendly with the students and they were also open and happy. She was very open and asked the students questions showing a big smile and trying to cheer them up. I think she did it because in the class there were only three students and they did not say anything if the teacher did not ask them. Therefore she wanted to create an open environment and wanted to motivate the students to talk. In Laia's class there were more students and it was easier for the teacher to create a collaborative environment because of the type of activity she was doing. She tried to establish a working environment, so the class seemed a little more serious than Maria's class. I think the teacher was a little more serious too because she wanted to finish her plans for the class and she wanted the students to listen to her and be controlled but collaborative too.

5.1.6 Instruments

In Maria's class all the activity was oral and there was only a map hanging on the blackboard to which the teacher and the students referred. In one case the teacher wrote a word in Catalan on the blackboard because she thought the students had never heard it and they did not understand her, the word was *alemany* (german) because we were talking about the different languages in Europe. In Laia's class the students had the exercises on a piece of paper in front of them and they wrote and corrected their answers but one student was also at the blackboard. He wrote the answers on it and the teacher corrected his answer. The instructions and corrections given by the teacher were oral and written on the blackboard and in the second part the teacher's instructions were oral and the sample letter was written on a big sheet that was hanging on the blackboard.

The students in the class spoke at least two languages. All of the students used Catalan to talk to the teacher, but two boys who sat together, one from Romania and the other from South America spoke Spanish when they talked to each other. There were also

two girls who sat separately and one of them had stomachache, so they said nothing during the entire lesson. Another one of the students could speak Catalan, Spanish and English quite well and his mother tongue was Romanian; however he always spoke in Catalan to the teacher, to me and to the other students. The Catalan dialect the teacher spoke was the western one because we were in the province of Lleida and so the students also talked occidental Catalan because it is the Catalan they learn and hear. I noticed this because they say the neutral /a/ at the end of the words as if it was an open /Ɛ/ and they used the *lo* article instead of the *el* a characteristic of the standard Catalan.

5.1.7   Norms of interaction and interpretation

The teachers are the ones who control the class and the students; they decide the activities the students have to do or do not have to do. The teachers can interrupt a student when he is talking, writing, reading or doing whatever, whereas the students cannot do things without asking the teacher beforehand. In Maria's class there was no explicit fact of the teacher's power during the oral activity but it was the teacher who said to the students that they could enter the class or go out and where to sit. In Laia's lesson there were some examples that let us see that the teachers control the rules and have the power in the class. One of these examples is that the South American boy and his partner were speaking when the teacher and the other students were correcting an exercise and the teacher asked them twice to stop talking. As they did not stop the teacher said it again a little bit louder and she threatened them with extra exercises. At this threat they stopped talking. Another example is that when the teacher asked something and the students answered at the same time she asked them to raise their hand before talking and the students did it.

There are other implicit norms in the daily routine. One of these rules is that the students are always sitting on their chair, they never stand up or walk in the class, they are silent and quiet. These norms are implicit in the class but all the students know these rules and how to behave in a class. They also know that they have to take the material to class and they cannot borrow them from their partners. In some cases in the reception classrooms there are students who have never been schooled. In those cases it

is necessary to explain to them and make explicit the norms of the student and the roles of the participants in class.

5.1.8   Genre

The Genre is the component that refers to the ways of speaking recognized by the speech community. I can distinguish three communicative events which are common in the two classes: when the students arrive to class, the class, and when the students leave class when it finishes. When the students arrived in Maria's and Laia's classes, they said hello to the teacher in Catalan, they sat down in their places and took out their material. In both lessons, they started introducing me to the pupils. In Laia's classroom there are different speech acts. The first starts when the teacher asks the students to correct the exercises and the students answer the teacher's questions. Here they only produce a very short dialogue because the teacher only asks questions like the following:

TEA: How many syllables does the word *armari* have?

STU: three

TEA: ok

And Laia repeated this type of question during half of the class, which was the time they needed to correct the full exercise. The speech event in the second part of Laia's class was a teacher's explanation about how to write a letter in Catalan. The students only listened. At the end of the explanation, the teacher started another short dialogue in which she asked the students about their doubts. After this activity the bell rang and the students said goodbye to the teacher and to me.

In Maria's class, after the students entered, the teacher explained who I was and what I was doing there. The students did not make any comment. During that lesson the teacher created a dialogue; however the teacher cut it to give explanations about some concrete aspects. Afterwards the teacher started a dialogue with the students and with a map to illustrate their references to the countries, which was the topic of the dialogue. The teacher's dialogue with the students was also short because the students did not make long sentences, however the teacher's dialogue with me was longer. Before the ending of the class, the teacher let the students talk to each other and we went to have a look at the materials she had in the reception classroom. When the class finished we said goodbye to each other and we left the class.

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With these two observation tasks and the analysis through the SPEAKING model I can conclude that in the two reception classrooms the teachers tried to create a comfortable environment in the class, however their way of teaching was different. Laia seemed disorganized because she had a lot of papers on the table but she did an organized lesson and Maria had all her material well organized but she did a messier lesson. The two teachers spoke in Catalan the whole hour with the students. Although their first motivation to teach in a reception classroom was not the diversity and the teaching of Catalan as a second language, they agreed that this job is very gratifying, so now they are motivated for the job. The two classes were completely different. Thus, the teachers prepared very different activities; one of them worked on oral comprehension and the other worked on specific items of the language, such as the syllabic separation or the norms to write a formal letter. Although they talked about the usefulness of computers in the interviews, during the two classrooms I visited they did not use them. They limited themselves to using the blackboard, a map or papers. The norms in the class were the same, the two teachers were the ones who controlled the class and decided the norms. With all these differences I can see that Laia, the teacher of Catalan with an English professional profile is more strict than Maria because she did a more organized classroom and I noticed that she had prepared her lesson, whereas with Maria I had the feeling that she had prepared nothing, because the oral exercise she did was very spontaneous and informal. However, the two teachers took the class in Catalan and made the students talk and listen in Catalan.

5.2   Critical Discourse Analysis

In this part of the analysis I am going to consider language as a social practice, as a way in which people represent the world. The CDA is the analytical method used for the analysis of the transcribed interviews based on Fairclough (1989, 1992) as I have explained in the methodological part. Fairclough suggests a discourse study as the result of three types of practice: social, discursive and textual. In social practice I aim to discover the nature of the interviews as a social practice, I want to see how the discourse is shaped by different social structures. In the discursive practice I aim to see how the interviewers represent themselves through the discourse. In the discursive practice we see the discourse as something which is produced, circulated, distributed and consumed

in society. Fairclough sees these processes largely in terms of the circulation of concrete linguistic objects such as specific texts or text-types that are produced, circulated, consumed, and so forth. The third dimension is discourse as text. In this dimension we find the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse, which are vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. In the textual practice I aim to see how ideas are represented by utterances and sentences and what words the teachers use to refer to specific concepts.

From this analysis of the interviews I am going to look at the differences and the similarities of the two teachers. I will pay special attention to their point of view of the reception classroom and their task in it, taking into account their different professional backgrounds. Thus, through this analytical method I can go into the interviewed teacher's discourse and create a personal representation of how they see the reception classroom. I aim to discover the way they represent their reality based on the concepts described above.

In the social practice analysis of the interviews I will look at how the two teachers create their discourse when they are being interviewed and how they represent their ideologies as reception classroom teachers, taking into account their different professional backgrounds. In the discursive practice analysis of the interviews I want to see the different texts they refer to during the interview and how their references contribute to their world representation and to their teaching tasks. In the third analytical category, textual practice, I am going to see how they see their task as reception classroom teachers through the words and the verbs they use. I am also going to analyze the organization of the interactions during the interviews in order to see how the teachers contribute to the text.

Through the analytical categories I use for the analysis of the interviews I can go into the two interviewed teachers' discourses and create a personal representation of how they see the reception classroom. The analytical categories I use are the following:

DIMENSION	ANALITICAL CATEGORIES
	Social matrix of discourse (social relationships and interview structures)

Social practice	**Ideological and political effects of discourse** (social structure representation and the teacher's objectives)
Discursive practice	**Coherence** (Look into the interpretative implications of the intertextual and interdiscursive properties of the discourse and the interviewee's world representation)
	Intertextuality (Specify what other texts are drawn upon in the constitution of the text being analysed and how.)
Textual practice	**Modality** (Determine patterns in the text in the degree of affinity expressed with propositions through modality)
	Interactional Control (Describe larger-scale organizational properties of interactions)
	Vocabulary (key words, metaphors and positive or negative connotations)

Table 11: Analitical Categories

5.2.1 Social practice

In this part of the analysis I aim to characterize the type of social practice of the interview. I shall analyze the interview in relation to ideology and power. In the first subsection I will analyze the social matrix of the discourse through the interviewee's social structure and in the second subsection I am going to analyze the political effects and ideologies that the interviewees show in the discourse.

