

PORTADA

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**Education, language, and identity in multi-
ethnic environments: a case study**

Thesis dissertation

Title: Education, language, and identity in multi-ethnic environments: a case study

PhD Program: School, Language, and Society

Department of Research Methods in Education/

Departamento de Métodos de Investigación y Diagnóstico Educativo (MIDE)

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Acknowledgements / Esker ona / Agradecimientos

Este trabajo es parte del camino más importante que he recorrido durante los últimos años. No ha sido una andadura en solitario, en ella han colaborado diferentes personas y grupos a los que siempre estaré agradecida.

Nire bi zuzendariak, Antonio Casado da Rocha eta Jasone Cenoz Iragui nire alboan egon dira. Antonio, eskerrik asko iruzkin guztiengatik, nire zalantzak erantzuteagatik eta baita zure aholkuengatik ere. Azken hauek, nire ikasketa-prozesuaren ezinbesteko atala izan dira. Jasone, nire eskerrik beroenak, zuek jaso dudak feed-back-a oso garrantzitsua izan da prozesu honetan zehar. Zehaztasunez beti, nire kezka argitu dituzu. Mila esker bioi proiektu honetan sinistegatik eta nirekin aurrera eramateagatik. Zuek ikasi dudana ez dut sekula ahaztuko.

Gracias también a la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU), por financiar este trabajo mediante la Convocatoria de Formación al Personal Investigador (PIF 2013) y la Convocatoria de Ayudas para la Movilidad 2016, gracias a la cual, pude realizar una estancia de investigación en la Case Western Reserve University (Ohio, Estados Unidos).

“Udabia” ikastetxea konposatzen duten pertsona orok ibilbide polit honen parte dira. Eskerrik asko irakasle, zuzendari eta ikasketa-buruari. Y gracias a los y las adolescentes que con vuestras constantes preguntas y respuestas

habéis hecho posible que pueda escribir “este libro sin vuestros nombres de verdad”.

I am also genuinely grateful to all the members of the IAS-Research Centre for Life, Mind and Society for their support. Thanks to all the talks I have attended, I have learnt a little bit more about all of you, about Philosophy of Biology, Cognitive Science, Bioethics; but most of all, about researching. This dissertation has also been funded through a project the IAS-Research Centre for Life, Mind and Society is currently working on: the Interidentity Project “Identidad en interacción: aspectos ontológicos y normativos de la individualidad biológica, cognitiva y social”, sponsored by the Spanish Government (MINECO), ref. FFI2014-52173-P.

Esker anitz Hezkuntzako Ikerkuntza eta Diagnosi Metodoak (MIDE) Sailari ere, nire proiektua onartzeagatik. Nola ez, Balioen Filosofia eta Gizarte Antropologia Sailari, zuen kide izateak ikasten lagundu didalako; eskerrik asko lan egiteko leku bat uzteagatik. Ana Mari, muchas gracias por toda la ayuda y confianza que en mí depositaste desde un principio. Halaber, Didaktika eta Eskola Antolakuntza Sailari azken etapa honetan izan dudana harreragatik, nire eskerronik sentituena.

Bekadunon bulegotik pasa diren pertsona guztiei: Omar, Ion, Miren, Maria, Maialen, Itxaso, Carlos, Irantzu, Marta, Maria, Laura, Josune, Ainara, Jaime, Lado... zuekin izan ditudan elkarrizteka guzti horiek lagungarri eta baliogarri izan baititut oso bidaia honetan ere, eskerrak bihotzez.

I would also like to thank the Department of Bioethics at Case Western Reserve University for their extraordinary reception. It would be impossible to put into words all the good memories and wonderful experience my stay in Cleveland was. All the attention and feed-back received, the good environment and kindness from all of you was crucial for the writing of this thesis dissertation. I am especially grateful to Eileen

Anderson-Fye, Patricia Marshall, Insoo Hyun, Mark Aulisio, and Suzanne Rivera. Eileen Anderson-Fye, your inspiring comments and advice have been key elements in disseratation. Suzanne Rivera, thank you very much for everything you did for me, yours and Michael Householder's kindness were very much appreciated. Patricia Marshall, I have no words to express my gratitude. Thank you for all the coffees in the magnificent china near Mr. Bentley. You are part of this dissertation. Thank you both, Sue and Patty, for all your remarks on this work.

A los y las que habéis estado ahí en un plano más allá de lo académico, mi mayor gratitud. A Alberto Otxoa, por tus consejos. A Iratxe, porque todas las conversaciones que hemos tenido me han servido de mucho. À Thomas, parce-que...bon, tu m'as toujours écouté. Malgré tout, on est arrivé. A Kike, por todas las sesiones después de comer, y a ti, ama, por la confianza ciega en mí. También a Charo y Carlos, por los ánimos en todo momento. Un agradecimiento especial a las mujeres que me han acompañado durante este camino y más conocen todo el proceso, Lucía, Ana, Laura, Eguzkiñe e Iraitz. Especialmente a Ana y a Laura, por recordarme el porqué cuando no me acordaba. Laura, siempre te estaré agradecida por las indicaciones sobre la maquetación de la tesis.

Por último, pero no por ello menos importante, al contrario: Iñaki Arrieta, por el apoyo que recibí de ti cuando desde Inglaterra pensaba sobre esto. Mi agradecimiento nunca será suficiente.

Foreword

If I had to explain the How and the Why of this dissertation, I would start with my academic history. It all started at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU), where I studied Social Education and Social and Cultural Anthropology. Both disciplines provided me with a social and human perspective in the analysis interpersonal relations. While studying Social Education, I understood that inequalities happen in the education system. Later, anthropology gave me the opportunity to ask why these inequalities take place. I must also mention that the “exotic” element in anthropology made an impact on me, and I started to be interested in different “Others” from a Western perspective. The “Others”, one of the most popular research objects in anthropology, made me wonder how we, individuals, function both at the individual and group level in comparison to other humans. Related questions arised, such as: can we research the “Others” in the education system? Or, how can we establish who are “Others” in the education system?

But it was not until 2012, when I was studying a M.A. in International Relations at the University of Kent, that I read *Reproduction in education, society and culture* [La Reproducción. Elementos para una Teoría del Sistema de Enseñanza (Spanish)], authored by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1981). I must say, I found all possible explanation to educational inequality in the theory of reproduction and cultural capital. Furthermore, studying International Relations made me focus on cultural

and ethnic conflict, so the questions I started to ask myself were related to educational inequalities in multi-ethnic contexts.

Taking all my educational background into account, what could have been better than proposing a master's dissertation and PhD project focusing on the unequal relationship between the White and Aboriginal Australia in the education system? Let me explain. First, inequality between two ethnic groups pointed at an ethnic conflict, which was the aim of my studies at the time. Second, the relationship between the White and Aboriginal Australia was linked to the concept of the "Others", which as I mentioned, is an important research object in anthropology. Finally, it introduced the education system, a key element in social education.

The idea, exotic as it may sound, was supported and translated into both a master's dissertation and formal research project entitled *Education, Marginalization, and Clash of Values in Educational Environments: a Case Study*, with the unconditional help of my former anthropology teacher at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) Iñaki Arrieta, whom, regardless of the distance, helped me write it. His contribution to that research project was crucial.

It was that year through Iñaki Arrieta that I met Andoni Ibarra and Antonio Casado, and through Antonio Casado that I met Jasone Cenoz. They all had something in common: they believed in that exotic idea. Later, both of my supervisors, Antonio Casado, Jasone Cenoz, and I started to work through the PhD project. It took some months and a quite a lot of patience to get funding for this project, but finally the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) supported it with the PIF 2013 research grant.

For a year, I maintained the original project of researching the unequal relationship between the White and Aboriginal Australia in the education

system testing the idea of reproduction of inequalities and cultural capital. Such project involved doing fieldwork in one or various schools in Australia, so I began doing an extensive literature review I had already started with my master's dissertation at the University of Kent. Meanwhile, I started to attend the talks organized by the IAS-Research Centre for Life, Mind and Society, of which I am a member thanks to Antonio Casado. A great range of topics were covered in these talks, and soon, the group was granted with the research project "Identidad en interacción: aspectos ontológicos y normativos de la individualidad biológica, cognitiva y social", Spanish Government (MINECO), ref. FFI2014-52173-P. At the time, the concept of identity in interaction was new for me, but it was closely linked to the literature review I had been working on. I also attended the lectures organized by the Donostia Research Group on Education and Multilingualism (DREAM), of which Jasone Cenoz is a member. In these presentations, I learnt about Basque and other multilingual contexts and its linguistic specificities.

As time passed, I became more and more reluctant on the idea of travelling to Australia. The lack of additional economic support and contacts made all the three of us, Antonio Casado, Jasone Cenoz, and I, think of an alternative place to do the fieldwork in spring 2015. Taking into account the literature review I had been working on for a year, we decided that the fieldwork should be an accesible multi-ethnic educational context. Testing the ideas about reproduction of inequalities and the influence of cultural capital at school was maintained. Hence, the title of the PhD project was preserved.

After a thorough exploration, a secondary public education center in the Basque Country was contacted and a few months later their participation in this research was confirmed. The fieldwork started soon and exhaustive

observations, interviews and focus groups followed. I spent 9 intensive months working in that secondary education center looking, asking, interacting, crying, and smiling. At that moment, the PhD project had substantially changed.

It was not easy to analyze all the data I had collected during those months, however, its interpretation was probably the most pleasant work I have ever done. I soon started to write the dissertation, and this is the product of that period of time. Its influences are evident: the concept of identity interaction, as we have been working on at the IAS-Research Centre for Life, Mind and Society, and the study of Basque education multilingual environments, following the work of the DREAM. I also changed the title to its current version: *Education, language, and identity in multi-ethnic environments: a case study*.

When I was in the middle of the writing, I started to think of a very important but often forgotten aspect of most written work: the cover. I did not know if I could summarize in a picture the main idea of this dissertation. It was during a conversation with my friend, former colleague, and secondary education teacher Ana Liñero that I realized I did not need to encompass all my work in a picture; I could just represent a situation that had drawn my attention during the fieldwork. Ana Liñero is also the author of the drawing for the cover, following the description I made of different students. The pupil in the drawing does not represent a person, but different people I could observe during all the months I spent in the education center. Many students were on their own because their ethnic background was different from their peers, they studied in a classrooms separated from their friends, or had had an argument with their actual friends. Regardless of the reason, that pupil was the “Other” for the rest, and the rest were the “Other” for him/her. When this happened, the student became passive in

class. He/She represents part of an important theme in this dissertation: the identity construction in comparison; or more precisely, in opposition to the “Other”. As the reader will discover along the following pages, I will link this argument to the idea of reproduction of inequalities in the education system, as established by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron.

Elizabeth Pérez Izaguirre

Sopuerta, 2017ko abendua

Abstract

Background. Students in education systems are often seen as products of their socialization process through a set of given structures of interaction. This assumption has important implications, because according to these perspectives, subjects are seen as reproducers of their social position rather than producers of it. In other words, they are often taken as individuals who interact according to a preexisting social and institutional order. This premise has direct implications on the concept of identity, as according to this perspective, it is the product of a set of already given structures of interaction subjects cannot change. The objective of this study is precisely to study how student identity is formed in the interactions that take place in education systems, according to various perspectives. More precisely, the goal is to study the education system and its influence on students; student behavior; and interactions among students, and between students and teachers. The study takes place in a secondary public school in the Basque Country which has a high multi-ethnic studentship attendance. This dissertation also provides a description of student distribution in Basque centers such as the one studied.

Methods. This investigation has a qualitative nature. It is based on an ethnographic case study in a Basque secondary public education center attended by a high percentage of foreign nationals. The methodology used for data collection included a documentary research, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups. Data analysis was accomplished using computer assisted qualitative data analysis package, Atlas.ti software.

Findings. The results of the fieldwork indicate the relevance of three elements in students' relationships: First, education system, which is often portrayed as a constriction on the kinds of relationships that students among themselves, and students and teachers have. Through these relationships, students' social positions are sometimes reproduced or essentialized. Second, ethnic, social, and symbolic boundary-making, or the relationships among individuals or groups who have diverse ethnic backgrounds and social positions. In these interactions, power relations are often present. Third, limit transgressions in adolescence were the most remarkable interactions in the data collected. Limit transgression is a notion linked to the testing of social rules and social order. In the testing of limits, adolescents often find conflicts. A categorization of three levels of limit transgressions is presented in this work, according to the interactions observed. Most non-autochthonous student-teacher limit transgressions were in the form of student opposition to Basque language learning. Through these transgressive interactions, non-autochthonous students enacted ethnic boundaries; questioned the education system structure and built their identity in opposition to the rule of learning the Basque language.

Conclusion. This study contributes to the theory of identity in interaction through the analysis of the ethnic, social and symbolic boundary-work, limit transgression and education system. The school system structure constricts but also enables student-student and student-teacher interactions in the form of transgressions or questioning the norms of society. These interactions create a unique kind of identity.

Laburpena

Aurrekariak. Hezkuntza sistemetan egiten den ikerkuntzaren joera nagusi baten arabera, ikasleak haien gizarteratze-prozesuaren produktu dira. Gizarteratze prozesu horretan, subjektuen harremanak sozialki mugatuta dauden elkarrekintzaren egituraren ondorio dira. Asumitze horren ondorioetariko bat hau da: subjektuak haien giza-posizioaren erreproduzio bezala ikusten direla. Ikasleak subjektu pasibo modura ikusten dira, giza eta erakundearen ordenaren menpe daudenak. Premisa honek nortasunaren kontzeptuan ditu ondorioak, zeren eta nortasuna perspektiba honi jarraituz, elkarrekintzaren egituren menpe baitago eta subjektuek hauek aldatzeko gaitasunik ez baitute. Ikerlan honen proposamena nortasunaren eraketa hezkuntza sisteman gertatzen diren elkarrekintza ezberdinetan ikastea da. Hain zuzen ere, hezkuntza sistemaren ikasketa eta haren eragina ikasleengan, ikasleen jokabidea, eta ikasle-ikasle eta ikasle-irakasle interakzioak ikastea da. Ikerketa hau bigarren hezkuntzako euskal zentro publiko batetan oinarrituta dago. Ikaslegoa jatorri etniko aniztetakoa zen, eta etorkinen portzentaia altua ere bai. Lan honetan ikasleen banaketaren deskribapen bat egiten da, antzeko beste zentroyen erreferentzi modura har daitekeena.

Metodoak. Ikerlan hau kualitatiboa da eta kasu etnografiko batetan oinarrituta dago. Erreferentzia gisa hartutako eskola bigarren hezkuntzako ikastetxea da, ikasle atzerritarren portzentaia handia duena. Datu-bilketa egiteko erabili den metodologia dokumentu-analisia, behaketa

partehartzailea, elkarrizketa erdi-egituratuak eta eztabaida-taldeak dira. Datuen analisisa datuen analisi kualitatiborako tresna baten bidez egin zen, hots, Atlas.ti programa.

Emaitzak. Landa-lanaren emaitzek adierazten dutenez, ikasleen harremanak hiru elementurekin daude erlazionatuta. Lehena, hezkuntza sistemaren egitura da, ikasleen eta ikasle-irakasleen arteko harremanen hertsatzaile puntuala dena. Harreman horien bidez, batzuetan ikasleen posizio sozialen erreprodukzioa ematen da. Bigarrena, muga etniko, sozial eta sinbolikoak, jatorri etniko eta posizio sozial desberdinetako pertsonen arteko harremanari egiten dio erreferentzia. Muga hauetan subjektuen arteko harremanak botere-harremanak dira maiz. Eta hirugarrena, limiteen haustura nerabezaroan, egitura sozialen eta ordena sozialaren kuestionamenduarekin lotuta dagoen kontzeptua da. Hauek gatazkatsuak gerta daitezke. Datu-bilketan azken elementu hauek garaienak ziren. Lan honetan hiru limite hausturaren kategorizazioa egiten da, egindako behaketaren arabera. Kasu etnografiko honetan, autoktonoak ez ziren ikasleak euskara ikasteari kontra egiten zioten. Elkarrekintza urratzaile horien bitartez muga etnikoak indartu egiten ziren, heziketa sistemaren egitura kolokan jarri eta nortasuna arauaren aurka eraikitzen zen.

Ondorioak. Ikerketa honek elkarrekintzan eraikitzen den nortasunaren teoriari egiten dio ekarpen, oinarrituta baitago muga etniko, sozial eta sinbolikoetan, limiteen transgresioetan eta hezkuntza sistemaren egituraren analisisan. Hezkuntza sistemaren egitura ikasleen arteko eta ikasle-irakasleen arteko elkarrekintzaren hertsatzaile eta eragile gisa ekiten du. Eragile moduan ekiten duenean, limiteen hausturaren bidez burutzen da. Elkarrekintza hauek nortasun mota originala eratzen dute.

Resumen

Antecedentes. Gran parte de la investigación realizada en los sistemas educativos parte de la idea de que los estudiantes son producto de su proceso de socialización mediante una serie de estructuras de interacción dadas. Esta asunción tiene importantes consecuencias, ya que de acuerdo a la misma, los sujetos son vistos como el producto de la reproducción de una serie de posiciones sociales. Dicho de otro modo, los estudiantes se toman como sujetos pasivos que interactúan según el orden institucional y social preestablecidos. Esta premisa tiene implicaciones directas sobre el concepto de identidad, ya que la identidad de acuerdo a esta perspectiva es el producto de una serie de estructuras de interacción que los sujetos no tienen la capacidad de cambiar. El objetivo de este estudio es precisamente analizar cómo se forma la identidad de los estudiantes en las diversas interacciones que ocurren en el sistema educativo, desde distintas perspectivas. Concretamente, se propone el estudio del sistema educativo y su influencia sobre los estudiantes, el comportamiento de los mismos, y las interacciones entre el alumnado, y alumnado y profesorado. El estudio se sitúa en un centro de secundaria del País Vasco que tiene un alumnado muy diverso en lo que a origen étnico se refiere. Este trabajo también proporciona una descripción de la distribución de estudiantes en centros vascos como el de referencia.

Métodos. Esta es una investigación de naturaleza cualitativa y está basada en un caso etnográfico. El centro de referencia es un colegio público de

secundaria con alto porcentaje de alumnado de origen extranjero. La metodología utilizada para la recopilación de datos incluye análisis documental, observación participante, entrevistas semi-estructuradas y grupos de discusión. El análisis de datos se llevó a cabo mediante una herramienta de análisis cualitativo de datos, el programa Atlas.ti.

Resultados. Los resultados tras el trabajo de campo resaltan la importancia de tres elementos en relación con los estudiantes. El primero, el sistema educativo, que es en parte una restricción de los tipos de relaciones entre estudiantes, y entre estudiantes y profesores. Mediante dichas relaciones, en ocasiones se reproducen las posiciones sociales de los estudiantes. El segundo, las fronteras étnicas, sociales y simbólicas, que hacen referencia a las relaciones entre personas de diferentes orígenes étnicos y posiciones sociales. En dichas fronteras, las relaciones entre individuos suelen estar marcadas por jerarquías de poder. El tercero, las transgresiones de límites en la adolescencia, fueron los elementos más prominentes de las interacciones observadas a lo largo del trabajo de campo. La noción de transgresión de límites se refiere al cuestionamiento de las estructuras sociales y el orden social en la adolescencia. Estos cuestionamientos, típicos de la adolescencia, suelen resultar conflictivos. En este trabajo se presenta una clasificación de tres niveles de transgresión de límites, de acuerdo a las interacciones observadas. La mayoría de las transgresiones de límites se daban en la oposición de los estudiantes no autóctonos a aprender la lengua vasca. Mediante dichas interacciones transgresivas, se representaban y reforzaban las fronteras étnicas, se cuestionaba la estructura del sistema educativo y la identidad se construía en oposición a la regla que obliga al aprendizaje de la lengua vasca.

Conclusión. El presente estudio contribuye a la teoría sobre la identidad en interacción mediante el análisis de las fronteras étnicas, sociales y

simbólicas; la transgresión de límites y la estructura del sistema educativo. La estructura del sistema educativo actúa tanto como constrictora como activadora o productora de las interacciones entre estudiantes y estudiantes y profesores en forma de transgresiones o cuestionamientos de las normas de la sociedad. Estas interacciones generan un tipo de identidad única.

Resumen extenso

Antecedentes. Múltiples investigaciones realizadas en los sistemas educativos parten de la idea de que los estudiantes son producto de su proceso de socialización mediante una serie de estructuras de interacción dadas. Esta asunción tiene importantes consecuencias, ya que de acuerdo a la misma, los sujetos son vistos como el producto de la reproducción de una serie de posiciones sociales. Desde esta perspectiva, los estudiantes son el fruto de las fuerzas externas que operan sobre ellos. De ello deriva que los alumnos sean vistos como sujetos pasivos que interactúan según el orden institucional y social preestablecidos. Esta premisa tiene importantes consecuencias sobre el concepto de identidad, ya que la identidad de acuerdo a esta perspectiva es el producto de una serie de estructuras de interacción que los sujetos no tienen capacidad de cambiar. El objetivo de este estudio es precisamente analizar cómo se forma la identidad de los estudiantes en las diversas interacciones que ocurren en el sistema educativo. Precisamente, se propone el estudio del sistema educativo y su influencia sobre los estudiantes, el comportamiento de los mismos, y las interacciones entre el alumnado y alumnado y profesorado. El estudio se sitúa en un centro de secundaria de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco (CAPV) que reúne a un alumnado muy diverso en lo que a origen étnico se refiere. El sistema educativo vasco divide al alumnado en función de la principal lengua de instrucción, la lengua vasca o el castellano. Una marcada tendencia del alumnado inmigrante es elegir como lengua vehicular para la instrucción el castellano, a diferencia del alumnado autóctono, que tiende a estudiar en lengua vasca. Dicho centro y sus

características en cuanto a la lengua de instrucción lo convierten en un lugar idóneo para observar los comportamientos, interacciones, conflictos relacionados con los mismos y la construcción de la identidad. Se toman tres perspectivas para analizar estos fenómenos.

La primera toma en consideración los elementos que de manera externa contribuyen a la constitución de los estudiantes en ambientes multiétnicos. Estos elementos son principalmente aquellos mencionados anteriormente, es decir, aquellos que asumen que los estudiantes son el producto de la reproducción de una serie de posiciones sociales. Uno de los estudios más influyentes que parte de esta idea es aquel de Pierre Bourdieu. Este autor estableció que las relaciones entre estudiantes y estudiantes y profesores están marcadas por el capital cultural. El capital cultural hace referencia a las adquisiciones materiales y simbólicas que definen la posición social de un individuo en la escuela. Las prácticas que derivan del capital cultural de cada individuo marcan su adscripción a una clase social. Según el autor, el funcionamiento de la propia escuela hace que cada individuo se mantenga en la clase social que ha heredado de sus padres. A este fenómeno Pierre Bourdieu le denomina la reproducción. Investigaciones posteriores basadas en esta idea *bourdieusiana* se han centrado en la reproducción de las desigualdades sociales mediante el análisis de las políticas educativas en la escuela y la influencia de éstas en las prácticas educativas del profesorado de los centros educativos. Otra serie de estudios menos deterministas se centran en los tipos de autoridad que los profesores utilizan. Estos últimos resaltan cómo los tipos de autoridad que los profesores ejercen están relacionados con el nivel de autonomía de los estudiantes.

La segunda perspectiva se centra en los patrones de comportamiento adolescente en ambientes multiétnicos. Para analizarlos se toman en consideración tres visiones. Por un lado, las fronteras étnicas, que estudian

las relaciones entre individuos o grupos de diferente origen étnico. En función de la naturaleza de dichas relaciones, a saber, la asociación o separación étnica y las razones que les llevan a las mismas, se proponen diferentes modelos que explican la constitución de dichas fronteras. Por otro lado, las fronteras simbólicas y sociales, que se basan en las relaciones entre individuos o grupos de diferentes adscripciones sociales respecto al género, clase social o etnicidad, entre otras. Esta teoría ha sido extensamente aplicada en el análisis de sistemas educativos multiétnicos, y subyace en la misma idea que la teoría *bourdieusiana*, a saber, que los sujetos son la consecuencia de una serie de fuerzas externas que les hacen ser como son. Finalmente, se describe uno de los comportamientos típicos de la adolescencia, ampliamente estudiado en ambientes educativos: la transgresión de límites. Dicho concepto hace referencia al proceso en que se testan las normas sociales y sus límites para su cuestionamiento, y los conflictos relacionados con los mismos.

La tercera perspectiva tiene que ver con las interacciones en el aula en sistemas educativos multiétnicos. La idea base es que las interacciones generan un tipo concreto de identidad. Se parte de los enfoques interactivos propuestos por George Herbert Mead y Erik Erikson. Además, se presentan otros enfoques actuales centrados en la constitución de la identidad, aplicables a ambientes multiétnicos. Finalmente, se describen las actitudes relacionadas con el aprendizaje de la lengua en sistemas educativos multiétnicos y los procesos de formación de identidad en relación con los mismos.

Escenario y métodos. Esta es una investigación de naturaleza cualitativa y está basada en el análisis de un caso etnográfico. El centro público de secundaria escogido estaba compuesto por un 38% de alumnado de origen extranjero, mientras que la media de la escuela CAPV no llegaba al 7% en

el curso 2015/2016. La desproporción en la distribución de alumnado inmigrante y autóctono es característica de ciertos centros en toda la comunidad autónoma. En este sentido, este trabajo proporciona una descripción de la distribución de estudiantes de centros vascos como el de referencia.

Además, en centros como el de referencia, el alumnado inmigrante tiende a acudir a clases compuestas casi en su totalidad por estudiantes extranjeros que estudian en castellano, mientras que en las clases en que la lengua vasca es la principal lengua de instrucción, la mayoría de escolares son de origen autóctono. En el centro estudiado, la clase más conflictiva era aquella de segundo de la educación secundaria obligatoria, que estaba compuesta por una mayoría de alumnado inmigrante. Dichos conflictos se daban tanto entre el alumnado como entre el alumnado y el profesorado. En el último caso, la mayoría de conflictos estaban relacionados con el aprendizaje de la lengua vasca: mientras que la mayoría de los profesores trataban de enseñar a los escolares a hablarla, la mayoría de éstos se oponían a su aprendizaje.

La recogida de datos en el centro tuvo lugar a lo largo del curso escolar 2015/2016 durante 9 meses. La metodología utilizada para la recopilación de datos incluye análisis documental, observación participante, entrevistas semi-estructuradas y grupos de discusión. El análisis documental se llevó a cabo al inicio del curso escolar y durante el mismo. La observación participante se desarrolló a lo largo de todos los meses. Durante los primeros meses se realizó en la clase compuesta por una mayoría de alumnado inmigrante, y los últimos meses se efectuó una comparativa entre dicha clase, otras dos del mismo curso, y una clase superior, esta última también compuesta por un alto porcentaje de alumnado extranjero. Las entrevistas semi-estructuradas se llevaron a cabo desde enero hasta junio de

2016, y los grupos de discusión se realizaron al final del curso escolar. El análisis de los datos se realizó utilizando una herramienta de análisis cualitativo de datos, el programa Atlas.ti.

Resultados. Los resultados tras el trabajo de campo resaltan la importancia de tres elementos en relación con los estudiantes. El primero, el sistema educativo, que es en parte una constrictión de los tipos de relaciones entre estudiantes y entre estudiantes y profesores. El sistema educativo vasco, al dividir a su alumnado en función de la lengua para la instrucción, genera una estructura a la que los individuos han de adaptarse. Dicha estructura está definida en diferentes políticas educativas, planes autonómicos y proyectos de centro. La posición social de los escolares viene en gran parte marcada por su situación en dicha estructura, es por ello que no es neutra. Prueba de ello es que estudiar en una clase compuesta en su mayoría por alumnado inmigrante y en castellano, se relaciona con un status y rendimiento académico menor. Por el contrario, el status y desempeño académico más alto iba relacionado a las clases compuestas por una mayoría de alumnado autóctono, que estudiaba principalmente en la lengua vasca. A esto hay que añadir que el ejercicio de la autoridad de los profesores es un elemento importante en el sistema educativo, que da lugar a respuestas más o menos autónomas por parte del alumnado.

El segundo elemento son las fronteras étnicas, sociales y simbólicas. En el caso seleccionado, dichas relaciones son analizadas según la distribución de los estudiantes en las diferentes clases que conformaban el curso de segundo de la educación secundaria obligatoria del centro y en su distribución en las horas del patio. Dichas distribuciones delimitaban fronteras étnicas, sociales y simbólicas, y solían estar marcadas por jerarquías de poder.

El tercer elemento lo constituyen las interacciones entre el alumnado y el alumnado y profesorado. Partiendo de la idea inicial de que las interacciones construyen identidad, aquellas que resaltaban de entre todas ellas eran las transgresiones de límites. Estas transgresiones de límites siempre se analizaron entre el alumnado y entre el alumnado y profesorado y tenían que ver con los elementos que los estudiantes mostraban fuera de la influencia o constricción del sistema educativo. De acuerdo a las observaciones realizadas, las transgresiones se pueden categorizar del siguiente modo: transgresiones de límites personales, cívicos o sociales. Las transgresiones de límites personales tienen que ver con acciones, verbales o físicas de un escolar a otro que violan ciertos términos. En este tipo de transgresión, aquel al que se dirige la acción se suele sentir invadido o percibe que su integridad se pone en entredicho. Normalmente, se refieren a la distancia interpersonal, y a aquello que los escolares denominan como “respeto” y “bromas”.

Las transgresiones de límites cívicos son aquellas que tienen que ver con la violación de una norma explícita dentro de una sociedad. En el caso estudiado, las normas de la comunidad académica eran el foco de atención, y muchas de esas normas eran a menudo infringidas. Finalmente, la transgresión de límites sociales tiene que ver con aquellos límites cívicos que además de explícitos son implícitos. En el caso seleccionado, el límite social más claro era la obligatoriedad de aprender la lengua vasca. A nivel general, el alumnado inmigrante tendía a oponerse a su aprendizaje, mientras que para el alumnado autóctono estaba naturalizado. El hecho de que estuviera naturalizado implica que para los autóctonos es una norma implícita. Es por ello que dichas transgresiones de límites sociales por parte del alumnado extranjero representaban y reforzaban las fronteras étnicas,

cuestionaban la estructura educativa y la identidad se construía en oposición a la regla que obliga al aprendizaje de la lengua vasca.

Conclusión. El presente estudio contribuye a la teoría sobre la identidad en interacción mediante el análisis de las fronteras étnicas, sociales y simbólicas; la transgresión de límites y la estructura del sistema educativo. En respuesta al problema teórico planteado al inicio, la estructura del sistema educativo actúa tanto como constrictora como activadora y productora de las interacciones entre alumnado y alumnado y profesorado en forma de transgresiones de límites. Dicho de otro modo, existe una tensión entre los elementos externos que afectan a los estudiantes y les hacen ser como son, y los elementos que los estudiantes escogen y son capaces de decidir, al margen de dicha estructura. Estos últimos son las denominadas transgresiones de límites, que no son una mera infracción de las normas, sino que además pueden constituir la violación de una serie de elementos fundamentales de la sociedad, generando interacciones constitutivas de identidades opuestas. En este sentido, esta investigación aporta una descripción de centros educativos con alto porcentaje de alumnado inmigrante en la CAPV. Por un lado, ilustra el funcionamiento de la escuela pública con alto porcentaje de alumnado inmigrante. Por otro, describe las relaciones multiétnicas entre alumnado y alumnado y profesorado.

Part I

Introduction

Chapter 1

To begin with

1.1. Statement of the problem and significance

Education system structure guides student interaction with other students and with teachers. In fact, most authors agree on the importance of school as a key setting for teenage students' socialization (Erikson 1989, 2000; Eckert 2002, 2004; Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Lareau 2011; Dumais and Ward 2010). Bourdieu's (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) perspective on student-teacher interactions defend that teachers favor middle-class and elite students because these hold their same cultural capital, that is, their symbolic and material acquisitions according to the social position they hold. As these pupils act according to teachers' social position, instructors silently give advantage to the middle-class and elite students (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a). Further studies have been conducted following this Bourdieusian perspective on the unforeseen consequences of the education system structure, introducing race/ethnicity in the equation (cf. Lareau 2011; Dumais and Ward 2010; Merolla and Jackson 2014). These studies show how cultural capital possession according to social class and race/ethnicity, is not as

determinant as as Bourdieu (2008a) claimed. They also provide new directions in the research of the notion of cultural capital.

Also, other studies have focused on the distribution of studentship according to educational policies (cf. Stein 2004; Weber 2009; Martín Rojo 2010). These examples show how teachers treat students according to the designation of educational policies and end up in an Othering practice. Othering practice makes reference to the essentialization of one or various characteristics of a person or a group. It is usually an ethnic marker, which is used to identify a subject or collectivity, often negatively, by the abstract designation of the “Others”. Students who do not follow the expected or standard education level or program are also treated as the “Others”, according to these studies (cf. Alegre et al. 2010; Gorski 2008a, 2008b). The aim of these has been to understand such practices and their influence in student socialization. In a similar way to Bourdieusian studies, educational policy studies explain how subjects are externally influenced to become who they are. By contrast, other studies remark the importance of the reaction of adolescent students to their social position through diverse actions or linguistic interactions, which include humor or linguistic profanity (cf. Dubet and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010; Eckert 2002, 2004; Erikson 1989, 2000; Irena et al. 2016). This study is precisely designed to analyze both perspectives in relation to a case study.

More precisely, this study focuses on how students are distributed, react to it, relate to each other, and to teachers, in a Basque secondary public education center attended by a high proportion of foreign nationals. When such a high proportion of foreign nationals attend a center, it is important to analyze the ethnic distribution of studentship. For instance, in Spain, some studies have been designed to analyze the unequal distribution of foreign national students among and inside schools (cf. García Castaño and Olmos

Alcaraz 2012; Peláez Paz 2012; Martín Rojo 2010). Foreign national students and sometimes Roma population too, tend to be concentrated in particular public schools, whereas the rest of the locals attend other schools. If they all attend the same school, foreign national students tend to be concentrated in some classrooms and autochthonous students in others, creating an ethnic division (García Castaño and Olmos Alcaraz 2012). The former has been designated as “inter-school segregation” and the latter “intra-school segregation” (García Castaño and Olmos Alcaraz 2012). Similar processes of ethnic division have been studied in other ethnographic contexts (cf. Martínez 2014; Weber 2009; Stein 2004; Lund 2015). In line with the Bourdieusian research, these studies on ethnic distribution imbalance also explain how teaching staff function according to school divisions, but they do not clarify if students react to those. In this sense, an important aim of this study is to understand how students are formed according to student-student and student-teacher interactions in the multi-ethnic school setting. In a general sense, the goal is to understand whether these interactions can be explained through structural perspectives¹, and/or frameworks that highlight the capacity of students to react to their social position.

¹ In this note I will make a brief conceptual clarification on the terms structuralism, structural, and the debate on structure and agency for the interest of this work. In anthropology, structuralism makes reference to a perspective that views humans in their relationship to a larger system or structure. This perspective highlights human similarities among cultures and was extensively developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss in the mid-20th century. Following this perspective, cultures or systems are analyzed in relation to the structural relations among their elements, which are usually hidden, or yet to be revealed (Harris 1995; Ortner 1984; Murphy 2015). In sociology, some authors, among them Bourdieu (cf. 1977, 1988), have criticized this approach and designated it as “mechanistic” (Bourdieu 1977, 73). His critique relies on the fact that structure seems to operate independent of subject. By contrast, he argued that social actors are able to act not completely coherently with what is expected from them. What is expected from them would precisely derive from the structure that structuralist authors highlighted. His debate could be located in a larger structure/agency discussion during the 1970s and 1980s (Bourdieu 1977; see also

1.2. Initial purpose of the study and overview of the topics

The primary goal of the research is to understand how subjects are formed in a multi-ethnic and multilingual context. More precisely, this study takes into account young students' relations in multi-ethnic educational settings. It aims to describe how students relate to each other, to teachers, and to the education system itself. The project has a qualitative nature, and it is proposed from the anthropology and sociology of education. It is based on an ethnographic case study from which data was obtained. The methodological tools used in this study to gather information are documentary research, participant observation, interviews, and focus

Giddens 1984), which classical sociologists had already started, and some authors continue to day (cf. Archer 2003). Please note that this work will not focus on such structure/agency debate. Despite the critique Bourdieu (1977) made to the structuralist approach (see also Castón Boyer 1996), his theory on the education system remarks that students tend to remain in their parents' social class because school reproduces the inequalities that are already present in society (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a). According to this theory, there is not much room for social mobility, this is why it has been criticized and designated as deterministic (Jenkins 1982; King 2000). In other words, Bourdieu's (1991; 2008a) approach relies on a similar idea "mechanistic" perspectives did. It must also be noted, that his later works developed the conceptual tools he proposed on the education system in the 1960s and 1970s (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981). This dissertation will not focus on the development of Bourdieu's approach (for a review and analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's extensive work see Jenkins 1992; or King 2000), but solely on his work on the educational institution and his influence on the education system theories. Despite the critiques he received, many studies in the educational institution still use Bourdieu's (2008a) conceptual tools and continue to highlight how social inequalities are reproduced. Most of these perspectives have in common the idea that students are formed according to a set of social constrictions. In this work, I will designate these perspectives as "structural". This term was chosen because it relies on the idea that subjects are the product of a set of structures of interaction. Theories such as this one are those of Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a, 2008b, 1991) and authors who use these or similar perspectives in their research (Lareau 2011; Dumais 2005; Merolla and Jackson 2014; Martin Rojo 2010). The use of the term "structural" in this work should not be confused with the structuralist perspective in anthropology.

groups. The results obtained are also compared to similar case studies to build upon the identity theory.

More precisely, in this work I present the results of the fieldwork I conducted during the 2015/2016 school year in a public secondary education center of the Basque Country, where an ethnic distribution imbalance happened at two levels. First, the school had a high foreign national student attendance, whereas some surrounding privately funded schools had a much lower one. Second, in this center, most foreign national students attended classes mainly instructed in Spanish, while the majority of autochthonous students were mostly instructed in Basque. This linguistic imbalance became an ethnic distribution imbalance, which happened in several schools in the Basque Country (Luna 2014; Save the Children 2016). Based on the results of this fieldwork, I will provide a description of this phenomenon.

Hence, the objective is double: On the one hand, I will describe the ethnic distribution imbalance in Basque secondary education, according to a case study. On the other hand, I will focus on the theories of student formation and identity theory from two central perspectives. First, theories that remark the external elements affecting students and their interactions. Second, theories that highlight the importance of other kinds of interaction, which have to do with adolescent behavior and multi-ethnic relationships. The precise organization of these topics is the following:

- a) External elements affecting students. It makes reference to the set of external elements in the education system that affects students. Strong theories under this designation are structural perspectives, but

there are also other theories² that extrinsically affect students in the academic institutions.

- b) Adolescents' patterns of behavior. In this work I will refer to ethnic, social, and symbolic boundary-work and adolescent limit transgressions³. Both of these are usual patterns of behavior in adolescent years in multi-ethnic environments⁴.
- c) Identity in interaction. These focus on how interactions construct identity during teenage years.

Two chapters correspond to each of these topics. First, theoretical chapters are presented on each of these topics, and then data chapters are introduced. This organization makes it easier for the reader to go back and forth on the

² Please note that not all extrinsic elements affecting students in the education institutions are based on a structural premise. For instance, there are theories that classify teacher authority bases (Levin and Nolan 2014). These explain that each authority base affects students in a particular way. But they do not claim that students hold a particular social position related to it. As such, they do not follow the structural perspective definition provided in this work.

³ This concept is introduced, as some research proposes that adolescents enact transgressive behaviors (Rink and Ott 1997; Miller et al. 2001; Murteira Morgado and Vale-Dias 2016; Hans 2008).

⁴ I chose to focus on ethnic boundaries, boundary-work and limit transgressions in this research question, as these are two remarked behaviors of adolescents in multi-ethnic environments. Ethnicity and social class are important identity markers, which also guide some interactions (Jenkins 2008), and adolescent behavior has been described by some authors as transgressive (Rink and Ott 1997; Miller et al. 2001; Murteira Morgado and Vale-Dias 2016; Hans 2008). Transgressive in this context means that adolescents question adults' rules of interaction (Eckert 2002, 2004; Erikson 1989, 2000). A pertinent question to this focus is whether is it right to assume that in a multi-ethnic context, individuals and groups relate to each other following ethnic and social background criteria. Probably this is not completely accurate, as there might be other elements involved in multi-ethnic student relationships rather than ethnicity or social class. Another question could be whether adolescents only question adults' rules of interaction. This question implies that adolescents interact negatively, meaning non-harmoniously. In this sense, positive or harmonious relationships are not taken into account. For instance, strategies such as solidarity are not analyzed here. In this sense, this is a limitation of this work.

theoretical and data chapters which focus on the same topic. The data collected in relation to the theories will be the basis for the final discussion on identity formation.

1.3. Aims and research questions

This work is proposed as a synchronic study to understand multi-ethnic student distribution and interactions within the education system. These interactions are taken as the ground for identity formation. More precisely, this principal goal has a double application. On the one hand, this research aims to describe Basque secondary schools with a high non-autochthonous students' attendance through the analysis of a case study. On the other hand, it aims to contribute to the theory of identity formation in educational settings. The specific goals are the following:

1. Examine the daily functioning of a Basque secondary public education center.
 - 1.1. Study how the chosen center manages student distribution.
 - 1.2. Analyze the role of students and parents in student distribution in the chosen center.
 - 1.3. Explore how teachers build their relationship with students.
2. Explore the patterns of adolescent behavior in the chosen center, according to typical adolescent behavior, and boundary-work.

3. Examine how the self-concept of non-autochthonous students is built in the chosen center, taking as a point of departure the concept of identity in interaction.

3.1. Analyze classroom student-student and student-teacher interactions.

3.2. Study how these interactions act as identity markers.

The grounds for these objectives are the three most important topics presented in the previous section, namely the kinds of interactions: the external elements in the education system that affect students; adolescent patterns of behavior: limit transgressions and boundary-work; and the concept of identity in interaction. To reach these objectives through the theoretical framework and data analysis, I propose three research questions (RQ). Each of these addresses the previously mentioned subjects:

RQ1: What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?

RQ2: What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?

RQ3: How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?

RQ1 focuses on the education system as a setting the externally influences students. Some of the elements which externally influence students are those designated as “structural perspectives”, or the theories that view students as a product of the education system structure. Other elements include teachers’ authority, and its impact on student performance.

RQ2 makes reference to adolescent patterns of behavior. More precisely, it addresses the patterns of relation among students according to the social, symbolic and ethnic boundaries in the process of boundary-work. It focuses on multi-ethnic education settings as precise environments in which these relations are usual. Besides, it refers to some adolescent interactions which are related to behaviors that question the rules of interaction of society, designated as limit transgressions in this work.

RQ3 focuses on theories of interpersonal patterns of interaction and identity formation according to those. In other words, it aims to elucidate student-student and student-teacher communication, and the identity formed in those. More precisely, it refers to how identity is formed in reciprocal relationships.

1.4. Hypotheses

According to the objectives, the hypotheses of this work are the following:

1. The education system structure becomes an identity constriction but also an identity producer, according to the adolescent interactions.
2. Linguistic division according to the level of Basque language instruction tends to guide student-student interactions and create and/or reinforce ethnic boundaries at school when there is an ethnic distribution imbalance.
3. Non-autochthonous students' identity is partly constructed in reaction to the education system structure, which makes Basque language learning compulsory.

1.5. Definition of terms

In this section, I will define some of the basic and most used concepts of this work. Other important concepts are not going to be defined in this section, as they are part of the theoretical framework or the results. Such concepts are transgression, limit transgression, student autonomy or teacher authority, among others.

- **Multi-ethnicity:** It makes reference to a setting in which people from diverse ethnic backgrounds interact with each other.
- **Multilingualism:** I define this term as the presence of and relations among various linguistic realities in the same setting. In these multilingual environments different languages, dialects, accents or linguistic varieties cohabit and interact (Cenoz and Gorter 2010, 2012; Martin Jones et.al. 2012; Cummins 2015; Agnihtori 2014; Hélot 2014). In multi-ethnic contexts such as the one to be described, “multilingualism [is] the norm, rather than the exception” (Nelde 2010, 373)
- **Ethnicity:** I take what Brubaker and his colleagues (2004) designate as a constructivist and subjective approach to ethnicity — a term that may as well include nationhood. Ethnicity in this sense is defined “in terms of participants’ beliefs, perceptions, understandings and identifications” (Brubaker et al. 2004 31).
- **Autochthonous:** Following Gausset and his colleagues (2011, 138) its etymology refers to earth and "autochthonous people are anchored in their territory, from which they are said to originate." However, in this study, many students whose parents were not born in the Basque Country are considered — by the school, by themselves and evidently, in this study — autochthonous, as they find themselves

anchored to the Basque Country, usually through the Basque language.