5.2.1.1 Social matrix of the discourse

With regards to power, I want to see who has the power in our interview. I aim to see if they feel intimidated by my questions or not. If not, I will take this to mean that they know a lot about the subjects that I ask them. I also want to discover how they represent themselves socially in front of their colleagues, the school and the newly-arrived students. I want to see if the reception classroom teachers are integrated into the school system or if their work is seen as a separate entity. With these categories I am going to be able to distinguish which of the teachers feels more comfortable talking about their job and what their position in the school is and in relation to the other teachers as reception classroom teachers. The following aspects are those that I am going to analyze in this part:

- Power relationship between the interviewees and the interviewer

- Power relationship between the teachers and the interviewees from the interviewees' point of view.

- Power relationship between the school and the interviewees from the interviewees' point of view.
- Power relationship between the students and the interviewees from the interviewees' point of view.

In principle, the type of interview analyzed is characterized by the interviewee's superiority in front of the interviewer. The reasons for this social situation are that the interviewer is younger than the interviewee, the interviewer is studying the interviewee's environment and the interviewer wants some information from the interviewee. We can notice this situation in the interviews with the two teachers, but in the interview with Maria it is much more accentuated.

> (1)
>
> *LAU: si, si perquè_ a_ a si_ si no recordo malament/ la_ la nor_ bueno el pla*
> *LIC/   bueno me l'he hagut de **llegir**/_*
> ***MAR: és que facin català/ i que facin*** (142)

In the example above Maria does not listen to the interviewer, who wants to add a comment. Maria cuts the interviewer short and finishes the sentences herself in order to make clear that she knows the norms. Another case like this is the following example where the interviewer has to stop talking because the interviewee does not listen to her and starts talking:

> (2)
>
> *MAR: […]al començament una mica atabalada/*
> ***LAU: i =bueno com tu segur que xxx=_***
> ***MAR: i això fa tres anys/ i bueno amb tres anys jo crec que n'he après bastant/***
> ***a tractar amb els alumnes/ a tenir empatia amb ells/ a.. sobreviure situacions***
> ***d'organització i gestió que no t'hi pots_ no et podies haver imaginat abans/***
> (90)

In the interview with Laia, the power is not showed as clearly as with Maria. However, in the following example she worries about what she is saying because she thinks she is not answering my previous question and she is talking too much. Thus, Laia tries to hand the power to the interviewer but in the following turn she regrets it and thinks that selecting information is the interviewer's job.

(3)

*LAI: […] de reforçar/ bueno/ una mica de tot eh/ **tu ves-me preguntant coses
que a lo millor vaig marxant jo eh/***

LAU: no tranquila ja..

*LAI: **bueno tu ja agafaràs lo que t'interessi\ de totes maneres eh/** (481)*

In example number 3 we can also see that the interviewer gives power to the interviewees in order to be polite to them and tells Laia not to worry about her answers. In the following example Laia and the interviewer lose their place in the text and together they try to find out what they were talking about, so in this example we can see that in the interview with Laia the power was more equally distributed than in the interview with Maria.

(4)

*LAI:[…]t'ho explico/ doncs m.. ah vale/ lo que t'estava dient era això de que..
m'he perdut ara què estavem dient/*

*LAU: **no t'ho sé dir***

*LAI: **estavem dient em anat tant cap allà que ara mos hem perdut**- (602)*

In the interviews we can also analyze the interviewee's power relationships with regard to the teachers who are working with them. In Maria's case I can see that she is the one who has the power because she uses verbs such as 'I offered her'

(5)

*MAR: i aleshores te queden els professors que són per l'aula d'acollida/ ho fa
ella\ i tu has de moure't a partir d'allò que et dóna/ i has de coordinar amb la
gent_ amb.. els professors/ per exemple el que m'has dit de la Carme\ doncs
quan la Carme va entrar a l'aula d'acollida/ **jo li vaig oferir doncs una dualitat/
li vaig oferir doncs o fer anglès una hora**/ que és poca cosa/ ja se sap/*

Laia's power relationship with the other teachers is equal, because she always talks using the subject *we* (e.g. we thought, we did), so she includes her colleagues in all the decisions she explains that they have to make. Whereas Laia always uses the first pronoun to refer to the decisions that she has to take, as we see in the example number 5.

(6)

*LAI: [...]escriure/ comença a aprendre/ i aprendre i aprendre/ llavors **li fem repetir** quart/ perquè després de tercer/ va fer quart/ després l'avaulació/ am.. la repetició d'aqusts alumnes és una cosa que decideix el centre/ so **volem**/ que es quedi perquè pensem que aprofitarà més/ o quedar-se un any més al grup_ al curs que està fent en aquell moment/ és poc adequat/ això no serviria\ i la passem- o sigui no és tan/ les notes en si/ sinó lo nivell xx xx que **pensem nosaltres** que ha de aprendre o no ha d'aprendre vale/ llavors **nosaltres la passem a quart/ la fiquem** a quart/ amb una classe. bueno/[...]*(116)*

Maria does not explicitly show her power when she talks about the school. She accepts that she has to ask for things but, at the same time, she manifests power because she says that when she asks for something they say she does not have to ask it. So she gives me the feeling that she is the one who controls her reception classroom and although she should ask the boards of the center to do special things, they let her do everything.

(7)

*MAR: no si- és veritat/ **i no tinc cap mena d'inferència- quan consulto una cosa em diuen/ perquè m'ho vens a preguntar**/ si sas que et diré que si/ || però és allò que dius no/ **pues aquest respecte que em tens tu per mi jo també el vull tenir per tu/ m'entens**/ i quan vam fer lo_ lo_ això/[...]*(699)*

In Laia's interview I can see that she represents one more of the teachers in the center. They decide together and they even deal the reception classroom points together. She often starts sentences with "the center..." and gives power to it. We can see this in the following example:

(8)

*LAI: [...]am.. **la repetició d'aquests alumnes és una cosa que decideix el centre/ si volem/ que es quedi perquè pensem que aprofitarà més**/ o quedar-se un any més al grup_ al curs que està fent en aquell moment/ és poc adequat/ això no serviria\ i la passem- o sigui no és tan/ les notes en si/ sinó lo nivell xx **xx que pensem nosaltres que ha de aprendre o no ha d'aprendre vale/ llavors nosaltres la passem a quart/ la fiquem a quart/ amb una classe** [...]*(150)*

(9)

*LAI: i si em toca anar a quart pues a quart d'ESO/ **lo que em fa anar la direcció**/ xxx xxx llavoresns/* (556)

With regards to power relationships with the students, on the one hand, Maria presents herself as the one who controls the class. She always uses phrases like these: 'I prepare for them, I decide for them, because I know the students and I know what they need'. On the other hand, Laia does not present herself as the one who controls the class but she includes herself in the speech at the same level of the students. In this sense she uses sentences like 'when there were fewer of us in the class' which means when there were fewer students in the class. With this way of expression she sees herself as one more member of the class.

The following graph represents the distribution of power of the two teachers. The direction of the arrows marks who has power over whom. Maria shows power in her relationship with the students because she controls the classroom situation, whereas Laia creates an atmosphere of companionship in the class. Maria's relationship with the teachers is also one of power whereas Laia establishes an equal power relationship with the teachers. During the interview, Maria represents an equal relationship with the school whereas Laia clarifies that the school has the power. Finally, the two teachers show power in front the interviewer because they are the ones who talk more and they have the information the interviewer wants to know.
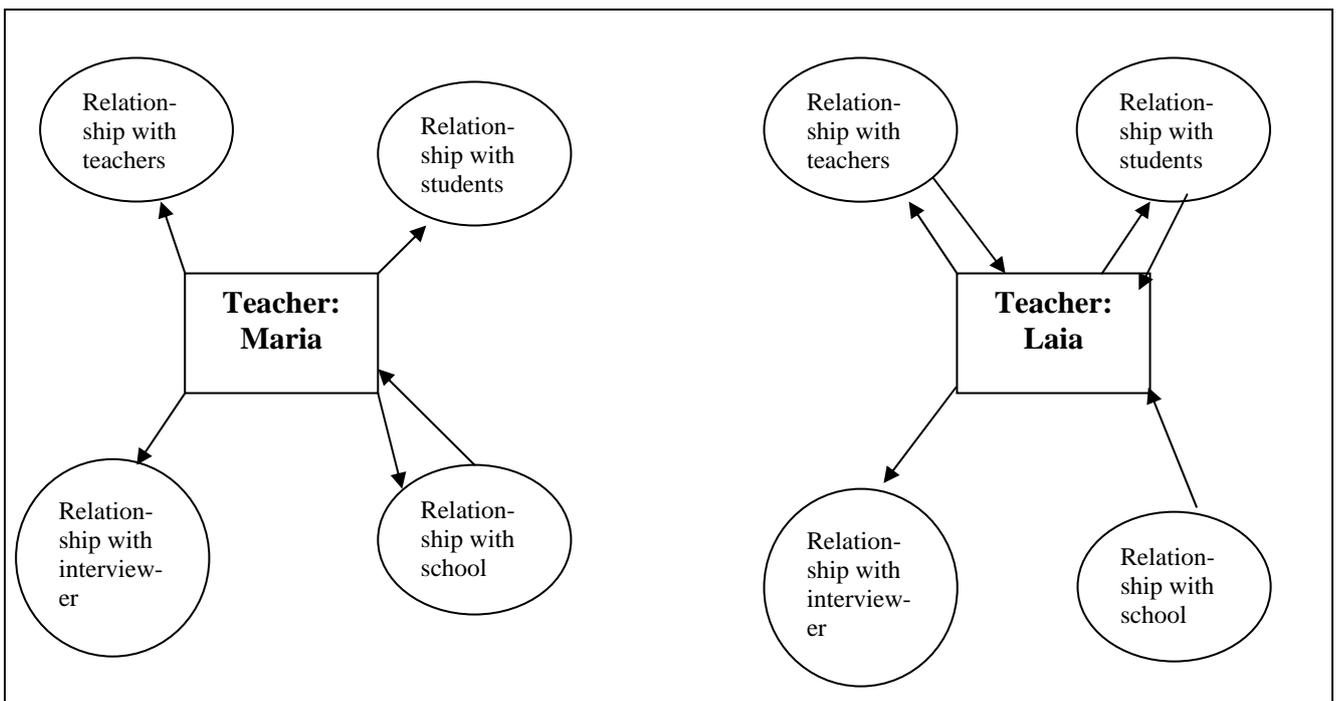
Graph 2: Social Matrix of discourse