1.6. Overview of the Chapters

This dissertation is composed of six different parts and ten chapters within them. Each part corresponds to a classical research design division: *Part I . Introduction, Part II. Theoretical Framework, Part III. Setting and Methods, Part IV. Results, Part V. Discussion, and Part VI. Conclusion.* In the following lines, I will introduce the chapters corresponding to each of those parts.

Part I. Introduction is composed of a single chapter, Chapter 1, stating the research problem, the significance of the study, its purpose, aims, and hypotheses. In relation to the aims, three RQs are proposed, and these form the structure of the dissertation. In other words, the chapters related to the content, both theoretical and empirical, are divided according to these three RQs.

Part II. Theoretical Framework is composed of three chapters, each one related to a RQ. It is the product of a literature review on the three RQs. These are very specific and there is not enough literature on the Basque case to answer them. To fill this gap, the results of other pertinent ethnographic cases concerning each RQ will be presented. The relevance of every introduced case study is related to the interest of each section in which the chapters are divided. The organization of the topics into sections is the following:

Chapter 2 relates to *RQ1: What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual*

*Basque secondary public education center?*⁵ In this chapter, the main theories on the distribution of students in school systems are introduced. The structural Bourdieusan theories (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 1991, 2008a; Bourdieu and Wacquant 2005) and current proposals on the reproduction of social and ethnic inequalities will be presented (cf. Lareau 2011; Dumais and Ward 2010; Merolla and Jackson 2014; Ogbu 1978). Following structural perspectives, other contributions to student distribution in the education system will be introduced according to educational policies (cf. Weber 2009; Stein 2004) and teacher's Othering practices (Martin Rojo 2010; Simmons et al. 2011). The idea that most of these studies share is that social and ethnic inequalities, which are present in society, are reproduced because the education system structure tends to favor dominant population over ethnic minorities or poor communities; the educational policies that regulate the functioning of schools end up reproducing those inequalities; or teachers function according to any of those. In this chapter, a section including other external elements affecting teachers' relationship with students will be explained: teachers' relationship with parents, teacher authority models and its impact on student autonomy.

Chapter 3 is proposed in relation to *RQ2: What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* As related to this question, the notions of boundaries and limits are presented. First, ethnic boundaries will be studied based on the framework by Wimmer (2008, 2013), according to which, strategies for ethnic boundary-making and a classification of ethnic boundaries will be presented. Second, boundary-work according to the

⁵ In order to facilitate the understanding of the whole text, each time I make reference to a RQ, it will be written.

proposal of Lamont (and Molnàr 2002; Lamont 2014; Lamont et al. 2014; Lamont et al. 2015) will be addressed. The author proposes a classification for boundary-making, being these boundaries not only ethnic but also social and symbolic. Third, a framework on limits and transgression will be presented. The concept of transgression will be analyzed in this section in its abstract conceptualization, from classical to current perspectives. Transgression according to Jenks (2003) and Foley (et al. 2012), implies exceeding the limits. Finally, some limit transgression research in adolescence will be introduced, according to different case study analyses, and language profanity and humor (cf. Hans 2008; Oppin et al. 2015; Eckert 2002, 2004; Martínez and Morales 2014; Douglass et al. 2016; Irena et al. 2016; Martin et al. 2003; Leist and Müller 2013)

Chapter 4 is proposed related to *RQ3. How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, the concept of identity in interaction will be described according to different theoretical approaches. First, two major 20th century identity frameworks will be introduced: Mead's (1982) reflexive theory on the "Self/Other" relationships, and Erikson's (1989, 2000) proposals on identity theory based on social input in adolescent years. Second, three current contributions to identity theory will be examined: Jenkins' (2008) Meadean theory on identity formation. Jenkins (2008) presents a comprehensive State of the Art from sociology and social anthropology and contributes on the main gaps of these disciplines. His main ideas will be presented in this dissertation. Miles' (2014) theory on hypersalient and less salient identities, and the problem on which cultural elements influence over others in human behavior, will also be introduced. His challenging framework will be explored in relation in the process of identity formation. Finally, Dubet's (2010) identity theory will be

introduced in the context of the education system. His conceptual tools are described in relation to the Meadean “Self/Other” binary. The author makes a theoretical contribution using the concept of unique experience as necessary for identity formation. In line with classroom student-teacher interactions and identity formation explained by Dubet (2010), language instruction and identity formation will be explored. In this final section, the relationship between language and identity will briefly be presented, and the importance of learning a new language in the education system. The Catalan case will be taken as an example of students’ attitudes toward learning a new language (cf. Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; 2015; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015).

Part III. Setting and Methods is composed of a single chapter, Chapter 5. In this part, I will describe the the context: that is, the Basque education system, educational policies and general distribution of studentship, the town, and the center where the fieldwork took place. I will also explain the process of choosing the sample, its composition, characteristics, implications of the choice, and representativeness. I will outline the procedures for recruiting data, namely, the protection of human subjects, researcher’s role and data collection through documentary research, participant observation, interviews and focus groups. Finally, I will explain how data was analyzed using the Atlas.ti software.

Part IV. Results is divided into three different chapters related to each research question. It is the product of the data collection and analysis, entitled *Results*. As mentioned, the data collected through the participant observation, interviews, and focus groups were categorized using the Atlas.ti software, and some of the classifications obtained were related to each research question. Chapter 6 is referred to *RQ2: What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and*

multilingual Basque secondary public education center? In this chapter, I will address some of the “hidden” consequences of the distribution of studentship, in line with Bourdieusian studies and further contributions to these structural approaches (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a; Lareau 2011; Martin Rojo 2010; Weber 2009; Stein 2004). More precisely, I will describe the inter- and intra-center distribution of studentship, the cultural capital distribution, teachers’ functioning according to educational policies and Othering practices. I will also refer to the Head of the School’s and Head of the Studies’ view on the body of studentship in the chosen center, as their view helps shed light on some global elements that affect students. Teachers’ direct influence on students will also be analyzed following the concept of authority. Finally, students’ academic performance and autonomy will be described.

Chapter 7 refers to *RQ2: What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* As related to this question, relationships among students in the 2nd Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) level of the chosen center will be presented. The criteria I will use to explain these relations are the courtyard and classroom distribution of students. Afterward, I will focus on a single 2nd CSE group, and I will describe their body posture, spatial distribution, and attitude during classes. I will link all of these elements concerning student-student relationships to ethnic boundary-making introduced in Chapter 3. Also, some student-student interactions will be presented during classroom hours and participants’ —teachers’ and students’— statements on these will proceed. Finally, an outline of the concept of limit transgression among students in relation to such interactions will be presented. This will serve as an introductory section of Chapter 8.

Chapter 8 relates to *RQ3: How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, classroom interactions and some school documents which refer to conflicts between learners and educators will be analyzed. Guided by those, a general description of adolescent identity formation will be presented based on the theories mentioned in Chapter 4 (cf. Mead 1982; Erikson 1989; Miles 2014; Jenkins 2008; Dubet and Martuccelli 1998; Dubet 2010). These interactions will be related to the concept of limit transgression presented in Chapter 3. In Chapter 8, a precise classification on these problematic interactions at three different levels will be presented; namely, personal, civic, and social limit transgressions. The latter will be focused on non-autochthonous students' opposition to Basque language learning, which was the most remarkable element of conflict during the observations I conducted.

Part V: Discussion, is composed of a sole chapter, Chapter 9. In this chapter, I will discuss the relations between *Part II: Theoretical Framework* and *Part IV: Results*. The ground concept that links the three research questions is that of identity in interaction through limit transgressions, ethnic boundaries, and external set of elements affecting student interactions in the education system. A summary of a proposal of identity in interaction will also be introduced in this chapter.

Lastly, *Part VI: Conclusion*, is also composed of a sole chapter, Chapter 10 and assesses the accomplishment of the whole work. It will be divided into different sections that aim to revisit the statement of the problem, objectives and hypotheses presented in Chapter 1. In this chapter, a summary of the ethnographical and the theoretical contribution will be made, and finally, the difficulties, limitations, strengths, and future lines of research will be precised.

Part II

**Theoretical
Framework**

When prohibiting limits are no longer stable but fragile, transgressive acts become ultimately redundant within a society that recognizes no rules.

Matt Foley, Neil McRobert and Aspasia Stephanou. In *Transgression and its Limits*. 2012.

Construire le savoir implique également de les transgresser (les normes).

Danielle Hans In *Limits, Transgression et Rapport au Savoir à l'adolescence*. 2008.

Engaged in a fierce negotiation of the social landscape, social values, differences, tolerances, and meanings, adolescents are continually making new distinctions and evaluations of behavior.

Penelope Eckert. In *Adolescent Language*. 2004.

Overview of Part II

Part II describes different theories that aim to address subject formation in multi-ethnic and multilingual educational settings. Three main elements will be targeted. First, external elements in the education system affecting students will be introduced. Second, typical adolescent behavior in multi-ethnic environments is presented. Two principal criteria have been chosen to analyze such behavior: ethnic, social and symbolic boundaries and limit transgressions. Finally, how identity is formed in interaction is explored.

Chapter 2 is proposed in relation to RQ1: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, diverse theories on the functioning the education system will be explained, most of which, are proposed from structural perspectives. First, classical Bourdieusian proposals on the distribution of students and school reproduction of inequalities will be presented. These are related to the education system structure. Current research based on these theoretical categories will also be introduced. Second, research, including multi-disciplinary investigation on educational policies, distribution of students and Othering practices will be introduced. Finally, other external elements affecting students in the education system will be described, namely, the students' families, teacher authority bases and its influence on student autonomy. This last section does not rely upon a structural perspective.

Chapter 3 is related to RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, multi-ethnic and multilingual student-student relationships will be addressed. To do so, two central perspectives will be taken into account: multi-ethnic relationships and boundary-making, and limit transgression as a mode of relationship. First, the relevance of ethnic boundaries, its classification and strategies for boundary-making will be explained according to Andreas Wimmer. Second, boundary-work will be introduced, following Michèle Lamont. In this case, not only ethnic boundaries, but also inequalities related to those, will be addressed. These appear in many of her past and most recent works. Finally, an introduction to limits and transgression will be made. This part will be divided into three different sections that introduce theory on limits and transgression, on limit transgression research and on limit transgression and language profanity, as a characteristic of adolescent relationships in high school.

Chapter 4 refers to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, different frameworks on identity in interaction will be presented. First, two 20th century theories on identity in interaction are presented: George Herbert Mead's framework on the "Self", the "Me", and the "I" in relation to community, and Erik Erikson's contribution to the study of adolescence and identity. Second, three current authors' contributions are exposed as they add on social, ethnic, and student identity theories. These different conceptual frameworks are the basis for the concept of identity in interaction adopted in this work: Richard Jenkins' schema, as he made a broad literature review on the concept of ethnic and social identity from an anthropological and sociological perspective. Andrew Miles' proposal, since he proposed a framework on the concepts of

hypersalient and less salient identities. His theory relies on the idea of stability and harmonious relationships between subjects and their environment. Finally, François Dubet's contribution, as he introduced the concept of experience in the analysis of identity in the classroom. In line with the argument of François Dubet on identity formation in interaction in the education system, the link between language instruction and identity formation during lectures will be addressed, as multi-ethnic and multilingual schools are contexts where language, accents or linguistic code exchanges take place.

Chapter 2

Is it only reproduction?

2.1. Overview of Chapter 2

As related to RQ1: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?*, this chapter provides a broad theoretical base from the sociolinguistics, educational sciences, sociology, and anthropology of education. Taken together, these three related disciplines offer a theoretical proposal to the problem suggested in the RQ2. As noted in Chapter 1, current theories on subject formation in the education system tend to adopt structural perspectives. These view subjects as the product of socialization. To put it differently, these theories conceptualize students in academic institutions as the consequence of a set of already given patterns of social interaction. In this chapter, I address this problem, according to a great part of dominant research. I also provide some hints of an alternative explanation on the relationship between teachers and students, and student formation, guided by the framework presented by Dubet (Dubet and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010).

More precisely, the topics this section will focus on are: first, distribution of students and reproduction of inequalities at school from the perspective

of Pierre Bourdieu in the education system structure. Bourdieu's (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 1991, 2008a) framework on education inequalities will also be presented in relation to current works in the sociology and anthropology of education. The principal target of the second section of this chapter will be educational policies, distribution of students and Othering practices. Much of the research addressed in this section will be based on the Bourdieusian thesis on schools as inequality reproducers⁶.

Finally, a section on other elements affecting students at school will be introduced. In this, I will explore the importance of parents' engagement on students' academic life, teacher authority and student autonomy. These theories are also external elements affecting students, but do not rely upon a structural premise, according to the definition provided.

2.2. Distribution of students and reproduction of inequalities at school

The work of Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu and Wacquant 2005) on France's education system in the 1960s introduced concepts that are used in current studies on the distribution of ethnic and social groups at school. However, the theoretical framework of Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981) did not make reference to multi-ethnic studentship. In this section I will focus on Bourdieu's (2008a) original proposal on the reproduction of social inequalities in the education system. I will lastly mention studies conducted in multi-ethnic school populations that used Bourdieu's (2008a) theory.

⁶ These two sections, namely section 2.2 and section 2.3, paraphrase previously published material in Pérez Izaguirre (2015, 887-896).

According to Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981; 2008a), schools distribute students in terms of their cultural capital, or their material and symbolic acquisitions, which lead them to hold a particular status at school. Students acquire this cultural capital in their process of socialization with their families. That is, students acquire their parents' or families' cultural capital. Cultural capital makes reference to voice tones, speaking formalities or informalities⁷, moving or behaving in a social situation, etc. All of these elements correspond to their families' social status. He made a difference in the acquisition of the cultural capital among the working class, middle class and elites. That is, he proposed that students coming from a working class environment have a different cultural capital from the ones coming from middle class or elites. According to Bourdieu (2008a), teachers have the cultural capital of the middle class and elites, so a cultural capital disparity takes place when students from working class families attend a school. More than a disparity, teachers tend not to favor working class students because their practices do not correspond to those of the teachers' cultural capital. Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981) designated these practices as habitus.

⁷ Bourdieu (2008b) used the term linguistic capital to designate the linguistic acquisitions according to the social position of an individual or a group. This concept is complementary with Bernstein's (1990) linguistic codes as the latter refers to the different sorts of communication in the same language. Bernstein (1990) proposed that a social group or an individual can use a language in the form of a code, adapted to different social situations. But not all individuals can use all codes. The education system values linguistic codes of the middle classes and elites, and not those typical of the low-income and working class families. Hence, being able to speak a linguistic code has an impact on the social position some social groups hold in the education system (Bernstein 1990). The hierarchical relationship between linguistic codes, varieties, and languages has been extensively researched in the field of sociolinguistics and multilingualism (cf. García and Woodley 2015; White et al. 2015; Codó and Patiño-Santos 2014; Fought 2011; Johnston and Marcellino 2011; Piller and Takahashi 2011; Cenoz and Gorter 2010, 2012; Duchêne and Heller 2007; Heller 2006; Canagarajah 2005; Hymes 2004)

Thus, Bourdieu (2008a) proposes that middle class and elite children are in an advantageous position in relation to children of working class families because teachers tend to give advantage to the practices of the former. Based on this statement, Bourdieu argues that schools reproduce the inequalities that are already present in society. In other words, education institutions reproduce unequal social hierarchies by favoring the hidden norms of the middle and high classes, sustaining society's power-relations pyramid (Bourdieu 2008a; Bourgois 2010).

Bourdieu's (and Passeron 1973, 1981) framework provides a series of tools that as mentioned, are very much used in current research. I will explore some of the applications of the author's theory to the US education system⁸.

Research studies that applied Bourdieusian conceptual tools

Lareau (2011, 2015) has expanded the Bourdieusian theory in the sociology of education. In relation to the US education system, she proposed that to understand educational inequality, we need to reveal the hidden rules of schools. More precisely, Lareau (2015) established that the essential element to upward social mobility for poor and working class families is the knowledge of the hidden rules of the school. The mastery of these rules involves the comprehension of the cultural biases of the academic institutions: the cultural capital. Lareau (2011) also highlights that the organization of leisure time is key upward social mobility. Whereas poor and working class parents are prone to leaving more autonomy in the free

⁸ Please note that Bourdieu's (2008a) conceptual tools on cultural capital have also been applied to non-educational environments (cf. Bourgois 2010; Van Dijk 1993; Wacquant 2011; Lamont et al. 2014; Simmons 2010)

time of their children, middle class parents are likely to organize their children's leisure time with formal academic activities. She designates the former as "the accomplishment of natural growth", and the latter "concerted cultivation" (Lareau 2011, 12).

Following Lareau (2011, 2015; Lareau et al. 2016), middle class learners feel more comfortable and confident in their habitus, as they understand the "hidden rules" of schools. Hence, the few poor and working class youngsters attending college are usually less confident and shy than a majority of elite and middle class students. Nevertheless, Lareau's (2011) proposal is less deterministic than Bourdieu' (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a), as she differentiates between cultural capital possession and activation. The former involves that individuals acquire the cultural capital according to their social class, and the latter implies that the subject may practice it in each situation, according to their resources. This allows class mobility and questions the deterministic idea of social reproduction in educational environments (Lareau and McNamara Horvat 1999).

Dumais (2005; Dumais and Ward 2010) has also called into question the theory by Bourdieu (1991, 2008a) on the reproduction of the educational inequalities at school in the context of the American school and higher education system. Dumais (2005) studied teachers' influence in the unequal distribution of cultural capital and its reproduction.

More precisely, Dumais (2005) aimed to determine the influence of parents' involvement in school and its relation to cultural capital. She used data from two different kinds of schools: public schools and Catholic schools. Her main finding is that in Catholic schools parents' involvement in their children' schooling tended to be greater than in public schools, regardless of their social class. Nevertheless, this seems not to be directly linked to teachers' attitude, favoring or not students. Therefore, cultural

capital seems not to be as relevant in creating inequalities in the US school system as it was in the 1960s in France (Dumais 2005).

Dumais and Ward (2010) also conducted a study to examine educational attainment and performance in relation to cultural capital in higher education. This example is relevant, as it indicates educational performance after secondary education in the US. The authors differentiated between first and non-first generation college students and they found that non-first generation college students were in an advantageous position when accessing college because of their parents' knowledge on college choice and application process. By contrast, first generation college students did not have the same sense of belonging in the institution as non-first generation college students did. This sense of belonging or entitlement to be part of the higher education institution was due to the cultural capital, that involves a knowledge of "how to do" and "what to know" in the higher education system. However, they conclude that the "cultural capital acquired during adolescent years has decreasing importance as students advance through college" (Dumais and Ward 2010, 261). In other words, cultural capital may be a barrier that first generation college students carry from secondary education, but once they actually are in the higher education system, this sort of cultural capital has no influence.

Merolla and Jackson (2014) have also analyzed cultural capital in relation to class and ethnic advantages in educational performance and attainment, in consonance with Dumais (2005; Dumais and Ward 2010) and Lareau (2011, 2015; Lareau et al. 2016). Merolla and Jackson (2014) have also questioned the deterministic proposal of Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) and its application to multi-ethnic environments based on a sociological study. By contrast to previous research, Merolla and Jackson (2014) established that black students' educational attainment

in comparison to their white counterparts must be explained by the concept of cultural capital activation, rather than the primary Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital and reproduction. More precisely, the authors defend that both race/ethnicity and social class influence students' educational performance and attainment.

Merolla and Jackson (2014) differentiated among black and white students and low income, middle income, and middle-class socioeconomic status. They observed that racial inequality still exists in the US because in higher education there are fewer black middle pupils than white ones. But the assumption that black students and families possess fewer resources to access college seems to be false. In their study, they also made a difference between cultural capital possession, using the conceptual tools presented by Lareau and Horvat (1999). Merolla and Jackson (2014) show that although white students had higher cultural capital possession and activation in general, black students at all socioeconomic status had higher cultural capital activation. For instance, they mention that "black parents often report being more concerned with their children's educational progress compared to white parents" (Merolla and Jackson 2014, 290). All in all, students' educational performance and attainment seems not to be explained solely by cultural capital possession but also by cultural capital activation among different ethnic groups.

2.3. Othering practices, educational policies, and distribution of students

In line with the proposals of the studies on the education system structure mentioned in the previous section (cf. Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Dumais 2005; Lareau 2011; Merolla and Jackson 2014), some studies from

the anthropology of education and educational sciences have focused on how educational institutions and teachers function by not favoring lower social classes and non-White students in the Western education system. Some of these studies (cf. Martin Rojo 2010, 2011; Simmons et al. 2011; Jociles Rubio et al. 2012) have taken as a point of departure Bourdieu's (2008a) ideas on how students are distributed at school in terms of their cultural capital. Other works (cf. Stein 2004; Weber 2009) have focused on the negative impact that educational policies have on teaching practices, as these often lead to a reproduction of inequalities.

Some studies take as a point of departure the "Others" designation in the education system. I believe it is important to mention what these works mean by "Others". Ethnically and socially diverse populations have often been designated by the term "Others" in the scholarly literature, to explain how dominant society views and treats non-dominant populations in Western societies. The designation "Others" is full of prejudices, stereotypes, homogenizations, and essentializations and often serves to justify unequal social practices (González 2010; Foley 2010). The "Others" designation is usually contrasted by the "Us" (Martin Rojo 2010; Weber 2009; Simmons et al. 2011; Martínez 2014). "Us" makes reference to the majority and dominant group in the society of reference. In a number of studies, ethnicity and social class are combined in order to address the construction of the "Others". In fact, some educational, sociological and anthropological perspectives center on both categories to conduct their studies (cf. Merolla and Jackson 2014; Lareau 2011; Martin Rojo 2010; Stein 2004, Weber 2009; Simmons et al. 2011).

Simmons and her colleagues (2011) made a contribution to the "Us/Others" binary in a US-based study on racial identity narratives. The authors established that schools constantly enact ethnicity and race, which act as a

strong identity marker. They analyzed racism and marginalization in school discourse using critical race theory (CRT) categorizing the “Whites” and “Others”. According to Simmons and her colleagues (2011), whereas white students hardly considered their race, non-white learners needed to constantly define it. They also introduce a new concept: schools as touchstones. They use this notion to designate school racism as one of the pillars of racial identity formation. In other words, the authors explain that school is a societal marker of racial identity built through teachers’, administrators’ and students’ discourse.

Another contribution to the study of “Others”, or in this case, ethnic minorities, and education inequalities is by Ogbu (1978; Ogbu and Simons 1998). He introduces another focus that illuminates the situation of ethnic minorities in education systems. His cultural-ecological theory proposes that social and cultural adaptations of minorities to the US mainstream education system are the reason for their lower performance. He emphasizes that minorities’ lower school performance is not due to cultural, linguistic or genetic differences, but to the social and cultural adaptations of these minorities to the US education system. Structural barriers and several school system elements influence minorities’ low performance, but minorities as “autonomous human beings ... actively interpret and respond to their [minority status] situation” (Ogbu and Simons 1998, 158). He designates the kinds of responses that each minority group makes towards the US education system as community forces. He also makes a classification of voluntary and involuntary minority groups and their differences in terms of identity construction and reaction to school rules and values. He argues that although not all minority group members believe or behave the same way, there are some cultural models according

to which, members of minority groups interpret, understand, and then act in the world (Ogbu and Simons 1998, 169).

The work of Martin Rojo (2010) also highlights the inequalities of the Spanish education system through the concept of “Otherness”. In the same line of reasoning of Bourdieu and Passeron (1973, 1981), she proves how the education system reproduces the inequalities already present in society. To do so, she conducted an ethnographic study in five multi-ethnic schools of Madrid attended by a high proportion of immigrant studentship. Through classroom interaction excerpts, she explains how in one of the schools, the History class teacher, who was quite frustrated with the group he taught, positioned himself against immigrant students in most interactions. Martin Rojo (2010) explains how this reaction is due to the following process. In some schools immigrant students have a low academic performance compared to autochthonous students⁹. These students are sometimes seen or described as deficient by teaching staff. This deficiency is marked by not holding school’s legitimate knowledge or no possessing teachers’ cultural capital. Deficient practices are linked in teachers’ imaginary to students’ ethnic background and students end up being designated as the “Others”.

⁹ This lower academic performance of immigrant students as ethnic minorities could probably be explained by the community forces or social and cultural adaptations they have to go through to adjust to the mainstream society, as Ogbu (1978, Ogbu and Simmons 1998) suggested. Following Ogbu (1978, Ogbu and Simmons 1998), immigrant students are ethnic minorities who have to adapt to a new education system. In such adjustment, their academic performance is sometimes lower than majority students’ ones. In Europe, this disadvantageous position of minorities has been remarked by Cummins (2015). The Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA) has documented the underachievement of students from immigrant backgrounds and some minority language speakers. This reflects a failure of European policies to solve a precise unequal social situation. More precisely, the potentially disadvantaged students have been classified in three categories: a) students whose L1 differs from the main language for instruction, b) students who come from low-socioeconomic backgrounds, and c) students who have been historically discriminated from social and educational opportunities (Cummins 2015, 275).

Imaginary in this work makes reference to the complex common featured image created by a group about themselves or about another group¹⁰. These “Others” have very negative connotations for some teachers as the History teacher previously mentioned, and this negativity is reflected in teacher-student interactions. Through these interactions institutional order and exclusionary social practices are built based on students’ ethnic background. Indeed, through classroom discourse and linguistic practices the author shows how teachers only favor the speaking of Spanish in class. Usually, other languages are negatively “ethnicized” in a naturalizing and essentializing discourse about the “Others”. That is, a students’ ethnic background is used to address their linguistic practices, which is in itself an Othering practice.

Hence, according to these studies, ethnicity seems to play a major role in the construction of a negative imaginary of the “Others”. Similar studies from the anthropology and sociology of education have focused on the essentializing and naturalizing notions of the “poor” in the US (Alegre et al. 2009; Bomer et al. 2008; Fantuzzo et al. 2014; Merolla et al. 2011; Gorski 2008a, 2008b; Small et al. 2010). The theoretical tools provided in these works are valid for analyzing how some scholars, policy-makers, and teachers function according to educational policies (Stein 2004). Some scholars have described low income families and their practices under the “Culture of Poverty” designation (Lewis 1961, 1966; Harrington 1997). Such designation was fast acquired by policy-makers in legal frameworks, as the aim was to legally address poor people’s needs. But legal frameworks and institutional endorsement of those, ended up producing

¹⁰ The concept of “imaginary” is a rather complex one, which has been used in different disciplines, such as philosophy, sociology or anthropology. For a discussion on the concept of imaginary, see, for instance Castoriadis (1983) or Taylor (2006).

ethnically and socially segregated students and creating previously non-existing needs for — at least some of — those under the classification of “poor” (Alegre et al. 2009). Stein (2004) has designated the process by which education agents endorse the “Culture of Poverty” schema and create non-existing needs for some of the “poor” as the “Culture of Policy” phenomena (Stein 2004). Likewise, in Spain there is a strong line of research on the “construction of difference” in the education system (cf. Franzé 2005; Jociles Rubio et al 2012; García Castaño et al 2008; García Castaño and Olmos Alcaraz 2012; Olmos Alcaraz 2009; Poveda et al. 2009). The authors working in this field analyze institutional discourse and its day-to-day life implications in teaching practices. Based on this notion, they research how in multi-ethnic schools students are divided in terms of their ethnic backgrounds and how institutional practice, namely, educational policies and teachers, contribute to such ethnic segregation.

In line with this argument, Hélot and Ó Laoire (2011) remark the importance of language policies in educational institutions. The authors precise that only certain languages are instructed at school, and among those being taught, some have higher status than others. Indeed, teaching often involves implicit practices that favor some languages and linguistic varieties over others. Hence, students whose languages or linguistic varieties are not highly valued at school tend to be in disadvantage in the academic community. An ethnographic example of this idea is that introduced by Weber (2009), who analyzed the trilingual education system of Luxembourg, its educational policies, and inequalities. His work focused on the community of luso-descendants, who encounter many difficulties in the trilingual Luxembourgish society. The Luxembourgish education system instructs in Luxembourgish, French, and German; while these students’ mother language, Portuguese, is ignored. Weber (2009) studied

how luso-descendant students living in Luxembourg are viewed from a dominant part of society. According to a documentary analysis, policymakers and stakeholders end up homogenizing and essentializing the image of luso-descendants, in a negative Othering practice. The author also studied the process of student identity formation through family and classroom interactions in such a multilingual communication.

Some comments on the previous theoretical contributions

Bourdieu's (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) framework provides theoretical tools to analyze inequalities among students. These inequalities, which in the education system of 1960s in France were only social, have also been applied to multi-ethnic contexts (Merolla and Jackson 2014; Lareau 2015). As exposed in this chapter, the operationalization of Bourdieu's (2008a, Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981) concepts in the sociology of education have remarked that these are rather deterministic and more nuanced concepts need to be created to analyze the functioning of other education systems such as the US one. For instance, the concept of "concerted cultivation" proposed by Lareau (2011) and similarly researched by Dumais (2005), seems to be in line with other studies that remark the importance of parents' engagement in their children's schooling process (Levin and Nolan 2014; Lyons and Higgins 2014).

Current research in the sociolinguistics and anthropology of education also focuses on the analysis of inequalities in the education system, following Bourdieusian proposals. For instance, some studies show how teachers function according to educational policies, and how these might end up naturalizing ethnic and social differences and falling under the "Us/Others"

designation, where the “Others” are ethnic minorities, immigrant students, or poor children.

In spite of the critiques of Bourdieu’s (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) framework, an important part of the research based on the education system, also relies upon this structural perspective. That is, much of these studies assume that students are overall a product of a series of social conditionings, and student-teacher relationships are researched in relation to those (Stein 2004; Martin Rojo 2010; Simmons et al. 2011). The only exception to the authors introduced is that of Ogbu (1978, Ogbu and Simmons 1998). He addresses and remarks the importance of the structural and society constraining for the constitution of subjects, but also claim that minorities actively interpret and react to their minority status situation. This argument implies that not only structural conditionings affect subject formation, but also subjects’ reaction to those. In the same line of argument, Dubet and Martuccelli (1997) suggest that the dominant structural perspectives, such as the majority presented in these sections, are indebted with modern sociology, according to which, actors are viewed as the product of society and usually lack individual personality. Conversely, Dubet and Martuccelli (1997) propose that school not only reproduces inequalities already present in society, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1973, 1981), and other authors following this framework had claimed, but that school also produces certain kinds of individuals; in other words, original and unique¹¹ subjects. The theory by Dubet and Martuccelli (1997) in relation to identity will be explained in Chapter 5.

¹¹ The term “unique” throughout all this work makes reference to a non-determined constitution of individuals. As mentioned, structural perspectives rely on the idea that subjects are formed in their socialization process through a set of given structures of interaction. Uniqueness implies that these structures of interaction are subject to be changed by the individuals taking part in them.

2.4. Elements affecting students at school

The studies that will be introduced in this section do not rely upon a structural premise, although they are related to the RQ proposed because they illustrate external elements that affect students in the education institution.

Adolescent students are importantly influenced by their families and teachers, as explained in the previous sections. Both parents and teachers have much to say in the students' patterns of interaction and are key social agents (Martin 2014). For instance, parents and teachers decide how students are going to be distributed, and therefore, with whom most likely are students going to relate to. Teachers guide classroom dynamics and interactions most of the time, and parents might be more or less supportive of school and teachers' demands (Lyons and Higgins 2014). These adult influences will be the aim of this sub-section.

According to Martin (2014), students' relationships with parents and teachers are especially important to predict their engagement, motivation and self-concept in the education system. When parents are engaged in school activities, encourage their children to work on their homework and learn, better educational outcomes are achieved, in line with the concept of "concerted cultivation" above mentioned (Lareau 2011). Conforming to this perspective, in a pedagogic handbook on classroom management, Levin and Nolan (2014) mention that family involvement in school and educational activities positively affects students' motivation, academic performance, classroom attitude and attendance. If teachers build proactive relationship with families, students are likely to be positively affected by it.

Another study on teachers' relationship with students' families is by Lyons and Higgins (2014). The authors analyzed how relations between parents and teachers influenced relationships between educators and students in

three Irish schools. In these schools, many students had behavioral problems and poor communication between students and teachers, and parents and teachers was detected. In order to solve this problem, a project that involved teachers, families and students was proposed and the authors of the study analyzed its implementation. They interviewed teachers and parents, and questioned children about their disruptive interactions too. The results of the study suggested that students' behavioral problems were partly due to a lack of parent engagement in school activities. They also found that teachers had difficulties to interact with students who had negative emotional responses to their interactions. For instance, when students interacted with anger to teachers, teachers found it difficult not to be frustrated about it. This phenomenon has also been acknowledged by Levin and Nolan (2014). They establish that some students show disruptive behavior on a daily basis, and explain that these can become of a chronic nature. When this happens, many teachers' tendency is to negatively react to those. In this process, students misbehave and teachers send negative messages to students continuously, entering what the authors designate as cycle of discouragement (Levin and Nolan 2014).

According to different authors (Levin and Nolan 2014; Martin 2014; Stefanou et al. 2004; Dyson and Plunkett 2014) teachers' verbal and nonverbal messages and behaviors importantly influence such student behaviors. I will focus on an important element that affects these teacher-student relationships: teacher authority. The notion of teacher authority has been broadly investigated in traditional (cf. Durkheim 2002, Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981), and current works (Rosales Garro 2013; Lotan 2006; Steinbreger 2015; Price 2014; Stefanou et al. 2004; Drexler 2010). A contribution to the conceptualization of teacher authority is by Rosales Garro (2013). The author claims that teacher authority is based on an

asymmetric teacher-student relationship where the teacher is legitimized to guide classroom dynamics. In this relationship, teachers are recognized as power holders because students accept it. However, teacher authority is subject to local and temporal understandings of how it should be performed by teachers and recognized by students. Dubet and Martuccelli (1997) also explain how teachers' authority is based on the control of students' personal space. Schools provide students with a space to use under certain rules, and teacher authority is formed on the basis of these rules. In the negotiation of spaces, teacher authority is defined in a game.

In the pedagogic handbook above mentioned, Levin and Nolan (2014) present a practical classification of teacher authority. These authors followed the model by French and Raven (1960) to propose four types of authority bases that teachers use to influence student behavior. First, referent authority bases on a positive relationship between students and teachers. Students usually view teachers who use referent authority as good people who care about them. Learners trust their instructors and pedagogic relationships are quite positive. Second, expert authority is based on teachers' knowledge and their capability to help students in their learning process. Pupils perceive the teachers' wisdom and they also enjoy the subject the instructor teaches. Third, legitimate authority is used when teachers act as legitimized subjects to use their power in the academic institution. Students usually follow the orders that these teachers dictate, as they feel it is also part of their complementary role as students. And finally, reward/coercive authority is used when teachers administer rewards and punishments in their interactions with students in relation to their behavior and academic achievement.

Teachers who can be classified as main users of referent authority in their classes adopt different strategies. For instance, Frelin and Grannäs (2014)

explain that teachers can use the “middle ground”. According to the authors, middle ground is the space “in which it will be possible for individuals to emerge in ways that extend beyond the given teacher and student roles” (Frelin and Grannäs, 58). Building the pedagogic relationship through middle ground entails going beyond traditional teacher and student performances and questioning classic power relations within. This enables teachers and students to build a relationship based on trust, and positively affect students’ academic performance and schooling experience. Martin (2014) introduces another teaching strategy that can be classified according to referent authority uses. He explains that teachers may practice what he calls “connective instruction”. This concept refers to how teachers connect to students in classroom interaction through the subject they teach in a pedagogic relationship. These three elements, namely, human connection, subject, and pedagogic relationship, are central to build a relation based on trust and positive emotions with students. It also has satisfactory consequences on learners’ academic achievement and schooling experience.

Lastly, I will briefly focus on student autonomy. In a general sense, autonomy is understood as the capacity of individuals to act in a self-determined way (Casado and Etxeberria 2014). Furthermore, student autonomy is influenced by teacher authority and classroom management. Hence, it is directly linked to teachers’ relationship with students (cf. Martin 2014; Levin and Nolan 2014; Littlewood 1996; Hall and Webb 2014; Drexler 2010; Griffin 2016; Cotterall 1995; Dickinson 1995; Niemiec and Ryan 2009). As noted, teachers’ actions have an impact on student behavior. Hence, some teaching practices bring about learners’ autonomous behavior and others more teacher-dependent attitude. In this sense, Drexler (2010) mentions that teachers need to find an appropriate

balance between the control of the dynamics of the classroom and student autonomy.

A popular classification on student autonomy is by Stefanou and her colleagues (2004). In a study in a rural northeastern region of the US, the authors described the kinds of autonomy that teachers supported. They defined the concept of supporting autonomy as the kind of power used by teachers to influence students and provide them with opportunities for student choice, minimizing demands and pressure exercised on them. According to the results of the research, the authors found three kinds of autonomy support. First, organizational autonomy support in which teachers encourage students to choose over planning, such as the deadline for an assignment. Second, procedural autonomy support, which encourages student ownership of form, for instance, it enables them to make a presentation on a topic. And third, cognitive autonomy support, which encourages student ownership of the learning through the arguing of their ideas. When teachers support this kind of autonomy they promote the critical thinking of students and it leads to psychological investment in learning. This last concept of cognitive autonomy support has been complementarily described in the field of language learners' autonomy. Authors in this field explain that an autonomous learner is a student who shows the attitude and capacity for independent learning, making, and carrying out decisions (cf. Littlewood 1996; Dickinson 1995; Niemic and Ryan 2009)

Based on these contributions, I will designate student autonomy as the capacity to use different individual resources to solve a problem or face a challenge on their own. This definition will be essential to understand teachers' relationship with students, as it will be explained in Chapter 6.

2.5. Summary of Chapter 2

This chapter was presented related to RQ1: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* It addressed three central perspectives. Two were structural perspectives; and the other focused on complementary theories that externally affect students, but do not rely upon a structural perspective, according to the definition provided. The first, Bourdieu's (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) theory, had a great impact on the education system research. This theory views subjects as the product of a set of social constrictions and relations of power among social classes in the education system structure. Currently, some works are also proposed following this framework, although their conclusions are much less deterministic than those of the first Bourdieusian studies.

The second, research following Othering practices, educational policies, and distribution of students, is based on the fact that teachers designate and label students in terms of their ethnic background, social class, and academic performance. Some of these designations follow a policy discourse, according to which, students are distributed. These last theories provide an advancement on the central Bourdieusian idea, namely, that education institutions reproduce the inequalities among students, which are already present in society.

Most of these perspectives, specifically, Bourdieusien frameworks, research based on Othering practices, and educational policy perspectives, constitute a central part of this work, as structural perspectives have been dominant in the social sciences and educational studies. I have also included the counterargument, namely, the possibility of subjects being uniquely formed in education system. This counterargument relies on a non-structural perspective, as actors are not viewed as the product of a

socially set of structures of interaction. The tension between these two structural vs. non-structural arguments will be revisited in Chapter 9 and Chapter 10, as it is the central problem of this work.

Finally, other important external elements affecting students have been discussed, in relation to RQ1, namely, families' influence on students' academic performance and behavior, teacher authority perspectives, and its impact on student autonomy. These final elements do not rely upon a structural premise.

Chapter 3

On boundaries and limits

3.1. Overview of Chapter 3

In this chapter I will address the second research question, RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* This question is important to address one of the main objectives of this work, as explained in Chapter 1: subject formation in interaction during adolescent years. More precisely, this chapter will focus on two related elements as central for teenagers' identity formation in multi-ethnic environment: boundaries and limit transgressions.

The study of boundaries is related to that of limits in the sense that both indicate the separation between two different entities. Some authors use both “boundaries” and “limits” to refer to the same elements. In much scholarly literature, boundaries make reference to ethnic, social, symbolic, etc. borders that could be perceived by actors in such a way that often led to inequalities (cf. Lamont and Molnár 2002; Lamont et al 2014; Lamont 2014; Wimmer 2008, 2013). In colloquial language and in Psychiatry and Violence Studies the term “boundary” or “personal space boundary” is used to refer to the interpersonal space between two individuals (cf.

Cavanagh Johnson et al. 2009; Geanellos 2003; Acarón 2013). By contrast to the latter, in this work, such concept will be referred to by the term “limit”.

This chapter will address three main topics. First, I will introduce ethnic boundaries, as in a multi-ethnic and multilingual education system people from diverse ethnic backgrounds interact with each other. In other words, in multi-ethnic and multilingual relationships, ethnic boundaries are prone to appear and these will be discussed. Second, I will address boundary-work. This concept makes reference to the “inferences concerning similarities and differences” that make “groups mobilize to define who they are” (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 171). It is important to mention that boundary-work not only includes ethnicity, but other social markers such as social class. Third, I will examine the concepts of limits and transgression, and what I designate as limit transgression in adolescence, or the methods used by teenagers to question the socially accepted rules of interaction. These limit transgressions are not strictly related to ethnic boundaries, but to patterns of interaction in adolescence in much of the Western world.

3.2. The relevance of ethnic boundaries

Ethnicity and ethnic identity have been the focus of many authors after Barth (1976) established a comparative study on ethnic boundaries. He proposed a major framework based on different multi-ethnic ethnographic studies. In the introduction to his work the author suggested that ethnic boundaries between different groups exist and are organized in structures of interaction that take account of each groups’ patterns and criteria of identity. Indeed, ethnic boundaries persist through interaction in a process of interethnic contact and interdependence. As Barth (1976, 17) put it,

“ethnic boundaries define the ethnic group and not the cultural content it holds”. That is, according to him, ethnic boundaries are not specifically affected by each group’s cultural content, but on the relationships that take place in those. Moreover, ethnic boundaries are not only important because of the difference they indicate, but also because they guide social life and relations inside and among ethnic groups. That is, although boundaries are built, exchanges take place, and groups build their identity in terms of other groups. Identities are usually ascribed to values and prescriptions on how to behave in an ethnic group and at the same time, there is a tendency to set some norms for the exchange through ethnic boundaries. In other words, members of different ethnic groups must recognize the “Others” and the boundaries that separate them. Across those boundaries, contact is somehow organized in order to reach an understanding.

The constructivist perspective of Barth (1976) started debates on ethnicity and ethnic boundaries in the social sciences that lasted for decades. The disputes were between primordialists and instrumentalists, essentialists and situationalists, and modernists and perennialists. It was basically focused on the relevance of ethnicity and ethnic relations: when were ethnicity and ethnic relations more salient, under what circumstances did ethnicity define nationalism, or to what extent was ethnicity a category to define human beings and political organization (Wimmer 2008, 2013).

The work of Wimmer (2008) aims to overcome these debates and proposes a framework on why ethnicity and ethnic boundaries are relevant for some individuals and populations, and not for others. Drawing on a set of ethnographic studies and broad theoretical proposals, Wimmer (2008, 2013) provides: a) an ethnic boundary classification; b) strategies of individuals and groups in the ethnic boundary-making; and c) field

constraints of those to choose one strategy over another. In this section I will explore his arguments and some of the critiques he received.

Before introducing the author's main argument it is important to focus on the definitions he provided of ethnicity and of ethnic boundaries. He defined ethnicity as

“...a subjectively felt sense of belonging based on the belief in shared culture and common ancestry. This belief refers to cultural practice perceived as “typical” for the community, to myths of a common historical origin, or to phenotypical similarities”.

(Wimmer 2008, 973)

Wimmer's (2008) definition of ethnicity is based on the weberian idea of “common ancestry” and “shared culture”; that is, the author's definition of ethnicity relies upon a subjective perception of inherited group belonging. According to this definition, ethnic boundaries are explained as both a cognitive or behavioral dimension and a categorical dimension. The behavioral or cognitive dimension refers to “everyday networks of relationships that result from individual acts of connecting and distancing”, and the categorical dimension to the “acts of social classification and collective representation” (2008, 975). He then adds that the social or behavioral dimension makes references to the actions by which we divide the world between the “Us” and “Them”¹²; and the categorical dimension

¹² I use the term “Them”, as Wimmer (2008, 2013) does in his work, but most authors in the social sciences use “Others”, as explained in Chapter 2 (cf. Martin Rojo 2010, Simmons et al. 2011; Dubet 2010; Sterzuk 2015; Koefoed and Simonsen 2012; Berg 2010). Please note that in these studies they make reference to the “Us/Others” binary, but in Chapter 4 research from psychology or symbolic interactionism make reference to the “Self/Other” binary. This is due to the main focus of each discipline:

makes reference to these “Us” and “Them” categories alone. When both categories applied by individuals and groups and their actions coincide or correspond, ethnic boundaries are formed. Based on these two main concepts, he makes a classification on the strategies that actors use for boundary-making and the constraints they face for choosing them.

Ethnic boundary classification, strategies, and constraints for boundary-making

Wimmer (2013) makes an ethnic boundary classification based on four principal dimensions of variation. According to these, an actor or a group can be situated. He proposes that different degrees of political salience are important for understanding the level of alliances inside the group of reference. That is, if ethnic boundaries are salient, more alliances will be formed between co-ethnics. These degrees of political salience are also affected by other social forces, namely, institutions, power and networks. Social closure and “Groupness” are also highlighted by Wimmer (2008) as relevant for ethnic boundary-making. “Groupness” makes reference to the level of social cohesion of an ethnic group. According to the author, the degree of social closure and the level of “Groupness” make it easier or more difficult for an individual or a group to cross an ethnic boundary. The level of “Groupness” also enables or makes it more difficult to access resources that another group holds. That is, the highest the level of “Groupness”, the more difficult it will be to access those, and conversely, the lowest the level of “Groupness”, the easier to access those.

educational, anthropological and sociological and social science perspectives tend to a group focus; whereas psychological perspectives tend to an individual focus.

He explains that cultural differentiation has an impact on the ethnic boundary too. Cultural differentiation makes reference to the cultural content that in the seminal work of Barth (1976) was not taken into account, as he proposed that ethnic boundaries are not dependant on it. By contrast, Wimmer (2008) states that boundaries may be defined by the cultural content they hold, but such cultural content does not necessarily divide populations, as Barth (1976) stated. According to Wimmer (2008), the cultural content in the ethnic boundaries can also unite ethnic groups through heterogeneous cultural practices. Finally, the author introduces the concept of stability in order to explain that some ethnic groups remain more stable than others during time. Some change slowly, while others suffer from sudden changes.

According to these principal dimensions of variation, Wimmer (2013) describes five different types of strategies for ethnic boundary-making. According to the author, this framework can be applied to diverse multi-ethnic contexts. The first, shifting boundaries through expansion, makes reference to the creation of a more encompassing boundary, where actors group existing ethnic categories into a new one. The second, shifting boundaries through contraction is the opposite strategy, as it reduces the elements that boundaries encompass. The third, inversion, aims to a hierarchical re-ordering of ethnic groups who are usually divided into dominated and dominant. The fourth, repositioning, takes account of individual strategies to change his/her position within an existing hierarchy in the ethnic boundary system. It may include assimilation as a way to overcome a minority stigma. Finally, blurring boundaries overcomes ethnicity as a principle of social organization and categorization and other non-ethnic principles are used for social organization, self-designation — “Us” — and other’s designation — “Them” —. In other words, ethnicity is no longer the main element for social relations.

Nevertheless, according to Wimmer (2008), actors are not free in their boundary-making, as they find several constraints when choosing a strategy over another. The historical context within which the dynamics of boundary-making are enacted are the first obstacle actors encounter. Somehow, the ethnic-logic of the nation-state, contextualized in space and time, shapes the strategy for boundary-making of many actors. The institutions and different organization of the nation-state also provide advantages for some ethnic classifications over others. In those institutions, ethnic differentiation is organized in a hierarchy of power. The organization of different ethnic positions could tend to unequal modes of relation that may be contested in counterdiscourses of resistance. Finally, the author highlights that political networks have an impact on the ethnic boundaries, as individuals follow “Us/Them” categorization through different political alliances.

Wimmer (2008) also explains how diverse ethnic perspectives may end up in a consensus or in a conflict. In a divergent ethnic conflict, consensus between groups and individuals appear if the interest of different parties engaged in the ethnic conflict overlap. In other words, actors with different social positions may end up agreeing on an acrimonious matter as there may be a partial overlap of interests. This is designated by the author as cultural compromise, according to which, individuals and groups justify their own demands, their own actions and represent their interests as public benefits. Cultural compromise limits the set of strategies pursued by individuals to get more resources, power and recognition (Wimmer 2008, 1001).

In summary, the author tries to prove that not all ethnic boundaries are contested, in continuous change or shifting, but that they vary with respect to precise circumstances (Wimmer 2013). In other words, depending on the

classification of the ethnic boundary, the strategy pursued for boundary-making and the constraints actors find to make those, the ethnic boundary may change or not.

Overall, Wimmer's (2013) provocative framework provides advancement in the debates regarding ethnicity and ethnic boundaries. However, he received many critiques in the *Ethnic and Racial Studies Journal* Symposium (2014), where several authors commented on his book *Ethnic Boundary-making: Institutions, Powers, Networks*. I will mention some of the most important ones in relation to the concept of ethnicity and ethnic boundary. Brubaker (2014) claims that Wimmer (2013) uses the term "boundary" more as a category than a fact, and not always does he specifically refer to ethnicity. In other words, Brubaker (2014) states that Wimmer (2013) ends up "ethnicizing" other social and cultural areas that do not need to be precisely ethnic. For this reason, according to the critique of Brubaker (2014), the term "boundary" could be substituted by "category" and the text would already make sense. In the same line of reasoning, Song (2014) criticized Wimmer (2013) for his regard on ethnic groups. As Song (2014) put it, dividing societies into ethnic groups does not necessarily reveal their key characteristics in which each ethnic background possesses a different culture, ethnic solidarity and shared identity. Both of these critiques remark that Wimmer (2008, 2013) overuses the notion of "ethnicity". As a consequence, his explanation relies on the fact that most multi-ethnic relationships are defined by ethnic boundaries and the ethnic background of the actors implied in those interactions. In this work, these conceptual tools will be tested in relation to multi-ethnic relationships in Chapter 7, and concerning the concept of identity in interaction in Chapter 9.

3.3. The study of inequalities through (ethnic) boundary-work

An important contribution on the study of inequalities in the process of boundary-work is by Lamont and Molnár¹³ (2002; Lamont 2014; Lamont et al. 2014; Lamont et al. 2015). Lamont and Molnár (2002) stress that identity is built on a process of differentiation between symbolic and social boundaries in the process of boundary-work. The notion of boundary-work refers to individual or group evaluations of the differences and similarities among subjects or collectivities. Such evaluations define individuals and groups into categories. In other words, it defines who they are. In line with Barth's (1976) proposal, Lamont and Molnár (2002) state that social and symbolic boundaries work in feedback in order to reframe the status and identity of the members of different ethnic groups. In the title of this section, I wrote ethnic between brackets because Lamont and Molnár (2002; Lamont 2014; Lamont et al. 2014; Lamont et al. 2015) make a large categorization of different kinds of boundaries that are not necessarily ethnic. In this section I will refer to the boundaries that have an impact on inequalities between groups, mainly ethnic but I will also mention other kinds.

According to the work of Lamont and Molnár (2002), symbolic boundaries are “conceptual distinctions made by actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space” (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168). They serve as tools for defining and struggling over definitions of reality. These

¹³ The theory of boundary-work of Lamont (and Molnár 2002; Lamont et al. 2014), and some other investigations based on these concepts (cf. Tabib-Calif and Lomsky-Feder; Lund 2015) could be classified using the term structural perspectives, according to the explanation I provided in Chapter 1. Because Lamont and her collaborators (2014) remark the importance of the external forces that make individuals who they are. To put it differently, they highlight social constriction as a main element for the formation of subjects. I chose to include the theory of boundary-work in Chapter 3, and not in Chapter 2, as it is central for the discussion in this chapter, and is closely related to the theory of ethnic boundaries by Wimmer (2008, 2013).

symbolic boundaries generate feelings of similarity and of difference among ethnic groups. Social boundaries function towards the objectification of such differences defined in the symbolic boundaries. This objectification leads to unequal access and distribution of resources among different groups. Only when symbolic boundaries are agreed upon and socially accepted, are they to take a constraining character and guide social interaction in relevant ways. When symbolic boundaries become social boundaries, processes of racial segregation or marginalization can be identified, as inequalities can be perceived between different groups (Lamont and Molnár 2002). Multi-ethnic environments are sites where symbolic and social boundaries easily perceived. In these settings, actors with different ethnic adscriptions and social positions interact. The mere difference among them constitutes symbolic boundaries; whereas their differential access to resources based on the objectification on such differences create social boundaries.

In other works, Lamont (2014; Lamont et al. 2014) has focused on how inequalities operate between different groups according to their categorization in the social boundaries. More precisely, Lamont and her colleagues (2014) have founded the study of social inequality through the term cultural processes. They explain cultural process as the inter-subjectively shared system of classification used to make sense of the environment. In these processes, inequality is produced and reproduced continuously in ongoing activities that do not need to involve the action of dominant members of a group because the structural constraints of cultural processes implicitly function (Lamont et al. 2014).

In order to analyze how cultural processes implicitly function and create different kinds of inequalities, Lamont and her colleagues (2014) study the link between macro-level inequality and cognitive processes. Key examples

of these are processes of identification, racialization, stigmatization, rationalization, standardization and evaluation. Identification is the “Us/Others” classification process in which individuals are identified by others and identify themselves as members of a larger group. In line with the analysis of inequalities in the boundary-work, identification processes are central in the symbolic boundaries. In these processes of classification of individuals into collectives, racialization, and stigmatization are central. Racialization makes reference to the socially constructed categories of different phenotypical and biological differences between human bodies. These markers are interpreted through “locally embedded categories” by different social actors (Lamont et al. 2014, 587). Racialization may be a source for inequality, as certain categories of individuals are devalued in the racial classification. All at the same time, in the boundary-work, the implications for racialization may be ambiguous, as racial categories are fluid and may be in constant change.

Stigmatization is the process by which groups are labeled with negative stereotyping and are discriminated in the power structure. Both dominant and subordinated groups can be stigmatized although discrimination toward low-income and/or minority groups is more usual, as their access to economic and other social resources is limited. The explanation by Lamont and her colleagues (2014) is similar to the Wimmer’s (2008, 2013) proposal on the institutional constraints for ethnic boundary-making. That is, institutions usually favor some ethnic and/or social groups over others. Also, the institutional constraints may lead to a hierarchical ordering of ethnic groups. Finally, Lamont and her colleagues (2014) explain that rationalization is the modern process which categorizes individuals through standardization and evaluation. Those guide institutional actions and have important consequences on individuals and groups. For instance, education systems use standardized tests to evaluate and categorize students as apt or

not apt. This categorization is important, as it may lead to the acquisition of a certain status in the academic institution in relation to the grades obtained.

Another contribution to inequalities and boundary-work research following Lamont's (and Molnár 2002, 2014, et al. 2014) framework is by Lund (2015), who introduces the Swedish education system in which students are categorized in terms of their Swedish or immigrant background. This binary categorization is, according to the author, very much present in society and in students' discourse and praxis, and becomes part of the students' schooling processes. Lund (2015) analyzes the complexities of what has been designated as "free" school choice with regards to his case study. He deconstructs the free character of it, as according to the results he obtained, student school choices are socially, institutionally and ethnically guided. He introduces three types of boundaries affecting this choice in what he designates as school market. The first is a dominant structural boundary that comprises school organization and grades. It could be compared to the concept of rationalization, standardization, and evaluation by Lamont and her colleagues (2014). Guided by structural boundaries, students' choices are reduced to their grades.

The second boundary at school is formed in the binary discourse of "we-ness". The "we-ness" concept is similar to Lamont's (2014) and Wimmer's (2008, 2013) designation of "Groupness." This notion is defined by two main elements in opposition in the case study described: Swedish vs. immigrant. As a consequence, each school is identified with Swedish or immigrant studentship. This brings about an inter-school segregation, according to which, the more Swedish attendance, the more status the school has. Conversely, the more immigrant attendance, the less status the

school has. Lund (2015) precises that this binary identification marks the symbolic boundary.

In line with the argument by Lamont and her colleagues (2014), the mechanism by which schools are ethnically divided happens through a process of identification of students with the school. For this identification process to take place, Lund (2015) explains how emotions act as a constraint when they influence the feelings of belonging to the school institution. These feelings of belonging are the consequence of structural and symbolic boundaries. Finally, social boundaries are based on symbolic boundaries and represent the inequalities between Swedish and immigrant students. In these social boundaries students negotiate their positions regarding majority-minority relations based on their sense of belonging to the diverse academic communities.

Another study based on the boundary-work framework proposed by Lamont and Molnár (2002) is the one conducted by Tabib-Calif and Lomsky-Feder (2014). In their ethnographic study based in Jerusalem, they observed how ethnic diversified students in a school enacted social boundaries in their interactions, while teachers tried to avoid and neutralize those. In the making of the boundaries, social inequalities were also performed. In other words, students' interactions, in which boundaries were enacted and inequalities were reproduced, were concealed by teachers. Tabib-Calif and Lomsky-Feder (2014) suggest that schools are settings where reproduction of inequalities takes place in the process of boundary making.

A different study on multi-ethnic boundary-work in the education system is the one conducted by Boda and Néray (2015) in Hungary. The authors analyzed secondary education Roma and non-Roma student relationships. In this setting, Roma students were an ethnic minority, whereas non-Roma

students a majority. They studied the likelihood of same-ethnic or inter-ethnic positive and negative relationships, and the perception and self-declaration of individual ethnicity. The authors found that same-ethnic friendships were more usual than inter-ethnic friendships. Their results also indicate that negative messages from Roma students were sent to other Roma students who tried to be part of the non-Roma group. These Roma students who tried to be part of the non-Roma group were seen as “traitors” from the rest of the Roma student perspective. Moreover, non-Roma majority students did not recognize these Roma peers as part of their ethnic and friends group. This result poses an interesting challenge to boundary-work analysis, as these Roma students wanted to cross the ethnic boundary and be recognized as non-Roma, but were negatively regarded because of it. At the end, those Roma students who tried to behave as non-Roma were excluded from both ethnic categories by both ethnic groups.

3.4. Limits and transgression

In this section, I will focus on classical and more recent contributions to the concept of limits and transgressions, as related notions. I will first address its abstract conceptualization from the sociolinguistics, philosophy and sociology. Finally, I will introduce some empirical studies on limit transgressions, humor, and linguistic profanity in adolescence.

I will focus on Bakhtin’s (1984) proposal on limits. He made a folk humor analysis based on the French Renaissance writer François Rabelais. In his book, *Rabelais and his World*, Bakhtin (1984) studied the relationship between literature and the social world. More precisely, the author analyzed language profanity as a mode of transgression during carnival in Rabelais’ writings. Bakhtin (1984) established that limits are the socially constituted rules or conventions that mark and define what is expected from

another person or group in a social situation. Following this schema, convention refers to implicitly or tacitly admitted practices or “ways of doing” of individuals or groups in a particular social setting. Current works have also remarked how these limits and conventions are socially and culturally constituted and embedded in everyday practices (cf. Foley et al. 2012; Alarcón et al. 2010; Carrascosa et al. 2015; Murteira Morgado and Vale-Dias 2016). Limits are not necessarily related to ethnicity, gender or social class, but to the harmonious functioning of a social relationship. Transgression of these limits may lead to inequalities; but that is not their most salient feature. Most of all, transgression of these limits leads to a clash of views with respect to what an individual or a group perceives that is expected in a social situation. That is, when transgressions of these limits happen, the individual or group who perceives them, feels that they are not appropriate.

Another two important works about transgression in the 20th century were by Bataille (1960) and Foucault (1963). Bataille (1960) focused on transgression in eroticism, partly based on the literary and philosophical production of Marquis of Sade. One of Bataille’s (1960) main argument is that transgression is co-dependent on prohibition, as any prohibition can be transgressed. Prohibition rejects transgression and transgression goes beyond that prohibition. According to the author, transgression does not oppose or deny prohibition, but exceeds and completes it. It is also, in part, rational, as subjects are usually aware of their transgressions. Foucault (1963) bases on Bataille’s (1960) work and claims that limits and transgressions are related through a game in which transgression goes beyond the limits. The two are cyclically linked and not binary opposed, as transgression does not oppose the foundational values of limits.

Nowadays, important works on transgression have been seen light in philosophy (Kacem 2014; Zizek 1998), and in the social anthropology related to theory and practice in the discipline (Rao and Hutnyk 2005). Other anthropological works have analyzed transgressions in various ethnographic cases (cf. Caillois 1984; Gandolfo 2009; Groes-Green 2010; Werbner 2001). Different compilations in interdisciplinary works have also focused on diverse poetics and expressions of transgression (cf. Stalybrass and White 1986; San Juan 1995; Foley et al. 2012).

For the interest of this section, I will introduce two contemporary perspectives that outline the relationship among transgression, normative elements, civility, and convention. The first is by Foley and his colleagues (2012), according to whom, transgressions should be contextualized in time and space. That is, what is considered in one place and one époque as a transgression might not be considered in another. In the introduction to their work, the authors outline the relationship between transgression and limits. Based on the work of Bataille (1960) and Foucault (1963), Foley and his colleagues (2012) establish that transgression is co-dependent on civility and claim that civility and transgressions should be dialectically understood. According to the authors, transgression is located at the border of a norm bounded by limits. In this sense, limits are necessary as they mark what is appropriate. Thus, limits are the essential normative elements that separate appropriate from deviant behavior.

A second current contribution to the concept of transgression is by Jenks (2003). In his book *Transgression*, the author establishes a definition of the concept. In his words,

“...to transgress is to go beyond the bounds or limits set by a commandment or law or convention, it is to violate or infringe. But to

transgress is also more than this, it is to announce and even laudate the commandment, the law or the convention. Transgression is a deeply reflexive act of denial and affirmation. Analytically, then, transgression serves as an extremely sensitive vector in assessing the scope, direction and compass of any social theory.”

(Jenks 2003, 2)

In this paragraph there is an explicit mention to rules and conventions, and its infringement would be defined as transgression. By contrast to Foley and his colleagues (2012), convention is a broader term than civility and normative elements, as the latter makes reference to the explicit rules of a society, whereas the former refers to implicit norms too. According to Jenks (2003), when those civic norms and conventions are violated, transgression takes place. Following Bataille (1960) and Foucault (1963), Jenks (2003, 2013) also claims that transgressing is not only questioning those limits, but going beyond them, exceeding them. Through the excess, rules are reaffirmed and even praised. In this complex relationship, the author claims that transgressing is not denying the limits, but completing them in a process of cultural reproduction in the reaffirmation of the norm. Indeed, according to the author, human experience is based on the testing of limits. What is more, the internalizing of social order is based on such experience. As transgression becomes part of human life, individuals in “an intense relationship with the desire to transgress a limit” (Jenks 2013, 21).

Research on limit transgression in adolescence

Many authors have claimed that in adolescence many limit transgressions happen through different practices, such as the enactment of risky and violent behaviors (Bonino et al 2005; Bell and Bell 1993; Hans 2008; Varela Garay et al. 2013; Patterson et al. 2016; León et al. 2010; Krettenauer et al. 2014; Cui et al. 2016; Carrascosa et al. 2015; Alarcón et al. 2010). The study of those is quite broad in developmental psychology, and adolescent studies; and much of it has been related to delinquency, crime, and antisocial behavior (cf. Bonino et al 2005; Bell and Bell 1993; Sarmiento et al. 2010; Chauchard et al. 2014; Murteira Morgado and Vale-Dias 2016). In the education system, much research has been conducted on students' discipline problems, disruptive behavior, and violence against their peers and teachers (cf. Díaz-Aguado Jalón 2005; Garaigordobil and Martínez Valderrey 2016; Mooij 2011; Wilson et al 2011; Levin and Nolan 2014; Carrascosa et al. 2015; Dzuka and Dalbert 2007; Wilson et al. 2011; FETE-UGT s/f).

By contrast, social and cultural anthropology or educational studies of adolescence tend to highlight the institutional constrictions to student behavior in the education system, and inequalities related to those, as noted in Chapter 2 (cf. Simmons et al 2011; Martin Rojo 2010; Ogbu 1978; Ogbu and Simmons 1998; Téllez Infantes 2013; García Castaño et al. 2008). Only a few studies have related language profanity, which could be taken as a mode of transgression, to youngster behavior (Eckert 2002, 2004; Martínez and Morales 2014; Chávez 2015).

Limit transgression in adolescence has been comparatively researched in many countries (cf. Rink et al 1997; Miller et al 2001). Some studies have applied a Scale for Measuring the Attitudes — Reaction for Pattern Research (RPR) — of youngsters towards social limits (cf. Rink et al.

1997; Barneveld and Robles Estrada 2011). Guided by the results obtained through this tool, they indicate that youngsters' limit transgression is not higher than 15%. For instance, in a study conducted in Mexico they applied this scale and found that when teenagers encountered the limit of a social norm, they seemed to follow the rule. That is, instead of transgressing it, they chose to comply with it. This contradicts the popular social view that adolescents are especially transgressive, do not comply with rules or constantly show rebelliousness. In Chile, a similar study was conducted by Alarcón and her colleagues (2010). The authors used a similar tool to evaluate youngsters' behavior. In line with the studies aforementioned (cf. Rink et al. 1997; Miller et al. 2001) the results of the investigation carried out by Alarcón and her colleagues (2010) indicate that adolescents tend more to comply with social norms than to transgress them.

León et al. (2010) conducted a study in Huelva, Spain, and measured health-risk behaviors of adolescents. They established that health-risk behaviors were those which involved an increase in the morbidity and mortality rate of the young participants. Those behaviors included alcohol and drug-taking, non-protected sexual relationships or driving under the effect of drugs, among others. I would like to highlight from this study that for the authors not all behaviors that involved taking a risk implied an equal level of transgression. That is, some behaviors were socially judged more severely than others. The authors classify these behaviors as more or less transgressive according to conventional society. The results indicated that the highest the risk taken by the adolescent, the more confrontation they would suffer from the adult world. Another interesting conclusion is that the more negative these adults judgments were, the more acceptance they got by their peers, and the greater autonomy teenagers established from their parents.

Another study on limit transgression was conducted by Hans (2008) in a French secondary education centre. In her study, the discourse of a 15-year-old adolescent is analyzed to understand the relationship between knowledge acquisition and internal psychological process. The study was conducted from a clinical psychoanalytical perspective that aims to give further recommendations in the context of teacher-student problematic relationships. The author claims that in order to gain academic and social abilities, subjects need to transgress or test what is already socially established. Through transgression, individuals develop their autonomy and creativity, as they must find equilibrium to internalize the new insight they have acquired. The author found that the discourse of the research participant was centered on risky behaviors and denied the possibility of getting hurt in those, but acknowledged how others could get hurt. Hans (2008) interprets it as the research subjects' game on life and death and his learning through limit testing by experience.

Finally, I will introduce a study of inter-cultural conflict related to limit transgression conducted by Oppin and her colleagues (2015). In their study, the authors aim to understand the perceptions of discrimination and emotions related to those in the case of first and second-generation Maghrebi immigrants in France. They chose this group because Maghrebi population is known for being the most discriminated immigrant group in France. They took an 85-male student sample that included members of the majority French society and first and second-generation Maghrebi college students. In the study, the participants of the majority French society questioned Maghrebi students because they had not complied with a norm. The results indicate that when host society members sent a control message to confront these limit transgressions, second-generation immigrants reacted with anger because they perceived that such confrontation was

illegitimate or unfair. They also perceived it as discrimination. Second-generation Maghrebi immigrants considered they were born and part of the French society, and as such, they should not be treated that way; whereas first-generation immigrants did not feel they were entitled to rebellion and did not react with anger. One of the interesting results of this research is that when second-generation immigrants became angry, inter-cultural relationships between the majority society and second-generation immigrants became negative. Thus, the perception of unfairness gave rise to anger and that prevented inter-cultural relationships from developing positively. In other words, the anger social control messages woke was both not functional and ineffective for future social integration.

Limit transgression, language profanity, and humor

As noted in the previous section, part of adolescent scholarly literature has been focused on adolescent language profanity (cf. Eckert 2002, 2004; Martínez and Morales 2014; Burt et al 2016; Shek and Lin 2016), and humor (Morgan and Korobov 2012; Douglass et al. 2016; Irena et al. 2016).

Eckert (2002, 2004) refers to language profanity in the American High School. Her work provides an insight into the so-called “teen-culture”, profanity and rebellious behavior. According to the author, in adolescence, social order is internalized by testing social and institutional rules in the context of High School, often through clothing, gesturing and language profanity. Nevertheless, adults judge these behaviors as profane and often describe “teen-culture” by means of their transgressive language use. In other words, many adults refer to adolescents as the linguistic transgressors. Eckert (2004) puts into question that the rebellious behavior

and profane language use of adolescents is a natural stage of their development. She establishes that adolescence and what we identify as such — rebellious, transgressive, and risky —, is a social construction. The author explains how in industrialized countries adolescents are physically separated from adults in educational institutions and are denied adult roles; while in other societies adolescents start to take part in adult life. In the author's view, adolescence is very diverse, but they have something in common: they want to define themselves in relation to the world in their transition to adult life, making a difference between themselves and the adults. In this process of differentiation many aspects interact, and those help adolescents reach a social position in society.

Another study in the American High school is the one conducted by Martínez and Morales (2014). The authors analyze Latino bilingual discourse when they use a transgressive Spanish-English word play at a US school. The authors claim that these profane linguistic interactions are often discouraged from education settings; however, they indicate a richness and dexterity in their use. That is, the transgressive word play used by bilingual students indicates a great ability from students to use both Spanish and English in their interactions. More precisely, they analyze the double entrepreneur or “doble sentido” and how these transgress normative linguistic boundaries in the education system. This “doble sentido” may also be an identity constructor for students as linguistic transgressors.

Finally, I will introduce some studies and theoretical proposals on humor, as in adolescence, humorous situations are central for identity formation. In the work conducted in a school of the Czech Republic, Irena and her colleagues (2016) analyze humorous contexts for adolescents and they link those teenage practices to getting peer acceptance. They establish that making a joke is an intellectual exercise that involves mastering the limits

of taboos and social controversies. In other words, being able to make a “good” joke, requires the capability to dominate the limits of controversial topics, in a game that should be funny for the rest.

This and other studies (cf. Morgan and Korobov 2012; Cameron et al. 2010) highlight the positive consequences of humor, whereas other works have focused on the detrimental consequences of adolescent humor (cf. Douglass et al. 2016; Sari 2016). For example, Douglass and her colleagues (2016) have studied the negative effects of ethnic/racial teasing among teenagers. This kind of humor is used in the peer group and it is, as Irena and her colleagues (2016) had claimed, common in teen interaction. Such jokes also involve a close relationship between the teaser and the teased. Douglass and her colleagues (2016) took an ethnically diverse sample from five schools in New York City and qualitatively and quantitatively evaluated the experience and anxiety suffered by individuals who had been the target of ethnic/racial teasing. Whereas this kind of humor brought about a general state of anxiety among participants, that level of anxiety and the negativity of the situation perceived were dependent on the context in which the joke was made, the level of closeness between the teaser and the teased, and the usual levels of anxiety of the person receiving the joke.

An important contribution that comprehends both the negative and positive outcomes of humor is made in the popular work of Martin and his colleagues (2003). According to the authors, there are four different types of humor related to its uses and functions. Of these four types of humor, two conduct to psychological well-being, and the other two are detrimental. First, Affiliative humor corresponds to individuals with the ability to be funny in a witty, spontaneous manner that amuses others. It affirms the “Self” and the “Others” and enhances interpersonal relationship and cohesiveness inside a group of people. It is positively related to

extraversion and openness. Second, Self-enhancing humor also implies a positive management of emotions, and keeping a humorous perspective on different situations, but it is more intrapersonal rather than interpersonal, by contrast to Affiliative humor. Third, Aggressive humor is related to teasing, sarcasm and ridicule of the others. It is a type of humor at the expense of the well-being of the others. It is found related to emotions such as anger, hostility and aggression. And four, Self-defeating humor involves being funny at one's own expense in order to gain approval or being part of a group. It is related to a low self-esteem, depression or anxiety. The impact of this classification was such, that a considerable number of different works have been conducted based on it (cf. Leist and Müller 2013; Galloway 2010; Chang et al. 2015)

An important contribution following the classification of Martin and his colleagues (2003) is the one of Leist and Müller (2013), who conducted a study of humor in a German sample. Based on the results of their investigation, the authors presented a different humor type classification. According to Leist and Müller (2013), the same person might use different styles of humor in various situations. Their classification of humor types is linked to the personality type. They found three main personalities in relation to humor: humor endorsers, who reflected cheerfulness and were funny; humor deniers or people who did not use much humor in their life; and self-enhancers or the ones who tried to make oneself feel better through humor and seemed to be the most adaptive. In this study, the authors also found that humor scales are not beneficial or detrimental *per se*, but they are dependent on other humor styles and the context in which they take place, in line with the results of Douglass and her colleagues (2016) above mentioned.

Based on the studies on limit transgressions in adolescence and language profanity explored in this section (cf. Miller et al. 2001; Alarcón et al. 2010; León et al. 2010; Hans 2008; Eckert 2002, 2004; Irena et al. 2016), I define limit transgression in adolescence as the methods used by teenagers to question the socially accepted rules of interaction and the conflicts arisen because of the way those situations are tested. This concept is basic to understand the theory and ethnographic examples provided throughout all this work. Also, when I use the term language profanity I refer to the words, accompanied by gestures or not, that are used by individuals to defy previously established social and cultural, explicit and implicit norms. This concept is also essential to understand the theory and case study examples throughout this work.

3.5. Summary of Chapter 3

In this chapter, I focused on the RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* This question is important for the objective of this work, as it addresses adolescent students' behavior. This behavior indicates how subjects build their relationships, and how they are affected by it. In this chapter, two related elements were taken into account, as central for identity formation, namely boundary-work and limit transgressions. In this work, the separation of both concepts is central. On the one hand, boundaries in much scholarly literature refer to ethnic, social and symbolic borders that are perceived by actors and lead to inequalities. On the other hand, limit makes reference to the socially established norms and conventions that guides social interaction.

Boundary-work was analyzed from two perspectives: ethnic boundaries and ethnic boundary classification according to a current perspective by Andreas Wimmer; and boundary-work, by Michèle Lamont. The former refers to the boundaries which are present in multi-ethnic and multilingual environments, where people from various ethnic backgrounds interact. The latter not only refers to ethnic boundaries, but also to social and symbolic boundaries. Michèle Lamont's framework extends to the study of inequalities in other processes which can also be related to boundary-work.

Limits and transgression were also analyzed in their abstract conceptualization according to classical and current frameworks. Limit transgression research and linguistic profanity and humor were also presented, according to current perspectives. Finally, a definition of limit transgression in adolescence was provided, according to all the previous perspectives. Limit transgression in adolescence are the methods used by teenagers to question the socially accepted rules of interaction, and the conflicts that arise because of the way these situations are tested.

Chapter 4

Identities

4.1. Overview of Chapter 4

This chapter is related to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* As explained in Chapter 1, this question focuses on interactions as identity constructors.

More precisely, this chapter is divided into three different parts. In the first section, I will expose two 20th century important theories that are most influential on identity studies in contemporary works. One is the theory of the “Self” in Mead’s (1982) work, and the other the contribution to the study of evolutionary psychology and adolescence of Erikson (1989, 2000). In the second section, I will focus on three current contributions to identity theory. These theories have been chosen because combined they provide a unique schema to understand identity. Jenkins (2008) reviews previous works on identity and builds upon them to propose his own framework on social identity in interaction. His work provides a broad state of the art in social anthropology and sociology. Miles (2014) constructs a proposal that responds to the question on why some cultural elements are more influential than others and how these construct identity. His framework is

particularly useful, as it relies on the idea that the notion of “identity” is quite stable and/or coherent with the context in which it is embedded. Dubet (2010; Dubet and Martuccelli 1997) contributes to identity theory from the perspective of sociology of experience and explains how student identities are formed at school in an original way.

Finally, in line with the proposal of identity formation in classroom interactions introduced by Dubet (and Martuccelli 1997, Dubet 2010) I will highlight the relationship between language instruction and identity. I will also analyze a specific kind of interaction that enacts language and identity, which may take place in multi-ethnic and multilingual contexts: conflict over language learning.

A brief clarification on the focus of Chapter 4

Before introducing different theories on interactions and identity, I will make two basic clarifications. First, I will explain the meaning of “identity in interaction” in this work. And second, I will present the notion of multiple identities.

An important contribution to identity in interaction is the sociocultural linguistics approach by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). According to the authors, identity is produced in linguistic interaction. Their framework explicitly relies on a sociocultural perspective which remarks that social and cultural forces make individuals who they are in interaction with others. This premise rejects individual’s capacity to uniquely answer to social determinants. They establish that identity is an emergent product of linguistic interaction in which identity emerges in a “Self/Other” game. In interaction, identities are intersubjectively constructed through complementary and overlapping relations, including similarity and

difference. These identities are in a constant shift through discourse both in a deliberate and unconscious way, negotiated internally and externally. Identities are also macro-socially, locally and temporarily embedded and subject to the status that subjects hold in society.

I will focus on two main elements introduced by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) that are basic for the understanding of identity in this work. On the one hand, I will highlight the idea that identity is built in interaction through language in social situations that entail elements taken from a global, local, and social position perspective. This conceptualization of identity has a changing nature; it is internally and externally negotiated constantly. This perspective summarizes the perspective of identity in interaction that this work will rely upon. On the other hand, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) defend the idea that identity is dependent on social and cultural constrictions, in line with the Bourdieusian arguments exposed in Chapter 2. This structural argument will be revisited in Chapter 9, as it is the central problem of this work.

Finally, in relation to the proposal of Ramarajan (2014) and Grodon (2013), in this work I will consider that identities can be conceptualized in a multifaceted way. Ramarajan (2014) made an extensive literature review on identity from the psychology, sociology and humanities, and established that people have multiple identities, based on different attributes, such as gender, ethnicity, nationality, profession, or family. To put it differently, a person can have many identities or self-definitions according to those attributes. These will be analyzed in relation to the ethnographic case presented in this work in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

4.2. How identity is formed according to two major perspectives

In this section, I will explore two theories that contributed to identity theory. First, George Herbert Mead proposed a framework on the formation of the Self from the perspective of symbolic interactionism. Although he used the term “Self” instead of identity, his proposal contributed to what nowadays is researched as “identity” (Stryker and Stryker 2016). Second, Erik Erikson proposed a theory of development and personality from a psychoanalytical approach. His framework will be addressed here in what respects to identity in adolescence.

Mead (1982) established that subjects are constructed in social interaction with the community or the “generalized other”. He claimed that without social interaction, a person would not have a conscience of the “Self”. The “Self” could be defined as the individual organization of and response to social experience; or the product of the relationship between the individual and the community. To put it another way, we build an image of ourselves in our “Self” as the result of social interaction with community. The process by which the individual understands the “generalized other” enables him/her to understand what it is expected from him/her in a social situation. For instance, children most likely know whether their interaction is appropriate or inappropriate according to the feedback they have received from their parents in previous occasions. Therefore, the discovery of the “Self” has its origin in social activities (Mead 1982).

According to Mead (1982), the “Self” is constituted by two central elements: the “Me” and the “I”. These two conceptual distinctions enable the author to explain how the input from society is organized and the individual response to it. The “Me” assumes what the “generalized other” expects from him/her. By contrast, the “I” reflexively reacts to those

assumptions at the present moment. This process of interaction with community enables subjects to understand what is expected from him/her and to react to it. Thus, in a given exchange, the actors place themselves by taking into account the perspectives of all the others also engaged in the exchange. As the community's stimulus that the individual receives is in constant change, the "Self" changes in that process too. That is, when new situations need to be interpreted, the "Self" adapts to them. All in all, Mead's work (1982) made an important contribution to identity formation theory, as he asserted that human beings have "the capacity for shaping their own behavior" (Stryker and Stryker 2016, 33).

In a similar line of argument, Erikson (1989) claimed that for identity formation to occur, a process of reflection and observation is needed. Identity for the author is similar to the concept of the "Self" by Mead (1982). More precisely, Erikson (1989) defined identity as the changing system of the "Self" in terms of individual experience. According to Erikson (1989), individuals judge themselves according to how others judge them and this self-perception is developed mostly in an unconscious way. In other words, individuals need to differentiate from others by getting input from them. This input changes over time, as social and cultural stimulus change. But also, the way individuals manage the input they get changes over time, as identity is formed according to different stages of development. The main process of identity formation starts in adolescence, when individuals begin to call into question their previous experiences in life, i.e. society and family rules. Because adolescents are in a crisis with regards to their previous experiences and rules of interaction in daily life, they learn how to face new life challenges using their own resources to question previous structures. Erikson (2000) also explained

that adolescents show passionate behaviors when their identity is at stage in interactions.

Often, adolescent identities are enacted in opposition to the particularities that are being ascribed to them. Opposition is also designated by the author as negative identity. Negative identity is necessary, according to Erikson (2000), for the formation of identity. In this process of denying both identities ascribed to them and societal rules, conflicts arise because of the ways those oppositions are made. All of those elements contribute to the formation of identity, which is in constant change and testing (Erikson 1989, 2000). In adolescence, this process of input and conflict accommodation often happens through societal rituals where individuals not only assume what is expected from them in terms of their age, but also in terms of their gender, status, social class and ethnic background (Erikson 1989, 2000).

Overall, these 20th century proposals on identity had a major impact on adolescence studies. More precisely, Mead's (1982) framework constitutes a central contribution in the social anthropology, psychology, and sociology studies which focuses on the "Self/Other" binary (cf. Stryker and Stryker 2016; Jenkins 2008). However, his work has received many critiques because it relies too much on the cognitive aspect of the "Self". The game on the "Me" and the "I" that he describes as necessary for the constitution of the "Self", implies a capacity of the subjects to respond to the community without emotions. Neither does he focus on conflict in his theory. Complementarily, Erikson (1989) suggested that the experience that individuals accommodate in their identity-making is related to emotions and conflict. The passionate behaviors of adolescence, the negative identity and testing of social rules, he mentions, are related to strong emotions that influence adolescents' behavior. Current research that involve identity

construction in conflict and related to emotions can be found in psychology (Zacorés González et al. 2009; Iborra et al. 2008; Huq et al. 2016; French et al. 2006) or educational anthropology (Collins 2012; Hoffman 1998).

4.3. Current frameworks to understand identity

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) suggested almost two decades ago that identity has become an ambiguous term in the social sciences. Identity as a term may designate many “things” and nothing at the same time. Not only ambiguous, but also reifying and essentializing, it lacks analytical value, according to the authors. They claimed that there have been two main uses of the notion of identity, the weak uses, which encompass the constructionist, fluid and negotiated conceptualization of identity; and the strong uses, which denote sameness or common ground among people. In their remarkable article *Beyond Identity*, they criticize the reification and essentialization of the term “identity” and propose a set of concepts that refer to what other authors meant by it (see also Malešević 2003; Gordon 2013; Ramajaran 2014). In order to avoid the critique made by Brubaker and Cooper (2000), some authors, such as Jenkins (2008), tended to use identification instead of identity. By contrast, in much research the term identity is still used, as much as Brubaker and Cooper (2000) would disagree. In fact, seminal works on identity still have an enormous impact on the social science and philosophy literature (cf. Bauman, 2005; Butler 1997; Giddens 1991; Stryker and Burke 2000). In this section I will provide an overview of three current frameworks to understand identity based on interaction, which are basic for this work.

Richard Jenkins' proposal on identity theory

Jenkins (2008) titled his book *Social Identity*, as according to him, identity necessarily involves social interaction. He also suggested that identities are negotiated, flexible and multi-dimensional. In Brubaker and Cooper's (2000) terms, this would be a weak conceptualization of identity, since it is presented as constructed and changeable.

I will start to contextualize what the author meant by identity and identification. According to Jenkins (2008, 5), identity "is the human capacity — rooted in language — to know 'who's who' (and hence 'what's what')". From this perspective, we must identify ourselves and identify the others in a multi-dimensional classification of individuals and collectivities. It is something that humans actually do, it is not neutral — as classifications are never neutral —, and it implies evaluation and hierarchy. Identification is the process in which identity is constituted, and built through experience by humans in three different orders (Jenkins 2008).

First, individual order refers to the cognitive construction of individuals in terms of the "Self/Other" Meadean binary. It is especially relevant how this construction is made during childhood, as primary and salient identities are built at that stage. For instance, gender identity is formed during infancy, and sometimes ethnicity too. The author explains that ethnicity is constructed after gender identity and that it "really matters" (Jenkins 2008, 87), meaning that it is salient, but also changeable and negotiable, in line with what Barth (1976) proposed. Also, phenotypical features commonly designated as "race" may reinforce ethnic identity.

Second, following Jenkins (2008), interaction order is constituted by the relationships between individuals. In this context, performative aspects of identity appear: individuals try to be "someone" or "something" (Jenkins 2008, 16), and at the same time seek to be recognized as such. Finally,

institutional order refers to the socially established “ways of doing things” (Jenkins 2008, 39). Individuals adjust to organizational demands and identify according to it.

More precisely, Jenkins (2008) explains the role of institutions in identity formation through external identification and categorization processes of collective identification. His proposal and explanation on these concepts very much resembles that of Lamont and her colleagues (2014), in their research using the term cultural process. According to Jenkins (2008), institutions establish external criteria on how things are done and should be accepted by actors. In fact, most individuals orient their behavior according to them. Institutions can be understood as ideal types that guide the patterns of regularity of everyday life, as they are consequential and constraining. Consequential, since they have consequences in actors’ lives; and constraining, as they limit individual action with respect to specific rules that regulate their functioning. Besides, institutions categorize and label individuals. Categorization implies non-neutral evaluation of individuals; and labeling entails external identification ascribed to a category that may have negative outcomes for subjects. For instance, in the Bourdieusian example of teachers reproducing class inequalities at school according to their cultural capital, categorization could imply designating each student in terms of his/her marks or academic achievement; while labeling could entail the negative designation of students as “low academic performers”, or the “Others”, as explained in Chapter 2. Teachers’ favoring middle class students’ cultural capital involves implicitly ascribing a category to each student based on his/her family income and practices, which have negative consequences for the low-income students.

In line with the proposal by Lamont and her colleagues (2014), the explanation by Jenkins (2008) relies upon a structural perspective, that is, it

bases on the social conditionings for subject formation. However, by contrast to Lamont and her colleagues (2014), Jenkins (2008) proposes that unique identities can also be created. According to him, in the process of the accommodation of the received input, original identity is entangled with collectively shared identity. Both are formed in interaction, in the most Meadean way. That is, both individual and collective identities are based on a process of similarity and difference. Individual identity emphasizes difference with respect to others, and in this sense, it could be considered as unique; whereas collective identity accentuates similarities. On the one hand, individual identification is embodied, reflexive and constituted on the basis of the “Self” and the “Mind”. The “Self” encompasses individuals’ private experience of themselves; and the “Mind” is the set of organized processes of communication, consciousness and decision-making. This very cognitive Meadean framework is partially completed by the author when he mentions that emotions play a role in this process, but rapidly acknowledges that it is beyond the capacity of his work. On the other hand, collective identification emphasizes similarity and the intersubjective construction of the “common ground”. This common ground is constructed and re-constructed through discourse, rituals, and symbols (Jenkins 2008).

An Identity-Based Model of Culture in Action

The problem of cultural anchoring or determining which cultural elements influence others is vital for the understanding of identity, according to Miles (2014). The author proposes a theoretical framework on identity that provides an answer to this problem, and also states why previous theories have not successfully addressed it. The author argues that he uses the term identity, as it “is a type of cultural content that provides traction on the

problem of cultural anchoring” (Miles 2014, 210). He states how tool-kit theory and dual-process models of culture and action have failed to address the problem of cultural anchoring, but also uses their strengths to build his own theoretical proposal.

Tool-kit theory builds on the fact that individuals have particular culturally acquired knowledge, not systematically organized but structurally present. Individuals show competency using their own culturally acquired knowledge, in the most Bourdieusian sense, in relation to their social position. According to this theory, external structures activate cultural competencies that are appropriate to particular contexts, and guide action. Following Miles (2014), tool-kit theory provides an explanation on how cultural anchoring works, but not why action is undertaken.

Other theories are dual-process models, which contribute on individual motivations for action. These theories suggest that there are two levels of cognitive processing: one slow and deliberate and the other fast and effortless. According to this perspective, behavior is mostly guided by accessible elements to the fast system. These elements are automatically activated in precise situation. They include moral worldviews, attitudes, values, but also the knowledge and skills mentioned in the tool-kit theory. Hence, these dual-process models provide an explanation on how culture shapes action, and also on why people act. Yet, according to Miles (2014) they are less promising as process theories, as they do not explain which content is activated over another. In other words, they do not address the problem of cultural anchoring. They provide a partial explanation on how cultural content is activated and how it becomes accessible or active; but sometimes the cultural contents activated and the situations are not consistent. In response to the problems listed in both of these theoretical perspectives, the author proposes identities as the kind of cultural content

that helps advance the understanding of the consistency of individual's actions across contexts.

In a similar way to Jenkins (2008), Miles (2014) suggests that identities are meanings and self-considerations that individuals incorporate into their understanding of who they are. According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000) we would be dealing again with a “weak” notion of identity, as it is built through the shifting nature of social interaction. Miles’ (2014) basic proposal is that behaviors are enacted in a particular situation consistent with subjects’ identities. But if the perceived feedback they get in that situation does not confirm their identity, they adjust their behaviors in order to be consistent with their identity. In other words, people act to verify their identities while using their set of repertoires of cultural skills consistent with the situation.