From the point of view of power, the two teachers manifest it differently. Maria shows more power in her social relationships than Laia. Maria knows she has the information when she is being interviewed whereas Laia does not want to manifest any explicit power in the interaction with the interviewer. In their relationship with the center both of them know that they do not have any power, however Maria asks the center to do things in order to have autonomy, and Laia works together with the center. They act this way depending on their personalities. I noticed in Maria's discourse that she represents herself as the one who controls the reception classroom. I attribute this fact to her professional teaching profile, because in secondary schools teachers work in an independent way. Laia has a primary education degree and worked as a primary teacher. In primary education companionship is very important. It is for that reason that Laia represents herself as one of the members of the school and she takes her colleagues into account in the decision making tasks.

5.2.1.2 Ideological and political effects of discourse

In this subsection I am going to analyze how the teachers see the reception classroom and what they think is relevant to being a reception classroom teacher from what they said in the interview. I am also going to pay attention to their point of view about the newcomers and their needs when they arrive in the school. As the two teachers have different professional backgrounds, I want to discover what strategies they use when a new student arrives in order to make themselves understood, and finally I am going to observe their opinions about the materials they use and that they are able to obtain.

The two teachers interviewed have different profiles. Maria is a teacher of Catalan and Laia is a teacher of English, so we have two different backgrounds that may lead us to think that they are going to personify two different teaching ideologies in the reception classroom. To begin with, neither of the teachers wanted to be a reception classroom teacher. They became reception classroom teachers because it represented an opportunity to work in a school nearer their homes. For Maria, it is her third year working in the reception classroom, and for Laia it is her fourth. Both of them explain that at the beginning they found it very difficult to teach in the reception classroom because they did not have any specific background and it was very difficult for them to

find material. Thus, the teachers do not create a view of themselves as teachers who are motivated to work in a reception classroom. However, the two teachers reflect on how much they have learnt during these years. The following examples enable us to see this evolution:

(10)

*LAI: **però clar/ ara penso que hi estic ficada/ i ara començo a veure una mica el què**/ i penso bueno/ quan ho voldre dixar/ o quan diré prou/ prou- ademés ara tinc una plaça aquí que és molt a prop/ potser anar a fer això/ a Cervera\ no hi aniria/ potser preferiria anar més a Montblanc però és que clar jo visc aquí a la vora/ sas/ vull dir me va tot molt bé\ (199)*

(11)

*MAR: ni una sola queixa- hi ha hagut algun professor/ que no_ que no m'ha_ no en el present/ en el passat/ **potser també era més novata jo**/ [riures] no sé perquè/ eh/[…](269)*

(12)

*LAI: […]clar/ **és un altre món eh/ vull dir que/ per això totes aquestes coses que xxx xxx però que una cosa te fa engrescar l'altre/ i te fa descobrir una cosa nova/**(351)*

The first days in the classroom are very difficult for newcomers and also for the teachers because they do not know the student's language. The teachers know that the students have to make a great effort to learn Catalan and they are going to help them. But Laia knows that it is clearly the students who have to make the effort. However, Maria seems happy to learn their languages. Although both teachers say they learn a lot with this job, Maria seems to be more interested in learning the student's language than Laia, who, at the same time, feels sorry because as she is not teaching English and feels that she forgets it.

(13)

*LAI: **tampoc la puc parlar/ perquè és que el meu objectiu no és parlar la seva llengua** (945)*

(14)

LAU: ja/ tens una mica l'anyorança de l'anglès/ però..

*LAI: **no la tinc molt l'anyorança de l'anglès- l'anyorança i la pèrdua**/ perquè clar/ quan és una cosa xxx que quan no la fas/ és_ és deixes de fer però bueno/ llavors ho completo amb formació a fora del centre no/* (167)

Related to what the teachers do to understand the students and make the students understand them, Laia says she uses body language and flashcards with a lot of illustrations and Maria also talks about communicative strategies to connect with the students. Laia uses flashcards because she knows this activity from her previous English teaching lessons.

(15)

*LAI: **molt expressiva/ tens moltes imatges/ vale/ les coses que tens amb imatges/ intento sempre tenir flashcards de tot/ vale/ o sigui tindre els petits cartonets que il·lustrin*** (952)

(16)

*MAR: **has de buscar estratègies comunicatives per connectar amb la persona**/ […] estic començant a entendre el romanès/* (475)

Maria is also interested in teaching Catalan culture, whereas Laia does not talk about Catalan culture in the interview and she talks about their culture. In this part I understand that Maria wants to help the newcomers to learn the Catalan culture whereas Laia is taking into account that the students have their own culture. Maria also says that some books are very important because they teach Catalan culture:

(17)

*GEM: **i ells porten una altra llengua i una altra cultura**/ és que ells no comencen de zero/*(566)

(18)

*MAR: m'hi entrava un noi d'educació física i jo no sabia què fer-li fer/ llavors els vaig comentar/ **si sabia alguna cosa de dansa catalana** […] **quan vé Nadal/ l'element de cultura catalana m'entens**/ és més anar-ho col·locant a la situació de cultura catalana /[…] l'any passat entrava un professor de socials/ **que feia una.. hora a la setmana i feia cultura catalana**\[…]*(988)

(19)

*MAR: - moltes vegades **hi ha coses interessants en aquests llibres/ perquè tracten l'entorn i la cultura d'aquí- i això també és molt important** / […]*(731)

It is interesting to see that Maria emphasizes the idea that a reception classroom teacher needs to have a lot of empathy and sensitivity and Laia does not mention any of these attitudes. This is very important because the newly-arrived students need special attention at least at the beginning and during the migratory mourning. During this period the two teachers explain that they feel like a mother to the students because they explain all their feelings and problems to the teacher.

(20)

*MAR: […]/ és a dir **empatia/ molta sensibilitat**/ certa/ real/[…](767)*

(21)

*Lai:[…] **és bo a vegades que et parlin/ que et parlin de les coses/ de que estan malament**/ és bo que et diguin que no estan bé aquí/ **és bo que et diguin que a la classe** ja un_ vull dir/ jo com a tutora/ **moltes vegades doncs el que_ ts la meva funció ara_ ts/ o sigui d'una classe/ a vegades he de deixar de fer-la/ o he d'estar una estona/ per perquè al princpi sobretot/ els hi passen moltes cose**/ els hi passen moltes coses\ i ara que són més_ (767)*

(22)

*MAR: **enguany no faig gaire de mare perquè_ perquè realment faig més de professora amiga/ que de mare/ l'any passat** vaig tenir una nena que venia de Burkina Fasso/ amb un nivell molt elevat/ e.. molt maca/ i plorava com una xina- arribava a la nit a casa i plorava- xxx xxx llavors jo me l'assentava a la meua taula a.. ho passava molt malament\ llavors l'únic punt de referència que tenia era jo/ llavors aquesta sí que feia una mica de mama/ ho notes eh/ (757)*

Both teachers emphasize the flexibility of the reception classroom. They say that the timetables are very difficult to build because through the school year they can continue receiving newcomers and for this reason they have to organize classes with different levels. It not surprising that they have this feeling because the timetable organization in a high school is not the teacher's job and in the reception classroom they have to create a timetable for the students that lets the students go to the more sociable subjects in their class.

(23)

LAI:[…]fent horari no/ perquè clar/ representa que l'horari de l'aula d'acollida és un horari molt molt dificil de fer/ perque clar/ has de vigilar que lo que te

*deia/ **a les hores socialitzadores**/ a les hores d'educació física/ a l'hora de música/ a l'hora de tutoria/ no et vinguin/ han de marxar/ llavors ells no poden estar amb tu/* (263)

(24)

*MAR: em dius tu tens aquest material/ **i has de treballar amb això- monta els horaris del centre[..]***

(213)

There are some materials published to teach Catalan in the reception classroom, however the two teachers say that they prefer to create their own material. Maria says that the reason for this may be that when she started teaching Catalan in the reception classroom there was no material and now she is used to creating it and does not find exactly what she wants in any books. The two teachers promote different language skills. They mention them in different ways, Laia explains she teaches the language through specific corners, and Maria says that she works the language through comprehension, grammar and expression. The two teachers prepare self-learning activities for the students, which lets them work with other levels and, at the same time, the students can learn new vocabulary. Laia prepares the self-learning material with computers and Maria prepares special notebooks with the keys to the exercises and lets them self-correct their work.