Hence, according to Miles (2014), the kind of identity that individuals activate is dependent on the context, embedded in it. Nevertheless, a cultural setting may be able to accommodate many kinds of identities; the question is which one is going to be more salient. One of the elements influencing the salience of the content for identity activation is dependent on the cognitive accessibility to it. Identities appear in a salience hierarchy, in which the most accessible constructs are at the top and more likely to be activated. The author also suggests that multiple identities might be active at the same time. When this happens, either identities share meanings or they hamper. For instance, being an obedient son and a compliant student share a common ground of obedience; whereas being an obedient son but disruptive at school may involve internal contradictions. When individuals need to verify multiple identities and conflict among them arises, “people attempt to verify their most salient identities” (Miles 2014, 215). The most salient identities or hypersalient identities are usually activated together as

they are composed of shared meanings. This is designated by Miles (2014) as the core self, which has important implications for the activation of less salient identities. In terms of cultural anchoring, hypersalient identities that the core self encompasses influence how secondary or less salient identities are going to be performed.

More precisely, according to Miles (2014), core selves guide most actions as a way to maintain hypersalient identities. Indeed, if contradictions between most and less salient identities happen, hypersalient identities tend to remain. Identities will be performed according to the material and symbolic acquisitions — cultural capital — of individuals, also in correspondence to their skills that enable identity verification. However, identity changes according to new situations may happen. For instance, changing schools from one country to another may require a change in student identity — i.e. according to what it is expected from him/her in the new school environment.

In this sense, activating an appropriate identity in a situation might not be difficult, but conflicts arise if the core self is not verified. If most salient identities are enacted and not confirmed because the person cannot or does not want to change, the subject will most likely exit the situation. If the situation cannot be exited, the core self will be in tension with the environment and the person will most likely experience an emotional pressure and controversy. As many authors, such as Jenkins (2008) or Mead (1982) had already suggested, identity is in constant change in response to the context, but according to Miles (2014), if the non-verification situation persists, the hypersalient identities will change to match the context. All in all, changes in the context lead to changes in identity when it is not verified and the subject remains embedded in it.

Identity through sociology of experience at school

Dubet and Martuccelli (1997) suggest that experience is essential for the constitution of identity from a sociological perspective. In their view, social identity is not only the product of socialization, in line with Bourdieusian proposals, but also experience. According to Dubet and Martuccelli (1997), as every experience is different, social identity becomes unique in many ways. In the authors' view school not only reproduces individuals and their positions, but also produces new subjects and new positions. In the same line of reasoning, student identity is not only reproduced according to school system structure, but it is also originally produced.

According to Dubet (2010) and in a similar line of argument followed by Miles (2014), previous theories on identity which were based on social position, roles and "culture" cannot explain how identity is formed. Dubet (2010) claims that identity is not "being someone". Instead, identity entails doing the work of accommodating different experiences into a greater set of knowledge, values and skills. All of these elements are uniquely set, but their interpretation is made according to socially shared categories and symbols. This argument is similar to that suggested by Jenkins (2008), as above mentioned. In this sense, following Dubet (2010), social actors build and re-build the distance between them and society constantly, according to their social experience in a reflexive movement. This reflexive movement in the "Selves/Others" framework indicates that subjects possess a critical capacity to evaluate what happens to them and how they are affected by it. Dubet (2010) designates this as autonomy. In other words, social actors always keep a distance from the system and they are never completely embedded in their own actions. Hence, socialization is never absolute because the uniqueness of experience prevents it from happening. In fact,

lived experience might create a feeling of detachment from society which is dependent on autonomy (Dubet 2010).

Consequently, social experience is double: On one hand it is built with regards to individually lived experience and its self-representation. On the other hand, it is a collective experience interpreted according to socially shared symbols. For instance, teachers, as students, are uniquely constituted according to their experience. For educators, not only their socially set role and status are important but also their own individual, unique way of accommodating experiences in everyday life. For example, many contradictions arise for them when they have to comply with their role as teachers but feel they do not want to expel or sanction a student because of his/her behavior. The way of managing this situation also responds to individual autonomy (Dubet 2010).

With regard to the complex relation between teachers and students, Dubet (2010) claims that an opposition between them constantly takes place. In this opposition, teachers' authority plays a central role, as students often rebel against it, while teachers must find a way to maintain it, as explained in Chapter 2. Because adolescents oppose school order, reject teacher legitimacy and sometimes do not even feel they are part of school community, school interaction becomes acrimonious. Through these oppositions, the author explains that adolescent culture is formed. This opposition is not usually radical, as teacher and student roles are complementary (Dubet 2010).

Dubet (and Martuccelli 1998; Dubet 2010) also provides a general framework to understand three logics for action in which individuals accommodate their identity. First, integration is the dynamic through which an actor integrates in the institutionalized system. He/she may define himself/herself in term of his/her social position and roles. It is mostly

based on others people's expectations. Dubet (and Martuccelli 1998) explains the process for integration in the Meadean "Self/Other" framework where the subject constructs his/her "Self" according to society. The Meadean concept that matches best the author's proposal is the "Me", as the actor assumes what the community — institutions, social actors, organizations, etc. — expects from him/her. Following Dubet (2010), this reflexive creation of individuals in integration maintains their feeling of "We-ness", or "Groupness" belonging, to use Lund's (2015) and Wimmer's (2008, 2013) terminology, respectively. Even when social or ethnic conflict appears, the feeling of "We-ness", or "Groupness" belonging and integration, is stronger. For instance, gangs are usually created in opposition to society but provide its members with an idea of belonging that help them achieve certain emotional security and pride at a group/collectivity level (Dubet 2010).

Second, strategy is the dynamic through which actors are situated in terms of competition with others. Actors define their identity in terms of their status or their possibility of influencing others thanks to the resources they have obtained according to their social position. Dubet (2010) explains that when children or adolescents migrate to another country their ethnic identity might shift from integrative to strategic. As immigrants, they need to accommodate to a new society's set of rules and often, they have to adapt or change their ethnic identity in order to gain social positions. They might be regarded as traitors by their family or friends, but for them, this is a way to gain a higher social position in the host society.

Third, subjectivation implies an evaluation to accommodate experience. Through this logic, actors are not seen as a product of society, but unique in their capacity to distinguish from it autonomously. Identity in this case is created on the basis of the tension between the actor's experience and

society. This concept is analogous to the Meadean “I”, as the original response in the present moment to society input (Dubet 2010).

According to Dubet (2010), actors might experience contradictions when accommodating diverse experiences. For instance, first and second-generation youngsters in the French *banlieue* — suburbs — live in many contradictory settings at the same time. They are embedded in consumer society, but also live in economic exclusion. They attend the education system where sometimes suffer from racism or are stigmatized because of their ethnic and social backgrounds. The work of these subjects is to accommodate all of these experiences into multifaceted identities. At school, student identities will be influenced by all of the previously mentioned elements, but the accommodation and management of original experiences bring about a unique constitution of identity (Dubet 2010).

4.4. School interactions: language learning and identity

In line with the proposal of Dubet and Martuccelli (1997) on the process of identity formation in the education system, in this section I will explore the relationship between language learning and identity formation. In multi-ethnic environments, such as the model of school described in Chapter 1, that is, one attended by a high proportion of foreign nationals, multilingual relationships are common. In those environments, the school institutionalizes the instruction of a language. In this section, I will address how identity is constructed through the instruction of a language in multi-ethnic education environments.

Languages, linguistic codes, accents, etc. are important identity markers that serve for the “Us/Others” designation (Fought 2011). That is, the language(s) we speak are often internal and external ethnic identity

markers. Hence, learning a language is not neutral, as subjects hold ideologies about them and the people who speak it (Baquedano López and Mangual Figueroa 2011). Besides, learning a language involves pupils assuming a social position with respect to the linguistic community in which they integrate. In other words, learning a language involves positioning oneself in a linguistic power relations framework. This means that when learners write, speak or read a new language, they are both exchanging information with a new language community and organizing and reorganizing “who they are and how they relate to the social world” (Norton 2013, 4).

Norton (2013) introduces the concept of investment to explain both the motivation of teachers and students in teaching/learning a language and the unequal relations of power involved in these. According to the author, investment provides a way to students’ differing desire to engage in community practices and social interaction to learn a language. When learners invest in a language, they do it expecting to get symbolic and material resources that will increase their cultural capital and social power, in Bourdieu’s (2008a) terms. If the host community and the education system reinforce the language the student is learning, the student will increase his/her cultural capital in that society and in the education system by acquiring that language.

Canagarajah (2004) looks at the same fact in relation to some ethnic minorities. He suggests that in multi-ethnic and multilingual contexts some ethnic groups are in a disadvantageous position with regards to the mainstream society because they do not master the reinforced language at school. In this context, school is a power-laden site where students are positioned with respect to that language and society. In sites such as the one described, students may oppose learning the reinforced language as a

way to “keep” their own identity versus the one they are supposed to acquire. He designated this phenomenon as the “subversive identities” of students (Canagarajah 2004, 116).

I have established the relationship between a language and ethnicity in general terms, and I have also explained how students might reject learning a language as a mode to keep their own identity. In the following lines, I will focus on an ethnographic case in which those dynamics are remarkable (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009, 2015; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015, Woodlard 2009).

Trenchs-Parera and Newman (2009) explored two groups of adolescents’ language attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish through focus groups and interviews in Catalonia. These language attitudes were researched in relation to identity. One of the research groups was composed of autochthonous students and the other of Latin American immigrant students. The results of the investigation indicated that autochthonous students had a clear language attitude in relation to Catalan. According to the authors, autochthonous students’ language attitudes ranged from six different “ideological stances along a spectrum from most “catalanista” to most “españolista” and more cosmopolitan and mixed Spanish and Catalan middle-ground attitudes” (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009, 512). By contrast, Latin American students’ language attitudes were not as consistent and clearly differentiated in the spectrum of most “catalanista” or most “españolista”. Conversely, the immigrant group was concerned with maintaining their Spanish variety versus the Castilian variety, which is the main spoken Spanish in Catalonia. These students also held negative attitudes toward Catalan language in comparison to the rest of the students. However, the negative opinions they had toward Catalan were not strictly related to Catalan or Spanish identity.

In a following study, Newman and his colleagues (2013) studied Latin American students' reception in Catalonia and their responses to educational language policies. The schools in which the data collection took place were located in Spanish-speaking Catalan regions composed of a high immigrant population. Some autochthonous parents tended to avoid taking their children to these schools, as these were viewed negatively when composed of a high proportion of immigrant studentship. In their study, the authors analyzed the Reception Classes (RC) where immigrant students received Catalan language support in secondary schools. The aim of these classes was to provide students with communicative competence and enable them to participate in the Catalan community. This was designated by the authors as "language socialization" (Newman et al. 2013, 195). The authors claimed that there were some obstacles to achieve such language socialization as students found discontinuities in the use of Catalan. Indeed, the school seemed to be the only space where they were able to socialize in Catalan. Besides, some of these students openly communicated their lack of support of Catalan language. Teachers were frustrated with those negative student dynamics (Newman et al. 2013).

4.5. Summary of the Chapter 4

This chapter was presented as related to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* This question addresses identity construction through interaction. These interactions can be regarded from two perspectives. On the one hand, according to some authors, they rely on a set of already given structures of interaction; in line with the Bourdieusian perspectives (cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2005). On the other hand, there are authors who remark that these interactions are also original (cf. Jenkins

2008; Dubet and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010). As in Chapter 2, the tension between structural and non-structural perspectives was present in this chapter and will be resolved in Chapter 9 and revisited in Chapter 10.

Chapter 4 was divided into three different parts. The first addressed two 20th century important works on identity theory, namely, the framework on the “Self”, the “Me” and the “I” proposed by Mead (1982); and identity in adolescence according to Erikson (1989, 2000). In the second, I introduced three current perspectives on identity theory from the social anthropology and sociology. These were by Jenkins (2008), Miles (2014), and Dubet (and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010). Jenkins (2008) provides an extensive state of the art in the anthropological and sociological disciplines. Miles (2014) builds upon identity theory based on the problem of cultural anchoring, or what cultural elements are more influential than others for identity construction. His framework strongly relies on the idea of stability. Such idea of stability and coherence, quite common in the social sciences, will be revisited Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. Dubet (and Martucceli 1997; Dubet 2010) contributes to identity theory from the sociology of experience and explores how identity is formed at school in a unique way. In line with this last perspective, I remarked the relationship between language instruction and identity in the classroom. In this context, I introduced some studies on the conflicts over language learning, which enact both language and identity. The conflict over learning a language will be a crucial topic for this work, and will be revisited in Chapter 8.

Summary of Part II

Part II explored diverse frameworks on subject formation in multi-ethnic and multilingual education settings, in line with the objectives of this work. The first, the external elements affecting students were explored. This was the aim of Chapter 2, which was related to RQ1: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* According to important frameworks introduced in this chapter, schools are viewed as reproducers of a social structure which tends to be unequal (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a; Lareau 2011; Dumais 2005; Merolla and Jackson 2014; Martin Rojo 2010; Stein 2004; Weber 2009). The counterarguments to these perspectives, namely, those subjects are not only constructed according to the education system structure, but also are uniquely constituted in it, were introduced. The tension between these structural and non-structural perspectives will be revisited in Chapter 9, discussion, and Chapter 10. Finally, a section on other elements externally affecting students was introduced, such as families' influence on teacher-student relationships, and teacher authority bases. These last theories do not rely on structural perspectives.

The second element in which I focused was adolescent behavior in multi-ethnic environments, and was proposed in Chapter 3 as related to RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* Two elements

were chosen to analyze such behavior, namely, boundary-work and limit transgressions. Both of these elements indicate the separation between two different entities. The former indicates the inferences regarding the similarities and differences between subjects, the classifications, and inequalities between those. These usually make reference to ethnicity and social class combined (Wimmer 2008, 2013; Lamont and Molnár 2002). The latter focuses on the separation between conventional and normative behavior and non-conventional and non-normative one, and the relationships among subjects according to this separation (Bakhtin 1984; Bataille 1960; Jenks 2003, 2013; Foley et al. 2012). Research on limit transgression, linguistic profanity and humor was also introduced as a characteristic of adolescent behavior (cf. Eckert 2002, 2004; Martin et al. 2003; Martinez and Morales 2014; Douglass et al. 2016).

The third part addressed subject formation in interaction in Chapter 4, as related to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, interactions were taken as identity constructors (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Mead 1982; Jenkins 2008). Different elements affecting subject formation were analyzed, namely, both structural and non-structural perspectives (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Jenkins 2008; Miles 2014; Dubet and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010). These were exposed in different identity frameworks, and in relation to the interactions that take place in the education system. In these settings, the relationship between language instruction and identity was also explored (Fought 2011; Canagarajah 2004; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009, 2015; Newman and Trenchs-Parera 2015).

Part III

Setting and Methods

Chapter 5

The Where and the How

5.1. Overview of Chapter 5

In this chapter, I will explain the context within which the study took place and the methodological approach taken. The study design is based on a qualitative ethnographic approach within a Basque secondary public education center. Firstly, I will describe the Basque public education system, its multi-ethnic studentship composition and the latest data on the ethnic distribution of studentship among schools. I will explore the educational policies which partly guide the distribution of studentship. I will also describe Mirebe, the town where this research took place, and Udabia, the secondary education center where I obtained the data.

Secondly, I will outline the most important characteristics of the sample taken from Udabia. I will describe all the groups in which I conducted participant observation, and the group from which I obtained the largest quantity of data: group 2G. I will also discuss the representativeness of this sample. Thirdly, I will describe the procedures used to collect the data. I will expose how this research protected the participants, according to the guidelines provided by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Basque Country (CEISH). I will also explain the methods used to gather

primary and secondary data, namely, documentary research, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups; and my role as a researcher in this work. Finally, I will explain the process of data collection and analysis. The analysis was carried out with the Atlas.ti software. I will explain how I categorized the data and classified it into different research questions.

5.2. Setting

The Basque Country and Basque education system

The Basque Country extends through the Cantabric sea border and comprises a part of northern Spain — Hegoalde — and southern France — Iparralde. It is composed of three different regions: The Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and Navarre in Hegoalde, and Iparralde. Basque is a minority language in comparison to Spanish in Hegoalde and French in Iparralde, but the current linguistic panorama in each of the three regions is very different. In this study, I will focus on the BAC, its linguistic development, and specificities.

At the end of the 1970s Basque was in a precarious state in Hegoalde and Spanish was the language for instruction in the education system. An important element influencing such delicate situation was the political dictatorship of Francisco Franco for the previous 40 years. When democracy was established in 1978 in Spain, both Basque and Spanish got a co-official status in the BAC, although it would be more precise to say that Spanish maintained its official status and Basque gained it. In order to normalize the use of Basque, a considerable economic and social investment was made through language and education policies. The effort was such that nowadays, the public and a great part of the private education

system in the Basque Country function mostly in Basque: it is usual to listen to conversations between teachers, and teachers and students in Basque (Gorter et al. 2014).

Although Basque language use is much reinforced by teachers at school, not all schools face the same linguistic reality. That is, each town has its linguistic specificities, i.e. whereas in some towns Basque is much spoken in the street, in others Spanish is the main spoken language, and those particularities influence school life. In other words, the linguistic reality in each town influences the effort that academic institutions need to make for Basque language normalization. Another element influencing school life and its linguistic panorama is immigrant population. As the BAC has received a considerable amount of immigrant population in recent years, some Basque language normalization efforts and educational strategies have shifted (cf. Departamento de Educación 2012a; Alzola et al. 2012; Medinabeitia et al. 2012; Departamento de Educación 2016; Rioja Andueza 2016a; Rioja Andueza 2016b; Muñoz 2015).

In this context, immigrant population makes reference to foreign nationals. According to statistics, in 2016, more than 8.6% of the BAC population was immigrant, and 6.9% of the studentship in the education system was foreign national. However, this percentage does not reflect the situation across all of the Basque Country: there are schools with a low proportion of foreign nationals and others with a high concentration of ethnically diverse groups (Rioja Andueza 2016a). In order to address this situation, the Basque Government has enforced different plans, programs and projects directed at both linguistic and ethnic diversity and immigrant studentship, since these demographic shifts began to affect social interactions and the integration of foreign nationals in the education system (Departamento de Educación 2012a, 2012b; Departamento de Educación 2016; Intxausti

2010). Before explaining these educational policies, it is also important to explain the linguistic structure of Basque education system, as it has unforeseen consequences on the distribution of multi-ethnic studentship and its linguistic specificities. □

The Basque education system consists of three different linguistic models to choose among; A: instruction in Spanish, with Basque studied as a subject; B: mixed and flexible — an adaptable mix of — instruction in Basque and Spanish; D: instruction in Basque, with Spanish studied as a subject. Each linguistic model corresponds to a classroom in each level, i.e. a classroom for model A in 1st Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) level, a classroom for model B in 1st CSE level, and a classroom for model D in 1st CSE level. In areas of the Basque Country where Spanish is the primary spoken language in daily life, immigrant students tend to study in model A or “light” model B, that is, where Basque language instruction is almost as low as in model A (Intxausti et al. 2010; Etxeberria and Elozegi 2008; Martínez 2014). I use “light” between quotes because model B is sometimes a hidden model A. Indeed, the school may designate these classrooms as model B in theory, but Spanish instruction is so high that Basque is only studied as a subject in practice.

Nevertheless, in harmony with Basque language reinforcement efforts, model B and D tend to be offered as a way to expand Basque instruction, and autochthonous families are inclined to choose model D (Elorza 2012, Aldaz 2007; Official Gazette of the Basque Country 2007; Departamento de Educación 2016). Therefore, the choice of a linguistic model has significant consequences for children. In the case of immigrant adolescents, the choice between models A, B, or D determines the group of students with whom the students are most likely to integrate (Etxeberria and Elozegi, 2008, 2010; Septién 2006; Muñoz 2015; Martínez 2014). If most

autochthonous pupils study in model D and immigrants in A or B, school-ethnic division appears (Departamento de Educación 2016). For instance, in 2013 in 2nd CSE of Basque public school system Model A was attended by 37,6% autochthonous students and 62,4% foreign national students; model B was attended by 77,2% autochthonous students and 22,8% foreign national students, and model D by 95,9% autochthonous students and 4,1% foreign national students. This ethnic distribution imbalance in the 2015/2016 school year was remarkable in more than 60 public Basque schools (cf. Luna 2014; Fernández Vallejo 2016; Sotillo 2016; EFE 2016; Euskal Herriko Ikasleen Gurasoen Elkarte 2016; Save the Children 2016; Fernández de Arangiz 2016; Goikoetxea 2016). Immigrant families' socioeconomic status is usually lower than autochthonous families', so some A or "light" B models become a cluster of low socioeconomic status, non-Basque-speaking and immigrant-origin studentship in public schools (Luna 2014; Save the Children 2016).

As many autochthonous parents believe that in schools with a high proportion of immigrants in the student body Basque instruction level is not as good as in the private schools surrounding them, they enroll their children in privately owned but state-funded centers. This fact provokes an ethnic segregation among schools too (Etxeberria and Elozegi 2008, 2010; Luna 2014; Rioja Andueza 2016b; Etxeberria and Elozegi 2008; Departamento de Educación 2016). To avoid this phenomenon, education administration re-distributes students in the public system to balance the autochthonous-immigrant concentration. Another measure to prevent this imbalance has been taken: from 2016 on, immigrant studentship that arrives at the Basque public education system in Kindergarten or Primary School level will preferably be enrolled in model D or strong model B, rather than in light model B.

Educational policies regarding the distribution of studentship

The Basque Government has designed different Plans to provide a solution for the imbalanced autochthonous-immigrant student distribution. Centers with a high proportion of foreign national students, local Roma pupils, and students with a low academic achievement, received funding to promote a school project designated as *Hamaika Esku*. This project aims both to better integrate students and families in the school life and society, and to improve their academic achievement. (Departamento de Educación 2016)

According to the statistics of the Department of Education (2016), foreign national studentship has worse results than autochthonous students, mostly in the Basque language. In the 2015/2016 school year, the Decree 175/2007 (Official Gazette of the Basque Country 2007) and its Syllabus (Gobierno Vasco 2010), established that education centers needed to promote the learning of both Spanish and Basque as official languages, but as previously mentioned, Basque is the primary language to reinforce. When immigrant students arrive in the Basque public education system, there is an established period for linguistic adaptation. This period applies both to Basque and Spanish, although in many cases immigrant students come from Latin America, or they are internal migrants, that is, they come from other autonomous communities of Spain, so these newly-arrived students already speak Spanish.

The Project for Linguistic Reinforcement (Gobierno Vasco n/d), or what the participants of this research designated as the HIPI's — *Hizkuntza Indartzeko Proiektuko Irakaslea*, in Basque — class, is designed to integrate newly arrived students in the Basque public education system through the learning of Basque. It is thought that learning Basque through this HIPI's program will enable students to adapt to Basque society and academic culture easily. This project is in force only in public centers —

privately funded centers have other resources — and is aimed at students who have arrived two or maximum three years ago in the Basque Country. The HIPI's project must be adapted to individual students' needs, meaning that different advancement in the learning of the Basque language is expected from each pupil. This differential progress in each student's case is designated as “diversity” in educational policies (Departamento de Educación 2016; Gobierno Vasco n/d).

Mirebe

Mirebe is a town located in the BAC. It is the city where the secondary education center studied is located. It has five privately owned but state-funded schools, and five public schools, including Udabia secondary education center. In Mirebe, Spanish is the common language for communication in the street, an exception in this region. Despite this fact, nowadays in Mirebe people speak much more Basque than they used to in previous years. For instance, in 1982, only 30% of the population understood or spoke some Basque, whereas the rest could not speak it. Today, 63,70% of the population can speak Basque, or at least some Basque, whereas only 36,97% are non-Basque speakers (Eustat 2016).

If we compare Mirebe to its surrounding towns, in most of them the Basque language is part of the street life. In these differential linguistic scenarios, migratory phenomena in Mirebe were influential. I will introduce Mirebe's migratory tendencies of the last decades, as they will help understand the population and linguistic shifts of this town. In 1975 the population of Mirebe was composed of 59,5% autochthonous origin, 38,7% non-autochthonous origin coming from the rest of Spain, and 1,8% foreign nationals (Talde 1983, 47-51). In 1981 it was 63,1% autochthonous origin,

34,8% non-autochthonous origin coming from the rest of Spain and 2% foreign nationals (Talde 1983, 47-51). As we can see, during these years a very low proportion of foreign nationals inhabited Mirebe. But from 2006 to 2007, its registered foreign national population increased by 22%. In 2007, in Mirebe 6,7% of the population was of foreign national origin, and by 2012, it increased by 8,4%. Of this foreign national percentage, almost half came from Latin America (Bidasoa Activa 2007, 2011, 2012).

Both Latin American and internal migrant pupils encounter a similar linguistic imbalance when they arrive in Mirebe. As they all speak Spanish or Portuguese, and Spanish is the reinforced language in Mirebe's street life, they tend to speak more Spanish than Basque. This is one of the particularities of Mirebe.

Udabia Secondary Education Center

Udabia secondary education center where the fieldwork took place is one of the relatively few places in the region where such clear linguistic and ethnic division appeared. In fact, teaching staff designated Udabia School as "centro de inmigrantes" [Spanish] (*immigrants' center*). At the time of study, the center was composed of 207 students and 32 teachers, and more than 35% of its studentship were foreign national. Of the total 207 students enrolled in the Udabia secondary education center, 14 arrived in the middle of the school year and five un-enrolled because they went back to their country of origin. The center was composed four different CSE grades distributed over 13 different classrooms, which were divided into the linguistic model B or model D. There were two model B classes per course, in one the instruction of Basque was higher and in the other, it was lower. In 2nd CSE level, "light" model B was attended by a majority of immigrant

students, strong model B by a majority of autochthonous students and a few foreign nationals, and model D only by autochthonous students. As the language imbalance and ethnic division situation were known by the Basque Education Administration, the center was provided with more teaching staff than regular secondary education centers.

5.3. Sample

Composition and characteristics

The sample was taken from the Udabia secondary education center because of its multi-ethnic studentship, student-teacher relationships, and school functioning. When the first contact was made with the Head of School in spring 2015, I explained the aim of the study and the Head of School proposed group 2G to conduct the investigation. The data collection took place from September 2015 to June 2016, and more visits were made to the center during the 2016 fall and 2017. In March 2016, I agreed with the Head of the School to expand the sample, and I made participant observation in groups 2H, 2I and 3G to compare these groups' classroom dynamics with the 2G group's. Observation in groups 2H and 2I was only carried out a couple of times, and no interviews were done with them. Nevertheless, I conducted some interviews and focus groups with group 3G. This work overall reflects the results obtained from data collection gathered on 2G group, but in this section, I will explain how and why the data collection with the rest of the groups was done. In the following lines I will present the main characteristics of each group.

Group 2G was enrolled in a "light" model B that functioned as a model A. As in group 2G students opposed so much Basque language learning, teachers were not able to instruct or teach Basque despite their efforts.

Group 2G was also described as a very disruptive classroom and had a low academic performance. Due to their low achievement performance, the center received more economical and human resources to improve 2G group's academic results. Except in a few classes that were more practical than theoretical — i.e. Physical Education or Arts —, students were separated into two different groups, each with one teacher, or the whole group with two teachers. This additional aid reduced the teacher to student ratio and enabled students to receive more explanations on each subject.

The class 2G with whom I conducted most of my fieldwork during the 2015/2016 schoolyear, was composed of 19 students of various ethnic origins, most of them non-autochthonous. The list I present corresponds to the terms the students used to define themselves according to their ethnic origin: one Basque, one Spanish, two local Roma, one Bulgarian, one Portuguese, and 13 Latinos. The Latino students also made an internal difference regarding their country of origin. The majority of students were from Ecuador, some of whom were relatives, and less integrated with the Ecuadorean students were Bolivian, Peruvian, Colombian and Nicaraguan students. One of 2G's most outstanding characteristics, except for the Basque and two local Roma students, was the negative views they held of the Basque language. They did not want to speak Basque, and what is more, they tried to prevent any teacher from speaking Basque. This, linked to the lack of autonomy students showed in all subjects, became a significant problem for teachers throughout all classes I observed. In most cases, any time the Basque language was involved, teachers were unable to continue with their teaching because students would complain that they had to study Basque. Indeed, most teacher-student arguments had the Basque language issue at their root.

Group 2H was enrolled in a strong model B; they studied both in Spanish and Basque. In theory, all subjects were in Basque except Spanish language and Mathematics. However, in practice, classes that were theoretically instructed in Basque were sometimes conducted in Spanish. In this sense, Spanish was more a tool for aid when they did not understand the Basque language. They were not very disruptive, compared to group 2G, and had a regular academic performance. Group 2H was composed of 14 students, three local Roma students, one Bulgarian student, one second generation Ecuadorean student born in Mirebe and the rest autochthonous students.

Group 2I was enrolled in a model D and studied all subjects in Basque except the Spanish subject. They were fluent in Basque, although some explanations were introduced in Spanish if they were necessary, given that the majority's mother language was Spanish. They were quite disruptive and were popular among teachers because they complained all the time about each other or teachers. However, their academic performance was satisfactory. All students were autochthonous.

Finally, group 3G was enrolled in a light model B. In this case; I do not use light between quotes because although students could not speak much Basque, they did not oppose so much its learning. Lessons in Basque could be regularly conducted, often using Spanish as a linguistic aid, given that the majority's mother language was Spanish. It was also composed of a majority non-autochthonous studentship. This classroom had a regular academic performance and teachers were rather contempt with their achievement. They were 12 students coming from diverse ethnic backgrounds: one from Equatorial Guinea, seven Latinos, two Moroccan, one autochthonous and one Spanish student.

Implications of the differential features between groups

Each of these groups was unique if we think of academic performance, level of disruption, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and spoken languages. This is important, as one of the primary objectives in this work is to understand how identity is formed in multi-ethnic educational settings. Although most results and discussion are based on group 2G, the comparison enabled me to understand how other multi-ethnic and ethnically more homogeneous —formed mostly by autochthonous students— acted. Also, teachers' narratives on different groups were compared, and their discourse on group 2G was better understood. For instance, group 2I was formed by autochthonous students who spoke the Basque language and were instructed in it. They were also popular because they were very disruptive and teachers complained about them because of such transgressive behavior. But these adolescents' behaviors never involved complaining about Basque language learning. Basque language learning for 2I was a naturalized practice, and their academic advancement in its learning was satisfactory. Whereas for group 2G Basque language learning was not a naturalized practice, but something "in addition" to all the subjects they had to learn at school. Their academic achievement was low, and they opposed Basque language learning. What for 2I was a naturalized practice — Basque language learning, it was not for 2G.

If we compare 2G to 3G, we can find similarities but also differences. 3G was composed of students from different ethnic backgrounds, most of them Latino, as 2G. None of the groups could speak Basque very well, but 3G did not usually oppose learning it. Sometimes 3G students would complain that Basque was too difficult, but they would also do that in the Mathematics class. Rarely did I witness a direct or indirect opposition to Basque language learning and they would make an effort to learn it. They

would try to answer the Basque teacher in Basque and obey her orders. Their academic performance was also satisfactory according to educators, while 2G students would oppose Basque language learning and were known for their low academic performance among teachers.

Finally, the main difference between 2H and 2G group was that 2H was quite submissive overall. Although they did not fluently speak Basque, they were not opposed to learning it and had a regular academic performance, compared to 2G group. They were an ethnically heterogeneous group too, but there were fewer foreign national students than in 2G group.

Representativeness

I will base on the notions of generalizability and representativeness by Gobo (2004, 453), according to whom, they are “mainly a practically and contingent outcome related to the variance (regularities) of the phenomenon, not a standard or automatic algorithm of a statistical rule.” To be representative and generalizable, the sample needs to refer to the general structures or pattern features of a larger group. Following this statement, the regularities and pattern features of a larger group which this work refers to, have been described by the newspapers and reports.

More precisely, according to the press (cf. Fernández Vallejo 2016; Sotillo 2016; EFE 2016; Fernández de Arangiz 2016; Goikoetxea 2016) and to some reports published on the Basque education system and its multi-ethnic studentship (cf. Save the Children 2016; Departamento de Educación 2016; Luna 2014), there were 62 Basque public centers composed of more than 20% of foreign national studentship in the 2015/2016 school year. This indicates that there is an imbalance in the ethnic distribution of studentship among centers. I will remark that the

average percentage of foreign national studentship in the Basque education system is 6.9% (Rioja Andueza 2016a). If any center has a composition of more than 20% of foreign national studentship, other centers must have quite an autochthonous homogeneous student one. Udabia was one of former, as it was composed of 38% foreign national students.

Some teachers who were not permanent workers; in other words, teachers who replaced permanent teachers and taught every year in a different education center, claimed that they had worked in other schools with similar multi-ethnic composition. Some of them had taught in other public centers in Mirebe, and others in diverse Basque regions. They explained that the patterns of student-student and student-teacher relations were analogous in all of these centers. Most teachers explained how all the immigrant students tended to concentrate in Spanish-speaking classrooms, “light” model B, and how these usually had a low academic achievement and were very disruptive.

All of these features, namely, the ethnic distribution imbalance in linguistic models, the high level of disruption of classes composed of a majority of immigrant studentship, and their low academic achievement, are the regularities and pattern features of centers like Udabia.

5.4. Procedures

Protection of Human Subjects

This research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Basque Country (Comité Ético de Investigación con Seres Humanos, CEISH). A research project was presented in July 2013 and approved in September 2013. A document for the informed consent was distributed to

all the participants of this study (see Appendix 1). In the case of minor students, both the minors and their parents had to sign the Informed Consent. The project was also orally explained to participants, there was no financial compensation for them, and were informed that they could leave the study anytime. Confidentiality and data protection were guaranteed at all times. Since most participants were minors, no photographs were taken.

Besides, two reports were written for the school: the first, before the study started with the aim of explaining to the Head of School the goals and procedures of the project (See Appendix 2); and the second, in the middle of the 2015/2016 school year. In this second report, the Head of School, Head of Studies, and teachers were informed of the main results of the ongoing data collection, and some recommendations were made to improve student-teacher relationships (See Appendix 3).

Data collection

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the tools used to gather primary and secondary data for this ethnographic case were four: documentary research, participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and focus groups. Each one of them contributed differently to the advancement of the study.

I will define ethnography following Hammersley (2010) and Erickson (2010), as the systematic research method used to gather information about a particular setting and interpret it, giving it a new rational explanation. Ethnography also refers to an approach to learning and being prepared to change the focus, since the research object is viewed differently as time passes (Erickson 1984). In this study, my final aim was to make sense of the interactions that happened during lectures and schoolyard activities in

Udabia during the 2015/2016 school year, to understand how identity was formed. But as Erickson (2010) mentioned, this objective changed. The initial methodology was not designed to gather information about student-student and student-teacher interactions, but to understand how marginalization in multi-ethnic contexts took place. However, daily contact with research subjects led me to change the research questions and focus on those interactions, which were quite remarkable in the day-to-day life at Udabia center.

Document analysis was conducted at the beginning, in the middle and after the ethnographic study. Document analysis included newspaper articles and educational policies, center projects and plans. With regard to institutional documents, Rapley and Jenkins (2010) explain that they are the unnoticed part of everyday life. In educational settings, research can be conducted assessing the influence of those documents on institutional functioning. In other words, on how these documents are active in schools' daily life. In this study, the distribution of studentship according to educational policies and its influence on classroom dynamics will be analyzed in Chapter 6.

Some other documents were necessary for the justification of the study, as mentioned in the *Representativeness* section. The Basque Government and its Department of Education (Departamento de Educación 2012a, 2012b, 2016) published two Plans for the reception of immigrant students and proposed the aims of school in such a context. They acknowledged that there is a concentration of foreign national students in some public schools and one the objectives of this study was precisely to analyze student-student and student-teacher relationships in one of these centers. Another report on this situation was gathered at the beginning of the school year (Luna 2014). But in February-March 2016 — in the middle of the fieldwork I was conducting — many press articles started to point out the

problem of foreign national student concentration in some Basque education centers, and these were also consulted. Although the aim of this research was not to compare multi-ethnic and more homogeneous centers, it was clear that centers attended by a high percentage of foreign national students were starting to be noted both by the Basque Government and by society (cf. Fernández Vallejo 2016; Sotillo 2016; EFE 2016; Fernández de Arangiz 2016; Goikoetxea 2016; Departamento de Educación 2016; Save the Children 2016).

I took a classic anthropological stance in the data-gathering, and the primary source of information for this study was participant observation (cf. Spradley 1980; Dewalt et al. 2011). I conducted participant observation from September 2015 to June 2016 and made more informal although rich contacts in fall 2016 and spring 2017. During that 2015/2016 school year, most of my presence was during classroom hours and breaks two days per week, but I also took part in field trips and school activities. I was partly integrated with the teaching staff, something that allowed me to have an intermediate position between students and educators.

Once the Udabia school was confirmed, I focused on group 2G and observed it. However, as mentioned, I extended the observation in spring 2016 to additional groups. During the first months, I took notes on 2G groups' behavior. These notes were quite free, and I was open to a broad observation. One of the most remarkable issues was student-student and student-teacher problematic interactions, and both teachers and students were asked about them. Some deeper discussion on those topics was reserved for the in-depth interviews. I wrote a diary using the notes I had taken earlier. The diary narrative and the observation I was conducting at the same time, made me realize that the objective I had first set — understanding marginalization in multi-ethnic education settings, did not

correspond with my current observation, so I decided to change the research questions and observation process. Hence, I started then to focus on student-student and student-teacher interactions, and I created an observation guide that enabled me to collect these systematically (see Appendix 4).

In-depth interviews were also conducted with most observed participants, that is, with most of the students who composed group 2G and the majority of their teachers. Following Marvasti (2010), in-depth interviews are based on the notion that a deeper exploration of the subject's self produces richer data. In other words, acquiring the interviewed persons' point of view and/or being empathic with his/her appreciation of the world helps the researcher gain a multi-layer perspective in the understanding of the topic. In this sense, I conducted 20 interviews with 2G and 3G students and 16 with teachers, which in most cases provided me with a great insight into the students', teaching staff's and Head of the School's attitudes towards the interactions I witnessed (See Appendix 5).

All interviews conducted with teachers had satisfactory results, in the sense that they developed their argument more or less coherently and provided an explanation to my questions. Only two of them were not recorded, one because the informant asked me not to, and the other because it was rather informal and non-previewed, although very long and rich in content. Out of the 20 interviews conducted with students, 16 were with 2G students and four with 3G students. Most students, whose age ranged 12-17 years old, answered to the questions quite directly and it was in general rather difficult for them to build a coherent argument on their answers. For this reason, I decided to conduct focus groups, which were richer in data than some of the interviews carried out with 2G students. All the interviews and

focus groups were conducted in the education facilities during recesses or lunch breaks.

Finally, focus groups are also qualitative data-gather techniques used to create a conversation about a particular topic among a set of participants. They are not natural conversations, but discussions created by the researcher formed of 6-8 members and which last from one to two hours (Morgan and Hoffman 2010). I conducted four focus groups; three of them with 2G students and another one with 3G students (see Appendix 6). In those, I gathered different groups of students together; students whom I knew had more or less harmonious relations to each other. For example, one of the groups was only composed of Latino students; and another one solely of female students. The former were friends and usually interacted with each other in playgrounds. When they could, they sat together during lecture too. The latter was different; when I proposed to some of these girls to conduct the focus group, they asked me to compose it only of girls with whom they had a positive relation. The results of focus groups were very satisfactory as most students eagerly engaged in the conversations proposed.

Results between these four different techniques — document analysis, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups were triangulated, in other words, compared, correlated and validated (Schostak 2010). Firstly, the observations made in Udabia at the beginning of the 2015/2016 school year corresponded with the document analysis made in previous months and the newspaper articles that were published on the foreign national student concentration in some public education centers. Secondly, in-depth interviews enabled this study to understand participants' inner feelings with regards to their interactions, which had been recorded in the field notes and narrated in the diary. Finally, focus groups targeted

student views and meaning making of these feelings regarding interactions in the group. In other words, participants could make sense of them together.

Researcher's role

In qualitative studies, the researcher's role is essential to gathering data. The perspective and ability of the researcher leads the investigation on one or another direction. It also reflects his/her capacity to play the role as an outsider/insider (Berg 2010; Erickson 2010). This last dimension is affected by the permission the ethnographer receives to conduct his/her research. In this study, I was allowed to observe students and classroom interaction. No photographs were allowed, and recordings could be made if participants agreed to them, as specified in the Informed Consent (see Appendix 1). After the first meeting with the Head of School in spring 2015, we agreed that I would present myself both as a teacher assistant and as an observer. My central role in students' eyes would be to help them and teachers during lectures and observe their behavior meanwhile. I would go Tuesday and Wednesday, and some extra days if there were any other activities where I could observe how students interacted among themselves and with teachers. I was introduced to some parents both as a teacher assistant and ethnographer who would observe their children and classroom interaction, and give them feedback on student-student and student-teacher relationships.

But these roles did not go unnoticed. As Berg (2010) puts it, an ethnographer is never invisible in the field, although participants can get used to his/her presence. In this study, I was never invisible to students. Sometimes, when disruptive and problematic interactions happened

between them, I would take the field notebook and write fast the sentences they had exchanged. Some students would ask me what I was writing, and others “jokingly” menaced that they would steal it from me and read it all. Some teachers also felt invaded when I observed their lecture, probably because they thought I was assessing their pedagogic practice. But I was not. What I was doing was trying to understand and interpret their interactions with students.

There were four main phases in the fieldwork, in which my role and functions shifted. First, when I contacted the Head of the School I agreed to be a teacher assistant of group 2G because this was the 2nd CSE group that most attention needed and my help would be welcome. My role consisted of solving students’ doubts in their classroom duties, if necessary. Otherwise, I was free to patiently observe every lecture I attended. The teacher conducting the lesson felt free to ask for my assistance; for example, one of the Mathematics teachers occasionally asked for my support and I helped students solve different problems. I also assisted during Basque language lessons and translated words from Basque to Spanish and vice versa so that pupils could complete their tasks. I often posed them questions about the content that they were supposed to acquire doing that exercise, especially during Basque language lessons, as it was an acrimonious and difficult matter for many students. For three months, I adjusted to this assistant/observer role and worked on an intensive participant observation. At the beginning, the observation was quite general and little by little I could start to focus more on aspects that had to do with identity, rather than marginalization, which had been my first aim. In a second stage, which started in January 2016, I focused on specific elements that I had observed and began to conduct interviews both with teachers and with students. As mentioned, some of these interviews, most with students,

were quite difficult and I felt I needed to gather more information on interactions. I decided that the best technique to collect data on interactions was if I created a situation where there was going to be student interaction, so in a third stage, I conducted focus groups with 2G students. In a final phase, I decided that I had collected enough data on group 2G and I conducted participant observation, interviews and a focus group with group 3G, and participant observation with groups 2H and 2I. This last stage provided me with a general perspective on the education center and the groups that composed it. It also enabled me to make comparisons between groups, their interactions and identity construction according to those.

5.5. Data collection and analysis

In this section, I will focus on the process of data gathering, processing, and analysis. This was a long procedure that lasted approximately 12 months. First, I recorded all the data. Data recording happened in the fieldwork when I took field notes and conducted audio-taped interviews and focus groups. These were primary data, taken directly from the field and consisted of direct information from the field. Second, data processing involved transcriptions and assessment of those. Both field notes and interviews were transcribed into Word RTF documents. Field notes were converted into a field diary in a Word RTF document that I wrote after every participant observation session. As it was recent, I could recall many elements I had not written in the notes and completed it with more details. Interviews and focus group conversations were also transcribed into a Word RTF document and completed with notes I had taken during those. Each file was named with the pseudonym I had already given to each participant. Interviews were conducted in Basque with teachers and in Spanish with students. Field notes were made in both languages. The diary

was written mainly in Spanish, although there were some comments in Basque too.

Third, data analysis consisted of categorizing or coding all data. Atlas.ti 6.1 software was used in data analysis. This software enabled me to categorize and analyze those categories quickly and efficiently. Otherwise, the analysis would have been done by hand, but the volume of data was so large that it would have been a long and complicated process. All the RTF transcribed documents were uploaded to the Atlas.ti program and codes were created to categorize each topic. Often, a piece of text made reference to more than one code, and the program started to make links between codes. These relationships were reflected in schemas that the program created and were analyzed. Some notes were also added to the coding in the form of Memos, an option of the Atlas.ti program. After the coding, the RQs proposed in the introduction were reviewed, and each code was related to a RQ. Please note that some codes corresponded to more than one code. That is, the classification of codes into RQs is not “pure” and static. For this reason, some codes and topics will be analyzed in more than one RQ. The codes related to each RQ were the following:

RQ1: What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?