(25)

*MAR: [...]amb tots els **items especificats de la llengüa/ ja sigui oral/ ja sigui escrita/ comprensió/ expressió/** amb una nota/ després valoració i aprofitament/_[...] i_ i_ comencen a fer una comprensió ràpida\ val/ fins i to..t/ **qüestions gramaticals/ lingüístiques/** e... cap_ ho copsen de seguida\ pero xiqueta\ quan he de corregir una redacció/ o m'han de parlar/ l'expressió\ que és l'esforç/ que és allà on piques tu cops de_[...]*(316)

(26)

LAI: [...]llavors com que jo havia estat a primària i havia treballat tot el tema de racons/ doncs també tenia moltes coses fets de racons i intentava que els alumnes treballéssin per racons sols/ [...]racó de la comprensió/[...](699)

The following table summarizes the teachers' aspects analyzed in this section:

		Maria	**Laia**
Social Matrix of discourse	Power relationship with the interviewer	She has the power	She has the power
	Power relationship with the teachers	She has the power	There is companionship
	Power relationship with the school	The school gives the power to her	The school has the power
	Power relationship with the students	She has the power	She refers to the class as a place with her and the students.
Ideological and political effects of discourse	The reception classroom	No motivation at the beginning. Now it is gratifying	No motivation at the beginning. Now it is gratifying
	The newcomer students	Empathy, sensitivity	Sensitivity
	Strategies to make themselves understand	She looks for communicative strategies	She is expressive, she uses flashcards and illustrates
	Materials they use	She creates her material She uses self-learning with notebooks	She creates her material She uses self-learning with computers

Table 12: Social practice categories

5.2.2 Discursive practice

In this part of the analysis, I aim to look into the interpretative implications of the intertextual and interdiscursive properties of the discourse. In the second part I am going to look at the intertextuality, that is, how the teachers subscribe to other texts and their implicit references to specific texts.

5.2.2.1 Coherence

Related to the teachers' coherence in their discourses I want to see the coherence between them and the Education Department because this is the entity that writes the norms for teachers. The Pla LIC is written by the Education Department and it is the document that has all the bases of the reception classroom. I am also going to see their coherence with intercultural discourse because as reception classroom teachers they are

intercultural individuals and have to work with interculturality. The last aspect I am going to analyze from the point of view of the coherence in their discourse is how they represent themselves as teachers of Catalan and English in order to see if they are coherent with their professional background. All these three aspects are going to give me a more detailed idea of the two teachers' characteristics.

The teachers are not used to be interviewed and it was the second time the researcher interviewed them; however, the interviews took place in a very relaxed atmosphere. The teachers talked about something they knew perfectly well and it may be for this reason that they did not hesitate or show doubt in any of the questions. As adult people who have specific responsibilities in their lives and their jobs they made coherent discourses. During the interviews the two teachers adopt a clear position in connection with the reception classroom. They agree that the reception classroom is the best solution for teaching Catalan to immigrants and their integration in the school and society. This stance can be seen because when they talk about the previous TAEs or the next reception centers, they explicitly say that the reception classroom is the best model for integration in high schools. With the examples 27 and 28 the two teachers show that they agree with the norms of the Education Department.

(27)

LAU: i la_ la_ la idea aquesta de_ la última cosa va/ i **què en penses dels nous centres educatius/ de..**

MAR: doncs precisament que es carregaran **uns dels punts forts de l'aula d'acollida\ que és el fet que estigui al centre, que ajuda a integrar molt més ràpid als alumnes-**(1262)

(28)

LAI [...]: i en pic va sortir la possibilitat de tenir una aula d'acollida la vam demanar/[...]

Maria, in some case proves that she knows well how the education system works and she shows her disagreement with some aspects of the reception classroom. She finds there to be a gap between the protocol of the Education Department and the reality in high schools. She would like to have more autonomy with the newcomers because she thinks the teacher is the one who can decide in what class the students should go. Laia

does not make any reference to the Education Department or their rules, so I can infer that she agrees with their methods.

(29)

MAR:[…] obviament un gran punt feble que tenim és que ens venen posats de nivell/ per l'ensenyament/ llavors clar/ si ensenyament et diu que ha d'estar matriculat a tal ha d'estar matriculat en tal/ i llavors clar/ és una comissió matriculadora que els posa/ e.. ho fan per_ suposo que perquè tenen els seus protocols/ els seus condicionants/ llavors clar has d'enviar un alumne que tu l'enviaries amb un segon d'ESO/ l'has d'enviar en un quart/ || o un alumne que m'acaba d'arribar ara/ que jo el posaria a tercer es treuria el curs/ s'acabaria el curs/ amb el compromís que el farien passar de curs/ i l'any passat faria quart/ i faria un quart amb cara i ulls/ captaria amb coses de tercer/ i aniria bé aquest nano/ […] aquest és el punt feble/ decalaix de_ de d'ensenyament/ dels seus propis sistemes educatius dels seus països/ tot això provoca un xoc/ […](1212)

In some cases Maria explicitly disagrees with the Pla LIC because she thinks it does not consider the Catalan bilingual reality.

(30)

MAR: i la llengua- exacte/ i jo assumeixo el Pla LIC\ però per altre banda aquests alumnes tenen dret/ a aprendre castellà/ i no t'ho pot mirar cap pla LIC ni t'ho pot mirar cap Departament d'Ensanyament/ […]

With the three examples above we can see that Maria has a more critical view of the law and the Education Department because she feels free to criticize it and Laia does not criticize it at any time during the interview. However, the two teachers agree with the norms of the Education Department in some aspects, as seen in examples 27 and 28.

The reception classroom teachers teach in a multicultural class and they coexist with students who have other cultural backgrounds, and the teachers acquire cultural knowledge. Maria says this explicitly in example number 31. Laia does not talk about how much culture she learns in the reception classroom thanks to the intercultural environment.

(31)

MAR: estic començant a entendre el romanès/[…]: ah una altra cosa// m'he fixat/ que/ com més va/ m'és més fàcil aprendre llengües romàniques\ /

The teachers are supposed to be intercultural agents so they have adopted critical cultural awareness which is one of the ingredients needed to have intercultural communicative competence (Byram 1997). Maria proves her critical cultural awareness with examples 32 and 33.

(32)

MAR: potser és una cultura.. mm.. anti_ ai una mica masclista o antifeminista/ és que no sé com dir-ho perquè.. és difícil explicar-ho eh/ però per altra banda ells s'ajunten/ s'ajunten/(829)

(33)

MAR: qualsevol àrab amb el ramadà/ tot_ tot_ tot_ és clar/ quan... per exemple hi ha alguna crítica per part de la societat/ home jo entenc que els nens i els joves són períodes de creixement/ i haurien de_ ni tan sols de proposar-los/ però bé\ hi ha nens que vénen aquí i t'estan fent el ramadà/ i t'estan entrenant futbol/ i dius pobres crios\ i aguanten com poden/ clar que tenen son a classe/ què han de tenir a classe/(194)

Maria is not critical about any culture, but in the following example we can see that she takes into account the students' cultures. Thus I can see that she knows she is in an intercultural environment but I do not know if she has critical cultural awareness because she does not make any comment about any culture.

(34)

LAI: i ells porten una altra llengua i una altra cultura/ és que ells no comencen de zero/ vale/ los d'aquí molt bé/ sempre pots comparar els que són millors i els que són pitjors/ però sempre els hi dic que lo seu és un enriquiment/ i ara tenen una mica més de dificultat/però si s'hi posen de valent/ a la llarga/ seràn doblement rics que la resta de nens que estan aquí no/ (483)

Maria, the teacher of Catalan, is coherent with her discourse as a teacher of Catalan when she emphasizes spelling errors, whereas Laia, the teacher of English, does not talk

about spelling errors. Maria also emphasizes the Catalan culture and the studying of the verb conjugations and she says that in order to be a teacher of oral Catalan in the reception classroom it is not necessary to be a Catalan philologist, but that this knowledge is necessary to do a class with written exercises and grammar.

(35)

*Mar: [...]vaig apuntar la recepta a la pissarra/ se la va apuntar/ **vaig revisar les faltes** si estava bé perquè clar/ **com a professora de català no ho deixaré mai de fer això**/ [i..]. [...]en aquest moment estem fent el verb/ i déu ni do el que estàn fent/ però clar/ quan faig el **verb faig passat/ present/ i futur/ és la introducció als temes** verbals/ i tan **regulars com irregulars**/ perquè vegin la diversitat/ també passa amb les seves llengües/ val/ però clar/ però com que_ és que no aprenen tota una conjugació sencera/ haig de compartimentar/ he d'anar al seu cervell i crear aq_ aquests conceptes/ i anar omplint/ però lo bo és que m'han tret/ nous/ || però clar aquest nou no seràn mai com els d'una classe que han fet la conjugació sencera/[...]* (887), (343)

(36)

*MAR: **a l'aula d'acollida/ si/ o bé fer català oral/ perquè un professor d'anglès.._ llavors tampoc els hi estas demanant un nivell de català**/ el que li estas demanant és un nivell d'oral[...]*(113)

Laia is coherent as a teacher of English when she admits to feeling sorry because she cannot teach English and she has to teach Catalan. She thinks she is forgetting her English skills. Laia is also coherent when she says that the students do not learn only at school but also outside, meaning that they have input in the reception classroom and also in the high school and outside. For that reason she only has to help them, especially at the beginning. She knows this because with her English teaching experience she was able to notice that the input of English was only during the English lessons, whereas the immigrants are in a Catalan immersion situation, which makes them have input everywhere and lets them learn Catalan very fast.

(37)

*LAI: no, la **tinc molt l'anyorança de l'anglès- l'anyorança i la pèrdua**/ perquè clar/ quan és una cosa xxx que quan no la fas/ és_ és deixes de fer però bueno/ llavors ho completo amb formació a fora del centre no/* (168)

(38)

*LAI: =xxx xxx xxx= si és que és una mica com el d'anglès no/ és que hi ha coses/ jo penso que hi ha coses/ és lo que deiem/ jo no sé si ja lo que fai ara ho faré igual quan fassi anglès o no/ però **lo que si que està clar és que me'n dono conte que actuem en coses/ que actuariem com si fossen fent angles. [...]vere_ no passe res si no els acabem aquests onze temes perquè lo que teu no fas/ no vol dir que ells no aprengon/ perquè ells en pic tenen_ tenen la primera embranzida de català/ ells aprenen moltes coses a fora/[...]** (742) , (715)*

The following table summarizes the teachers' aspects analyzed in this section:

	Maria	Laia
Coherence with Education Department	Does not totally agree	Agrees
Coherence with interculturality	Is aware of interculturality and is critical	Is aware of interculturality but is not critical
Coherence with their previous professional background	Is coherent as a teacher of Catalan	Is coherent as a teacher of English

Table 13: Coherence

5.2.2.2 Intertextuality

In this category I am going to see what references the teachers use to explain their functions in the reception classroom in order to see if they take into account the basis of the reception classroom. In order to see their work as reception classroom teachers with different professional profiles I am also going to see to what theories they subscribe to in relation to what they said in the interviews. The last category I am going to analyze in this subsection is how the teachers legitimate their experiences in the reception classroom.

The two teachers refer to the Pla LIC when they talk about the functions in the reception classroom and their discourse is clearly influenced by this paper. We can prove this when Maria says that in the reception classroom there must be Catalan learning but also others elemental subjects which is what the Pla LIC states.

(39)

LAU: si, si perquè_ a_ a si_ si no recordo malament/ la_ la nor_ bueno el pla LIC/ bueno me l'he hagut de llegir/_

MAR: és que facin català/ i que facin algunes de les assignatures/ no/ que són bàsiques/ per exemple/ doncs social/ naturals/ (129)

Laia does not make any reference to the Pla LIC and she often refers, both explicitly and implicitly, to the rules and organizations of the school. In the following example she says she has to teach eleven units during the school year, which she says as if it were imposed by the Education Department but without having any specific curriculum for the reception classrooms, so I understand that it is the center organization that decides that she has to teach eleven lessons per year.

Laia also proves the law. She talks about the ESO law when she refers to the need to provide equal opportunities to all the students without making distinctions. Laia is always for the law and she never argues about it. However, when Maria refers to the Education Department or to specific laws she always has arguments against some points. Thus, regarding to the coherence category, Maria quotes the law to say that she disagrees.

(40)

LAI: [...] la ESO no contempla diferenciació/ ESO es per tothom[...](152)

(41)

MAR: després te_ te ve la llei/ te diuen les noves lleis/ mm_ mm_ uns altres polítics/ eh/ que diuen que és per aprovar el fracàs escolar/ i que es basen només en un paper/ que tu has de servir/ i no poden passar curs si no tenen més de tres assignatures\ però és que aquelles tres assignatures estan en blanc/ i estaen cursant català que han aprovat/ llavors com ho fas/[...] (388)

Apparently, Maria is influenced by the first cognitive theories of language learning (Churchland & Sejnowski 1992; Karen & Watson-Gegeo 2004). These saw languages as a group of real entities that locate in the head and to learn new languages it was necessary to internalize the rules. Maria proves this with the following examples.

(42)

*MAR: **aquí hi ha tot un prossés d'aprenentatge/ un procés d'aprenentatge d'interiorització de la llengua i allò que t'han explicat en català després ho estas fent/ si que després potser estas pensant en romanès o en xinès o en_ pero tu ho has hagut d'interioritzar en una llengua estrangera i després fer-ho/ que demana un_ l'activitat de la llengua d'entrada/ d'entrada/ aquesta és la finalitat no/ però després hi ha tot un procés no/ de d'interioritzacio d'aquesta llengua/*** (918)

(43)

*MAR: **en aquest moment estem fent el verb/ i déu ni do el que estàn fent/ però clar/ quan faig el verb faig passat/ present/ i futur/ és la introducció als temes verbals/ i tan regulars com irregulars/ perquè vegin la diversitat*** també passa amb les seves llengües/ val/ però clar/ **però com que_ és que no aprenen tota una conjugació sencera/ haig de compartimentar/ he d'anar al seu cervell i crear aq_ aquests conceptes/ i anar omplint/*** però lo bo és que m'han tret/ nous/ || però clar aquest nou no seràn mai com els d'una classe que han fet la conjugació sencera/ (343)

With their discourse, Laia seems to be influenced by the poststructuralist theories of second language learning. Norton Pierce (1995) and Rampton (1995) contributed a new view in the second language acquisition field. Their aim was to notice the language as symbolic capital and the construction of identity, and they were interested in language learning through the socialization. These theories give important to the context and think that this is very important for learning a new language. Laia implicitly refers to these theories in the following parts of the interview when we were talking about strategies of communication and she always referred to the context as an important ingredient for better understanding.

(44)

LAI: […] ***busques tot el que tens perquè ell visualment/ per gestos i després pel context/ vale/ te pugui comprendre\ […]***(824)

(45)

*LAI: a vere/ suposo **que també t'ajuda molt lo context i la situació i*** això és_ és és prioritari/ i l'alumne que no es pot comunicar/ només per_ per per lo xxx {fa dir¿?} que en aquell moment/ tu ja vas a entendre el que et vol dir/ **tu intueixes no molt/** eh/ intueixes moltissimes coses que passen[…](833)

(46)

*LAI: […] **home/ aqui a nivell d'expressió/ ells te van entenent pues per la situació/ pel context/[…]**(818)*

The two teachers quote the students when they explain aspects of the students' lives that they have learnt in order to legitimize their knowledge.

(47)

*MAR: si si això és Japonès/ però per als xinesos/ la disciplina és molt marcada/ perquè per exemple en una classe hi ha.. mo..lts/ alumnes/ tots canten a l'hora/ tots reciten a l'hora/ clar és el sistema maho no/ allà/ i.. per exemple/ m... no fan festa.. no/ per exemple/ jo què sé m'ho invento eh/ el dia de la xxx/ [riures] **que no sé com es diu\ és que m'ho ha explicat la Xin xin això no**[…]*(458)

(48)

*MAR: hi ha_ hi ha alumnes que m'han comentat que no/ entenien com podia ser que alumnes d'aquí contestéssin segons de quines maneres als professors\ **m'han dit això/ ||**[…]*(1018)

(49)

*LAI: **lo seu sempre diuen que és un anglès de la xina**\ […]*(480)

Almost all the quotes the teachers make are from other teachers, because they are their colleagues and who they work with every day, sharing their worries and success. They quote the teachers when they want to legitimize an idea about their work in the reception classroom. Maria also refers to the figure of the LIC assistant, as they visit their reception classrooms once a week and help the teachers with the function and the material of the classroom to legitimize her good work with the materials she created.

(50)

*MAR: […] **%/ i amés el Ricard diu montat'ho com vulguis**[…]*(616)

(51)

*LAI: **si això és el que em diuen aqui\ sort que al principi tenies poc/ perquè arribes a tenir tots aquests/ clar**[…]*(305)

(52)

*MAR: […] **quan li vaig ensenyar a la LIC que feia això/ diu quina passada/ com se t'ha acudit/ dic mira-** […]*(1092)

Maria also quotes her colleagues when she wants to emphasize the smooth running of the reception classroom and at the same time she wants me to know that her reception classroom works well and there is a good relationship with her other colleagues.