- Education system structure: General description and functioning of Udabia and surrounding centers.
- Student distribution according to the school system structure: How students are divided in the education system. Patterns of student distribution used at school.

- 2G group dynamics: behavior, academic performance, and autonomy.
- 2H group dynamics: behavior, academic performance, and autonomy.
- 2I group dynamics: behavior, academic performance, and autonomy.
- 3G group dynamics: behavior, academic performance, and autonomy.
- Teacher-student caring relationships: Teachers who approach students in a caring way.
- Teacher-student authoritarian relationships: Teachers who are authoritarian.
- Teacher-student ambiguous relationships: Teachers who are both authoritarian and caring.
- Teachers' negative discourse on students: Teachers' negative narratives on students. They are usually speeches on students' disruptive behavior.
- Teachers' positive discourse on students: Teachers' positive narratives on students. They are often focused on positive interactions with students.
- Students' demotivation: Students' lack of motivation in academic and non-academic school activities.
- Students' lack of autonomy: Students' lack of apparent resources to solve academic problems they face in school daily life.

- Students' perceptions of their future: Students' narratives on their future. They usually have to do with staying or not in the Basque Country.
- Cultural capital: The material and symbolic acquisitions of students according to their social position.
- Teachers' functioning according to educational policies.

RQ2: What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?

- 2G group dynamics.
- 2H group dynamics.
- 2I group dynamics.
- 3G group dynamics.
- Activities that ethnically unite: Activities or actions that help students from diverse ethnic backgrounds relate to each other.
- Activities that separate ethnically: Activities or actions that separate students according to the ethnic background.
- Student's ethnic comparison: Any student who makes a comparison between his/her ethnic background and another one. For example, a comparison between the food, or habits of his/her country versus those of the Basque Country.

- Ethnic boundary enactment: acting or performing taking ethnic division criteria into account. Or, borders between ethnic backgrounds reified through discourse, or through actions.
- Otherness discourse based on ethnicity: Essentialization of an ethnic characteristic as the most important feature of a person over the rest.
- Peer group interactions: Student-student interactions, harmonic or problematic.
- Students' body posture and spatial distribution.
- Teachers' positive discourse on students.
- Teachers' negative discourse on students.
- Students' discourse on themselves.
- Interactions involving insulting: A kind of peer group interaction based on what students usually designated as "jokes," which could sometimes make them angry.
- Interactions involving hitting: Any kind of peer interaction which involves hitting each other.
- Peer group limit transgressions: Clear transgressions of personal limits among students. These sometimes lead to anger from at least one of the parties involved in the interaction. A kind of peer group limit transgression could be "jokingly" insulting. Another kind could be hitting each other.

RQ3: How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?

- Students' negative discourse: Students' negative narratives on the school, peer relations, relations with teachers or the Basque Country.
- Students' positive discourse: Students' positive narratives on school academic or non-academic activities, peers relations or relations with teachers.
- Limit transgressions which involve opposing Basque language learning: It includes conflicts on Basque language acquisition and negative interactions related to Basque language learning. It usually involves students opposing Basque language instruction, which is the transgression of a norm.
- Peer group limit transgressions.
- Soft jokes.
- Heavy jokes.
- Ethnic boundary enactment.
- Teacher authority questioning: Students questioning teacher authority.
- School norm transgressions: Transgression of limits regarding schools' harmonious functioning. It usually involves questioning teachers' role as educators, their authority, or any other school rule.
- Teacher-student problematic interactions.
- Teacher-student harmonious interactions.

- Classroom power relations shift: Transformation of traditional teacher-student power relations because of students' action or interaction.
- Otherness discourse based on ethnicity.

Fourth, the analysis was formally written in three different chapters. After relationships had been established between codes and RQs, three documents were created. These documents, as the primary documents — the transcriptions — were written both in Spanish and Basque. Each of these documents was analyzed according to the theoretical framework in English. These analyses are reflected in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.

5.6. Summary of Chapter 5

In this chapter, I explained the research setting and the methods used to gather data from it. The study design took an ethnographic approach in a Basque secondary public education center. First, I described the Basque public education system, its multi-ethnic studentship and the distribution of studentship among schools. I also explored educational policies, which affect such distribution. I also described Mirebe and Udabia, the former is the town in which the research took place, and the latter, the secondary education center where the data was collected.

Second, I outlined the most salient features of the sample taken from Udabia. I described the different groups in which I conducted participant observation, and the differential characteristics among them. I also discussed the representativeness of this sample. Third, I explained the

procedures used to collect primary and secondary data, namely, documentary research, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups. I also exposed how this research protected the participants, according to the guidelines provided by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Basque Country (CEISH), and my role as a researcher in this work. Finally, I explained the process of data collection and analysis. The analysis was partly done with the Atlas.ti software. I described how I categorized the data and classified it into the research questions precised in this work.

Part IV

Results

To understand why students may seek alternate sites in the classroom to construct more complex identities, we have to understand the school as a power-laden site Suresh Canagajah, Subversive identities, pedagogical safe houses, and critical learning. In *Critical Pedagogies and Language Learning*. 2004.

¡Ya! Los profesores... ¡porque no entienden!

Agustín, spring 2016

“Ribbons” he said “should be considered as clothes, which are the mark of a human being. All animals should go naked”.

George Orwell, *Animal farm*. 2014.

What if I say I'm not like the others, what if I say I'm not just another one of your play? You're the pretender! What if I say I will never surrender?

Foo Fighters, *The Pretender*. 2007.

Overview of Part IV

The aim of *Part IV* is to present an analysis on the results of the fieldwork conducted during the 2015/2016 school year. The topics that this chapter will cover are referred to each of the RQ presented in Chapter 1, the introduction. Some of the results presented in the chapters that compose *Part IV: Results*, namely, Chapter 6, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, will be combined and structured according to the codes precised in Chapter 5, and the theory presented in *Part II: Theoretical Framework*. The precise topics each chapter will focus on are the following:

Chapter 6 is linked to RQ1: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* These elements will be analyzed according to the topics proposed in Chapter 2. More precisely, in the first *part I* will focus on the structural elements affecting students, namely, inter- and intra-center distribution of students, cultural capital, educational policies, and Othering practices. In the second part, I will address the Head of the School and the Head of Studies' discourse on the Udabia studentship, as their global view on the center helps shed light on some elements that affect pupils. In the third part, I will classify teachers' direct relationship with students, according to authority models. And in the fourth part, I will introduce 2G students' academic performance, in accordance to teachers' relationship with them.

In Chapter 7 is related to RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, I will focus on student-student relationships from an ethnic boundary and limit transgression perspective. First, a brief explanation on classroom division and courtyard distribution will be presented; as these two elements combined provide a partial explanation on multi-ethnic student relationships. Second, a general description on the multi-ethnic relationships in group 2G will be introduced. Third, body posture, spatial distribution, and attitude of 2G studentship during classes will be analyzed, since they indicate how students felt during classes and how they interacted with each other. Also, student-student interactions during Basque lesson will be presented as a paradigmatic example on student relationship. Finally, teachers' and students' narrative on student relationships will be introduced. In this chapter, there will be an introduction to the main features of the concept of personal group limit transgression, which includes jokes, insulting, and hitting.

At last, Chapter 8 links to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, classroom interactions and identity formation according to those, will be analyzed. I will divide this chapter into three main sections in which I will address three kinds of problematic student-student and student-teacher interactions, accompanied by different dialogues and documents I collected during the fieldwork. I designated these interactions as adolescents' limit transgressions, and I will provide a classification of those in three different levels: personal, civic, and social limit transgressions.

Chapter 6

Is it structural?

6.1. Overview of Chapter 6

The aim of this chapter is to understand diverse elements that affect students, as related to RQ1: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* This RQ relates to the main objective of this research, as it aims to understand how subjects are formed in educational settings. In accordance with Chapter 2, one of the elements that this chapter will focus on, are structural elements affecting studentship. I will also address teacher authority and students' academic performance.

More precisely, in this chapter I will focus on the cultural capital, institutional, educational policy constrictions that affect students, and Othering practices. I will also explain two important educational figures' narratives on studentship: the Head of the School and Head of Studies' discourse on Udabia pupils. Their view was important to understand the root of some students' behavior, in comparison to other students. Furthermore, their actions had a direct effect on studentship, and these were based on their perspectives of pupils.

I will outline a classification of teachers' relationship with students. Each very distinct way in which teachers approached students had an effect on pupils' responses. In this section, I will base on the framework on teachers' authority presented in Chapter 2, to explain teachers' relationship with students. Finally, I will analyze 2G students' characteristics in regard to their academic performance, as their achievement was related to teachers' relationship with them. Teachers always claimed that 2G had a very low academic achievement and most of them would not be able to follow a standard 2nd CSE level, in comparison to 2H and 2I groups. I will introduce the teachers' discourse on this matter, as it helps shed light on their complaint. I will also describe student autonomy, as students showed a clear discouragement in most classes and this became a problem in their academic performance.

6.2. Structural elements affecting Udabia students

As noted in Chapter 5, the Udabia secondary education center had a high proportion of immigrant attendance, and in 2nd CSE, most of them were concentrated in "light" model B. Some studies have designated this autochthonous/non-autochthonous ethnic division into classes as intra-school segregation (García Castaño and Olmos Alcaraz 2012; Peláez Paz 2012). However, the aim of the linguistic models is not to ethnically divide. In fact, teachers and the Head of the School in Udabia advised immigrant students' parents against enrolling their children in "light" model B, as they were aware of such immigrant studentship concentration in specific classrooms. But immigrant families tended to contradict the school's advice. Even some of them did not favor their children's Basque language acquisition. An extreme example of such position is that of the father of a member of group 2G:

Agustín was a 2G student. Agustín's father came to Udabia to demand the center to teach his son in Spanish and not in Basque. He believed that the Basque language was not useful for his son, and complained about Basque language lessons. Of course, the Head of the School, Marta, did not agree with this demand, but it created a problem between the Basque language teacher and Agustín, the student. Because Agustín knew that his father supported the decision to not study Basque, he would not comply with the institutional rule of learning Basque. Indeed, Agustín, who already had boycotted Basque language lessons, behaved even more disruptively after his father's demand. Such an extreme position against Basque language instruction was not usual, but in general, parents of students enrolled in "light" model B were not supportive of Basque language learning.

Another element that also helps understand the student ethnic division was that of inter-school distribution. Indeed, Udabia was one of the centers that, as mentioned in Chapter 5, was attended by students who lived in different areas. That is, the education administration re-distributed students from different areas of Mirebe and randomly assigned them a center. Therefore, students who arrived in Udabia came from diverse primary schools of Mirebe. In those primary schools, the instruction of Basque varied, that is, some schools were popular for their high level of Basque instruction, whereas others were popular because they did not instruct such a high level of Basque. The latter were attended by a high proportion of immigrant students. Hence, there was already a linguistic imbalance when children from diverse centers arrived at Udabia, which was also ethnically marked: most autochthonous students were proficient in Basque, whereas most non-autochthonous students were not. Even, some autochthonous parents decided to enroll their children in in privately owned but state-funded schools which were popular for their high Basque language instruction.

This generated an inter-center segregation, as other studies have pointed out (García Castaño and Olmos Alcaraz 2012; Martín Rojo 2010).

Fortunately, Marta explained to me how this situation was going to be reversed. Because in Mirebe many attempts were being made for the reinforcement of Basque language instruction in public schools, all primary schools were only going to offer model D. Even newly arrived primary-level students were supposed to be integrated in model D. Therefore, the language imbalance among autochthonous and non-autochthonous students was expected to decrease in future years.

Some of the autochthonous parents who decided that their children were going to remain in Udabia in the 2015/2016 school year pressured the school to take actions and guarantee that their children were going to get a high Basque level instruction. Some of them were not very happy to go to Udabia. Uxue, the Head of Studies, explained to me in an interview I conducted with her, how students could sometimes perceive their parents' contradictory views on staying at the Udabia center and how this affected students' relationships.

Uxue: Ez dakit non... nora joan ziran (guraso autoktonoen protestak eta presioa)... ordun hori... seguro (ikasleak) etxean somatu dutela (problemak)... eta... eskolan ere bai. Eta pues bueno... hor, gero lan bat egin behar izandu zuten, integrazio lan bat... eta... [...]. Baina bueno... eee.. oraindikan asko falta da. Asko falta da, nik uste det. Baina bueno, nahiko ondo ikusten ditut, eh... zenbait... klasetan... nahasten dire (nahasketa etniko eta linguistikoa) eta... bueno... izan... ahal zanarako... edo... hasieran pentsatzen... uffff... nahiko ondo! [Basque]

*I don't know where ... how it happened (autochthonous parents' protests and their pressure toward the school) ... so I'm sure (students) perceived it (problems) both at home and at school ... And well, then a great integration work has been done and ...[...]
But ... there's still a lot to do (on that respect). But, well, I foresee it quite positively, eh*

... in some classes they are (ethnically and linguistically) mixed ... for what it could had been ... what I first thought ... uffff ... pretty good!

Uxue explained how autochthonous students perceived their parents' contradictions on staying in Udabia and all the problems that the previous year the school had gone through because of it. To some extent, the contradictory ideas that autochthonous parents held of the center were reflected in student-student relationships. In general, autochthonous and non-autochthonous students tended not to interact. But little by little, as Uxue mentions, relations between autochthonous and non-autochthonous students occurred. For instance, in 1st CSE some classes had a more balanced autochthonous and non-autochthonous student composition. Please note that the multi-ethnic student-student relationships will be analyzed in Chapter 7.

Regarding the 2nd CSE groups, there was a remarkable imbalance among classes in terms of their academic performance, Basque language proficiency, and socioeconomic status. In Bourdieu's (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) terms, there was a cultural capital imbalance. Cultural capital makes reference to the material and symbolic acquisitions of an individual or a group according to their social position. Following the author, the school distributes students in terms of their cultural capital through student-teacher interactions that include processes of standardization in exams and other rituals. In this case, there was a general tendency for the concentration of non-autochthonous students from many ethnic backgrounds, most of whom had also a low economic status, in 2G. Whereas in groups 2H and 2I there was less ethnic diversity but also a few cases of students having a low socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, according to the observation, what marked a difference in terms of the cultural capital was not the socioeconomic status of families, but the

Basque language. Indeed, Basque is spoken and reinforced in public and many private institutions and organizations of the Basque Country. These institutions work in the teaching and promotion of its use. Therefore, choosing not to study in Basque and directly or indirectly devaluing it means not acquiring the public institutions' workers' cultural capital. Furthermore, schools distribute students in terms of Basque language instruction which is a central part of the Basque public schools' cultural capital.

Another important element to take into account in the constraining effect of Basque schools, according to structural perspectives, is the educational policies that regulate Basque language instruction and student distribution. I have already given some hints on how the distribution of studentship is made in terms of the level of Basque instructed. This is specified in different educational policies, as described in Chapter 5 (Official Gazette of the Basque Country 1983, 2007; Gobierno Vasco 2010; Departamento de Educación 2016). And in the previous paragraphs of this section I have explained how Udabia distributes students in terms of Basque language learning. I will now refer to teaching practices according to Basque language instruction. I will not analyze in this chapter student-teacher interactions, as these will be studied in Chapter 8, but I will specify how teachers acted in relation to educational policies.

Most teachers at the beginning of the 2015/2016 schoolyear tried to teach Basque to group 2G. But the students' opposition to its learning was so strong that most of them had desisted from trying. Even though group 2G was enrolled in a model B, they were not taught in Basque, as it was literally impossible. Some educators introduced a few Basque words in lessons and others avoided it, as they knew that these interactions would most likely end up in a student boycott. In this sense, teachers did not

function according to educational policies because classroom dynamics prevented them from it. Student disruption was so high anytime the Basque language was introduced in classroom discourse that teachers were discouraged from teaching it.

Hence, an Othering practice did not emerge as a consequence of educational policy discourse and student designation, as it has been described in other ethnographic contexts (cf. Stein 2004; Weber 2009), although group 2G was somehow stigmatized and Othered because its members were very disruptive, not only in their opposition to Basque language learning, but in a more general way in comparison to 2H and 2I groups.

6.3. General perspectives on the body of studentship: Head of the School and Head of Studies

The Head of the School and the Head of Studies were teachers who provided this research with a general view on studentship. They regarded the whole Udabia center from an administration perspective, and explained very clearly some of the elements which affected studentship and their relationship with teachers.

Both the Head of School, Marta, and the Head of Studies, Uxue, explained to me in different interviews how managing the whole school was a very positive but also stressing experience. They both had no previous experience running a school but felt quite content in their positions. While Marta had been the Head of the School for three years, for Uxue it was the first year as the Head of Studies. They both claimed that school management provided them with a broad view of the school. As previous teachers, they explained how their experiences had been focused on

individual student situations or classroom problems. But in their current management positions they had acquired a new perspective on the whole school as an institution, the influence of teachers' decisions and actions, and students' families. Uxue clearly explained to me how since she had been the Head of the Studies any problem with a student was interpreted by her as a whole-school problem. In other words, any person's issues could have an impact on the whole school dynamics and therefore, her work had to be carefully executed.

Both Marta and Uxue claimed that school was an institution that needed careful bureaucratic management. But as the Uxue explained, it also needed people with a great social ability to manage conflicts. Problems are usual in all schools, but in Udabia these were often based on students' behavioral problems. These conflicts, Marta claimed, were usually straightforward interactions in which students were disrespectful to their peers or teachers, whereas in ethnically more homogeneous centers these problems tended to be more subtle. To put it differently, adolescents are disruptive in all centers, but in Udabia, the disruption was directly aimed at their colleagues and teachers in direct and not hidden interactions, i.e. insulting each other or directly complaining about having to study. For instance, 2G was one of the most disruptive classes of all Udabia center. Their problems were usually internal, that is, most problems took place inside group 2G, although some happened between them and other CSE groups. In order to manage these problems, Marta explained how she needed to take a very particular role and approach students the way students approached their conflicts. That is, when some 2G students had behaved in a non-appropriate way with some of their colleagues, she claimed that she approached these students in their own profane language. In an interview I conducted with her, she claimed the following:

Marta: Bai, gainera ikusi dut... (2G taldea) ari direla kopiatzen estereotipo batzuk nahi zuten... pixkat izatea... la mini-mara del insituto. Eta nahi zuten, pixkat, como un poco mafia bat izan, eta gestionatu edo kontrolatu gauzak. Bainan nik uste dut hori, moztu egin degula. Ez dakit tardatu dugun asko edo gutxi, edo... bainan... pues hori. Alejandro zen oso elemento potentea hor... egin zuten una ley del silencio superfuertea.... Orain kurtso bukaeran apurtu degu.... Izan da baita ere... kaña kaña, kaña!... eta... gero ni egin hauek nago pixkat pentsatzen a ver nola egin ditudan gauzak. Ni jartzen naizenean en plan directora jartzen naiz oso bortitza. Alejandroekin izan naiz. Eee... Juanekin izan naiz. Agustínekin baita ere. Eta nik ikusten det baita ere funtzionatzen duela. Hauek (Alejandro, Juan eta Agustínek batez ere) ulertzen dute autoritateko figura bat, esaten duena..." ;te callas, tú te callas!", eta funciona [...] Eta gainera haiek hori ulertzen dute horrela [Basque and Spanish]

Yeah, I've seen (that group 2G) are copying some stereotypes ... as if they wanted to be ... the little gang of high school. And they also wanted to be the little mafia, and to manage and control things. But I think we've cut these behaviors off. I don't know whether it took us long or short to do so ... but that's the way it is. Alejandro was a powerful character there ... he managed to establish a code of silence around his actions. Now, at the end of the course we've broken it (the code of silence). And it was tell off!, tell off!, tell off! And I've been thinking these last days on how I managed things. When I take the Head of School role I am very severe. I've been (severe) with Alejandro ... ahm ... I've been with Juan. With Agustín too. And I see that it works. These (Alejandro, Juan and Agustín especially) understand an authority figure who says: "you shut up!", "you, shut up!" [...] They do understand it this way

In this interview Marta explained how she had decided to address three students' limit transgressions in group 2G. She explained that when she had faced these problems the method had been to approach students in an authoritative way, using linguistic transgressions students did not expect she would. A phrase such as "You, shut up!" was probably something Agustín, Alejandro, or Juan had not heard very often from a teacher or the Head of School. But it was a common phrase in their peer exchanges. I designate the use of a phrase such as this one a limit transgression

according to the definition provided in Chapter 4, only under particular conditions. When such a phrase was said among students it was a personal limit transgression, as power relations among pupils were more or less equal. But when this phrase was directed from the Head of the School to Agustín, Juan, or Alejandro, it was an authorized use of power and not a limit transgression. It worked for re-establishing each student's position at school. These three students had tried to gain higher positions through other kinds of limit transgressions, but after their interaction with Marta they acquired their previous role as mere students at school.

Finally, Marta and Uxue explained how in other education centers composed of ethnically homogenous studentship, that is, a higher autochthonous studentship percentage, problems with parents were more usual. According to Marta, autochthonous parents in Udabia frequently called or met with teachers to know how their children were performing at school. Following the framework by Martin (2014) and Dumais (2005) presented in Chapter 3, parents' engagement in school activities and in their children's performance has positive consequences on student-teacher relationships. It also motivates pupils to work harder at home and improve their learning process. However, in the ethnographic case presented (Martin 2014), some autochthonous parents seemed to become too involved in their children's learning process. Some families also questioned teachers' methods and ways of approaching students. As a consequence, Marta noted that in classes formed by a majority of autochthonous pupils, teachers had to earn the respect of students because they knew their families would support them in some of the actions teachers did not accept. By contrast, foreign national families were less usually controlling of their children's school performance and therefore, the school-family relationship was not acrimonious for teachers.

6.4. Teachers' relationship with students

Each teacher had a different way of approaching 2G students. In this section I will present a classification of these, according to the observation conducted. The aim is not to assess teaching methods but to understand how teachers built their relationship with students and to explore how students were affected by those. Teachers' relations with students had a great impact on students' response in class, not only on their academic performance, but also their autonomy (Levin and Nolan 2014). I defined student autonomy as the capacity to use different individual resources to solve a problem or face a challenge on their own.

Other factors such as the nature of the subject being taught incited different students' responses. For instance, students' behavior in the Arts class was not as disruptive as it was in the Basque language class. This also had an impact on how teachers had to approach students. That is, if students were less disruptive in the Arts class than they were in the Basque language class, the teacher in the Arts class did not have to invest so much energy on cutting students' disruptions off. There were three main ways in which teachers built their relationship with students: in an authoritative, caring or ambiguous way. Each very distinct way of approaching students elicited a different response from them and teachers were also affected by the way students responded to their demands.

When teachers were authoritarian they gave simple orders on how classroom activities were going to be done and lessons were organized in a very clear way. My "authoritarian" designation falls under the "legitimate authority" description introduced in Chapter 3, by Levin and Nolan (2014). According to the authors, some teachers tend to create student-teacher relationships based on the fact that they are legitimized to influence students in an education institution. As such, they control classroom

dynamics through the reinforcement of their role as educators. Although their way of understanding teacher-students relations was traditional, authoritarian 2G teachers did not give many lectures. Rather, they organized a set of different activities in which explanations and exercises were dynamically proposed to students. All of these were presented in a simple way and pupils were expected to complete them more or less autonomously. Following Drexler (2010), these teachers balanced classroom control and student autonomy in order to get positive academic results from students. Most of these authoritarian teachers were well aware of students' different needs and tried to respond to all of them. This was complex because there were many students from different ethnic backgrounds and life trajectories. One of the most authoritarian teachers was one of the Mathematics teachers, Iker. He explained his teaching performance the following way:

Iker: Bai, guztiak batera tratatzea (ikasleak), hau da, klase magistral bat ematea edo guztiei orokorrean zuzentzea ezinezkoa da, bai? Hori da... “el tratamiento de la diversidad”. Bueno, ba guztiei erantzun bat ematea ezinezkoa da. Oso desberdinak direlako. Bai akademikoki, bai, eee... daukaten heldutasun mailagatik. Baita ere erritmo aldetik, kultura, erritmoa kulturaren oso txertatuta dago eta desberdintasun horrek eramaten gaitu ezin... lehen ematen ziren klase magistral horiek, ez dute batere zentzurik. Eta orduan hau (irakaslearen erantzuna) izan behar da banan banakakoa. Eta irakasleok izan behar dugun jarrera bakoitzarekiko ere, oso desberdina. Bakoitzarekiko tonua ere, oso desberdina. Bakoitzari ze mailatan edo ze ariketa mota, edo zer proposatu ere, desberdina... [...] dena adaptatuta egon behar da. Baina ez bakarrik materiala, baizik eta ere tonua, eta zelan hitz egin bakoitzari, era oso ezberdina da. Eta ze jarrera, eta ze zigor, edo ze... zigorra, edo zelako neurriak hartu bakoitzarekin ere oso ezberdinak dira. [Basque and Spanish]

Yes, treating all (students) at the same time, that is, giving a lecture and correcting all of them at the same time is impossible, isn't it? This is “dealing with diversity”. So responding to their needs at the same time is impossible. Because they are all different.

Both academically and in their levels of maturity. Also because of their rhythm, culture; rhythm is related to culture, and the differences take us to ... Traditional lectures cannot be taught anymore, in this (diverse and slow-rhythmic) context those lectures don't make any sense. Therefore, it (the teaching response) has to be one by one. And teacher's attitude toward each student has to be very different. In terms of the level of each student, the kind of exercise has to be different [...], it all has to be adapted. But not only the material, but also the tone, how to speak to each one has to be different. And what attitude, what punishment, or what decision to make with each one has to be different.

Iker clearly explained how he had to adapt to each student's needs and had to develop a daily strategy to approach them. One of the things that students respected most about Iker was his clarity. His serious, direct, and low voice tone was, according to students, very demanding and disruptions barely took place in his classes. In the interview I conducted with him, he explained how he viewed power relations in each classroom. He claimed that like in society, each classroom was composed of different individual positions that could be quantified in a number, and those numbers could be represented in a pyramid. In this pyramid, the teacher was not always at the top of it, because some students managed to be over him/her. He explained that the teacher had to be aware of this and should try to accept it. Because if the teacher started to fight to gain a higher position, student disruption and limit transgression would happen more often. For this reason, when student disruptions happened in his class, he would either ignore such behavior or remove the disruptive student from class. He believed that ignoring students' complaints was the most useful method to avoid conflict.

By contrast, caring teachers tried to gain 2G students' trust by showing an attentive and affectionate attitude toward them. They gave orders to students too, but their main way of interacting with students was speaking in a soft voice tone. They were much more flexible than authoritative

teachers in their demands and they respected students' rhythm. What I designated by the term "caring" was introduced in Chapter 3 with the term "referent authority" as the kind of relationship built between students and teachers based on care, but not on friendship. In this relation, teachers manage classroom dynamics based on the trust they share with pupils (Levin and Nolan 2014).

In Udabia, these teachers worked on increasing student autonomy but did not pressure them as much as authoritarian teachers did. They also tried to connect with students and get a feed-back on their activities. They also had very well structured classroom activities, but conformed to a lower student performance. The aim in their classes was not to advance much according to the syllabus, but build close and trustworthy relationships with students. I will introduce two examples of caring teachers. The first was Inés, the Science teacher. She explained during an interview the following:

Inés: Orduan, ez badute ikusten zu zarela, ez dakit nola esan, edo pertsona on bat edo... entzuten duzula edo [...] Konfindantza ez baduzu lortzen alferrik beste guztia. Bai? Orduan, ni saiatu naiz banan banan, e? Hori lortzen. Mmmm ez dut... nuke esango guztiakin lortu dudala. [...] A ver, irakaslearen lana talde horretan ez da erreza. Bueno, bai? Eeee... edozein taldetan beti ezagutu behar duzu taldea, eta... bueno, ezin duzu esan, hau da nik egin behar dudana, lehenengo taldea ezagutu, eta bueno pues estrategiak asko aldatzen dira, moldatzen dira, moldatu behar. Hori gertatzen da edozein taldetan, pues talde honetan askoz gehiago. [...] Eeeee, ba... aniztasun handia dagoelako, gero... eee... maila, maila akademikoa ere, eeee... ba oso... bueno, pues aniztasuna ere bai, eta... eee... oro har, etzaie gehiegi interesatzen... eskola. [...] Orduan, eee kurtsoaren hasieran kostatu zitzaidan. Bai? Gainera ez nituen ezagutzen, normalean ja, eee... lehenengo mailan ezagutu eta bigarren mailan pues ja... harreman, pues igual afektiboak edo, pues eginak daude. Eta errezagoa da [...] Beti errezagoa da bigarren urte batean. Baina... niretzat zen lehenengo... lehenengo urtea. Orduan pues lehenengo hilabeteak,... pues bilatu behar, estrategiak, eta hori. Harremanak, harreman... hori, afektiboak, eraiki behar. Baina nik esango nuke ja, momentu honetan egin ditugula, ez?

eta ja neurriak hartu ditugula. Nik haiei, eta haiek niri. [...] Orduan, ni sentitzen naiz gustorago. Gero beste aldetik, baita ere, badakit... eta badakigu denok, eee... eskatu behar duguna, edukien aldetik, dira edukin minimoak. Ordun hori lortu behar da. Bai? Eeee... eta hori jakinda, bueno pues, pues... eee... moldatzen dituzu... moldatzen dituzu denborak. Moldatzen dituzu frogak, eeee... bueno, pues... dena, eh? Dena [Basque]

So, if they don't see that you're, I don't know how to put it into words, a good person or ... that you listen (to students) or ... [...] If you don't build trust with them the rest won't work, right? So, I've tried one by one, eh? I've tried to get that (trust with students) one by one, and ... well ... I can't say I've gotten it with everyone. [...] Well, teacher's work in that group is not easy. In any group you have to know the people, and (teaching) strategies change. This happens in any group, but in this group it happens much more. [...] eh ... because there is much diversity, and also ... the academic performance ... well, it's very diverse as well and they're not very interested in school. [...] So, at the beginning of the school year it took me a while (to gain their trust), right? Moreover, I didn't know them. Normally, in 2nd CSE you already know them because you taught them in 1st CSE. In that case, affectionate relationships are already built with students. And it's easier [...] It's always easier a second year. But for me ... it was the first year. So the first months I had to seek strategies, and so on. Relationships.... I had to build caring relationships. But I would say, at this point, I've built them, right? And measures are taken. From me to them and from them to me [...] So, I feel better now (with them). Then, on the other hand, we all know that we have to ask them for minimum content. So, we have to get that, right? Eh ... that known, we adapt everything. We adapt times, we adapt exams ... eh ... well all, right? We adapt it all.

In this excerpt from the interview, Inés explains how she understands her relationship with students. For her, building affectionate bonds is the basis of any working activity. Without that, the rest of the work would not make any sense. In her view, students must trust teachers and this way classroom environment improves. It is also very clear how she tries to adapt to student's needs, but she claims that it is very difficult, because there are diverse ethnic backgrounds, life trajectories, levels of maturity, interest in her subject and student abilities. In this sense, both Inés and Iker agreed.

Another teacher who would fit in the category of “caring” was a History teacher, Gorka. He explained the following during an interview:

Gorka: Bai, gainera ni izateko modua ere malgua da. Ez naiz zorrotza. Zeren eta badakit zorrotza izaten ez dudala ezer lortuko (2G ikasleengandik), baizik eta nire kontra jarri, eta ez dudala lortuko liburu bat irekitzea. Orduan nik badakit, ezagutzen ditut ondo, eta ez naiz batere zorrotza. Hombre... [...] azken finean, nahi ez dudana da... ba... ba... hori, nire kontra jartzea edo... edo... pues nik... nik... pentsatzen det irakaskuntza ez dela ja lehenago zela, ez? Pues que... me los tengo que ganar un poco. Y si quieren hacer algo lo harán porque ellos quieren. Ez nik esaten dudalako egiteko. Orduan, pues hor dago pixkat nire estrategia pues bueno, pues... pues historia... no es tan tan esto, ...historia... pues tampoco... pues voy a hacer algo (sobre el temario), y a partir de ahí, hortik, pues ahal dudan gehiago atera. [Basque and Spanish]

Yes, my way of being is flexible. I'm not a strict person. Because I know that being strict I will get nothing (from 2G students) but having them against me and they would not even open a book. So I know, I know them well and I'm not strict at all. Well, [...] what I don't want is to have (students) against me ... or ... I think that the education system is not what it was, right? I have to earn their trust. And if they do something they'll do it because they want to. Not because I say so. So, that's my strategy, History ... History ... it is not so much ... I'm gonna do a little bith (of the syllabus) and from there on, I'm gonna get the most of it (from students).

As we can see, Gorka, as well as Inés, was quite flexible in his demands of students. He acknowledged 2G students' low academic performance and tried to adapt his classroom dynamic to it. The most important element for Gorka was not the syllabus, but the relationship he built with students. History, his subject, was only an excuse for earning student's trust and making them feel integrated in classroom dynamics. He felt quite at ease with his role in class tried to adapt to student's needs at all times. In these two examples of a caring way of approaching students I identify a concept that I introduced in Chapter 2: “connective instruction” as the network teachers build with students to get better academic outcomes and

motivation (Martin 2014). This relationship is built on trust between students and teachers, and clearly Inés and Gorka were doing it with group 2G.

Before introducing the last category on teacher-student relationships it is important to explain what the authoritarian and caring way to approach students had in common. Both ways were very flexible to students' needs and tried to ignore students' transgressions in class as much as possible. Although authoritarian teachers were not flexible in their demands, they understood that students' responses to them were different. Teacher-student interactions were adapted to different situations and both ways to approach pupils turned out not to be confusing for students. Indeed, students felt quite at ease with a teacher's way to approach them. They felt either they had a clear exercise to complete, or that they could ask and approach the teacher in many ways. These were probably the reasons why 2G students positively responded to these ways of approaching them.

Finally, the ambiguous way of approaching students could be described as a mix of the authoritative and caring models. In these cases, teachers tried to create affectionate bonds with students but were also authoritative in some situations. Teachers tended to be authoritarian when students' disruptions happened, as a reaction to these provocations. By contrast to authoritarian and caring models, ambiguous models did not ignore student disruptions or non-autonomous attitudes in class. Students were confused when teachers reacted to their limit transgressions because in other classes teachers ignored them.

As Iker had explained to me, when disruptions happened in these classes, some students were over teachers in the power relations pyramid, but teachers did not accept that these students were above them. Even though teachers used their authority, they could not gain the control of the

classroom. A possible explanation of this is that these teachers used legitimate authority while their usual style had been referent authority. Such change in their teachers' roles and the power relations associated with them turned out to be very confusing for students (Levin and Nolan 2014).

In this new power relations game, teachers were prone to loose, as adolescents are well known to find teachers' "weak spots". As a matter of fact, sometimes students united in their disruptions and a student would go on with the limit transgression that another student had already started. Teachers felt very frustrated when these kinds of disruptions happened and told me in different interviews that sometimes they felt they were out of resources to deal with 2G students.

Carlos, a teacher whose way to build the relationship with student was quite ambiguous, explained to me in an interview why he believed he had an acrimonious relationship with 2G. According to Carlos, students were used to being very disruptive and needed someone to set limits. Those limits should be the basis of an affectionate bonding with students. However, he explained how these limits were an obstacle for developing a harmonious relationship with students.

Carlos: Mugak jartzen diezunean, orduan ja... pertsona non grata zara. Orduan hor, pareta bat jartzen dute, eta ez dizute usten... joaten aurrera [...] Mugak beharrezkoak direla. Mugak jarrita, goazen hurrengo pausura. Beharrezkoak dira, errespetatu arauak! Limiteak jarri! Mugak jarri! Eta goazen gora! Ez dizute... uzten. Ja pertsona non grata zara. Punto. Orduan ja ez duzu tratamendu hori. Ya empiezas a llevarte mal. Eta igual besteekin (beste Udabia taldeekin), ez da... hain nabarmena. Beste taldeetan [...] ez da... igual lotura (kurtsoaren) hasierako lotura (afektiboa) ez da hain fuerte, mugak jartzen diozu, orduan tampoco pierden tanto... [Basque and Spanish]

When you establish some limits to them (2G group) ... you're a persona non grata. They put a wall between you and them and they don't let you ... advance or help them. Because limits are necessary, respect the rules! Establish limits! And let's go! But they

don't let ... you. Because you are a persona non grata. Period. So you don't deserve that (positive) treatment. And you start to have an acrimonious relationship. And maybe with others (other Udabia classes) ... it is not as remarkable. In other groups [...], maybe the previous (affectionate) bond you created (at the beginning of the school year) is not so strong, so you establish limits and they don't lose as much.

In this example we can see how Carlos is being caring when he makes reference to the affectionate bond he created at the beginning of the school year with group 2G, and authoritative at the same time when he speaks about the need of establishing limits. In his discourse, setting limits is problematic because 2G students did not let him do it. According to my observations, Carlos switched from a caring to an authoritarian model in response to students' provocations. I believe that students did not understand how Carlos treated them, while for him; it was obvious that he was being both caring and establishing clear non-transgressable limits through authoritative orders. I argue that students did not interpret the same thing Carlos was trying to do, and for that reason, students reacted disruptively. When students perceived teachers being ambiguous, they acted more transgressively.

6.5. 2G's academic performance

As mentioned, group 2G had a very low academic performance and teachers felt quite frustrated with this fact. In most interviews educators explained that their academic level was comparable to a 1st CSE level or even a little lower. According to some instructors, this was due to the fact that in the compulsory education system 2nd CSE level is a period of transition because students who did not want to continue studying still had to attend classes. These pupils were 13 to 16 years old and many of them had already repeated one or two CSE levels. In 2G there were two clear

cases as the one described: Alejandro and Kevin. Both of these students were not going to continue their CSE studies the following year and were especially unmotivated to follow the class. They were both quite disruptive, especially Kevin, who tended to interrupt the class very often.

Apart from the fact that these two students were not very interested in lessons, the rest of the 2G members were quite unmotivated too. There were two kinds of unmotivated attitudes. First, that of students who paid attention to lessons but felt that teacher's explanation advanced very slowly. And second, that of students who barely paid attention and were distracted during lectures. In the second case, students tended to suddenly ask questions related to the teacher's previous explanation, to which they had not listened.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, 2G was also one of the few groups in all Udabia that had more education resources than a standard CSE level. 2G had two teachers instead of one in most classes. That is, the teacher to student ratio was lower than in other groups. The classes were organized the following way: in Mathematics, Science and Technology subjects the 19 students were together in a classroom and had two teachers. In Physical Education and Arts subjects they were also together but they only had one teacher. In the rest of the classes group 2G was divided into two different classes and there was one teacher per 9-10 or 7-12 students. The groups were the same in all subjects except in the Basque language lesson, where in theory students were divided according to the period they had already spent in the Basque education system and their previous knowledge of Basque. If students had spent less than three years in a Basque school and had little Basque language knowledge they were in the HIPI's class; whereas if they had spent a longer time in the Basque education system and had minimum Basque language proficiency, they were in a higher Basque

language level class. In practice, some newly-arrived students were in the higher Basque language classroom as it was considered beneficial for them.

This lower teacher to student ratio and group division created excellent support for adolescents because they could get more attention and their doubts were solved very fast. But getting that level of attention also had an unexpected consequence in some classrooms: some students used the high level of attention they received in order to ask too many questions. In other words, they acted “as if” they were not autonomous to prevent the lesson from advancing. As mentioned in the previous section, an important element that increased students’ autonomy was the relationship teachers built with pupils: if teachers were authoritarian student autonomy was higher. Another relevant factor was that whenever the Basque language was introduced during a lesson, student autonomy decreased drastically. It did not matter whether they knew the answer to their question or not, they would ask it anyway.

I will introduce an example on students showing little autonomy. In the weekly session with their tutor¹⁴, they worked on an innovative activity for all students. It consisted of assessing their performance, behavior, effort and results to date (March 2016).

The tutor made the schema that appears in *Figure 1* both in Spanish and in Basque. She introduced the names of the subjects and some self- assessing phrases in Basque, whereas the rest was in Spanish. When she gave the first explanation on how to do the exercise, she translated each word from Basque to Spanish. However, when students had to do the exercise, many

¹⁴ A tutor is a teacher responsible for the general well-being of one classroom at school. He/she is responsible for the classroom distribution, academic and personal evolution of each student, and harmonious relationships in the whole group.

of them asked over and over again what the words in Basque meant. I argue that they used their lack of autonomy in order to: a) decrease the rhythm of the class by asking the same questions all the time; and b) provoke the teacher or transgress a limit. The definition I provided of limit transgressions in adolescence are the methods used to question the rules of interaction of daily life and the conflicts that arise because of it. Asking too many questions or showing a lack of autonomy meant indirectly testing teachers' patience, as students are supposed to go to school and learn actively. As such, it was a transgression.

Teachers also explained that due to the general low rhythm of classes group 2G was comparable to a class that in 3rd CSE level is called "diversification". In this kind of class, students' rhythm and academic performance is lower than in a standard CSE level. The diversification class is only possible in 3rd and 4th CSE level and teachers foresaw that most students were either going to repeat the year or going to a 3rd CSE level diversification class. Nevertheless, at the end of the 2015/2016 school year, out of the 19 students six repeated the year, three went to special schools where they studied a profession while they finished their CSE levels, and 10 passed the course. Out of these 10 students, only three went to the "diversification" class.



Figure 1: Self-assessment exercise in a tutoring class

The six students who repeated the course were not very happy about it, but had to accept they had failed some subjects. The three students who went to special schools to study a profession had very different trajectories in the 2016/2017 school year: the first student, Alejandro, was already 16 and decided after Christmas that he did not want to continue so he abandoned his new studies. Myriam, another student, started going to her new school but had inconsistent attendance and performance rates. She would attend the classes and complete her assignments during some periods, but she would not during others. By contrast, Kevin, the third student, had a high attendance and very good academic performance at the new school he attended.

The three students in the diversification class were happy about it; they felt much more comfortable in their new class than the previous year. And finally, the seven students who passed to the 3rd CSE regular level were all happy except for one, Roger, who was quite lost in class. This rather extraordinary situation was what Iker, the mathematics teacher explained as 2G being the example of “diversity”. When used the term “diversity” he was not so much referring to the various ethnic backgrounds in group 2G, but to these varied academic-life trajectory.

6.6. Summary of Chapter 6

This chapter was related to RQ2: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* More precisely, I addressed the external elements that affect students and their interactions, according to the theoretical tools provided in Chapter 2. Chapter 6 is organized into four sections:

First, I focused on the structural perspectives, namely, the inter- and intra-center distribution of studentship, cultural capital, institutional, educational policy constrictions that affect students, and a brief outline of Othering practices. In the case studied, teachers could not follow educational policies, as students would hardly let them do it. The cultural capital was not based on social class, but on the Basque language: according to the instruction of it, students were distributed. Second, I presented an analysis of the discourse of the Head of the School and Head of Studies. These two agents held a general view on studentship and this was important to understand school functioning and students from such a perspective. Third, I addressed the kind of relationships that teachers built with students, according to their use of authority and other non-pedagogic resources. And fourth, I addressed student performance, which is related to the previous element; as how teachers build their relationship with students has an impact on student performance. I introduced teachers' discourse, as they always complained that the academic achievement of group 2G was very low. Finally, I put it in relation to the concept of student autonomy.

Chapter 7

On multi-ethnic relationships

7.1. Overview of Chapter 7

This chapter refers to RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* This question will focus on the analysis of two central elements described in Chapter 3, namely, ethnic boundaries and boundary-work, and limit transgressions. These two were the most outstanding behaviors during the observation conducted and in this chapter they are analyzed in different sections, both separately and combined.

In this chapter, I will only focus on how students' behavior affected their peers. I could have included adolescent behavior in relation to teachers, but the volume of data was so extensive, that I decided to limit the results to student-student interactions. However, both transgressions and boundary-work can be used to describe students' behavior with teachers. In Chapter 8, I will address how students and teacher interacted, and I will describe these interactions taking into account the analysis made this chapter.

First, I will focus on 2nd CSE relationships. Interactions between members of different classrooms were rare, and these were only observable during recess and extra-curricular activities. I will describe these relationships in relation to ethnic boundaries precised in Chapter 3. Second, I will address group 2G and the relationships among its members from an ethnic boundary perspective.

Third, I will explain students' relationships as adolescents' relations, focusing on insulting and body language. I will analyze body posture and spatial distribution of 2G students in the Basque language session. Student interactions, which often happened in this class, were quite remarkable, and the level of student disruption was very high. Fourth, I will introduce teachers' narrative on student relations, as their observation and interpretation on student behavior complemented some of the observation I conducted. Finally, I will describe students' discourse on their relations. I will focus on insulting, as it was one of their most remarkable behaviors, and they often complained about it. In this section, I will analyze their explanations on sending and receiving an insult. This final section serves as the introduction to the "personal limit transgression" designation, which will be explored in Chapter 8.

7.2. General description of 2nd CSE multi-ethnic relationships

As explained in Chapter 5, 2nd CSE students were organized into three different classrooms, which varied from a high Basque language instruction, model D, to a lower Basque language instruction, strong model B and "light" model B. I also mentioned in Chapter 6 that the Head of School and teachers in Udabia recommended students to take model D or strong model B classes, given that they had higher Basque language

instruction. This Basque language instruction was proposed in line with the Basque Government and an important part of Basque society's effort to promote and reinforce the Basque language. Students were always encouraged to study the Basque language but many immigrant students and their parents usually chose not to enroll their children in model D or strong model B. According to them, the Basque language was not an important language¹⁵. As such, they believed they did not need to be instructed in it. As I also mentioned in Chapter 6, this generated an ethnic division, designated as intra-center segregation in some works (García Castaño and Olmos Alcaraz 2012; Peláez Paz 2012).

This ethnic division in Wimmer's (2013) and Lamont's (et al. 2014) terms, is an institutional constraint for boundary-making. That is, the system acted as a constraint for the linguistic boundary-making. The unforeseen consequence of this linguistic boundary, is that it became an ethnic boundary. In the case study, "light" model B was composed of a great majority of immigrant students, versus strong model B and model D classes, which had a much higher autochthonous studentship attendance. Nevertheless, as mentioned, immigrant parents' decision was also important for the constitution of this ethnic boundary, as they chose their children to study in "light" model B classrooms, against the school's advice.

The ethnic boundary, which was present during classrooms, was also observable during recess. In fact, in the playground, non-autochthonous and autochthons students' relationships were rare. A possible explanation is that they did not interact with each other because they attended different

¹⁵ Most immigrant students and parents often described Basque language as important in the Basque Country but not useful in other places. Basque language was mostly regarded as an obligation of the Basque education system, often negatively.

classrooms. Interactions between autochthonous and non-autochthonous students were only observed when students practiced any of the following activities: soccer or basketball. According to the classification in the ethnic boundary-making introduced by Wimmer (2008, 2013), in this case, ethnic boundaries would blur and inter-ethnic contact would happen. To put it differently, under such circumstances ethnic boundaries would disappear and actors would seek other strategies for inter-ethnic relationships, as ethnic division would not serve the purpose of playing a good soccer match.

Nevertheless, ethnic boundaries were also present among non-autochthonous students during recess, and these could not be explained by the linguistic model separation criterion. Non-autochthonous students showed a general tendency to relate to their same ethnic background peers. That tendency was not an institutional constraint, but students' personal choices. Lara, a student in group 2G, described this situation the following way:

Lara: Este colegio está más dividido por países... [...] te puedes hacer amiga de ellos (los alumnos Latinos de 2G) pero en el recreo cuesta más acercarse a ellos. [Spanish]

This school is so divided by countries ... [...] you can make friends with them (2G Latino students), but during recess it is more difficult to approach them.

Lara had arrived the previous year from Castilla, a Spanish region, and enrolled in group 2G. She clearly described in this excerpt the difficulties she encountered to relate to her classroom Latino peers, who were a majority in 2G. In fact, during recess, 2nd CSE level students were mostly ethnically divided, as we can see in *Figure 2*. This figure makes reference to the courtyard distribution of 2nd CSE students during the first half of the school year.

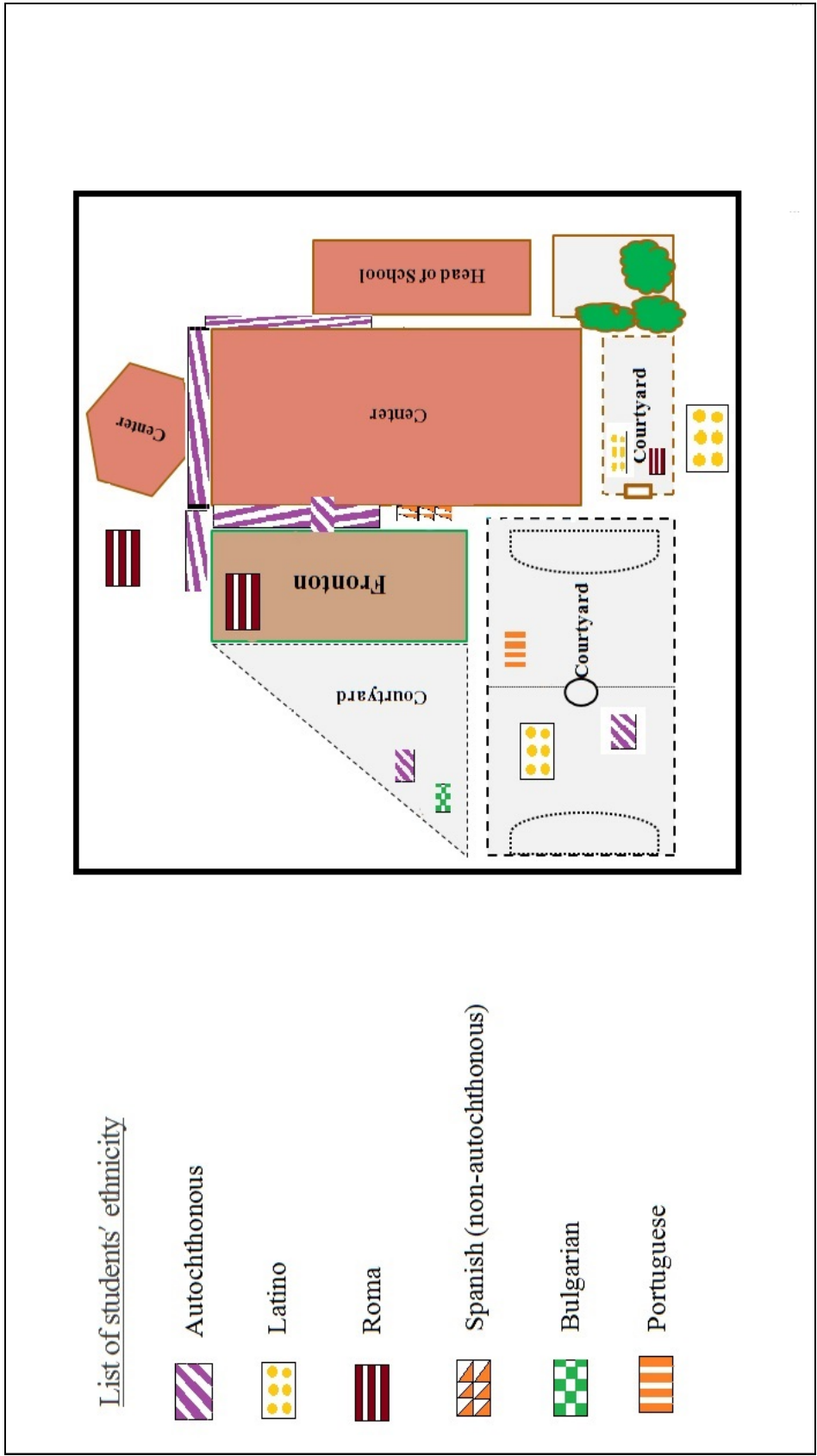


Figure 2: The courtyard in Uddabia during the end of 2015 and the beginning of 2016. 2nd CSE.

Most Latino students took up positions to one side, Roma students were hidden at the back of the school facilities, and autochthonous and Spanish adolescents — mostly girls — were walking around the school. Students of European — non-Basque and non-Spanish — origin tended to be on their own. Soccer and sometimes basketball were the main activities that acted to unite most of the male studentship.

Please note that, as time passed by, internal problems led some Latino students to divide by countries of origin; i.e.: most girls from Ecuador and Nicaragua did not interact with each other at the end of the school year. This led to the constitution of another ethnic boundary, as I will explain in the following section.

7.3. General description on 2G student multi-ethnic relationships

As previously mentioned, the 2G class was composed of 19 students from eight nationalities and 10 different ethnic backgrounds, according to them. These were: two local Roma students, one Basque, one Spanish, one Portuguese, one Bulgarian and 13 Latino students coming from Ecuador, Nicaragua, Peru, Bolivia and Colombia. The two local Roma students, Jennifer and Kevin, were cousins and had a love/hate relationship. They were always together but they often hit each other and argued, creating an escalating conflict in the classroom. Myram, a Bulgarian student, tended to be quite on her own. The previous year, she had been in a group of Latina students, but in the 2015/2016 school year she had had a fight with Ángela, one of them, and she did not mix with them anymore. At the time of the fieldwork, Myriam socialized with local Roma students. Many local Roma students had a very low school attendance and they often missed many

classes. Myram, as their friend, started to do the same thing and her school grades dropped drastically. Local Roma students did not have a good relationship with the rest of the class and most of the school because they were quite on their own. As a consequence, Myriam was isolated from the rest of the class because she mostly integrated with her Roma friends. As she explained during the interview we had, her level of integration changed. She had felt alone at the beginning of the 2015/2016 school year because she was not integrated with her previous Latina friends, so she made friends with local Roma students, especially with Jennifer. However, she admitted, she was never really considered part of their group, given that she was not of local Roma ancestry. When she broke her friendship with local Roma students, her attendance increased and her marks improved.

David, a student from Portugal who had just arrived some months before the classes started, was also quite on his own. He liked playing soccer and was integrated with some autochthonous and Latino students who played soccer as well. At the beginning of the school year, he spent time with Miguel, who had just arrived from Peru more or less at the same time David did, but Miguel did not like soccer, so if they were together during the playgrounds, they would just sit next to each other and talk. However, at some point Miguel started to be with the group of Latino students and David was somehow left apart. It was only the following school year that he was integrated into a larger group of friends.

Eguzkiñe, the only self-defined Basque student in group 2G was on her own, and only sometimes would she integrate with Myriam and the group of Roma students. She had a brother in a higher CSE level and occasionally spent time with him and his friends. However, in general, she was marginalized by her 2G colleagues. They would often make fun of her and sometimes they would even deny her participation as part of an

assigned working group in class. Her academic scores were also very low and teachers were quite preoccupied by it.

Latino students, whose ethnic backgrounds were varied, integrated with each other quite easily during the first part of the school year. There were seven students from Ecuador, three from Nicaragua, one from Peru, one from Bolivia and one from Colombia. With the exception of Alejandro, the Colombian student, the rest were at some point in the same gang. Alejandro was the oldest of the whole group and his life was more of an older teenager — he was 16, two or three years older than his colleagues — than of a younger teenager. He had his group of friends outside school and he often missed school hours. He was very active and understood the lessons without paying much attention to them, but he did not work at home and his marks were very low. He sometimes had a very disruptive behavior and was suspended from school two times.

Miguel, who was from Peru, did not quite integrate at first with the group of the Latinos and, as mentioned, he would speak with David during the recess. But since the middle of the school year he started to integrate with the Latino students and stopped spending time with David.

Juan had arrived from Bolivia seven years before the fieldwork took place and was at first quite integrated with the Latino group. However, he tended to have a scornful attitude toward them and used to claim that they were not mature enough for him. Consequently, he was left apart during classes, except for Roger, who was a good friend of his. Juan also had behavioral problems and broke some classroom material near the end of the course. When teachers tried to find out who had broken that material, Juan threatened his colleagues so that they would not say he had been the one who broke it. He was suspended after being discovered and more ignored by his colleagues afterward.

Roger, a Nicaraguan student, was pretty much integrated with almost all his colleagues, although he was mainly part of the Latino group. He played soccer and related to autochthonous students during those activities as well. He used to have a love/hate relationship with Amaia, an Ecuadorean student. They would always “jokingly” insult each other in front of their colleagues and teachers, and everyone used to laugh about it. Roger would call Amaia “bicho” [Spanish] (bug), and Amaia would answer back “gilipollas” [Spanish] (*moron*). Their exchanges would escalate in volume and intensity until their colleagues or teachers intervened to tell them to stop or laugh at their love/hate relationship.

Perla and Ana, the other Nicaraguan students, were very close to each other. They would explain they understood each other very well in comparison to the rest Latino friends. At first, they were part of the group of Latino students, but then Perla and Ángela, an Ecuadoran student, had a fight, so Perla decided not to be part of the gang anymore. Ana followed Perla and this way they created another group formed by the two of them. Soon, they started to accept other Latina students, not necessarily from Nicaragua, and Spanish students. Perla would explain in a focus group that she did not know exactly what the problem had been with Ángela, but Ángela and the rest of the Ecuadorean students except for Lorena — who was quite on her own — did not speak to her. She decided not to beg because as she explained, “amigos hay por todos lados” [Spanish] (*you can find friends anywhere*). In other words, she did not need her previous group of friends because she felt capable of making new ones.

Ecuadorean students, except for Lorena, were all together the second half of the 2015/2016 school year. They formed a well-established, numerous, and consistent group of friends. This gang composed of the Ecuadorean students who had been part of the ancient Latino group. As noted, Juan,

Perla, and Ana had previously been part of it but at the end of the course was not, and only Roger and Miguel were occasionally part of it as non-Ecuadorean Latinos. These Ecuadoreans formed quite a closed group and their level of “Groupness” was high, following Wimmer (2008) and Lamont (et al. 2014).

I will apply Wimmer’s (2008, 2013) framework on ethnic boundaries to interpret these shifts. Ethnic boundaries in this case were salient among the Latino students in Udabia. At the beginning of the school year, the “Latino” designation encompassed many countries that were part of the same collectivity; hence, the boundaries were expanded. But, as the school year passed by, internal problems appeared and Ecuadorean students rejected other Latino non-Ecuadorean students. This separation did not have an ethnic conflict at its root, as we have seen in the examples of Perla and Ángela, and Juan. But in this case, the ethnic boundary shifted through contraction and less countries of origin were included in that group.

Finally, there was the case of Lorena and Lara, who were the most academically successful female students in 2G. Neither of them was well integrated with the rest of their colleagues until the middle of the school year, when Perla and Ana separated from the Ecuadorean-Latino group. Lorena was another Ecuadorean student who had recently arrived in the Basque Country, whereas the rest of her Ecuadorean colleagues or their families had long been established in the Basque Country. Lara, a Castillian student who had arrived in the Basque Country the previous year, had an autochthonous group of friends outside her class, but since the fight between Perla and Ángela, she had gotten a better chance to integrate with Perla, Ana and Lorena, at least during classroom hours. In Wimmer’s (2013) terms, while the ethnic boundary had been reinforced and contracted between Ecuadorean students and the rest of pupils with Latino origins, the

ethnic boundary between Perla, Ana, and her colleagues as Latina students, and Lara, as a Spanish student, had shifted through expansion. In this case, the expansion was to accept different Spanish-speaking females, and the ethnic boundary was not as salient as in the case of the Ecuadorean students.

7.4. Body posture, spatial distribution, and attitude during class in group 2G

In this section, I will analyze usual 2G student's body posture and spatial distribution during classes, which was often criticized by teachers. Teachers tended to describe 2G students as passive, and their body language very much supported this idea. Most students were often half-laid on their desks, and many teachers became angry at their attitude. However, in all classes, students interacted with each other while lessons were being taught and teachers complained about it. In other words, students also showed a very active attitude among them.

Interactions did not happen the same way in all classes, as explained in Chapter 6. The Basque language subject was a very complex case in which student-student and student-teacher interactions were quite acrimonious. In this section, I will focus on student-student relationships. In Basque language subject, students were divided into two different groups. The first group had a higher level of Basque instruction and the second a lower one. Both sessions were conducted at the same time in separate classrooms. Both Basque teachers, Manuel and Gurutze, did not feel comfortable with any of the groups they had to teach and sometimes they even felt offended by the students' passive or very active attitudes. Both very distinct attitudes were the main complaint of both teachers.

The HIPI's Basque lesson

As introduced in Chapter 5, the lower-level Basque class, called the HIPI'S class, was composed of seven students who were newly-arrived — three years or less ago — in the Basque Country and had to learn the Basque language for the first time. As mentioned, their attitude was either passive or very active. That is, students were either very passive and complained they had to study Basque, or interacted with each other and interrupted the lesson the teacher, Gurutze, was giving. Most interactions were in Spanish, and only when the class was formally being conducted were there conversations between students and the teacher partly in Basque. Alejandro was the only one who interacted with his colleagues partly in Basque, but only with the aim of making fun of the teacher or the rest of the students. Gurutze took these interactions positively, because, she explained, at least someone remembered some Basque words. Their spatial distribution, chosen by students themselves, is represented in *Figure 3*.

As the image shows, Miguel, David, Alejandro and Roger took up positions at the left of the class. Myriam was quite on her own and Ana and Lorena were always close. Most of the interactions among students were between Miguel and David. Miguel was one of the most passive students and claimed to be tired all the time. David, who was often by his side, was an academically successful student, but in Basque classes he tended to interrupt the class and not do the exercises because he was interacting with Miguel. Myriam, the only Eastern European-descent student in this class — the rest were all newly-arrived from Latin America, and David, from Portugal —, was quite on her own, as her local Roma friends did not attend that class. Ana did not pay much attention to the class, but as Lorena did, she was quite integrated in the lessons Gurutze gave.

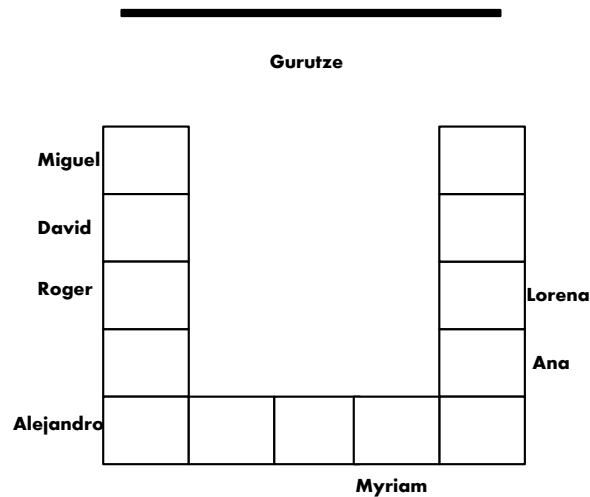


Figure 3: Classroom distribution during the HIPI's class in Udabia. Group 2G.
February 2016

I will now present an interaction that sometimes took place in the HIPI's Basque class. Roger, a student from Nicaragua, repeatedly started small arguments with other female students. In the Basque class, these interactions were with Myriam. Myriam and Roger tended to engage in "kidding" arguments. It often started by looking at each other: Roger started to intently observe Myriam and tension between both of them appeared because of that. Then, Myriam insulted Roger and complained to Gurutze that Roger was looking at her. Sometimes Roger would insult her back, and afterward Gurutze interfered. After Gurutze's intervention, tension was released for a while but it often started over when Roger began to intently look at Myriam again. Tension would appear *in crescendo* and ended up with Myriam throwing a pen at Roger. Gurutze then used to intervene again and one of the two, usually Roger, was expelled for the rest of the class.

This example is what in Chapter 3 I designated as “limit transgression”, that is, the testing of social rules of interaction and the conflicts arisen because of the way these situations are tested. I will classify it as a personal limit transgression, as Roger and Myriam were both pupils. Roger intently looking at Myriam was disturbing her intimacy and made her uncomfortable. An interesting element in this interaction was Myriam’s response, as she answered in the form of another personal limit transgression: insulting.

In fact, insulting was a tricky issue for group 2G because they would often explain that insulting was a joke, but sometimes they would take it as an offense. According to some authors (cf. Leist and Müller 2013; Douglass et al. 2016), this is due to the fact that humor is contextual, or dependent on a wide range of factors, not only on the content of the joke. In this case, Myriam claimed she was joking, and Roger would answer jokingly as well. The tone and the insults would increase until usually Myriam shouted or threw a pen at him. In this last case, the transgression was physical, as Myriam aimed at hitting Roger. Their actions could be summarized in the following question: “how far can I get?” Through language profanity and insulting, and being inappropriate in the adults’ world, they tested how far they could get in their transgressions to each other. This rebellious behavior was linked to their process of identity construction, and its analysis will be developed in Chapter 8.

The higher Basque language lesson

The higher Basque language lesson was composed of 12 students, most of who were not newly arrived in the Basque Country. Some of them, whose parents were Ecuadorean, were born in the Basque Country and had

attended a Basque public school like autochthonous children. Other students had arrived some years before from various Latin American countries and had attended a Basque public school since. This was the case of Amaia, Agustín, Julio, Maite, and Lur, all Ecuadorean-descent. A couple of students, Perla and Lara, were newly-arrived in the Basque Country and were transferred from the HIPI's class to the higher Basque level lesson because teachers thought they could study harder than the rest of the students in the HIPI's class. Finally, there were two local Roma students, Jennifer and Kevin, who mostly interacted with each other. Eguzkiñe, a Basque student, occasionally interacted with Jennifer and Kevin. The classroom distribution of students is represented in *Figure 4*.

This session took place in the room where most subjects did for group 2G. Most students respected the classroom distribution they had been assigned. Only Kevin did not respect that distribution and took up seats with Jennifer. This distribution had changed during the school year, given that the tutor had varied student positions to improve classroom interactions. This distribution was the last one the tutor decided for them, which provided students with a better working environment.

The students' attitudes during this Basque class were, like in the HIPI's-Basque class, passive and active at the same time. Students were either half-laid on the table or interacting with each other interrupting the lesson of Manuel, the Basque language teacher. However, Manuel had almost the double of students Gurutze had. This fact prevented Manuel from fully controlling classroom dynamic. I will introduce a few examples of classroom interactions among students.

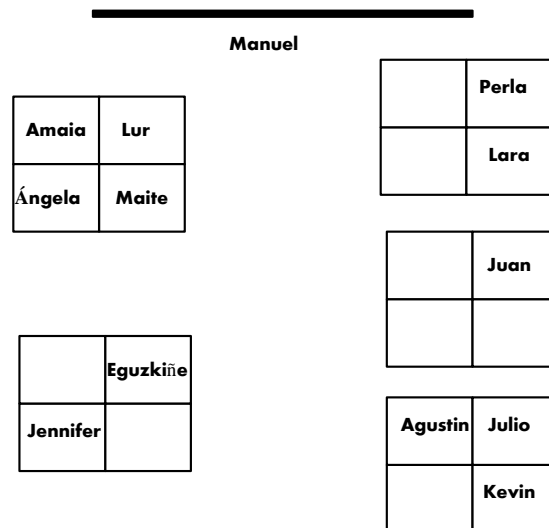


Figure 4: Classroom distribution in the higher level Basque lesson in Udabia. Group 2G. April 2016.

First, Perla and Lara, who were very interested in passing all subjects, interacted with each other and had long conversations in Spanish. During class, they tried to pay some attention to Manuel’s explanation but they did not quite succeed in that because they were mostly speaking to each other. Second, Juan was quite on his own and interacted with the rest of the students scornfully. Some of Juan’s comments to his colleagues were: “Déjame en paz, tío” [Spanish] (*Leave me alone, dude*); or “Yo contigo no hablo” [Spanish] (*I don’t speak to you*). When asked about it, he said his colleagues behaved like children. This was another form of personal limit transgression, as Juan was devaluing his peers. His colleagues, instead of answering back in the mode of transgression, opted for reducing the interactions with him.

Third, Amaia, an Ecuadorean student, tended to interact with other Ecuadorean students: Maite, Ángela and Lur; and sometimes with Agustín

and Julio. As mentioned, they created their Ecuadorean gang and almost no one else was admitted in it. This fact created a tense working environment during classes, and it was quite perceptible during the Basque lesson. Finally, Kevin and Jennifer interacted with each other and tried to sit together, but Manuel often prevented that from happening. The reason for this is that if Kevin and Jennifer were together, the class would be interrupted continuously. They were really active when they were together and tended to “jokingly” shout at each other. Eguzkiñe tried to interact with them too, but even though she tried, she was often quite isolated.

Like in the HIPI’s Basque class, interactions among students were in Spanish. However, communication with the teacher were more often in Basque. Manuel, the teacher, was quite frustrated with the interactions among students and could not quite control the problems and insulting that sometimes happened among students. These kinds of interactions will be analyzed in Chapter 8.

7.5. Teachers’ discourse on student relationships

Teachers often described their students in regard to their attitudes in class. Most teachers did not pay careful attention to student-student relationships, just to the most remarkable behavior, such as the usual insulting or hitting among them. As such, they described students as transgressive. The teachers claimed that the 2nd CSE students’ behavior was typical of adolescence, but that in group 2G, transgressions were even more remarkable. Some teachers also affirmed that ethnic boundaries were remarkable during recess and inside 2G group.

However, there were some teachers who showed certain sensitivity to those behaviors and made sense out of them in terms of student-student

relationships. But this was not the most common case: given that the level of disruption in class was so high, most teachers' energy was concentrated on keeping a peaceful and harmonious the teacher-student interaction.

In this section I will make reference to two teachers' perceptions of student-student relationships. Each teacher's character and observation skills showed that they had different sensitivities. For instance, Jon, the Physical Education teacher, explained how body language could be explanatory of students' relationships. Jon described students as individualistic, as if each of them were on their own and almost did not care for the rest. In order to minimize this individualistic behavior, Jon worked in 2G on cooperative games, that is, games where students were organized in groups and were obliged to work with their colleagues in order to achieve a goal. Jon explained how, at the beginning, they refused to be in group with other students because of their internal conflicts, but after the game these tensions were a little relieved.

In line with the personal limit transgression based on linguistic profanity above presented, Jon explained that their body and spoken language were often contradictory. On the one hand, 2G students demanded to be respected by their colleagues; on the other hand, they hit and insulted each other. What Jon designated as "safety distance" between students' bodies was too little, or at least too little for adults and compared to other 2nd CSE classes. This decrease in the "safety distance" of their bodies was to Jon a sign of their few personal limits. I will add that with their actions and their body movements, 2G students questioned adults' safety distance. As explained in Chapter 3, this safety distance is designated in Psychiatry studies as "boundary" or "personal space boundary" (cf. Johnson et al. 2009; Alarcón 2013) but in this work it will be referred to as "limit".

Iker, the mathematics teacher, claimed that ethnic boundaries, which most teachers assured were present, were less important than thought. In other words, he perceived that there were many multi-ethnic relationships among foreign national students. He specified that he had worked in different education centers teaching model A and “light” model B, and in all the composition was similar: on average, 90% of students were immigrants, 5% local Roma, and 5% autochthonous. The students who comprised these classes did not usually relate to students from other classes — model D or strong model B classes —, but, as Iker explained, they had so many problems — problems at home or related to having various community affiliations and internal contradictions because of those — that they understood each other, and friendship was built among them. When talking about the class dynamics, Iker also mentioned that when student relationships were problematic, sometimes these were resolved in violence, as had been the case with Myriam and Ángela. These two 2G students were friends but they had argued during the 2015 summer and started the 2015/2016 trimester being angry at each other, sharing a classroom. At some point at the beginning of the trimester, they fought physically and, from that moment on, there were no more fights. According to Iker, the teacher, there had been a power relations problem between Myriam and Ángela, as their positions in their class were not clear. Both Myriam and Ángela had shared some friends and wanted to keep a high status in class. After the fight, Myriam lost a great level of that status and it was Ángela who kept it. It was through that physical fight that their power relations tension was released and their positions clarified both for them and for the rest of the class. I will add that such fight implied a personal limit transgression from both parties, as they hit each other. According to my observations, after this interaction, Myriam had to adjust to the new situation and accept her new ascribed position in group 2G. I designated it

ascribed position because she did not choose it, but had to endure it. Her new group identity implied first, losing her link with most of her previous Latina friends, and second, partially integrating with the Roma community during some months.

7.6. Students' narrative on their relationships

2G students often described their relationships as positive within the little groups they formed. However, when referring to the classroom environment, they often described it as negative. In fact, most students did not feel part of the whole group and did not identify themselves as being active members of it. At first, they sat one by one and then the tutor decided it was best to sit them in groups of four. In these groups, the tutor sat academically successful students with others who were not as successful. In the new distribution created, most students were working better than before, but some students were not happy with the colleagues who were near them.

The most outstanding elements of students' behavior and relationships were discussed by 2G pupils during interviews and focus groups. In the focus groups, they discussed about the different interactions they had, and when insulting was mentioned as a theme, they started to laugh and insult each other while the focus group was being conducted. In this section, I will focus on insults, as they obviously were an important part of their relationships.

Amaia explained to me in an interview how insulting was part of her everyday life. She claimed she insulted her colleagues because they bothered her. So anytime she felt bothered, she would insult the person responsible for it, and even though she acknowledged it as an instinctive or

defensive reaction, she would not regret it. Contrary to regret, she claimed that they pretty much deserved that answer from her. Amaia also felt that she could hit anyone who insulted her. She felt the person who insulted her deserved to be hit.

David and Myriam, both of European, non-Spanish and non-Basque descent, described how insulting was not common in their home countries. They both explained to me during interviews that they were not used to seeing their colleagues constantly insulting each other. They claimed it was regarded as a disrespectful practice in their home countries, but it was very popular in class 2G. Myriam showed a great intuition interpreting her colleagues' attitudes and claimed that her classmates "...a veces... no se dan "de cuenta" de que... [...] hacen daño (con sus insultos) [Spanish] (*don't realize [...] they hurt you (with their insulting comments)*). Both Myriam and David felt bad about it, although they also participated in these dynamics occasionally.

In line with insulting being offensive, some Latino students told me how local Roma students used to call them racist names. A popular disrespectful term used in Spain for the last decade or so to refer to some Latin American people has been the name of the ancient Peruvian city name "Machu Picchu." Not only was it taken as insulting, but also reductionist, as they called Ecuadorian students by that name too. So when local Roma students of Udabia, Jennifer and Kevin included, called them "Machu Picchus," they were very offended by it. In Wimmer's (2008) terms, ethnic boundaries were salient and closed, and they reached inter-ethnic conflict at a local level.

The relationship between trust and insulting

Other students, such as Juan or Roger, who tended to insult each other very much, related insulting to having trust. They claimed that if they could insult each other, it meant that they were to trust each other. They felt very at ease with each other's behavior and they wanted to continue with it. In this case, language profanity was very much accepted by both parties. And importantly, their friendship was partly based on that kind of trust they had created through their insulting. Lara also explained how she used to insult her group of friends and this was taken as a loving reaction from the other part. The tone, she specified, was very important. If the tone was soft, it was taken as a good comment.

Jennifer explained quite accurately how adults were shocked about students' insulting. She claimed that they insulted each other but, according to her, not in a disrespectful way. Everything was, according to Jennifer, a joke, in line with the example previously introduced in which Myriam and Roger interacted during the HIPI's class.

All in all, insulting should be carefully regarded, as it had different consequences on students. According to the definition of limit transgression in adolescence provided in Chapter 3, such linguistic profanity aimed at their peers was indeed a limit transgression, which could be positively or negatively taken, depending on a variety of elements. These will be precised in Chapter 8.

7.7. Summary of Chapter 7

This chapter was presented linked to RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* I focused on the analysis of ethnic boundaries and

limit transgressions, in line with the theoretical framework provided in Chapter 3. These two behaviors were remarkable throughout all the observation I conducted at Udabia. In this RQ, I addressed adolescent students' behavior in relation to their peers, as I needed to limit the volume of data presented. However, in Chapter 8, the analysis made on student-student behavior will be used to study some of the patterns of student-teacher interactions, and identity formation according to those.

More precisely, in Chapter 7 I focused on 2nd CSE relationships, 2G groups' relationship among its members during recess and classroom hours, according to ethnic boundaries. I also described 2G relations in what respects to their usual insulting and hitting. These relations were explained through the data gathered in the observation, and teachers' and students' narratives on those. This last description will be used as an introduction to the concept of personal limit transgression, which will be specified in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

Is it transgression?

8.1. Overview of Chapter 8

In this chapter, I will focus on 2G classroom interactions and how these modeled student identity, as related to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* More precisely, I will address different classroom interactions and provide a classification of those. In Chapter 7, I explored patterns of student behavior focusing on student-student interactions. I will use some of the analyses of that chapter, to build upon Chapter 8. More precisely, in Chapter 8, I will focus on two important interactions: student-student and student-teacher interactions. The student-student interactions described as insulting and hitting in Chapter 7, in Chapter 8 will be analyzed of a specific kind of limit transgression, which constitutes identity.

First, I will describe interactions in different classes. As mentioned in Chapter 6, there were three main elements affecting student interactions in class: the first was how teachers built their relationship with students — in an authoritative, caring, or ambiguous way, the second was the nature of

the subject, and the third, whether the Basque language was introduced in classroom dynamic. When Basque was introduced, more disruptions were prone to happen. Students' attitude was also important in classroom interaction and I will provide a general description of it. Finally, I will introduce a precise categorization on the limit transgressions. The categories I created were made according to the limit transgressions I observed; namely, personal, civic, and social limit transgressions. A section corresponds to each of these, in which diverse examples are given.

8.2. General description of classroom interaction: an introduction to limit transgression

As previously mentioned, 2G was defined by teachers as a very disruptive group and educators were often frustrated with classroom interaction. Indeed, according to the observation conducted, 2G transgressed many limits in comparison to other Udabia groups. These limits were personal, civic, and social, in line with the code classification provided in Chapter 5. First, personal limits refer to borders related to interpersonal distance, and to what students called "respect" and "jokes". Respect was very important for group 2G and it consisted of not being physically hurt, judged, or underestimated. Respect sometimes meant not being insulted, but as explained in Chapter 7, insulting could also be accepted among adolescents.

Second, civic limits allude to all the institutional explicit rules regarding the well-functioning of the school. I chose this term because it makes reference to the well-being and harmonious cohabitation of a community. In this case, it will always make reference to school community. For instance, it could refer to not throwing garbage in the school yard or not

smoking in school facilities. Civic limits may also comprise teachers' authority, as educators hold the legitimized power in the classroom. Teachers' role includes guaranteeing a learning environment at school, and questioning their authority involves putting at risk the well functioning of the school as an academic institution. Several students violated these rules and were punished for that.

Third, social limits are a kind of civic limits with particular characteristics. They are institutional rules that guarantee the well-functioning of school and as such, they are explicit norms. But at the same time, these norms are implicit and naturalized for most locals. To put it differently, as they are imbricated in social life, locals do not usually violate them, while for non-locals, these rules are not so obvious. Hence, under specific circumstances, non-locals would transgress them. In this case study, these rules comprise those of Basque society and Basque education system, where students were supposed to be integrated. One of these explicit rules is that Basque is the basic language for the public education system, and it is compulsory to study it. As argued in Chapter 6, it is also a social position marker, or cultural capital indicator, in Bourdieusian terms. As such, it is an implicit rule according to which, students are classified and distributed. Also, in order to get many jobs in the Basque Country, certain knowledge of Basque is required; therefore, the Basque language becomes necessary for many people living in the Basque Country, especially if the person is young. All non-autochthonous 2G members transgressed this social limit when they opposed Basque language learning. While autochthonous students did not oppose its learning in Udabia, according to my observations.

In all subjects, many students arrived late and that constituted a transgression of a school rule — civic limit. Teachers would always complain about it, and when it happened first thing in the morning, students

were given a note informing that they had arrived in delay. When they accumulated more than a specific amount of these notes they were punished and they had to stay Wednesday afternoon to paint a part of the school. If they continued to accumulate delay notes, they ended up being expelled for some days.

Some students also tried to interrupt teachers' explanations most of the time. This would also be the transgression of a civic limit, as in classroom interaction the teacher is supposed to be the main power holder and classroom dynamics controller, versus students, who are expected to obey teachers' orders. Except for the first hours in the morning, when most students felt very tired and did not show enough energy to interact, during the rest of the hours some students were very disruptive. This was the case of Agustín. When I asked him about it, he explained his transgressions the following way:

Interviewer: ¿Te gusta que tus compañeros se rían (de tus bromas en clase)?

Do you like it when your colleagues laugh (at your jokes in class)?

Agustín: Siempre he sido así. Cada uno es como es.

I've always been like this. Each person is the way he is.

[...]

Interviewer: ¿A ti lo que te gusta de eso es que el resto se ría también?

What is it that you like? That the rest laughs too?

Agustín: O que esté bien, que esté feliz. A mí no me gusta que la gente esté mal.

Not only that, but also that people feel alright, that they're happy. I don't like it when people feel bad.

[Spanish]

In this set of questions, I asked Agustín about his many disruptions in class. In his opinion, during lesson time everyone was very serious and classroom environment needed “cheering up”. Even though livening the class meant interrupting the lesson, making the teacher angry, and getting a chance of being expelled from that class, for Agustín, the end was more important than the means. As we can see, the end for him was making all his colleagues happy, and the means implied that most likely he would end up in bad terms with the teacher. Nonetheless, he preferred being in bad terms with the teacher rather than not being funny to his colleagues.

Agustín was probably the most disruptive student in 2G. He would transgress personal, civic, and social limits but at the same time he showed a great ability in leading the interaction to a critical point. By critical point I mean a point in which the person Agustín interacted with would be frustrated and probably offended by Agustín’s comment, but not as much as to expel him in the teacher’s case, or be angry at him in the case of his colleagues. Agustín was very aware of those critical points, and what is more, he would be aware that for each person these critical points were different. He would test to what extent he could transgress a limit with each person. For instance, he explained that he would not transgress many limits with Iker, the Mathematics teacher, because Iker would shout and be severe to him. In other words, as Iker was very authoritative, Agustín decided it was not a good option to be disruptive in his class. However, in the English class he would work as little as he could and decide not to take part in class. He would also act very disruptively. His English teacher had a caring way to approach students and would try to ignore Agustín’s actions. As the disruption was usually neglected, it tended not to have an impact on classroom dynamics.

Other students were also very disruptive, but in different ways. For instance, Alejandro would try to make jokes including the teacher or the material they were covering at the moment, so sometimes the teacher would also laugh at the joke Alejandro made. However, he transgressed other civic limits of the school, and these were not lightly taken. For instance, he smoked in the courtyard; left during school hours, or did not come for days. This became a problem for many teachers and for the center, and ended up being expelled from school.

Juan was also a very disruptive student, who transgressed all the three limits: personal —with his colleagues, civic — he broke school material, and social limits — he opposed learning Basque. He also made sexist comments to his girl colleagues in class, and some teachers were especially disturbed by this fact. For this reason, and because of his scornful attitude with students, he was quite isolated by his colleagues and teaching staff were quite upset with him.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, Kevin and Jennifer were also very disruptive and transgressed personal and civic limits in their interactions. Although they would not oppose learning Basque, neither would they make much of an effort to study it. They transgressed each others' personal limits in their hitting and insulting, and classroom dynamic was affected by it. When lessons were interrupted by their personal limit transgressions, it became a civic limit transgression, as classroom dynamics were affected by their attitude and teachers were indirectly undermined. The group of girls of Ecuadorean origin: Amaia, Lur, Ángela, and Maite tended to interact with each other and to other Ecuadorean male students: Alberto and Agustín.

The rest of the students often remained quieter in class — with the exception of Basque language lesson. Some of them worked, although showed a passive attitude. This was the case of David, Lara, Lur, Lorena

and Perla. They paid attention to most of the explanations the teacher gave but hardly participated in classroom dynamic. Sometimes Perla asked questions, but anytime Basque was involved in the interaction, her questions compromised the rhythm of the lesson. That is, when she asked a question related to the Basque language it was often aimed at indirectly opposing learning it. This was especially remarkable, since Perla was interested in getting good marks but would oppose learning Basque.

The rest of the students would remain very passive in classroom dynamics. For instance, Miguel, the most passive student of all group 2G, hardly took part in class and tried to work but at a very slow rhythm. His interactions with teachers were often problematic because teachers expected him to work faster.

8.3. Identity through personal limit transgressions

Agustín: ¡Ya! Los profesores... ¡porque no entienden! [Spanish]

Yeah! Teachers... they don't understand!

This was a phrase Agustín said in the interview conducted with him and described quite precisely that teachers did not approve of what I designated as personal limit transgressions among peers. Most students claimed teachers did not understand their jokes and some of them thought that their insulting was not too important, as explained in Chapter 7.

The Head of the School, Marta, explained to me in another interview that some students did not understand that insulting was not acceptable. For instance, calling another student “hijo de puta” [*son of a bitch*] was, in some students' view, something normal. However, the school was not going to accept it. The school opposed that behavior by sanctioning it. The

aim of this section is to understand how identity was formed through these limit transgressions. In Chapter 7 I explained how some interactions among 2G students were made through jokes that involved insulting each other. In this section I will focus on how those created identity.

According to Irena (et al. 2016), I mentioned in Chapter 3 that jokes involve a social ability to be funny. In adolescence, this capacity is especially important, as teenagers often socialize through humor. Being funny involves being socially accepted and it helps acquire a social status that acts as an identity marker. Based on the jokes of group 2G, I distinguish two kinds of transgressions. Firstly, the soft or funny jokes, that made other parties laugh and relieved the tension among students. In this sense, they could be described as positive. It would not fall under any of the humor categories by Martin and his colleagues (2003).

Jokes play with limits and overcome them; this is why they are limit transgressions. But when jokes made the other party involved angry, these were not soft, but heavy jokes. To put it another way, these heavy jokes made the joked angry and this is why they were heavy. Following Martin and his colleagues (2003), it would fall under the designation of “aggressive humor”, as insulting involves being detrimental for the other party involved. Nevertheless, making the joked angry did not only depend on the nature of the joke or the intentionality of the joker, but also on how the joked felt at that moment. If he/she was feeling more sensitive than usual, although the goal of the joker had not been offensive, the joked took it as such. What 2G adolescents called “respect”, was closely related to these heavy jokes if insulting was involved. They did not feel respected when they received those heavy jokes and became angry. As not always did insulting offend the other party, in line with Leist and Müller (2013; see also Douglass et al. 2016), I claim that humor was contextual.

In such cases, identity was formed in a more or less equal-power relationship, transgressive way where they questioned and opposed the rules of interaction of adults (Erikson 1989, 2000; Eckert 2002, 2004). They needed that experience to build their “Self” in the Meadean game of the “Me” and the “I”, in opposition to those norms in the form of a soft or heavy joke (Mead 1982). Both of these elements enabled 2G students to test what they had learnt, the “Me”, and face new situations in original, non-conventional ways, the “I”. Through these interactions they also built their identity in a process of subjectivation, where they evaluated, more or less consciously and quite autonomously, the possibilities and consequences that could be derived from that interaction (Dubet and Martuccelli 1998; Dubet 2010). Such humoristic interactions did not always involve opposing identities¹⁶ between both parties. Opposing identities were only formed if the joked answered back in the form of another transgression and conflict escalated. All in all, these interactions created a peer identity that generated positive or negative emotions for the subjects involved in it. These beneficial or detrimental consequences, as Leist and Müller (2013) mention, were dependant on the context.

¹⁶Throughout all the text I will refer to two kinds of oppositions, which should not be mixed. On the one hand, the adolescent opposition to a rule or a convention, which is a limit transgression. On the other hand, identity oppositions, which happened reciprocally, from Party A to Party B. Both of these are easily confused, the latter is consequence of the former. That is, Party A, a student, transgressed a limit and Party B, a student or a teacher, interpreted it as an offense or opposition to his/her “Self”, or ascribed functions, and opposed this behavior. However, they are distinct processes and should be separately analyzed.

8.4. Identity through civic limit transgressions

In this section, I will analyze four student-teacher interactions in which 2G members transgress a civic limit. Three of them are documents that students had to fill after being sanctioned. These papers had been created by teachers to make students reflect on their transgressive actions. I will focus on indirect oppositions to teacher authority and students' non-compliance to school rules. All of these documents were divided into the following parts:

- What happened?
- Do you think the teacher reacted appropriately?
- Have you acted appropriately?
- What are you going to do for this not to happen again?
- What am I going to work on during the hour I am expelled?

As we can see, the way questions are formulated led students to admit they have wrongly acted. However, when students were confronted just after the conflict they would not honestly accept they were wrong. So any time they accepted in these documents that they had done something wrong, they would either write what was expected from them, that is, a “politically correct” answer, i.e. “I am not doing it again because I was wrong”, or they acted passively and wrote something that led to think they did not care. This passiveness was sometimes a form of rebellion. All in all, I believe that the document was not created to understand why a student acted in the particular way he/she acted, but to make him/her assume that what she/he had done was wrong and she/he would never repeat it again.

Ana

In the following document I will show Ana's comment on a sanction she received for chewing gum during class hours. Chewing gum was prohibited in class — a civic limit — and very much repeated by teachers in a daily basis because many students chewed gum. In fact, Ana often consciously decided to chew gum in classroom hours, and during a lesson a teacher decided to expel her from class. In the document she had to fill, see *Figure 5*, and *Figure 6*, she wrote the following sentences:

- What happened?

He expelled me for chewing gum.

- Do you think the teacher acted appropriately?

Whatever.

- Have you acted appropriately?

Whatever.

- What are you going to do for this not to happen again?

Not chewing gum anymore.

- What am I going to work on during the hour I am expelled?

Nothing.