(53)

MAR: [...]/ molts professors/ van passant per l'aula d'acollida\ cada_ ni que tinguin una hora o dos/ van entrant/ i van coneixent no/ i van veient/ la realitat de l'aula d'acollida/ i et comenten mai m'hagués imaginat/ que fos així/ i és més gratificant del que em pensava\ i tal/(1008)

(54)

MAR: quan arribo a la sala de professors/ i només fan que dir/ quina aula d'acollida que hi ha enguany/ i que bé i que bé-/[...](724)

The following table summarizes the teachers' aspects analyzed in this section:

		Maria	Laia
References to the educational laws		Refers to the Pla LIC	Refers to the law of ESO
References to second language teaching theories		Cognitive theories of SLA	Poststructuralist theories of SLA
References to experiences	**To students**	To legitimize her cultural knowledge	To legitimize her cultural knowledge
	To teachers	To legitimize her work	To legitimize her work

Table 14: Intertextuality

5.2.3 Textual practice

In this section I am going to analyze the two interviews as texts. To do that I will pay attention to the modality, the objective of which is to determine what sort of modalities are most frequent in the texts, if they are subjective or objective and what the modality features most used in the interviews are. I will also analyze interactional control in the interviews, examining who is the participant who speaks more and why this happens,

what the exchange structure that is operating in the interview is, and how topics are introduced, developed and established. The objective in this part is to describe larger-scale organizational properties of interactions and see who controls the interactions. Finally I will analyze the vocabulary used such as key words and words with specific meanings and specific connotations. With the analyses of these three categories I am going to see how the teachers see their jobs through the sentences and the words they use. With interactional control analysis I am going to see how much the teachers talked in the interview.

5.2.3.1 Modality

In this subsection I am going to analyze if the teachers produce subjective or objective discourses in order to see what they think about the reception classroom. I am also going to analyze what types of modal verbs are more frequent in their speeches in order to observe their perspectives on the different things they do as reception classroom teachers.

The discourses of the two are subjective most of the time because they say a proposition and they always justify it with a previous personal experience. For example, Maria argues that attitude and aptitude are both very important for the students' integration process. This is justified by means of previous personal experience.

(55)

*MAR: **les dos coses l'actitud i l'aptitud/** [riure] **perquè hi han alumnes que no s'integren tant però els respecten perquè veuen que són bons alumnes/**(773)*

(55)

*MAR: **això em va passar amb un xinès/ tothom el respectava molt- no s'integrava perquè als xinesos sempre els hi costa molt/ eh/** sempre però era un tiu.. coco i el respectaven per això*

(56)

*LAI: si ells no són fixes/ potser els pares es quedaran aqui/ però potser els nens a setze anys marxaran a fer aquesta botiga/ **jo no sé si van marxar realment tota la familia o eh/ t'ho dic d'uns germans que hi havia aquí/ que van marxar a Galícia no sé si van marxar sols o no eh/ jo això no t'ho podria dir eh**[…]*(572)

The following example illustrates how Maria is absolutely convinced of what she is saying and at the same time she wants to convince me and the students. She tries to justify her argument with a reference but in the end she does not do it and gives an example.

(57)

*MAR: **a veure jo penso/ i.. està bastant demostrat**/ eh/ que. m... a part dels drets que puguin tenir de l'aprenentatge tan del català com del castellà/ quan arriben han d'aprendre a través d'una llengua que ha de ser la llengua que els vehiculi cap a les altres llengues- i ho faig/ els fa_ faig_ començo només en català/ el carrer aprenen castellà/ i quan ja començo a sentir que comencen a barrejar català i castellà els demano que_ que esperin una mica/ que intentin compartimentar/ […]/(256)*

Although the two teachers are subjective, there is a difference between them. Laia always uses the verbs in the plural form *we,* so she talks on behalf of the school and the other teachers, whereas Maria always uses the subject pronoun *I* or the Catalan reflexive pronoun *me/em*. This creates two texts that cause very different impressions to the reader. In Maria's text I understand that she has a lot of autonomy in the reception classroom and she is the one who controls it.

(58)

*MAR: quan **arribo** a la sala de professors/ i només fan que dir-me/ quina aula d'acollida que hi ha enguany/ i que bé i que bé-/ | però és clar/ penso ai/ l'any vinent què passarà(724) […] llavors **jo me l'assentava** a la meua taula a.. ho passava molt malament\ llavors l'únic punt de referència que tenia era jo/ llavors aquesta sí que feia una mica de mama/ ho notes eh/[…](759)*

(59)

*LAI: […] perquè después de tercer/ va fer quart/ despúes l'avaulació/ am.. la repetició d'aqusts alumnes **és una cosa que decideix el centre**/ so volem/ que es quedi perquè **pensem** que aprofitarà més/ o quedar-se un any més al grup_ al curs que està fent en aquell moment […](129)*

The following table shows the number of times the two teachers use subjective indicators:

	Teacher of Catalan	Teacher of English
I	102	98
We	7	18
I think	14	7
We think	0	4

Table 15: Subjective indicators

The most important ones are the subjects 'we' and the subject structures 'I think' and 'we think'. When we compare the number of times that the teacher of Catalan uses 'I think' and the number of time she uses the plural form we can see a clear difference that favors subjectivity. In the English teacher's case, she uses on more occasions the first personal form of 'I think' than the plural form 'we think', but she uses the *we* form frequently in front of other verbs.

Both teachers try not to maximize and they use to use the word *una mica* "a little" in several propositions. The use of this word in this context means that they are not totally sure of what they say but they think they have to explain it.

(60)

*MAR: bu... i són encantadores/ i són maquíssimes/ i confien en tu eh/ perquè confien en tu quan.. quan s'obren/ però és una cultura molt tancada la cultura xinesa/ eh/ i.. les dones.. es mantenen **una mica**.. dins del seu mon/* (819)

(61)

*LAI: [...]els tres primers han acabat treballant en botigues/ ho sigui **una mica** el seu objectiu és acabar portant un negoci/ una botiga/ (*562)

When I find verbs that express doubt and wonder in the text they are always used by the interviewer, who is the inexperienced participant in the conversation. She is also the one who uses conditional forms, sentences started with if and adverbs such as probably or phrases like 'I don't know'.

In Maria's interview:

(62)

*LAU: si però **seguramen**t/ ells n'est_ bueno n'hi deu haber/ no sé si tothom [...]*(202)

In Laia's interview:

(63)

*LAU: si no.. és que **segurament** si aquest estudi el fes una persona que ha sigut professor d'aula d'acollida/ ho enfocaria* (38)

The modal verb that the teachers use most is the verb 'can' in all its forms. They use it in its negative and positive forms, in past or in future, but they do not use its conditional form. Usually they attribute possibility or the impossibility to themselves; however, they also do this to their students and to other teachers.

(64)

*LAI: […].. ara **puc** començar a experimentar una mica a veure què passa a l'aula d'acollida/ […]*(91)

(65)

*LAI: o sigui que hi ha temes els quals tinc molt clar/ que **no puc** marxar d'aqúi sense fer-los(731)*

(66)

*MAR: =xxx xxx xxx= perquè jo mateixa potser no vaig saber transmitir tant bé les coses com ara **puc** saber-les transmetre […](243)*

The following table summarizes the teachers' aspects analyzed in this section:

	Maria	Laia
Type of discourse	Exclusive subjective 'I'	Inclusive subjective 'we'
Modal verbs	Ability / disability	Ability / disability
Mitigating factors	'una mica'	'una mica'

Table 16: Modality

5.2.3.2 Interactional control

In the interactional control category I am going to analyze who controls turn taking, what strategies the participants use to introduce the topics and how these topics are introduced. This is going to be important in the research in order to see if the interviewers feel comfortable during the interview to talk freely.

The interactions in the two interviews are controlled by the interviewer because she is the one who knows the aspects she wants to talk about. However, in the two interviews

we can see some examples that the interviewees take the control of the interview. This can be seen clearly in the interview with Laia when she changes her theme. In Maria's interview I notice she takes interactional control of the interview because she does not let the interviewee speak.

(67)

*LAI: **si bueno ara potser ens n'anem d'aquí cap allà/ però***

LAU: si ara ens n'anem una mica d'aquí cap allà ja tornaré [riures] (212)

*LAI: **lo que t'interesserà.. però/ suposo que a part/ més professors és necessary[…]**(126)*

(68)

MAR: a l'aula d'acollida- i les matemàtiques que em fa/ mai a la vida m'ho hagués imaginat/ que s'adapta a cada alumne/ segons el nivell del que està fent a classe/ perquè les matemàtiques és de les primeres assignatures que els envio a classe\ jo quan dic a classe vull dir l'aula ordinària-

bueno me l'he hagut de llegir/_

*MAR: **és que facin català/ i que facin***

When one of the participants wants to say something while the other is talking, Maria cut the interlocutor and starts speaking louder than the first speaker until she stops talking. In Maria's interview this happens more often, whereas in Laia's interview it is not frequent, she is calmer and waits for her turn, however, Maria is more nervous and she needs to say the ideas when she has them.