Ana showed a passive attitude toward the situation, because she knew why she had been sanctioned but she acted as if she did not care. When using the expression “sin más” [Spanish] (*whatever*) she used passivity, rebellion and irony at the same time. It was a way of not assuming her responsibility and showing non compliance with classroom rules and the teacher's

decision. That is, although at a rational level she knew she had not followed the rule and she was being sanctioned for it, she did not show any regret.

When asked whether she was going to do it again, she answered she was not going to chew gum anymore, but that was the expected answer from her and anyone reading this document would not be sure whether she would do it again or not. Another important element is that she was not doing any work to compensate her sanction. Although she had been expelled from class and she was supposed to work on homework during that hour, she claimed she was not doing anything. Finally, the teacher who read her document, corrected her spelling mistakes and this leads to think that this reflection exercise was going to be used as a scholar activity rather than a conflict resolution between teachers and students.

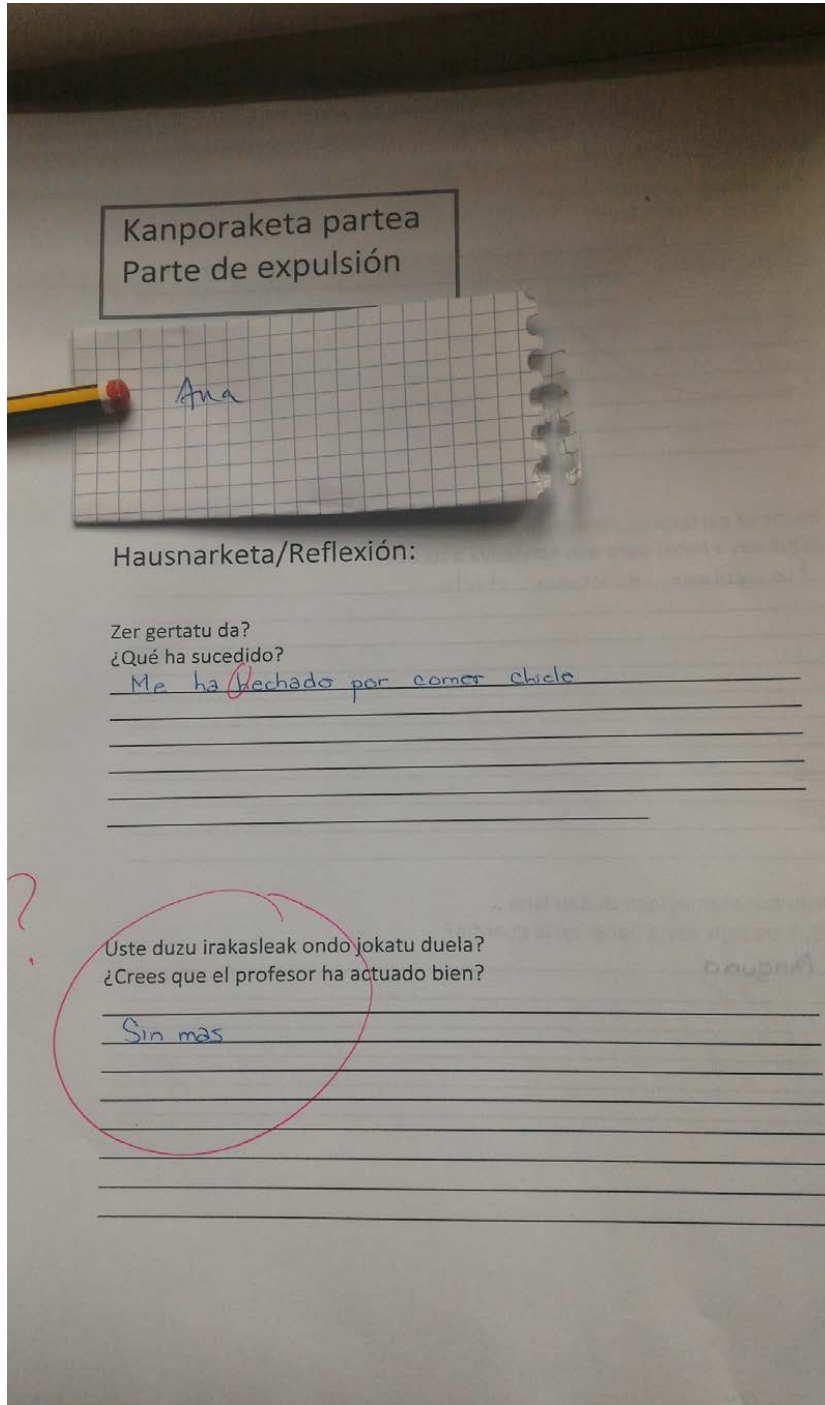


Figure 5

?

Eta zuk ondo jokatu al duzu?
¿y tú has actuado bien?

Sin más

Berriz ez gertatzeko zer egingo duzu?
¿Qué vas a hacer para que no vuelva a suceder?

No volver a comer chicle

Ordu honetan egingo dudana.
¿Qué trabajo voy a hacer en la guardia?

Ninguna

Figure 6

Miguel

In this document Miguel was sanctioned because of not bringing a tracksuit for his Physical Education class. He would refuse to make exercise on a general basis and he was aware that he would fail the subject. In the document he had to fill, see *Figure 7*, and *Figure 8*, he wrote the following sentences:

- What happened?

I did not bring a track suit.

- Do you think the teacher acted appropriately?

Yes.

- Have you acted appropriately?

Normal.

- What are you going to do for this not to happen again?

Bring a tracksuit.

- What am I going to work on during the hour I am expelled?

Basketball.

Miguel showed in his answers a passive attitude toward the situation, but also responsibility for it. He knew why he had been sanctioned and seemed to care a little bit more than Ana did. Unlike Ana, he believed the teacher acted appropriately, he probably thought that the teacher was doing his job by making him comply with the norms. He assumed his responsibility for not complying with the norm and accepted the teacher's decision. However, it is interesting to note that when asked how he reacted, he answered "normal" [Spanish] (*normal*). Indeed, that was a very good

description of his attitude, because he hardly ever brought a tracksuit to the Physical Education class and refused to take part in it. He would only participate if he could play basketball. When asked what he should do for the problem not to be repeated, he answered what teachers expect from him, that is, that he would bring the tracksuit the following time. However, that only happened a couple of times. Finally, when asked what he would do during that hour he answered “baloncesto” [Spanish] (*basketball*) and he referred to a written coursework he had to do about basketball.

I must add that I had the opportunity to speak to Miguel in many Physical Education sessions I attended as an observer. I would ask him why he would not bring his clothes and he would say that he only liked basketball and skateboard, and that he did not like to make sport otherwise. He assumed that as he did not bring his clothes to class, he would fail the subject. But at the same time he showed passivity toward failing or being sanctioned.

Kanporaketa partea
Parte de expulsión

m?guel

Hausnarketa/Reflexión:

Zer gertatu da?
¿Qué ha sucedido?

m?guel (m?guel)

Uste duzu irakasleak ondo jokatu duela?
¿Crees que el profesor ha actuado bien?

Sí

Figure 7

Eta zuk ondo jokatu al duzu?
¿y tú has actuado bien?

normal

Berriz ez gertatzeko zer egingo duzu?
¿Qué vas a hacer para que no vuelva a suceder?

Tras el suceso

Ordu honetan egingo dudana.
¿Qué trabajo voy a hacer en la guardia?

Baloncesto

Figure 8

Alberto

In this document, Alberto was sanctioned for the same reason Miguel was, that is, because of not bringing a tracksuit for his Physical Education class. But Alberto's situation was different from Miguel's, because in Alberto's case this was an exception. Alberto usually brought his tracksuit to Physical Education. In the document he had to fill, see *Figure 9*, and *Figure 10*, he wrote the following sentences:

- What happened?

I did not bring the gymnastics clothes.

- Do you think the teacher acted appropriately?

Yes.

- Have you acted appropriately?

Yes.

- What are you going to do for this not to happen again?

Bring clothes.

- What am I going to work on during the hour I am expelled?

On Basketball.

Alberto showed in his answers a more active attitude than Miguel did, and also a more opposing one. He knew why he had been sanctioned and took responsibility for it. As Miguel, Alberto thought the teacher had acted appropriately but he thought he, himself, had acted appropriately too. This document shows an opposition and a contradiction to the rule as a civic limit. That is, although he admitted he had not complied with the rule, he did not accept he had done something wrong. All at the same time, he knew

how to avoid the problem a following time: bringing a tracksuit and clothes to change. He also accepted he had to work during the time he was sanctioned. This was an unusual behavior from Alberto, who was very active in Physical Education classes and usually brought the necessary clothes.

Kanporaketa partea
Parte de expulsión

Ikaslea/alumne:
Tutorea/tutor:
Irakaslea/prof:
Data/fecha: / /
Ordua/hora: / /

Alberto

Hausnarketa/repexión.

Zer gertatu da?
¿Qué ha sucedido?

No he traído la ropa de gimnasia

Uste duzu irakasleak ondo jokatu duela?
¿Crees que el profesor ha actuado bien?

Si

Figure 9

Eta zuk ondo jokatu al duzu?
¿y tú has actuado bien?

Si

Berriz ez gertatzeko zer egingo duzu?
¿Qué vas a hacer para que no vuelva a suceder?

Traer ropa

Ordu honetan egingo dudan lana.
¿Qué trabajo voy a hacer en la guardia?

De baloncesto

Figure 10

All in all, I consider that these student-teacher transgressive interactions brought about an opposition that worked both ways. Ana used a passive and rebellious attitude and opposed being responsible for her actions while the teacher was trying to make her feel responsible for them. The educator also opposed Ana chewing gum, as a guarantee of the civic limit. Miguel opposed bringing a tracksuit to his Physical Education class. But he assumed his responsibility. In the same way Ana did, he used the “politically correct” expression and said he was going to bring it the next time but as I mentioned, I was a witness and this hardly ever happened. The teacher, who expelled him, opposed his passive actions in defense of the civic limit. Finally Alberto also understood the norms and felt responsible for not complying with them, but claimed to act right and showed rebellion. As in the previous cases, the teacher opposed that non-compliance to the norm by sanctioning him. In the most Meadean sense, identities were built in the “Self/Other” opposition. It was an opposition of two very distinct but complementary roles. Ana, Miguel and Alberto showed transgressive behavior that clashed with the teachers’ role. Teachers’ role in this case did not involve teaching, but guaranteeing school’s harmonious cohabitation. As such, they were opposing rebellious students’ versus teachers’ identities. Negative emotions from both parties were usual in these interactions.

Interaction in Mathematics

In the final example of this section, I will describe how Iker, the Mathematics teacher, ignored students’ civic limit transgressions during a lesson. Iker showed a great ability to dismiss pupils’ complaining and disruptive comments and tried to motivate them to take active part in an exercise for their best interest. Indeed, he encouraged students to review the

previous lesson he had explained by calculating their own mark in an exam.

The situation happened as it follows:

(Iker distributes the exams students had taken the previous week. Each exam has a final mark.)

Iker: ¿Cómo calculáis la nota? [Spanish]

How do you calculate the mark?

(His question implies that students have to use fractions. These had been explained some minutes previous to the exam distribution).

Juan: Tío, no me rayes, ¿vale? ;Que no...! [Spanish]

Dude, stop hassling me, will you? That was a joke...!

(Iker listens to the comment, looks intently at Juan and ignores him.)

Iker: ¿Cómo calculáis la nota? [Spanish]

How do you calculate the mark?

(Students look at their exams in silence, something rare in other subjects)

[...]

Iker: Esto que acabamos de hacer en la pizarra (las fracciones), (lo tenéis que hacer) al lado de la nota (en el examen). ;Hacedlo, hacedlo! [Spanish]

This that we have done in the blackboard (fractions), (you have to write it) near the mark (in the exam). Do it! Do it!

Several students at the same time: ;No entiendo! [Spanish]

I don't understand!

(Iker ignores students' questions, leaves some minutes for them to do the exercise on their own and then resolves the problem in front of everyone in the blackboard. To resolve the problem, he asks questions to several students. Some of them, such as Lorena or David, help him explain how to calculate the mark).

In this excerpt we can see how Iker aimed to review his previous lesson that day. The first step for him was to get students' attention. In order to do that, he tried to understand one of their main concerns: their mark. In this excerpt a direct civic limit transgression appears, when Juan defied Iker's authority by calling him "tío" [Spanish] (*dude*) and telling him not to hassle him. Although Iker did not tolerate these kinds of comments in his class, he decided not to verbally answer to it and just addressed it by looking very seriously at Juan. Juan understood he had transgressed a limit and did not exchange any other word with the teacher.

In this exchange I also illustrated how after Iker explained what he expected from students, they started to say they did not understand. 2G pupils did not even use five seconds to think about the exercise before asking how to do it. This is a show of their lack of student autonomy. I defined student autonomy as as the capacity to use different individual resources to solve a problem or face a challenge on their own. Rather than thinking how to do it on their own, autonomously, they asked questions. As in Chapter 6, I argue that this is an indirect kind of civic limit transgression because students test the teacher's patience and subtly question their role as students at school. To put it another way, not complying with the schools' rule of being an active student is transgressing a civic limit. Iker knew how to manage this lack of student autonomy maintaining the classroom in silence during the exercise and making students think for themselves. It was only after they had taken some moments to do it that he explained how to do the exercise properly, with the help of other students. Most learners benefited by this exercise to the extent that they understood how their mark was calculated.

Identity in this case is also built in student-teacher opposition. Students more or less directly opposed civic limits, and Iker opposed their

transgression with his looks and making a conscious use of silence. In the first case, he stared at Juan and that was enough to maintain the civic limit. Whereas in the second case, he opposed helping students showing a lack of autonomy ignoring their questions. He maintained a certain level of tension in his classes and was very resourceful to maintain the civic limit, according to which, students must actively learn and participate in class.

8.5. Identity through social limit transgressions

In this section, I will present some excerpts of classroom interaction. In these, students transgressed a social limit: opposing Basque language learning. It is important to mention that unlike other civic limit transgression, social limit transgressions were not sanctioned. Students would not be expelled from class because of their opposition to learning Basque, a social rule. Learning Basque is an explicit and implicit social norm in the Basque education system, but there is not a specific rule that says that opposing learning Basque at school should be sanctioned. This is another reason why, when students opposed learning Basque, the conflict was prone to go *in crescendo* if the teacher did not ignore it. This conflict brought about many emotions from both parties, as the following examples show.

Excerpt A

The first example shows a usual daily interaction in the high level Basque language session. In Chapter 7, I explained how personal limit transgressions happened among students during the high and low level of Basque language lessons. In this section, I will focus on the relationship

between students and Manuel, the teacher. In this classroom, there were the 12 students from 2G who had the highest Basque language competence. Boycotting Manuel, the Basque teacher, was the most marked element of all the sessions. Manuel felt quite frustrated with that group of students. In the following excerpt I will show a usual teacher-student interaction in this class.

Juan: Manuel, me siento mal. [Spanish]

Manuel, I feel sick.

Manuel: (Ignoring Juan's complaint) Txanoa... kendu... [Basque]

Remove ... your hat ...

Juan: No, que me siento mal, tío. [Spanish]

No, I feel sick, dude.

(At this moment in the session Agustín starts to whistle and Eguzkiñe follows Agustín's lead)

Manuel: Amaia, hau egin behar duzu... (ariketa bat) [Basque]

Amaia, you have to do this ... (an exercise)

Amaia: ¡Ay!, que ya acabé... [Spanish]

Ah!, I already finished!

Manuel (to the whole class): Nota txarra jarriko dizuet ez duzelako irakurri (ariketa). [Basque]

I'm going to give all of you a low grade because you didn't read it (the exercise).

Perla: (responding to Manuel's accusation) ¿Me va a decir que no he hecho (el ejercicio)? ¿Si no ha venido (a ayudarme)! ¿A mí hábleme en español, que no le entiendo (en euskera)! ¿Siempre hablando sin saber, usted! [Spanish]

Are you trying to tell me I didn't do it (the exercise)? But you didn't come (over to help when I asked)! Talk to me in Spanish because I don't understand (Basque)! You're always speaking without knowledge, you!

We can highlight four elements from this exchange. First, many civic limit transgressions happened at the same time. Most of them were related to questioning the Manuel's authority. Juan did not remove his hat even though the teacher said so, and called the teacher "tío" [Spanish] (*dude*) in a friendly-ironic way. His behavior was rebellious because he did not follow the order he was given. His aim was to defy the teacher and make a difference between his position and the teacher's. That is, he tried to gain the teacher's power and get a higher position in the classroom power-relations pyramid. Also, Agustín and Eguzkiñe whistled for minutes while Manuel was trying to give a lecture. This happened at the beginning of the interaction, and Manuel sensed he was losing authority over the session. Second, Manuel got defensive and tried to gain control of the class, first giving a specific order to Amaia to do an exercise. Amaia did not accept the order and said she had already done the exercise, while she had not even started it. Third, Manuel got more defensive and tried to get the students' attention by threatening to drop their mark. Perla reacted defensively to Manuel's threat.

She answered Manuel in Spanish, and demanded to be spoken to in Spanish, while in that class she was supposed to at least try to speak in Basque. Furthermore, she understood part of Manuel's discourse; otherwise, she would not have been able to answer him. She defied Manuel as the Basque teacher. Perla's transgression could be identified as a social limit transgression according to the definition provided, as it is an indirect opposition to learning the Basque language. Finally, the rest of the students, although they did not openly demand to be spoken to in Spanish,

did not answer Manuel in Basque. These dynamics were very confusing for teachers who were used to teaching Basque in other 2nd CSE groups without these problems.

Excerpt B

The second extract is from an exchange that took place in a science class. Ane, a science teacher, was giving an explanation in Spanish and asked students in Basque, to choose among three numbers during an exercise. She specifically asked Perla the question. She probably asked Perla since Perla often opposed learning Basque:

Ane: Perla: bat, bi, hiru edo lau? [Basque]

Perla: one, two, three or four?

Perla: Ba... (*She wanted to say "bat", but she couldn't.*)

Ane: Bat, bat! ¡Pero dílo bien! [Basque and Spanish]

One, one! Say it properly!

Perla: Pero es que yo hablo bien, yo hablo español. [Spanish]

I speak properly, I speak Spanish.

Ane: Yo también hablo bien. [Spanish]

I speak properly too.

Perla: No, pero tú hablas en otra lengua... [Spanish]

No, but you speak in another language ...

Ane: No... me... [Spanish]

Don't ...

In this case, something different happened in the teacher-student exchange, because Ane got Perla to answer in Basque. Perla and Ane usually had conflicts because Ane wanted 2G students to learn basic words in Basque, but Perla constantly opposed it. According to the definition provided, it was a social limit transgression. However, in this case, Perla was trying to say “bat” [Basque] (one) in Basque, but because of her Nicaraguan accent, she could not pronounce the last consonant, which occurred in many words. She was not consciously saying “ba” — she did not know how to pronounce /t/ at the end of the word. The teacher, who was used to her everyday protests about speaking Basque, answered “pero dílo bien” [Spanish] (*say it properly*) in defense of this usual opposition. The result was that Perla and the teacher end up engaged in an acrimonious misunderstanding.

These resistances to Basque language learning introduced in excerpts A and B were interpreted as oppositions to academic culture, but also as a differentiation between 2G and the rest of 2nd CSE of Udabia. On the one hand, because 2G members did not possess the Basque language proficiency implied in the teachers’ and most autochthonous students’ cultural capital, as mentioned in Chapter 6. On the other hand, an implicit idea in this opposition was that 2G was not composed of eligible members of the academic culture because of their many classroom disruptions and opposition to learning Basque.

Although limit transgression was aimed from students to teachers, identity opposition happened both ways. We can establish that the limit transgression explained in this work is a characteristic of adolescence, very much assumed by teachers. But teachers’ defensive reactions to student opposition to Basque language learning was another kind of opposition. Their most salient ethnic identities were in the form of absolutes: students’

absolute not speaking Basque and refusing being part of the Basque community and teachers' absolute to teach Basque as part of their ethnicity and Basque academic culture. I made reference to the salient identities, that is, in the hierarchy of identities, the most salient ones, following Miles (2014). I defined them as salient as they were always available and often repeated, according to in my observations.

It is interesting to note why teachers reacted in such a defensive way. Teachers probably understood student opposition to Basque language learning and their offensive comments about the Basque language as an attack on their culture and identity, as Basque language is a strong Basque identity marker (cf. Gatti 2007; Martínez 2014). As a witness to these interactions, I must say that sometimes it was difficult not to feel offended by students' comments on the Basque language. The link between the the Basque language, a minority language, and Spanish, a majority language, is a very complex one in the Basque society and sometimes the use of Basque is opposed to the use of Spanish, and vice versa. In this context, questioning the use of Basque as a minority language through the use of Spanish as a majority language may be perceived as an obstacle for the normalization of Basque. Furthermore, 2G students' opposition to Basque learning was not only interpreted as not wanting to speak Basque, but as opposing being part of Basque community.

Luisa, another teacher, described to me in an interview how she thought 2G felt Basque was not their language and opposed learning it:

Luisa: ...gainera es que horrela...arrotza bezela hartzen dute euskera... [...] ... (Ikasleek esaten dute) "Ustedes son vascos, ustedes son vascos, vosotros sois vascos. Gu ez!" Nahiz eta hemen jaioa izan (Euskal Herrian) [...]. Ordun hor, jai daukagu [...] Ez... eta besteak (ikasleak)... ez dakit... ikusten duzu zer jarrera duten (euskerarekiko) [Basque and Spanish].

It's like this ... they are strangers to Basque (Students say) "You are Basque, you are Basque, you're Basque. We're not!" In spite of being born here (in the Basque Country). There's nothing we can do. And the others (students) ... I don't know ... You can see their attitude (toward the Basque language).

Luisa explained how most teaching staff interpreted 2G non-autochthonous students' attitude toward the Basque language and the Basque Country. She clearly described the core self of most 2G students as non-Basque. It was probably a good description of how the most salient identities of 2G were externalized as not being Basque *versus* teachers being Basque. Students' most remarkable attitudes were the continuous social limit transgressions by which they directly or indirectly opposed learning Basque. And these attitudes are confirmed in the sentence pronounced by Luisa "...vosotros sois vascos. Gu ez!" [Spanish and Basque] (... *you're Basque, we're not!*), because they did not feel part of the Basque community and they acted as such.

Excerpt C

The following excerpt shows a successful management of a social limit transgression. In this example the teacher explained how to make origami. She was trying to explain how to bend a paper and cut it to make Christmas decorations. She gave the explanation in Basque and Perla posed obstacles to it. Miren, the teacher, successfully managed the conflict by relieving the tension created by Perla's comment.

Miren: Erditik banatu (papera) eta hau erditik. [Basque]

Fold it (the paper) in the middle and again fold it in the middle.

Perla: No entiendo. [Spanish]

I don't understand.

Miren: ¿Qué no entiendes? [Spanish]

What is it that you don't understand?

Perla: No entiendo. [Spanish]

I don't understand.

Miren: Ile kizkurra! [Basque]

Curly haired! (Referring to Perla's hair in a joke)

(Perla looks at Miren with an angry face because Miren talked again in Basque and she could not properly understand all the words)

Miren: ¿Qué he dicho? [Spanish]

What did I say? (Ane aims the question at Perla.)

(Perla is still angry and does not answer the question, so another student answers it.)

Lorena: Pelo así.

Hair like this. (Lorena mimics a curly hair with her index finger.)

(Perla is still angry at Miren for speaking in Basque but she does not oppose the “kidding” comment in Basque by Miren.)

In this excerpt, we can see how Miren explained how to make origami in Basque. The teacher was aware that most students would not understand all the words she was saying, but she was also aware that in origami, what counted most, was the exhibition of folding and cutting the paper rather than words. Miren had repeated every step — with words and hands — and tried to get students' attention in every repetition.

However, in order to put an obstacle to Miren's words, Perla claimed not to understand what Miren had said — in Spanish. Perla showed a lack of student autonomy when doing the exercise most likely because Basque was

involved in it. I defined student autonomy as the capacity to use different individual resources to solve a problem or face a challenge. In this case, Perla showed a lack of capacity to use Miren's hand-show to mimic her. Probably, Perla was perfectly capable of mimicking Miren's steps but chose to show that she was not capable to pose a problem to Miren's speaking in Basque.

After this complex exchange, Miren, instead of reacting to Perla's opposition, tried to relieve the tension between them in a joking tone. She chose to introduce new Basque words in her exchange with Perla, but smiling at her and adding an informal tone. Perla probably did not expect this kind of response from Miren and stayed quiet. As we can see in the previous two excerpts, Perla was used to these exchanges to go *in crescendo*, ending up either in a conflict or a misunderstanding.

At the end, all the parties involved in the exchange were positively affected by Miren's management of the conflict. First, because Miren successfully introduced Basque in the exchange and students learnt from it. She even got a feed-back on it from Lorena, another student. And second, although Perla first opposed learning Basque words, the conflict she had started did not interrupt the classroom dynamic and became a positive interaction derived from Miren's joke at an appropriate moment.

In this case, Perla indirectly opposed learning Basque through a social limit transgression, and her hypersalient identity was built in opposition to the implicit and explicit social and academic rule of learning Basque. As seen in these and other excerpts, Perla's hypersalient identity as Basque language opposer was always accessible. I argue that these most salient identities that gave the majority of 2G students a sense of their self, was their core self as Basque language opposers (Miles 2014, 215). They were self-identified and recognized as such by teachers, as we can see from

Luisa's excerpt. But in this case, Miren's identity did not oppose to Perla's. By contrast to the previous examples, she did not react and does not define herself in terms of the language she is speaking. She just tried to relieve the tension introduced by Perla with humor.

I will end this section with a quote from Iker. In marked contrast to most teachers I had contact with in Udabia, he explained to me that he did not believe that teaching Basque was necessary for everyone in the Basque Country. He claimed the following: "Ez naiz euskaldun fededun" [Basque] (*I'm not a faithful Basque*).

This phrase implies a word play because "euskaldun fededun" was used in the 20th century to designate Basque nationalist and catholic religious identity. However, in this context, Iker implied that he did not believe all people living in the Basque Country would end up learning Basque. He thought that some people would never learn Basque and therefore, it was useless to make such an effort and try to teach Basque to everyone who attended the Basque education system. In his view, most 2G students would continue to oppose learning Basque and would not speak it, at least at that particular moment or phase their lives. Thus, unlike many teachers, he would not only avoid speaking in Basque to them, but he would neither negatively react if they made a negative comment toward the Basque language or Basque people. He could control this situation very effectively and probably because of that, in his classes there would not be social limit transgressions. In other words, he would ignore student's limit transgressions regarding the Basque language and disruptions would hardly happen. Hence, in his classes, ethnic identity was not salient.

8.6. Summary of Chapter 8

This chapter referred to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In a general sense, I explained how student-student and student-teacher interactions constitute different kinds of identity. To build upon Chapter 8, the analysis of student-student behavior presented in Chapter 7 was used.

More precisely, I classified the kinds of interactions I observed during the fieldwork into three different categories, namely, personal, civic and social limit transgressions. Personal limit transgressions make reference to the usual hitting, insulting, and/or joking among 2G members. In this work, it only refers to the personal limit transgressions that happen among peers, and the analysis focused on insulting. Civic limit transgressions indicate the questioning or infringement of explicit rules that guarantee the well-being of a community. These may include students questioning teachers' authority. Social limit transgressions are precise kinds of questionings of civic limits or rules, which are not only explicit but also implicit. Because they are both explicit and implicit, locals tend not to question them. In other words, for locals, these rules are usually obvious. By contrast, for non-locals these rules are not necessarily obvious and question or infringe them. In the ethnographic example provided, this rule was Basque language learning in Udabia.

All in all, these transgressions were dependant on students' behavior, teachers' authority and the way they built the relationship with students, and on the nature of the subject that was being taught.

Summary of Part IV

In *Part IV* I presented the analysis of the data obtained during the fieldwork conducted in the 2015/2016 schoolyear in Udabia. The different topics were classified according to the RQs presented in Chapter 1, introduction, which also guided the organization of the theories in *Part II: Theoretical Framework*. The results of *Part IV* are organized in such a way that some of the phenomena observed during the fieldwork are designated by the terms introduced in *Part II: Theoretical Framework*. More precisely, *Part IV* is divided into three chapters:

Chapter 6 was presented as as related to RQ1: *What are the external elements that constitutionally affect studentship in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* Based on the structure of Chapter 2, I analyzed the structural constriction that students find, namely, inter- and intra-school segregation, cultural capital distribution, and teachers' functioning according to educational policies, and Othering practices. I also presented the discourse of the Head of Studies and Head of the School on the body of studentship, as it helps shed light on some global elements which affect pupils. Finally, I focused on teachers' direct relationship with students based on their use of authority, and student performance and autonomy.

Chapter 7 was related to RQ2: *What are the patterns of adolescent behavior in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, I focused on student-student relationships

from an ethnic boundary and limit transgression perspective. I provided a brief explanation on classroom and courtyard ethnic distribution of studentship; and a general description of multi-ethnic relationships in group 2G. I also introduced a general description of 2G students' body posture, spatial distribution, and attitude; as well as their internal relationships, in terms of their usual hitting and insulting. My observation was triangulated with teachers' narrative and students' discourse on those. These last sections, which focused on students' hitting and insulting, served as an introduction to Chapter 8, in which I explained how those constitute limit transgressions.

Finally, Chapter 8 was referred to RQ3: *How is identity formed in classroom interaction in a multi-ethnic and multilingual Basque secondary public education center?* In this chapter, I analyzed classroom interactions as identity builders. More precisely, I studied different interactions I gathered during the data collection, and classified them according to the code categories presented in Chapter 5. The results of this classification are the three levels of limit transgression precised into sections, namely, personal, civic and social limit transgressions.

Part V

Discussion

Chapter 9

On the whole

9.1. Overview of Chapter 9

In this chapter, I will discuss the relations between two parts: *Part II: Theoretical Framework* within *Part IV: Results*. The aim is to present the theoretical proposal of this work in a discussion of the theories and the analysis of the data collected in the fieldwork. This chapter consists of four principal sections: The first three relate the conceptual framework and results to the central elements of the research questions RQ, namely, the education system influence, boundary-work, and limit transgressions.

More precisely, the underlying idea in this discussion is that identities are created in interaction (Jenkins 2008). To put it differently, interactions create identities. In the first principal section, the focus will be on the external or school elements that affect students and their identity. In the second section, ethnic, social, and symbolic boundary-work will be highlighted as the borders in which people from different ethnic and/or social backgrounds interact. These bring about different patterns of relationship. Interactions are particularly interesting from this perspective, as whom we relate to, defines to some extent who we are, or who we want — or not — to be. Finally, limit transgressions make reference to the

uniquely produced interactions that in a way are problematic because they trespass a socially established border. These bring about the enactment of a particular kind of identity.

The fourth and final part summarizes and discusses the concept of identity in interaction with regard to the theories presented in Chapter 4, in relation to the concepts presented in the previous section of this chapter.

9.2. External elements that constitute adolescent identity in the education system

In this section, I will discuss identity formation in relation to the external elements that influence studentship. I will focus both on structural perspectives and other theories which are not strictly structural, but are also external, or part of the education system dynamics. All of these theories add on how students are regarded in the education system.

According to the work of Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) based on the French schools of the 1960s, academic institutions distribute students in terms of their cultural capital, that is, their material and symbolic acquisitions, which correspond to their families' social class. Teachers have the cultural capital of the middle classes and elites, function according to it, and tend to favor students who behave corresponding to it too. Hence, school reproduces the social position of students according to their cultural capital, and their practices in line with those acquisitions — habitus.

Lareau (2011), Dumais (2005; Dumais and Ward 2010), and Merolla and Jackson (2014) contribute to this framework as they study other possible applications of concept of cultural capital and their results are less

deterministic than Bourdieu's (2008a) were. Lareau (2011) claims that they key to understand social inequality is to understand the "hidden rules" of education settings. According to her, families can achieve upward social mobility if they master the "rules of the game" of education institutions. In other words, teacher-student relationships are positively affected by parents' knowledge of the "hidden rules" of education settings. For this, it is also important that parents organize their children's free time according to school obligations. She designates this as "concerted cultivation." Some studies have also proven how teachers expect parents to follow their guidance, believe that students should have strict rules at home, and parents should be engaged in their children's academic performance (Lyons and Higgins 2014). Indeed, a lack of support for school activities may lead to academic failure in some cases.

Other studies show how teachers function according to educational policies and these end up reproducing inequalities, in line with these Bourdieusian proposals (Stein 2004; Weber 2009). According to these, teachers use the policy designations of students and end up in an Othering practice aimed at students.

In the ethnographic case study presented, three main interpretations can be made in relation to these conceptual tools and the concept of identity in interaction. First, the Basque language is a central part of the cultural capital in Basque public education institutions. In other words, the Basque language is a cultural capital marker. In line with the structural perspectives, in this study, the distribution of such cultural capital tended to lead to inequalities among students. The cultural capital imbalance between autochthonous and non-autochthonous students made the latter be in a disadvantageous position, as these had difficulties to acquire a higher status in the educational institution and in society. Similarly, their habitus did not

correspond to the teachers' one. The cultural capital distribution of students based on their Basque language proficiency and attitude toward it, had unexpected consequences for students, for teachers, and for their reciprocal relationships. All at the same time, it is important to remember that Basque is a minority language in the Basque Country, and its cultural capital at a society level is very different from that described by Bourdieu in the French system during the 1960s. The cultural capital associated to French as a majority language in France is recognized worldwide. Whereas in the Basque Country the cultural capital linked to the proficiency in Basque is considerably smaller and Spanish is still a cultural capital marker in many situations. Consequently, the cultural capital related to the Basque language in the education system does not often correspond to the society cultural capital. This was a very complex problem that was defined and redefined in classroom discourse.

Second, teachers did not function according to educational policies, by contrast to other ethnographic contexts (cf. Martin Rojo 2010; Weber 2009; Alegre et al. 2009; Stein 2004; Gorski 2008a, 2008b). Educational policies establish that Basque is a compulsory language in the Basque education system and Basque Government tends to a reinforcement of this. Nevertheless, teachers could not teach Basque because students would not let them. In this sense, teachers had to re-adapt the syllabus and their interpretation of policies to educate. Teaching Basque was almost impossible, and the rhythm of 2G students was so slow that it resembled 1st CSE level's rhythm. Although teachers would not function according to policy designations, non-autochthonous students were Othered in a school discourse as low academic performers and Basque language opposers.

And third, the conclusions of the study by Lareau (2011), Dumais (2005), and Lyons and Higgins (2014), namely, that parents' engagement is always

beneficial to student-teacher relationships, did not fully correspond with the results of her study. Indeed, according to Marta, the Head of the School, autochthonous parents were too involved in their children's academic performance. In this sense, they knew the "rules of the game" and also practiced it to the point that they judged teachers' pedagogic practices. By contrast, most non-autochthonous students' parents were not as involved in their children's academic performance, and when they did, usually did not question teachers' relationship with students and least of all, their pedagogic practices. The former parenting style was problematic for the school, as they intruded school habits and academic practice. Conversely, the latter was not as problematic to teachers, as instructors did not feel judged by non-autochthonous parents. This partially contradicts previous studies (cf. Lyons and Higgins 2014; Lareau 2011), as it reveals that in some education professionals' view; there is a limit to the extent that parents should be involved in their relationship with teachers.

Following this structural schema, one could argue that student identities were salient. These were defined through classroom discourse and non-autochthonous students' habitus. Students' identity from this structural perspective was enacted according to their cultural capital, which did not include learning Basque. From such a perspective, the labeling and Othering practices from teachers to students was due the cultural capital imbalance. To put it differently, teachers did not favor non-autochthonous students because they did not hold their same cultural capital.

This framework is only partially explanatory of student identities, as student behavior could not only be explained according to their social position or Basque language acquisition. Although current Bourdieusian followers question his deterministic proposals (cf. Lareau 2011; Dumais and Ward 2005; Merolla and Jackson 2014), structural perspectives still

reinforce the social and institutional constrictions that determine subject formation and student-teacher relations. According to these perspectives, students tend to be regarded as a product of a set of established patterns of interaction at school.

By contrast to these proposals, I argue that students' actions should also be addressed from unique¹⁷ identity perspectives (Dubet and Martuccelli 1997). Indeed, students rebelled against those structures and constraining elements when they opposed Basque language learning, or challenged teacher authority, in line with the examples introduced in Chapter 8. What is more, their habitus contradicted that of teachers when learners opposed Basque language learning. Power relations hierarchies were consistently defied, negotiated and renegotiated in classroom discourse and in part, student demotivation and low academic performance had its roots in their non-compliance with school rules. It was a double-faced process in which demotivation, disruption, and opposition generated an alternative identity¹⁸.

¹⁷ In this context, the term "unique" not only refers to the non-determined way in which subjects are constituted, but also imply a context-specific production of subjects. Individuals in the ethnographic example provided are constituted in relation to the specificities of the Basque educational environment. One of the particularities of this setting is the use of Basque language in the education system.

¹⁸ For the most part, this work was limited to the study of immigrant students opposing Basque language learning as a challenge to the structure of the education system. However, it is important to mention that the inverse and all at the same time similar situation can happen: when Spanish is perceived as a dominant language, some people, especially young students, use the Basque language as a disruptive identity marker. Although this was not an objective in this study, it could be a future line of research.

The impact of teachers' relationship with students in the identity-making

An external element also affecting students is teacher authority style. This is not a structural perspective, but importantly influences students. As exposed in Chapter 6, teachers in this case study built the relationship students in diverse ways: they used authoritarian, caring, or ambiguous styles. When teachers were authoritarian, they tended to connect with students through explicit orders and dynamic activities. These teachers' actions would usually promote student autonomy. The term "authoritarian" is similar to "legitimate authority"¹⁹ suggested by Levin and Nolan (2014) and introduced in Chapter 2. Teachers who were authoritarian or used legitimate authority, were demanding but flexible to students' attitude, as they understood that students' academic performance was very diverse. They also tended to ignore most students' disruptions. These teachers tended to adapt to student needs, while they pressured them. These teachers also foresaw that the Basque language was too difficult to teach. We could apply Norton's (2013) concept of investment in this case, as both students and those teachers were aware that Basque language instruction and learning was not going to happen. Students were obviously not motivated to study Basque, and they did not show any interest in it. Authoritarian teachers perceived this lack of interest and did not use their resources and energy in teaching in Basque. In fact, these teachers were aware that if they

¹⁹ Please note that Levin and Nolan (2014) propose four categories for authority bases that teachers use to influence student behavior. They explicitly mention that teachers tend to use one over the others, but all teachers use different kinds of authority bases. However, what I suggest in my authoritarian, caring and ambiguous classification is a general teacher style based on how he/she built relationship with student and the power relations within.

introduced Basque in their classes most students would rebel and transgress a social limit, or in Canagarajah's (2004) terms, students would enact their most subversive identities. That is, they would perform disruptive interactions with regards to Basque language learning that represent a social order questioning and an implicit and explicit rule-opposing identity. Also, teacher authority would be indirectly put into question in these interactions and classroom dynamic would be boycotted. And this was a process authoritarian teachers would not go through. For this reason, they focused on the syllabus and the subject requirements.

When educators were caring, they also proposed dynamic activities in class but were more flexible than authoritarian teachers in their demands. Their actions also promoted student autonomy. The "caring" concept was similarly designated by Levin and Nolan (2014) as "referent authority". Teachers using referent authority or being caring, were patient and conformed to a lower academic performance from students, and neglected student disruptions. A concept to designate the methods that caring educators used to teach, is connective instruction (Martin 2014). Interactions guided by caring teachers through connective instruction were carefully negotiated. In these negotiations, the main goal was to get a good academic outcome while students felt motivated. Some of the teachers I observed also created what Frelin and Grannäs (2014) designate as "middle ground". In this middle ground, teachers produced a new atmosphere, enacted roles that went beyond traditional teachers' one, and brought about a successful effect in student-teacher relationships.

But when teachers tended to be both authoritarian and caring, what I designated as ambiguous, students did not understand what was expected from them and acted disruptively and non-autonomously. Instead of ignoring those, as authoritarian and caring teachers did, ambiguous teachers

reacted to such interaction. These teachers tended to change from caring to authoritarian styles based on student disruptions. More precisely, they usually acted following a caring style, but when facing a disruption, they tended to act authoritatively. When this happened, the power-relations hierarchy, which was not very clear for students, was defied. Teachers felt their authority questioned and when this happened, they acted protective of their position, in opposition to students' transgressive interaction. In these exchanges, student-teacher identities were opposed. This dynamic was especially complex in the Basque language session. It was the hardest subject to teach, given that the syllabus consisted precisely of teaching what students opposed more; and one of the elements most teachers felt more protective of: the Basque language.

9.3. The constitution of identity through boundary-work

To build my argument with regard to boundaries, I will focus on the frameworks of both Wimmer (2003, 2013) and Lamont (and Molnár 2002; Lamont et al. 2014). I will also readdress the difference between limit transgressions and boundaries, as their similarity may lead to confusion. In this work, limit transgressions designate the testing of the socially accepted rules of interaction; whereas boundaries refer to the mere ethnic, symbolic and social difference between two different entities, acknowledged by social actors. To put it differently, it refers to the classifications that individuals make of social and ethnic categories and their behavior regarding these. Such classifications lead to unequal access to resources between actors holding different social positions.

The categorization that Wimmer (2008, 2013) proposes in the ethnic boundary-making helps shed light on student-student relationships if we

only focus on ethnicity. As it was explained in Chapter 7, ethnic boundaries shifted through expansion, contraction and blurred in the case study presented. Sometimes, when conflict appeared regardless of actors' ethnicity, these chose an ethnic criterion to divide into different groups. In general terms, the participants of this research chose to relate to people of their same ethnic background. Classroom division in terms of Basque language instruction had an impact on this, as non-autochthonous and autochthonous relationships were rare. Nevertheless, classroom division could not explain the internal divisions that members of the same classroom made in terms of ethnic background.

All non-autochthonous students in class 2G united in opposition to Basque language learning, while knowing that the Basque language was an important element at school and society. This is designated by Wimmer (2008) as cultural compromise, or the union of actors with different social positions and ethnic backgrounds whose interests overlap. Following this perspective, in these multi-ethnic associations against Basque language learning, the multiple ethnic identities of students; or rather, the ethnic identity of the majority of 2G, was formed in opposition to the ethnic identity of teachers. If language defines an important part of ethnicity, opposing learning a local, official, and minority language implies devaluing it. This was the case at Udabia. When students opposed learning Basque, the conflict was ethnically interpreted by some teachers. Non-autochthonous students' and teachers' identities were separated by clear ethnic boundaries in such discourse, from Wimmer's (2008, 2013) perspective. By contrast to the author, I argue that ethnicity and ethnic identity are not the sole explanation of this phenomenon, as in this case, student identities were also implied. Non-autochthonous students opposed learning Basque because for them learning Basque was not naturalized, it

was not obvious, whereas for autochthonous students it was. Non-autochthonous students were also complying with their role as rebellious adolescents in this case.

Lamont and Molnár (2002) differentiate between symbolic and social boundaries. Symbolic boundaries make reference to individual's categorization in terms of a difference of habits, linguistic practices, gender, or even phenotypical differences. Social boundaries are based on those symbolic boundaries and objectify the categorization of such differences. The objectification of these differences brings about an unequal distribution of resources among different groups. I argue that in the ethnographic case presented, symbolic boundaries were present among students, as there were various ethnic backgrounds, different mother languages, life-trajectories, academic performances, and habits. The social boundary was shaped by the institutionalized practice of separating students in terms of the level of Basque language instruction, and its evaluation. As such, it acted as constraint for boundary-making (Lamont et al. 2014). As mentioned in Chapter 3, this framework also relies upon a structural perspective, as Lamont and her colleagues (2014) highlight the set of social constrictions which determine interaction, and by extension, subject formation. For instance, in line with the Othering practices introduced in the previous section, in Lamont' and her colleagues' (2014), terms, these students were evaluated according to standard academic performance and did not reach the minimum level. This contributed to a process of identification in the Others category.

This structural view is only partially explanatory of the boundary-making, as non-autochthonous students also chose to study in "light" model B instead of strong model B or model D, contrary to the schools' advice. They opposed learning Basque in daily school life, and most of them opted

for not taking active part in classroom activities. In this sense, students and their parents “had a say” in the making of the social boundaries and classroom dynamics. To put it differently, their identity was also shaped by their own actions in the boundary-making.