(69)

MAR: […] si l'haguéssin posat a primer l'any passat amb un condicionant de passar-lo a segon/ segur que ho hagués fet tot molt millor/ segur/

*LAU: perquè **també_***

MAR: aquest és el punt feble/ decalaix de_ de d'ensenyament/ dels seus propis sistemes educatius dels seus països/ tot això provoca un xoc/

*LAU: tu i això **de._/***

MAR: potser et parlo massa general/

*LAU: no no no no **ja és_***

MAR: t'havien dit això ja també/(1232)

The interviewer is the manager who should introduce the topics. Usually the interviewer only states the topic she wants to talk about or asks a short question and lets the interviewees explain their impressions and talk for as long as possible. However, they also start new topics during the interview because one topic takes them to another topic. In some cases in Laia's interview she feels disappointed because the interviewer let her talk too much and she is not sure if she is answering what the interviewer would like to know.

(70)

*LAI: […] I fa català de reforç amb la psicopedagoga i la psicoterapeuta/ i a més a més/ català a l'aula d'acollida per acabar de reforçar/ bueno/ una mica de tot eh/ **tu ves-me preguntant coses que a lo millor vaig marxant jo eh/** […]*(409)

The length of turns is very different in the interviewer and the interviewees. In both interviews the interviewees speak an average of eight times every three minutes whereas the interviewer speaks an average of one time. This occurs because the interviewer lets the interviewees talk because she wants them to talk about the aspects. See the graphs below which illustrate this idea.
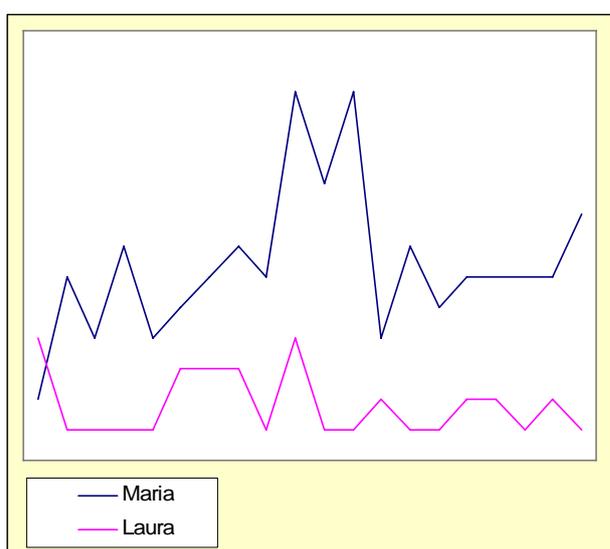
Graph 3: Maria and Laura length of interactions
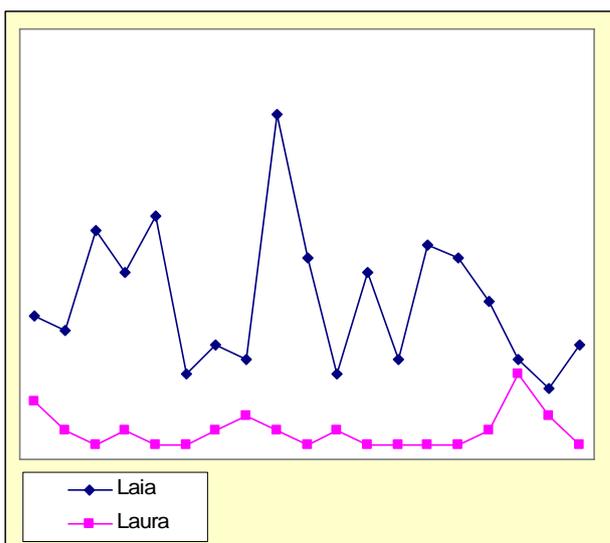
Graph 4: Laia and Laura length of interactions

The following table summarizes the teachers' aspects analyzed in this section:

	Maria	Laia	Interviewer
Takes control	Frequently	not very frequently	not very frequently
Turn taking strategies	Speaks louder and cuts off the interlocutor	Cuts off the interlocutor	Cuts off the interlocutor
Introduces the topic	yes	Yes	yes

Table 17: Interactional control

5.2.3.3 Vocabulary

It is interesting to see what words the two teachers use to refer to the reception classroom students. Maria uses different words to refer to them in general during the interview. She uses the words *alumnes estrangers*, *nouvinguts* and *alumnes*. Laia uses the words newcomers, reception classroom students, students who come from abroad and foreign students. They are giving a politically correct discourse and they are avoiding the word immigrant because they know it has negative connotations. The word immigrant only appears twice during the interview with Laia but she does not refer to a specific person, she is talking in general, and it appears zero times in Maria's interview.

(71)

*LAI: clar és que tots fariem el mateix/ tu arribes allà com a **immigrant**/ no com a vacances/ arribes com a immigrant en un país diferent/ tu penses quan sigui gran i me pugui valdre per mi mateix/ jo el que vull fer és tornar allà/(498)*

Laia also uses the diminutive form of the word Chinese in Catalan when she is talking about some Chinese girls and a Chinese boy. I think she does this because the diminutive form give a nice tone with positive connotations. She also uses the diminutive form of the adjective black "*negreta*" when she attributes it to a girl from Guinea for the same reason.

(72)

*LAI: […]jo no sé què passarà amb aquestes **xinetes** que tenim ara però l'experiència/ mos ha donat entendre que tots acaben en comerços/ […](577)*

(73)

*LAI: […]Gemma/ m'has d'explicar una cosa que no sé què/ un **xinet**\ bueno\ vale\ tranquil que ara no toca\[…](791)*

(74)

*LAI: et parlo de l'any anterior/ l'últim any de TAE/ va arribar aquí una nena que era de... era de Guinea.. de Guineaa a... conacre vale\ una nena **negreta**/ que no parlave res[…](102)*

The words *integració* and *adaptació* are words they use very often in their speeches. Maria uses it as an opposite of marginalization and she also uses the name coexisting as a synonym for the word 'integration' in the following sentence:

(75)

*MAR: xxx per marginat/ s'havien **d'integrar**/ i havien de conviure no/ i buscar models positius a les aules- i clar això està tot nou/ no/ organitzativament […](99)*

Maria uses the word *model positiu* three times during the interview. She says that when newly-arrived students arrive they should have positive models as references. But the meaning of this word is very wide and she does not explain what she means when she

talks about positive models. Later in the interview she talks about positive models again when she is talking about a specific book. She thinks it is a very good book because it is elaborated by a newly-arrived girl who explains her integration process. Maria thinks it is a good book because the students may find they are in the same situation as that girl, and she also adds that that girl is a positive model, but again she does not specify.

(76)

*MAR: llavors/ aquests llibres dons/ els adapten al nivell dels alumnes\ no/ llavors/ llibre de text/ l'hola/ doncs curiosament és una nena/ que es diu asisa/ arab/ que ha vingut als países a.. als països catalans/ i llavors/ doncs esta`molt bé perquè és un fil conductor/ i ells que són de fora/ poden veure com una persona que vé de fora arriba aqui i aprèn la llengüa\ diriem que és **un model positiu**\ sempre partim de models positius/[…](747)*

There is a word that appears in Laia's interview and it is very significant for the teacher's job. The teacher uses the word 'chaotic' when she talks about the organization of the timetables, however, at the same time she is aware of the usefulness of flexibility as one of the main characteristics of the reception classroom, which is, in some way, what make the timetable organization a laborious and chaotic job.

(77)

*LAI: […]/ de_ de_ de_ jo l'horari d'aquest any ja l'he fet també- ara et parlaré dels horaris/ i veuràs que va canviant no/ el primer any/ **l'horari era cahòtic**/ no/ clar/ no tenia pas idea de com poder fer un horari/ perquè els alumnes me venien/ me marxaven/[…](384)*

(78)

*LAI: […] llavors també ha de ser prou **flexible**/ perque quan arriba un alumne/ i tu estas fent un tema/ ell pugui ser capaç de incorporar-se[…](732)*

Maria does not talk about the characteristics of the reception classroom but she talks a lot about the characteristics the reception classroom's teacher should have. In the interview she uses the words empathy, sensitivity, patience and comprehension, which are all personal concepts that are not exclusively related to second language teaching, but they are necessary for newly-arrived students because when they arrive they spend some months in a phase called migratory mourning, which is characterized by amounts

of discourage and upset. So the students may need some affective help. Laia only uses the word sensitivity.

(79)

*MAR: lingüística/ què t'hai dit/ lo que t'hai dit el començament/ eh/ jo sa_/ jo crec que s'han de tenir dos ingredients clars/ **l'empatia**[…]*(524)

(80)

*MAR: […]eh/ és a dir **empatia/ molta sensibilitat**/ certa/ real[…]*(751)

(81)

*MAR: necessites **paciència/ comprenció**/ treballo molt per aquí/ la part humana/[…]*(1004)

When we talk about diversity, Laia always uses a phrase that is *"temps al temps"*. With this phrase she means that people need time to get used to diversity and over the time we will see diversity as a normal thing. She also thinks that teachers have to make parents and students gradually aware of this new reality; however, she adds that students and teachers have already changed and now they see the constant arrival of newcomers as a normal activity in the centers.

(82)

*LAI: […]llavors **temps al temps** una altra vegada penso no/ Laura/ penso que amb el temps/ temps al temps[…]*(815)

(83)

*LAI: […] vull dir que s'ha d'anar **conscienciant/ és una tasca de conscienciació**/ i d'acostumar-nos a que ja no estem sols/ i no estarem més sols/ i els alumnes seràn d'aquí/ i lo millor qu epodem fer/ és intentar integrar-los/ adaptar-nos nosaltres a ells/ i ells a nosaltres/ lo més ràpid possible/[…]*(474)

Maria uses other words when she talks about diversity. She refers more to the language diversity of Catalan and grammar or the diversity of language backgrounds the newcomers can have. She also refers to diversity when she is explaining the different levels of language learning that can coexist during a lesson in the reception classroom.

(84)

*MAR: […] verb faig passat/ present/ i futur/ és la introducció als temes verbals/ i tan regulars comirregulars/ **perquè vegin la diversitat**/ també passa amb les seves llengües[…]*(344)

(85)

*MAR: i si un alumne té un bé o un sufi li poso un sufi\ m'entens/ | **és un tractament a la diversitat/** que a l'informe/ i jo els ho explico eh/ no els estafo mai/ eh/ igual_ igual que t'ho estic dient tan clar a tu/ també ho faig amb ells/ perquè dient les coses clares/ arribes allà on vols* […] *bueno és igual/ la qüestió és que la nena coneixia una **diversitat impressionant de llengües** amb variacions* (355), *(576)*

Laia employs some words at the beginning of the interview that may seem very exaggerated. She is talking about a girl who came from Guinea Conacry and she arrived here with no previous school education. The teacher explains her first impressions and uses the word *salvatge* and she says that the girl had no social habits or social abilities and she started to humanize and be rational when she arrived at the school in Catalonia. These demonstrate a clear eurocentric vision of the world because the child, as the teacher explains in the interview, lived with her family in Guinea, so she had her society and in that sense she did have social habits and abilities. At the same time she did not have to 'humanize' or 'rationalize' because as a human being she has this characteristic. Perhaps what the teacher wanted to say was that the girl had to learn our habits and our ways of thinking and acting.

(86)

*LAI: et parlo de l'any anterior/ l'últim any de TAE/ va arribar aquí una nena que era de... era de Guinea.. de Guineaa a... conacre vale\ **una nena negreta/ que no parlave res/ que es comportava com una salvatge/ vale/ vull dir hàbits_ habits socials/ zero/ o sigui habilitats socials/ zero/[…] poquet a poquet com va anar_ no sé/ humanitzant-se/ racionalitzant-se[…]**(102)*

The following table summarizes the teachers' aspects analyzed in this section:

	Maria	Laia
Words used related to the students	- Uses *nouvingut, estranger, alumne.* - *S'havien d'integrar* -*Model positiu*	- Use *nouvingut, estranger, alumne.* -Uses the diminutive form.

	-Empatia, sensibilitat, paciència and *comprensió*	
Words used related to the reception classroom	*- Tractament a la diversitat*	*- Horari cahòtic* *- Flexibilitat.*

Table 18: Vocabulary

6.   CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the SPEAKING model allowed me to gain a detailed overview of the two interviewed teachers' situations and how they work and the reception classroom as a physical space. The two reception classrooms have a multilingual environment because they have posters on the walls with words in different languages and they have students with different cultural backgrounds. I only visited each class for one hour and I saw that the teachers did different types of activities. Maria did an oral group activity whereas Laia and her students corrected some exercises on paper. Although their activities were different, Maria's pupils only talked when they were asked and Laia's pupils only answered if the teacher asked them. The norms of interaction are the same in the two reception classrooms, the teacher is the one who controls the situation and the students are the participants in the teachers' activities. The two reception classroom had computers and the teachers said they usually use them; however, in Maria's case she also used photocopies, books and films. These classrooms were very different from the ordinary classrooms in all aspects, the students felt comfortable and even the teachers acted differently. Through the observation of the eight parameters I can conclude that the two lessons had different objectives because the teachers conducted different tasks.

With the analysis of the interviews I have done a personal and deep introspection into two reception classrooms and their teachers' points of view, feelings, worries and satisfaction. At the same time I could see that the two teachers did not present two specific different teaching profiles, as I had previously thought. On the one hand, the two teachers presented differences in the way they taught the lessons and prepared the material. For example, Maria prepared material from primary education but she rebuilt it because she did not want the students to think that the material was too childish, whereas Laia thinks that primary education material is really useful in the reception classroom. Apart from this disagreement, the two teachers say that they rebuild the material they find. They agree that, as they started to build the materials at the beginning because there were no published materials, now they do not find any suitable material for their lessons.

Regarding the strategies I did not take into consideration the fact that nowadays in Catalonia everybody studies a second language or even a third and for that reason a teacher of Catalan may also have acquired strategies to teach Catalan as a second language through her experience as a second language learner. This was Maria's case. At the same time she gave a lot of importance to empathizing with the newcomers because she thinks they need to be understood. Laia does not use this word but she speaks about the fact that the students need to be listened to and the reception classroom teacher becomes a very important person for them. May be this concept is what Maria describes as a Positive Model. The two teachers understand the impact situation the newcomers live in when they arrive in a new country with a new culture, and for that reason they assimilate their educative task as if they were acting like mothers in some cases.

I find it interesting to see that the two teachers started to be reception classroom teachers because it allowed them to have a job in a place nearer their homes, so not because they were interested in diversity or multilingualism. Otherwise, although they were not familiarized with diversity, now they are very proud of all they have learned as reception classroom teachers. The two teachers agree that being a reception classroom teacher is a very gratifying job. Maria attributes it to the fact that the newly-arrived pupils say hello to her when they meet on the street and Laia attributes it to the fast language learning process and integration process the students do.

From the point of view of the analytical method used in the interview analysis I see that from the social practice perspective, Maria shows she is the one who has the power in the interview, in relation to other teachers, and in front of the students, whereas Laia also has the power in the interview but in the school, with the students and with her colleagues she shows companionship. Their political effects of discourse are that they see that in the reception classroom they need a lot of sensitivity; however Maria also thinks that empathy is really important in relation to the newly-arrived students. From the point of view of the material, both of the teachers create their material and use self-learning activities for the students.

From the discourse perspective, Maria does not totally agree with the Education Department whereas Laia agrees and does not talk very much about it. Maria is aware of

interculturality in school and at the same time she shows her critical awareness and expresses her opinion during the interview. Laia is aware of interculturality too; however she does not express any critical opinion. In relation to their coherence with their previous professional background, both teachers are coherent because the English teacher talks about her yearning for English during the interview and Maria states her word related obsessions, such as correcting orthographic errors. Maria makes references to the Pla LIC whereas Laia only refers to the ESO law. This leads me to think that Maria is more aware of the law related to the reception classroom than Laia. In an implicit way, Maria subscribes to cognitive theories of SLA because she talks about teaching language through concepts, whereas Laia subscribes to poststructuralist theories because she gives importance to the context of the situation and the language learning in use. The two teachers quote students to legitimize her knowledge of other cultures; they say that the students explain this to them. They also quote their colleagues when they want to legitimate some acts that favor them.

In relation to textual practice, the two teachers create a subjective discourse because they are explaining their points of view of the reception classroom. Maria uses the 'I' pronoun more, which gives me the idea that she is the only one responsible for the reception classroom. Laia always uses the 'we' pronoun and this gives me the idea that it is the whole school who decides and works in the reception classroom, although she is the teacher in it. It is interesting to see that the two teachers use the word 'una mica' to mitigate the sentences they are not totally sure about. In relation to turn taking, Maria takes control of the interview frequently, whereas Laia does not very often. Maria also speaks louder and cuts the interlocutor off when she wants to say something whereas Laia only cuts the interlocutor off in some cases. The topics during the interview are introduced by the two participants in the two interviews; however, the interviewer had the topics prepared. In the vocabulary analysis part, it is interesting to see that neither of the teachers uses the word 'immigrant' and they prefer words like *nouvingut*, *estranger* or *alumne*. They probably try to avoid the word 'immigrant' due to its negative connotations. Laia does something similar when she uses the diminutive forms of students' nationalities in order to make the word sound softer.

To conclude, I want to contribute the idea that the two teachers present differences in the interview analysis; however, these differences cannot only be attributed to the fact

that they have different professional backgrounds. I also want to give my impressions of this paper and my future plans for further research. Working with qualitative research is very interesting because it allows you to study things in a deeper way than quantitative research. On the one hand, qualitative research may seem subjective or difficult to create general propositions, but on the other hand it lets you understand about an area through very specific study. The SPEAKING model and CDA analysis are the complements that make one create opinions and understand reality. For further research I am going to use CDA to study the same field, reception classrooms, but next time I am going to change teachers, who are the objects of this study, for the students in the reception classroom, and their progressive introduction into the ordinary classroom. I will observe three newcomer students in a reception classroom twice a week and I will interview them and prepare special activities with the reception classroom teacher in order to help and contribute to improving the integration process and Catalan learning of newcomers in high schools.

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APPENDIX I

Key for the transcription

MAR	Three capital letters at the beginning
/	Raising tone
\	Lowering tone
|	Short pause
||	Long pause
<3>	Long pause with the number of seconds
….	Syllabic lengthening
text_	Interruptions
[]	Comments
xx xx	Doubtful fragments
=abc=	Overlapping

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