9.4. The constitution of identity through limit transgressions

One of the main ideas I suggested in Chapter 8 is that identity is built through transgressive interactions during adolescent years. This transgression has a double character. On the one hand, according to psychology, it is a recognized stage of adolescence in which individuals question the rules of interaction in daily life (Erikson 1989; Rink et al. 1997; Miller et al. 2001; Alarcón et al. 2010). On the other hand, this stage is not natural, but socially constructed and guided in industrialized societies. That is, teenagers in many documented Western countries challenge adults’ rules of interaction, but not all adolescents in all societies question those (Eckert 2002, 2004). Adolescents interact disruptively, question rules and oppose doing what they are told in many Western education institutions (cf. Carrascosa et al. 2015; Alarcón et al. 2010; Murteira Morgado and Vale-Dias 2016). What they question at school is the rules of school. In that sense, they cannot challenge other non-existent regulations. These norms can be either explicit or implicit, and this has an impact on the relationship students build with the educational institution, as I will explain in the following lines.

As several ethnographic examples and case studies have shown (cf. Alarcón et al. 2010; Eckert 2002, 2004; Rink et al. 1997; Miller et al. 2001; Hans 2008; Oppin et al. 2015), this limit-testing has a double impact. First, it is a way to acquire knowledge through the simple experimenting with

limits. Through this testing, not only academic insight is gained, but also the ability and awareness which are necessary for social interaction. In other words, teenagers will probably not question the parts of a cell they study in their Science class, but will most likely test the rules of interaction with the Science teacher to understand how social exchanges need to take place with an authority figure. This knowledge is usually preserved, ruled, and guided by a set of conventions. Limit transgression implies testing this kind of knowledge to acquire it, regardless of this transgressive acquisition becoming acrimonious. Second, it enables individuals to internalize social order, as subjects understand which convention and rules can be tested, and how these can be experienced in relation to the social position of the person they are interacting with. Indeed, it is not the same to be a student interacting with your peers or with your teacher.

Student-teacher interactions may be more or less troubled. Often, a transgression may be a student disruption that escalates and generates conflict at school. One of my main claims is that in these student-teacher interactions conflict appears and remains. When this happens, teacher authority is often questioned and lessons are prone to be boycotted. If we follow the argument presented in Chapter 8, according to which, interactions create identities (cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Gordon 2013), I claim that these interactions remain in tension, and by extension, student identities too.

But what is precisely a limit transgression in teenage years? According to the definition proposed in this work, it is the methods used by adolescents to question the socially accepted rules of interaction and the conflicts arisen because of the way those situations are tested. As shown in the interactions in Chapter 8, transgressing was rejecting society's and education system's rules of interaction. In the examples introduced, limit transgressions in

adolescence were not strictly related to civility as Foley (et al. 2012) proposes, but to patterns of interaction and conventions. In fact, if transgressions were exclusively linked to civility, only the explicit rules of a society would be questioned. Nevertheless, as I exposed in Chapter 8, implicit rules of a society can also be transgressed.

Students acted transgressively when they rejected their ascribed roles and social position, and affirmed new, original ones. This perspective contrasts with the view of the sociologists and philosophers introduced in Chapter 3, who claim that transgression does not involve an opposition, but that transgression only exceeds and completes limits (cf. Bataille 1960; Foucault 1963; Jenks 2003, 2013). More precisely, limit transgressions, as analyzed in this work, imply the more or less direct opposition²⁰ or rejection of a convention or rule. What is more, in most of the cases studied, the opposing to a rule in the form of civic and social limit transgressions brought about opposing identities in student-teacher interactions. These were formed the following way: Party A, students, interacted transgressively, which as argued, was an opposition to a rule or convention. Party B, teachers, took it as an opposition to his/her “Self”, or his/her derived functions, and answered opposing the transgression. This indicates that opposing discourse and actions in the mode of transgression tends to produce opposing reactions too. Please note that I do not claim that all transgressions must imply opposition of a convention or a norm, but the cases analyzed here were always opposing.

Jenks (2013) claimed that transgression can serve cultural reproduction; as the excess implied in it prevents stagnation through the reaffirmation of the

²⁰ Please note the difference between the two levels of opposition, as introduced in Chapter 8, namely, opposition to a rule or convention, which constitutes a limit transgression in this work; and identity opposition, as a possible derivation of the former. These two conform separate concepts.

rule. Rather, I defend that transgression can be a unique way of rejecting and opposing the rule and creating alternative identities. Nevertheless, I agree with the author that to transgress is to go beyond the limits or violate them. As such, it can be an act of denial. I add on such idea that transgression can deny what the transgressor is not, and affirm of what he/she is. In this interaction, the individual chooses to be different to what it is expected from him/her, and in this sense, it is original.

It is only logical to argue that transgressions are made according to each époque and location. For instance, not the same transgressions have taken place in the US in the 1960s or in the Basque Country in the 2010s. To put it differently, rules and conventions are contextually and temporally established, but violating them is not relative. They are violated or not. However, in a specific place and time, different subjects interpret transgressions of those limits differently. A pertinent example of the distinct interpretation of those transgressions is multi-ethnic contexts, as subjects coming from different ethnic backgrounds might regard a transgression of a limit differently.

Immigrant adolescents who took part in this work and had arrived in the Basque Country after studying in their home countries, felt confused about their relationships with teachers. In their countries of origin, educators were very authoritarian, whereas in the Basque Country, teachers tended to reinforce more symmetric power relationships with students. For instance, some foreign national students recognized that in their home countries to treat teacher by their first name, would have been unthinkable and against the norms, which could be defined as a civic limit transgressions. However, such practice was common in the Basque education system.

Personal, civic and social limit transgressions

In the following lines, I will present a classification on limit transgressions in adolescence based on the results of the fieldwork. This was already introduced in Chapter 8 and in this section it will be organized in the form of a precise theoretical proposal.

Personal limit transgressions refer to the transgressions of limits related to the interpersonal distance, to what students call "respect" and "jokes." In this work, I have only acknowledged these personal limit transgressions between peers. I argue that a personal limit is transgressed when the personal space that each subject or collectivity establishes is invaded. It might also involve hitting and insulting, hence, not respecting the integrity other (cf. Morgan and Korobov 2012; Sari 2016; Douglass et al. 2016; Irena et al. 2016). In all these cases, adolescents show a profane behavior among themselves. Profane in this context involves not respecting a convention. For instance, when adolescents insult each other, they question the limits of customary and acceptable language (Martínez and Morales 2014; Eckert 2002, 2004; Bakhtin 1984). However, not all insulting was, according to adolescents in the fieldwork conducted, disrespectful, as it was often described by the term "joke". As the majority of jokes I could observe involved insulting, I will only make reference to those. Students also used other kinds of jokes with teachers, but I choose to categorize these as an indirect way of authority questioning, a way of civic limit transgression, where the power relations hierarchy is questioned. When students made a joke to their peers, they were in a more or less symmetric power relationship. In other words, the asymmetry of power between students was not very remarkable, although saying that peers relations are not power relations would be naïve. Relationships among students were indeed power relations in which some students were more legitimized than

others to say or do something that the rest would accept, although there was no internal structure that indicated some students' formal authority over others.

Jokes are defined by their transgressive character. To put it differently, I claim that jokes always transgress a limit, and this is the reason why they are funny. I also argue that their transgressive character can also reflect the level of closeness between two individuals, in line with the argument by Douglass and her colleagues (2016). To put it differently, being close to another person can be evidenced in the profane discourse they aim at each other in the form of a joke. If this profane discourse is positively taken by the other party, this means the individuals involved in the interaction are close; whereas if one of them gets angry, it may mean three things: either the person making the joke went too far in the limit transgression, the joked took it as an insult rather than a joke, or these two subjects were not really close. By contrast to Martin and his colleagues (2003), and in accordance Leist and Müller (2013), I believe that humor is contextual (see also Douglass et al. 2016). Because both the joker and the joked have a say in how the joke is taken. When the joked was feeling sensitive or had heard too many of these, he/she became angry. In this sense, I will make a difference between soft jokes or the ones that were taken as such; and heavy jokes or those that made the joked angry. Based on the data collected, a soft joke lightly transgresses the limit and that is why it is funny. But the heavy joke is a substantial limit transgression and offensive for the person receiving it. Most likely, all of these jokes were interpreted by teachers as disrespectful toward their colleagues because such language profanity opposed convention.

In this case of insulting humorously, peer identity and student identity were formed. In this case, student identity refers to the specific identity of

adolescents as members of the academic institution. The former was constituted in the humorous interaction, in opposition to the rule. Adolescents tested their peers' personal limits, and they were formed in the most Meadean "Self/Other" interaction. The input they received from the other party was crucial for the formation of their "Self", as a joker, as light or heavy transgressor. Only if the joked answered back in the form of a transgression and it generated an escalating conflict, would opposing identities appear. The latter was constructed opposed to the rules and conventions of the academic institution, where insulting is not permitted. Such student identity will also be present in the civic and social limit transgressions.

Civic limit transgressions make reference to the transgressions of all the institutional rules regarding the well-functioning of the school. I use the term "civic" because it refers to the well-being and harmonious cohabitation of a community. In this case, it makes reference to the academic community, and it is linked to the most explicit rules of society that actually makes it live in peace or harmonically. Teenagers transgress many of these civic limits, as their aim is to mark a difference between themselves and adults. In these transgressions, they violate many rules that for adults are important and such socially non-acceptable behavior is shown to defy the socially established order. Sometimes parents play a major role in these civic limit transgressions at school. For instance, some parents do not reinforce school rules, such as doing homework. One of the unexpected consequences of this lack of parent engagement with school norms is students' low academic performance and student disruption, as students feel supported by their parents' lack of commitment. However, as noted in this chapter, an excessive parent engagement in students' academic life, can also be negative for student-teacher relationships

More precisely, I propose two related elements that interact in civic limit transgressions: one is rule breaking and the other teacher authority questioning. Rule breaking may encompass teacher authority questioning, as teacher authority is the norm in classrooms. Rules make reference to explicit conventions that are related to the harmonious cohabitation of students at school. When these are transgressed or opposed to, rule breaking happens, and teacher authority usually appears as a defense of these. As teachers are responsible for the harmonious cohabitation in the classroom, they are also responsible for the student compliance with civic rules. Hence, violating some of these civic regulations usually implies defying teachers and their authority. Students tend to show passive and aggressive behaviors at the same time when confronted about their transgressive actions. In the case study presented, some of the passive responses were shown in the phrases “whatever”; and aggressive attitudes when they directly opposed doing something. Passive and aggressive behaviors are transgressive, as they show demotivation and rebellion at the same time. Both of these attitudes imply not complying with schools’ civic rules of being active and obedient learners.

I will now focus on student authority questioning. To question authority, the key is for students not to recognize the authorized power of teachers. In other words, do not consider, or rather, act as if they did not recognize, that teachers are legitimized for keeping classroom order. Teacher authority questioning probably responds to a new tendency in many Western countries to substitute authoritarian teacher-student relationships by more symmetric relations of power (Levin and Nolan 2014). In these new teacher-learner relations, students hold more power than in authoritarian teaching models. Some students try to overcome teachers’ power and the traditional hierarchy established in the class is transformed. One important

way to question teacher authority is through classroom disruption and interrupting the lesson being taught. The reasons for this classroom interruption or the arguments that students in this work provided as an explanation for this classroom disruption were many, but the underlying cause was that they could do it. They perceived that teachers did not hold the greatest power in the power relations hierarchy or that the power that they held was weakly constructed and rebelled against it. Students showed different abilities in authority questioning. Some had excellent social skills that enabled them to transgress limits to a point where teachers could not expel students, but others acted more impulsively and were most likely suspended because of their transgressive actions. The former may have involved students making jokes to teachers in same way that they made jokes to their peers. I will even describe these jokes, which were usually soft, as graceful. In these interactions, the power relations hierarchy was negotiated, as they were civic limit transgressions. Students who managed to make the most jokes and interrupt the class without being considered especially disrespectful, showed a high capacity to transgress civic rules through an indirect teacher authority questioning. The latter tended to show inappropriate behavior in class, which usually involved a heavy joke made to teachers. It was also a civic limit transgression, and it was usually punished.

These transgressions could also be considered as contagious behaviors: when students saw their colleagues enacting civic transgressive behaviors, some of them opted for acting transgressively too. Others, although did not act disruptively, were negatively affected and ended up being unmotivated. I argue that a regular teacher authority questioning and rule breaking had negative consequences for students. Because students did not feel classroom interaction was a continuum, but a series of lessons being

continuously interrupted by some of their peers. If students were interested in lessons, these disruptions made them unmotivated.

Finally, social limits are a particular kind of civic limits that make reference both to the explicit and implicit rules of a society. These limits are institutionally specified rules that locals assume as usual part of their daily life. To put it differently, they are the explicit and implicit conventions that a community establishes and are very much naturalized for most locals. What is more, until a non-local arrives and questions the validity of these rules, locals would probably not realize that there was a limit. In the ethnographic case presented, the example was Basque language learning. Basque language learning is part of the syllabus, and as such, it is a civic limit or an explicit rule of educational policies and the curriculum. I chose to designate it as social limit, as most autochthonous students would not question its validity, but they would sometimes question other civic limits, such as teacher authority, as non-autochthonous students did. Most autochthonous students attending Basque public schools are well aware that Basque becomes necessary for most young people living in the Basque Country.

Furthermore, the Basque language is closely related to Basque identity, so opposing the implicit and explicit convention of learning Basque, is conditioned by the ideologies held by the students who oppose it and the locals. For students who opposed it, it implied being non-compliant with a naturalized rule for a significant part of Basque society. For local teachers, it meant that non-autochthonous students did not hold the school's cultural capital, as mentioned before in this chapter. In this social limit transgression, I argue that students constructed their identity through conflict. In a conflict that could not be directly sanctioned by teachers. Because teaching staff, although being the — stronger or weaker —

authority figures, could expect from students minimum contents from the syllabus, but could not demand minimum Basque language knowledge when almost the whole class could not speak it and opposed it. It is interesting to note how these sorts of attitudes that do not favor the local language also happen in other contexts, such as the Catalan one introduced in Chapter 4, but how in that case it did not entail an autochthonous-immigrant identity opposition. By contrast, in the Catalan context, it became opposing among some autochthonous students, as these took sides in the political spectrum of language attitudes: feeling and speaking Catalan versus feeling and speaking Spanish and the middle attitudes between those (Newman et al. 2013; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2015, 2009).

Classroom dynamics in the case study presented here, made the Basque language the primary element of conflict. On the one hand, students opposed it, and it became a distinct ethnic boundary: students rejected Basque language learning and rejected being part of the Basque community, by contrast to teachers and a large part of the academic community. On the other hand, teachers were not able to do anything about it. Opposition often implies many emotions from both parties. I argue that negative emotions made the opposing conflict escalate. The tension was maintained by negative emotions where interacting hypersalient identities clashed. Based on Miles' (2014) theoretical framework I argue that in this case study, non-autochthonous students' and teachers' core selves clashed. Interactions became ethnic and student hypersalient identity clashes in which opposition was the rule and conflict remained. Miles (2014) argued that identities need to be verified and that if they are not, they tend to change to accommodate to the environment. If an individual chooses not to accommodate, the author claims that subjects tend to exit the tense

situation in which their identities are not verified. Conversely, I argue that in cases of social limit transgression such as the one described, core selves or hypersalient identities clash and remain this troubled way. I agree with the author when he mentions that positively verified identities enable individuals to reach higher positions in society. Because students who oppose an important part of school's cultural capital cannot reach higher positions at school. Not speaking Basque in the Basque Country has complex implications. For instance, many youngsters are not able to get a job easily if they do not speak Basque.

In Mead's (1982) terms, the Self is constituted by the "Me" and the "I". The "Me" are the set of attitudes acquired in past interactions that enable subjects to understand what is expected from them. I argue that they had internalized they were not part of the academic community. Most autochthonous students studying in model D and strong model B — each in one classroom — and most non-autochthonous students in linguistic model "light" B — another classroom —, physically separated from each other, was a motive for not feeling part of the academic community. But it must be taken into account that they — most non-autochthonous students and their parents — chose not to study in strong model B or model D, and this was an important reason why they were separated from autochthonous students at school. Probably, if they had been integrated into a classroom composed of many autochthonous students, classroom dynamics would have been different because most autochthonous students in this case study "naturally" accepted that the Basque language is an important social element. Besides, they were displaced in a more general sense because as mentioned, many autochthonous students were enrolled in surrounding privately-funded centers.

According to this framework, the “I”, that is, the original and spontaneous responses to the environment, opposed Basque language learning as a resistance to the academic culture they did not feel part of. Following Ogbu (1978, Ogbu and Simmons 1998), I also argue that student demotivation, Basque language learning opposition and low academic performance was another way of actively and passively reacting to their minority status in the educational setting. All of these elements interacted to form a kind of identity that was embedded in civic and social limit transgression processes.

In *Figure 11* I represent how identity is formed according to the three most important elements addressed in this work; namely, the education system, or what I designated as the “external elements affecting students”, (ethnic) boundary-making, and limit transgression. The relationships between the three primary elements, which were explained in the three previous sections, are drawn through arrows.

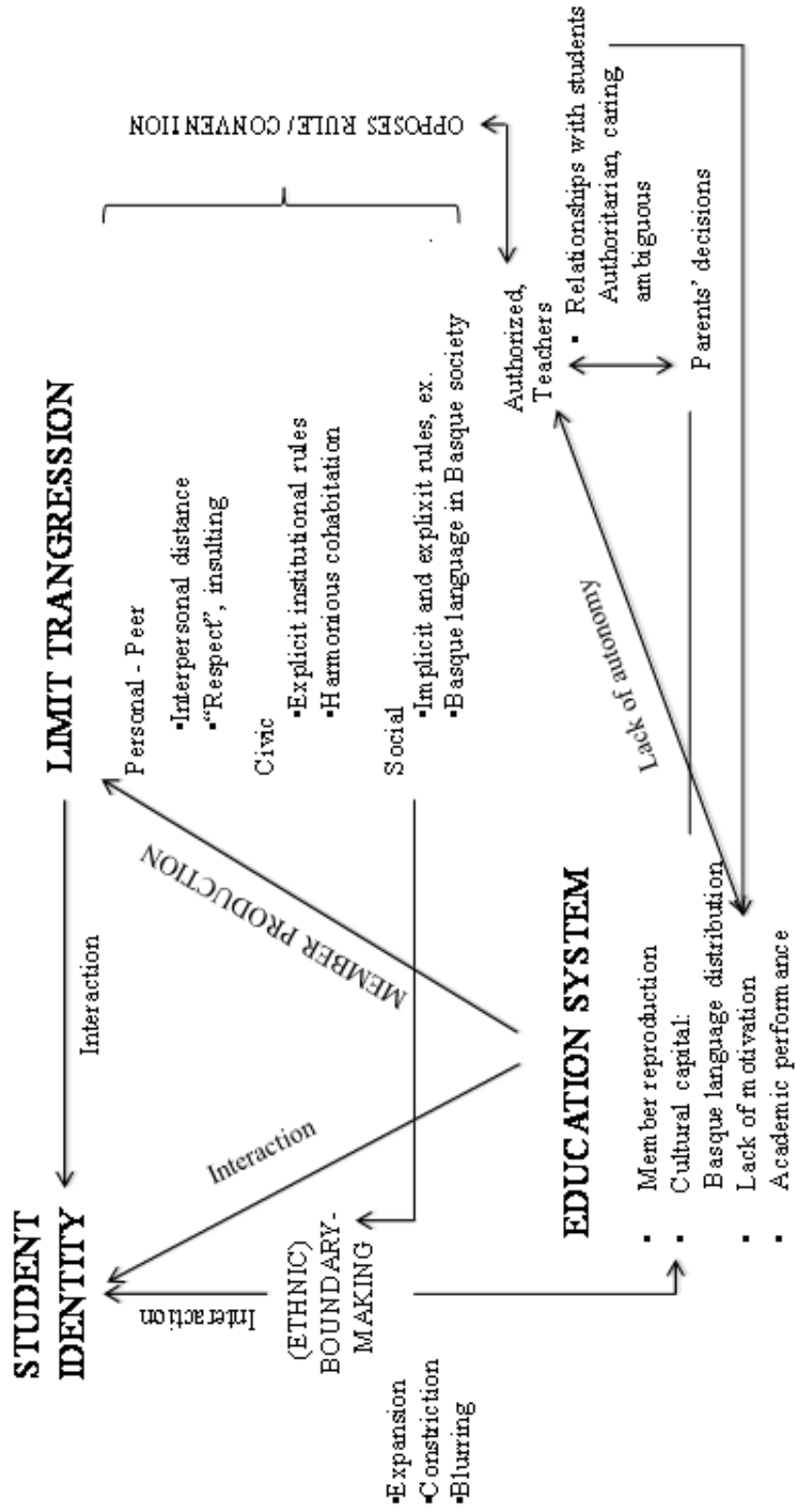


Figure 11: Identity formation in limit transgression, boundary-work and education system interactions

9.5. A general framework on Identity in Interaction

In this section, I will present my final proposal on Identity in Interaction. The aim is not only to build upon identity theories but also the limit transgression, ethnic boundaries, and education system theories, as these influence the kinds of interactions individuals experience, in line with the previous sections and *Figure 11*.

I draw upon Jenkins' (2008), Dubet (2010) and Miles' (2014) notion of identity as a malleable and flexible concept, subject to change in terms of the context in which individuals or groups are embedded. Identities are cognitive constructs, influenced by emotions, which help develop a self-understanding and guide daily interactions based on previous experience. These constructs help individuals and groups define who is who and what is what, according both to collective views and unique lived experience. I use the plural intentionally, as identities are diverse, or multiple, and subject to be activated according to the context in which they are immersed (Ramajaran 2014; Miles 2014). As such, some identities are more salient than others, and this salience is mostly determined by three elements: the recognition individuals get, the cognitive constructs activated in each situation, and the emotions involved in those. The first makes reference to the external recognition subjects expect and obtain of their identity. The second refers to distinct cognitive elements that are activated in specific situations in interaction, in which subjects understand themselves and the others. And the third concerns the emotions that influence interactions, which can be harmonious or problematic. More precisely, when they are problematic, identities remain in conflict, attached to negative emotions.

Many contemporary authors take Mead's (1982) reflexive schema on the "Self/Other" binary as a basis for their identity theories (cf. Dubet and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010; Jenkins 2008; Stryker and Stryker 2016;

Lamont and Molnàr 2002). Mead's (1982) framework provides an explanation on how the conscience of the "Self" is formed in interaction with the generalized other; and similarly, Erikson (1989, 2000) proposes how society input is especially valuable for identity formation. The "Self" is constituted by the "Me" and the "I", according to the Meadean theory. The "Me" is formed according to previous community experiences of the "Self", and the "I" is constituted by the spontaneous response to community input. I will add that in adolescence this process is even more remarkable, as teenagers often question the rules of interaction of the community they live in. As Eckert (2002, 2004) puts it, adolescents need to make a difference between themselves and adults and need to perform that discrepancy in industrialized societies. According to the case study presented, this difference is marked through limit transgressions, which are a form of interaction. The context in which these are performed is the education system. Hence, transgression is made in relation to the rules and structure of the education system.

These transgressive interactions generate three hypersalient identities in the multi-ethnic school system: peer, ethnic, and student identities. I designated them as hypersalient, as they were enacted through transgression, and performed passionately in interaction. I will describe these separately, but in practice they are often enacted together. In all of the cases studied, I argued that there was an opposition to rules and/or conventions. Peer identities are formed in relation to the similar "Others", in which the relations of power are quite symmetric. Transgressive interactions in this context often involve the use of humor. If such interactions are contested in the form of other transgression and conflict appears and escalates, opposing peer identities are formed. Ethnic identities

between peers are also formed in a quite symmetric relation of power, in the ethnic boundary-making.

Ethnic and student identities are both enacted and recognized in a relation of power when they are formed in relation to teachers. If any of these two is constructed in opposition to teachers' authority, school rules, or in rejection of their ethnic markers, I argue that they become the basis for an Othering practice, which usually works both ways: from teachers to students, and from students to teachers. A reciprocal Othering discourse between teachers and students also constitutes what I designated as opposing identities.

Concerning the specific process in which identities are formed, Dubet (and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010) claims that an individuals' different "Selves" interact with various "Others", and the input subjects get from these "Others" is experiential. According to the author, experience guides the process of socialization and identity-making in a multi-level framework. First, the integration level, where individuals feel they belong to a particular category, ethnic, social, or of other kind, according to the educational institution. This accommodation of institutional experience could also be compared to the formation of the Meadean "Me", as experiences are organized. It also corresponds to the process of socialization in which students acquire the Bourdieusian cultural capital

Second, according to Dubet (2010), strategies are the methods used by individuals to accommodate to a new society's set of rules. In multi-ethnic contexts, it may involve shifting immigrants' ethnic identity to integrate into the host society. This was not the case in any of the adolescent student cases observed. In the case study presented, adolescents were much more identity producers through transgressions, and through rule-testing, than submissive or integrative pupils.

Third, following Dubet (2010), subjectivation process aims to accommodate unique experience by each individual in an entirely original way. Subjects evaluate and autonomously establish what they do and do not assume, and choose to take action on it. This concept is also similar to Meadean “I”, or the original, cognitive response at the present moment of the subject to the generalized other. These two concepts encompass the notion of limit transgression, as defined in this work. I will make a point building upon this question. I claim that emotions also affect the unique way in which experience is distinctively interpreted and accommodated into a greater identity framework. Because emotions make individuals attach and detach from different cultural elements, or cultural contents, as Miles (2014) puts it.

Indeed, in the case study analyzed, subjects’ response was affected by previous experiences and emotional reactions to diverse cultural contents, although a thorough analysis of this matter – emotions – is beyond the scope of this work. The main idea I want to reinforce is that transgressions are partly mediated by emotions embedded in different social and cultural contexts, as all the examples provided show.

In this work, I have focused on distinct elements which are closely related to emotions. First, ethnicity is a cultural content that as Jenkins (2008, 87) puts it, "really matters." Ethnicity activates an emotional response from individuals, and this answer is especially triggered in multi-ethnic contexts through ethnic boundaries. Subjects in such settings may feel they need to preserve their ethnic identity as they live in a host society that does not necessarily address their ethnic background. Second, structural perspectives provide a framework to understand how students are formally and unintendedly distributed in the education system, according to concepts such as the cultural capital, its possession, and activation, concerted

cultivation or education system policies' distribution. These perspectives rationally explain how subjects are dependent on structures of interactions already given to them, but they do not explain how individuals question them. And third, personal, civic, and social limit transgression framework describes the resistant part of subjects which challenges power relation hierarchies and structures of interaction of daily life; by contrast to structural explanations on the education system. These interactions, in which conflict is usually present, are also emotional.

In the definition provided at the beginning of this section, I mentioned how identities are cognitive constructs that guide our daily interactions based on previous experience, that help and groups define who is who and what is what (Jenkins 2008, 5). These are not only influenced by the cognitive accessibility to evaluate one's "Selves" and the "Others". They are also dependant on emotions that make individuals attach and detach from different cultural elements and self-recognize related to those.

In *Figure 12* I represent the relationships between the authors whose work was presented in *Part II: Theoretical Framework* and based on which I have built my proposal on Identity in Interaction.

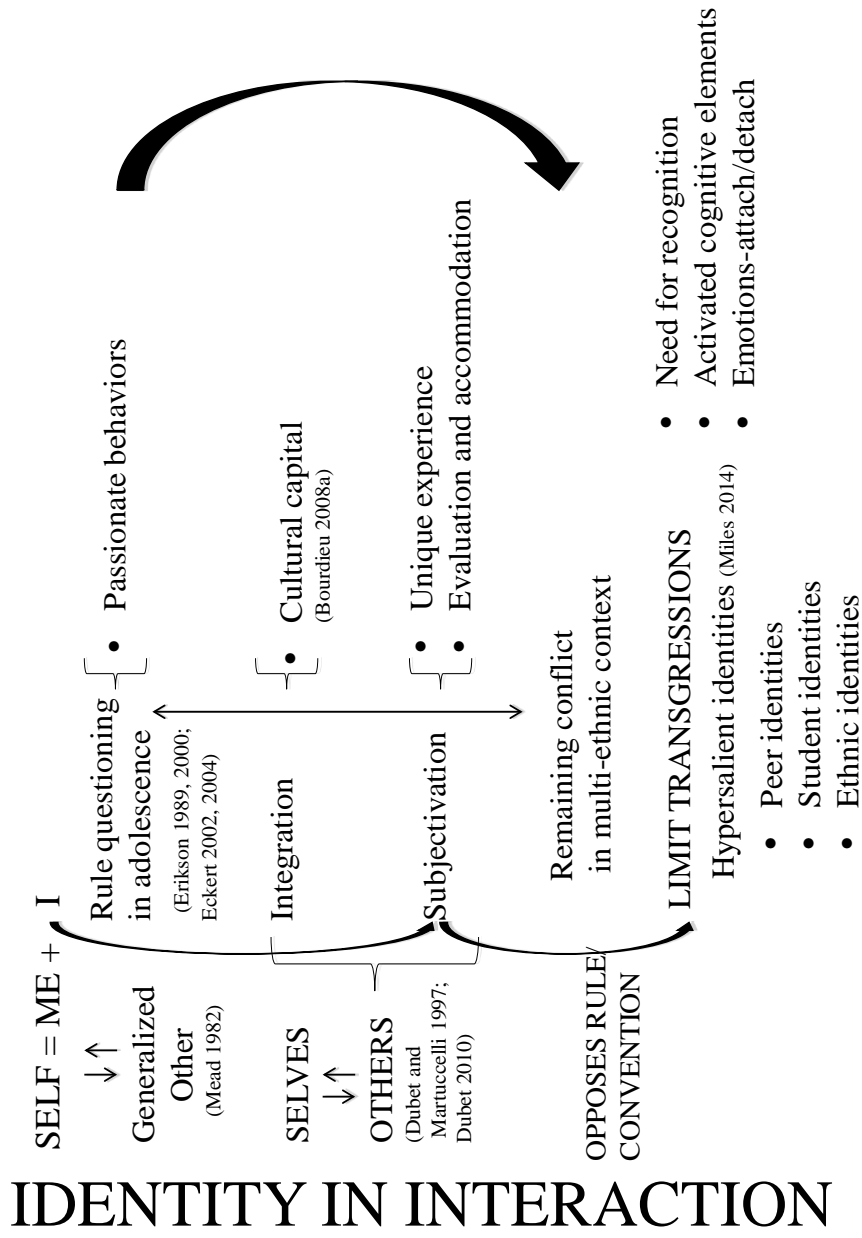


Figure 12: A proposal on the concept of Identity in Interaction

9.6. Summary of Chapter 9

Chapter 9 has discussed *Part II: Theoretical Framework* within *Part IV: Results*. More precisely, based on the premise that identities are built in interaction (Jenkins 2008), the three central elements highlighted in each of the RQs have been discussed. These elements were: the education system influence or the external elements affecting students at school; ethnic, symbolic, and social boundary-work; and limit transgressions. An argument of how each of these elements separately and combined create specific kinds of identity has been outlined. These have been graphically represented in *Figure 11* and *Figure 12*.

Moreover, discussions of the structural theories, or those that highlight the external constrictions on individuals, and on the concept of transgression, have been presented. All the arguments introduced were based on the results of the analysis of the data collected. An important idea suggested is that limit transgressions are uniquely created in opposition to the rules and conventions, and that such oppositions often bring about other opposing reactions from the party with which interaction is taking place.

Finally, a proposal on the concept of identity in interaction has been presented. This theoretical proposal was created in a discussion of the empirical data and the identity theories presented in Chapter 4.

Part VI

Conclusion

Chapter 10

To conclude

10.1. Overview of Chapter 10

Chapter 10 is the final chapter of this dissertation and will layout the conclusions. First, a review of the problem presented in Chapter 1 will be made, where the tension between structural vs. non-structural approaches will be summarized, according to the results and discussion. Second, a review of the objectives, as presented in Chapter 1, will be outlined. The achievement of those will be specified in relation to each of the chapters that compose this work.

Third, a review of the hypotheses presented in Chapter 1 will be made. In this section, an explanation of the confirmation or not of each hypothesis will be formulated. Fourth, a summary of the contribution of this work will be presented. This section will be divided into two different parts: one will recapitulate the ethnographic contribution and will state how this work expands the literature on the Basque secondary public education system; and the other will outline the theoretical contribution of this work, in line with Chapter 9. A final section on the difficulties, limitations, strengths, and future lines of research will be also included.

10.2. Review of the problem

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the education institution is essential for students and their interactions. Indeed, students socialize at school and their interactions are key in their formation as individuals and members of a larger social group.

What in this work was designated as structural perspectives, that is, the approaches which remark that students and their relations are the consequence of a set of already given structures of interaction, were explanatory of some of the elements embedded in teacher-student and student-student relationships (cf. Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a; Merolla and Jackson 2014; Dumais and Ward 2010; Lareau 2011). In the case study presented, Basque language learning marked distribution of studentship, which was partly ethnically guided. That is, the majority of students who did not learn or speak Basque were non-autochthonous students in the case study presented. Following a Bourdieusian perspective, the Basque language acted as a cultural capital marker. As the cultural capital has an influence on the social position of each subject, students who did not learn Basque had a lower status at school. However, the cultural capital distribution of studentship could not fully explain how learners interacted among themselves and with teachers. More precisely, the cultural capital distribution based on Basque language acquisition did not explain how pupils reacted to such structure. Indeed, structural theories do not explain how students respond to their status at school. Most of all, they do not explain how students contest the socially set structures of interaction that are given to them. Based on different works from a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences (cf. Foucault 1963; Bataille 1960; Jenks 2003, 2013; Foley et al. 2012; Bakhtin 1984; Martínez et al. 2014), and psychological discipline

(Bonino et al. 2005; Hans 2008; Varela Garay et al. 2013; Díaz-Aguado Jalón 2005; Garaigordobil and Martínez Valderrey 2016; Carrascosa et al. 2015), the concept of limit transgression in adolescence was proposed to analyze and interpret the actions and interactions that took place during the fieldwork conducted in this study. This concept enables the possibility of students questioning their position and the rules of social interaction in a given society.

In the same line of reasoning to Bourdieusian perspectives, many works in the education system remark that education policies become a basis for an Othering practice which works from teachers to students (cf. Stein 2004; Weber 2009; Alegre et al. 2009). This argument also relies on a structural perspective, as it suggests that the structure of the education policies, which is reflected in the structure of school, guides the relationships between teachers and students. Following this idea, education policies stigmatize precise social and ethnic groups, and teachers end up in an Othering practice aimed at these collectivities. Nevertheless, in this study, education policies were not a basis for such a practice. Conversely, the basis for a reciprocal Othering practice as analyzed in this work was Basque language use in student-teacher relationships. On the one hand, non-autochthonous students Othered teachers because they spoke Basque, while pupils opposed learning it. This had unforeseen consequences, as the Basque language is an important Basque identity marker, and students opposing learning it was sometimes interpreted as rejecting being part of the Basque community. On the other hand, teachers Othered students because these did not speak Basque, while they were obliged to learning it. Furthermore, the majority of students who opposed it had low academic results, which served to their detriment.

Finally, the theories of intra- and inter-school segregation also explain how schools distribute students in terms of their ethnic background, which was the case in this study (cf. García Castaño and Olmos Alcaraz 2012; Peláez Paz 2012). However, these studies hardly ever acknowledge that some non-autochthonous students' families choose to be enrolled in classes where they are not integrated with autochthonous students, as it was also the case in this work. The reason for this was that they chose to study as little in Basque as possible. In the same line of argument presented in the previous two paragraphs, individuals, in this case, students and their families, "have a say" in the structure in which they are embedded.

10.3. Review of the objectives

The aim of this section is to provide an overview of the primary objectives presented in Chapter 1: Introduction. The major goal of this study was to understand how student identity is formed in interaction with others within the education system in multi-ethnic environments. It was also to describe this process in multi-ethnic Basque education settings. The specific aims were the following:

1. Examine the daily functioning of a Basque secondary public education center.
 - 1.1. Study how the chosen center manages student distribution.
 - 1.2. Analyze the role of students and parents in student distribution in the chosen center.
 - 1.3. Explore how teachers built their relationship with students.

2. Explore the patterns of adolescent behavior in the chosen center, according to typical adolescent behavior, and boundary-work.
3. Examine how the self-concept of non-autochthonous students is built in the chosen center, taking as a point of departure the concept of identity in interaction.
 - 3.1. Analyze classroom student-student and student-teacher interactions.
 - 3.2. Study how these interactions act as identity markers.

All of these objectives have been addressed both theoretically and in relation to the data collected. Objective 1, 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 were achieved based on the description made of the Basque education system structure in linguistic models and the distribution of studentship in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. In these chapters, the theory presented in Chapter 2 was also included. The general objective 2 was reached theoretically in Chapter 3 and its actual description regarding the case study in Chapter 7. Finally, the general objective 3, 3.1, and 3.2, were achieved through the description of classroom interaction and student behavior in relation to identity formation in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, combined with the theories of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

In summary, Chapter 6, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8; and partially Chapter 5 too; are a description of the Basque education system and the functioning of a school with a high foreign national students' attendance, students' behavior and their process of identity formation. Chapter 9 outlines and discusses the contributions of this work in an identity framework based on external elements influencing students, limit transgression theory, and ethnic, symbolic and social boundary-making.

10.4. Review of the hypotheses

In accordance with the objectives, the hypotheses are assessed as it follows:

The first hypothesis, namely, 1: *The education system structure becomes an identity constriction but also an identity producer according to adolescent interactions*, is confirmed. Relevant theories on school student-student and student-teacher relationships defend that education system acts — in a more or less determining way — as an identity and behavior constraint (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a; Lareau 2011; Dumais and Ward 2010; Merolla and Jackson 2014; Weber 2009; Stein 2004; Martin Rojo 2010), and some of these explain how some teachers at school reproduce the inequalities already present in society (cf. Bourdieu and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a; Weber 2009; Stein 2004; Martin Rojo 2010). By contrast, other theories such as the one presented by Dubet (and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010), reinforce that education systems do not only constrain but also act as student identity producers. This has been one of the primary results of the fieldwork, and it has been developed using the concept of limit transgression. More precisely, how students react transgressively to their assigned position as students at school could be considered as a unique response, which happens in education settings.

The second hypothesis, specifically, 2: *Linguistic division according to the level of Basque language instruction tends to guide student-student interactions and create and/or reinforce ethnic boundaries at school when there is an ethnic distribution imbalance*, is only partially confirmed. The results of the theories and case study analysis suggest that the education system structure in terms of the linguistic models creates a pattern for student-student relationship, but students do not only interact in relation to it. In the case study presented, non-autochthonous students did not usually

relate to autochthonous students. In that sense, there was an obvious ethnic boundary among classrooms. Only male students from different classes related to each other when practicing either soccer or basketball. Nevertheless, according to the observation conducted in a classroom composed of a majority of non-autochthonous students, there were various nationalities and ethnic backgrounds if we take into account how these students self-defined — students did not always self-define in terms of their nationality, but of a broader or narrower cultural framework, such as, Roma, Basque, Spanish, or Latino. Often, students inside that group related to each other following their ethnic background criteria, but sometimes they related to each other in terms of their friendship. This friendship could be excluding or encompassing of their ethnic background.

Finally, the third hypothesis, namely, *H3: Non-autochthonous students' identity is partly constructed in reaction to the education system structure, which makes Basque language learning compulsory*, is also partially confirmed. Non-autochthonous students, when they studied in 2nd CSE “light” model B, opposed Basque language learning. These oppositions often became identity markers. However, when non-autochthonous students were enrolled in a light²¹, but not “light”, model B, or strong model B, these Basque language learning oppositions either did not happen or were not as salient and often as in “light” B models. In these last cases, they were not identity markers.

²¹ As mentioned in Chapter 5, model B tends to be light or strong. In both of these cases, instruction is both in Spanish and in Basque, as it is expected from a model B. But “light” model B is a hidden model A, that is, in theory is a light model B, but in practice it functions as a model A.

10.5. Summary of the contribution of this work

This study has made an ethnographic and theoretical contribution to the understanding of adolescent student formation in educational settings. More precisely, based on an ethnographic case study and in comparison to other ones, the main arguments on identity theory have been presented. This section will summarize both of these contributions separately.

The ethnographic contribution

The analysis of the data collected, which was precised in Chapter 6, Chapter 7, Chapter 8, and partially in Chapter 5 too, enabled this work to make an ethnographic description of a Basque secondary public education center attended by a high percentage of non-autochthonous studentship. As argued in Chapter 5, this ethnographic case study is representative of other centers with similar characteristics in the BAC. It illustrates the functioning of the school, mutli-ethnic student-student, and student-teacher relationships. The particularities of the case study this work elucidated are the following:

First, student distribution at school, which tended to be ethnically marked, was explained. In general terms, this ethnic division was: autochthonous pupils studied in some classrooms, and non-autochthonous students in others. Two central elements were highlighted, the external determinants for such an ethnic distribution, and the families' influence in such distribution. Most of these external elements were analyzed as the structure of the Basque public education, which divides students in terms of the language for instruction: the more or less Basque language instruction. As noted above, Basque language instruction became a cultural capital marker, in Bourdieusian terms. To put it differently, school distributed students in

terms of the Basque language instruction, namely, the cultural capital, which marked students' social position at school. However, an important finding was that the Basque language as a cultural capital marker was not only a given or external element, but social actors also chose if they were going to be instructed in Basque or not. Indeed, families' influence was also important in this respect, as autochthonous parents chose their children to study in classes where Basque language instruction was high, whereas non-autochthonous pupils' parents decided it was best for their children to study in classes where Spanish instruction was usual, against teachers' and Head of the Schools' advice. The tension between these two elements in the autochthonous and non-autochthonous student distribution based on the Basque language instruction was highlighted.

Second, an outline of student-teacher relationships was provided, according to the particular elements that defined the case study. An important element in the way teachers built their relationship with students was how they managed Basque language instruction and their use of authority. Third, a description of the academic performance of a class composed of a majority of non-autochthonous students was provided. This serves as a way to expand the literature with regard to student achievement in the Basque case, as remarked in other works (cf. Luna 2014; Departamento de Educación 2012a, 2012b).

Fourth, a description of the multi-ethnic relationships among pupils was provided. In this case, intra-ethnic and multi-ethnic relationships were analyzed. An important finding was that classroom distribution in terms of autochthony and non-autochthony could not explain how students in the same classroom created internal divisions, which were either intra-ethnic groupings or multi-ethnic collectivities. Fifth, learners' body posture and attitude during class were explained, as a way to expand the

characterization of adolescents' patterns of behavior. Sixth, the emic perspective on these adolescent behaviors and relationships were explained, that is, students' and teachers' narratives.

Seventh, a description of classroom interaction was provided, which was intrinsically related to the previously explained teenage patterns of behavior. The description was based on the concept of limit transgression, which is a theoretical contribution of this work and will be expanded in the following part of this section. A usual limit transgression, which was characteristic of the most observed classroom during the school ethnography conducted, was non-autochthonous students' opposition to Basque language learning. Finally, in relation to the seventh point, how different identities were performed in relation to, and mostly, in opposition to, Basque language learning, was elucidated. The basis for such identity construction was made through the analysis of student-teacher interactions.

The theoretical contribution

As mentioned in the Review of the Problem, this work is mostly presented as a critique to the theory of the reproduction of inequalities by Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a). One of the ideas in Chapter 6 and Chapter 9 was that the data obtained in the fieldwork can be interpreted through the lenses of the unequal distribution of students in terms of their cultural capital. However, this explanation is limited. In this case study Basque language was a cultural capital marker at school, and students were distributed according to it. Described as such, it could be explicated as an external element influencing the distribution of students and their actions. This distribution was unequal, as Basque language proficiency is associated to a high status in most Basque academic institutions and it was the

immigrant studentship who did not speak Basque. However, the key element is that these pupils and their parents chose the instruction of most of their subjects in Spanish instead of Basque, in spite of having been informed of the drawbacks of such decision. This choice, in addition to students' constant opposition to Basque language learning, cannot only be explained using the theory of cultural capital and reproduction of inequalities. Conversely, I argued that students' actions questioned the structure of the education system and the distribution of the cultural capital. In this sense, this work contributes to the discussion of the limits of this theory.

In line with the Bourdieusian angle, many works in the education system follow a structural perspective on the constitution of subjects (cf. Weber 2009; Stein 2004; Martin Rojo 2010; Lareau 2011; Dumais 2005; Merolla and Jackson 2014). This perspective denies subjects' capacity to contest their position. In consonance with my previous argument, I affirmed that education centers not only create and reproduce subjects according to socially set interactions which correspond to the external forces working on them, but also enable the creation of alternative agents, whose actions contest the structure. In this work, interactions were the basis of identity. More precisely, I argued that identities are constructed in interaction. Consequently, students in school systems interact in such a way that identities not only are unequally reproduced, but also uniquely created. This uniqueness is explained using the notion of transgression.

In this work, the concept of transgression was developed in relation to adolescent behaviors in educational institutions. In this sense, another contribution of this study is the classification of limit transgressions in adolescence in relation to the ethnographic case study, and in comparison to other ones. These limit transgressions were taken as precise kinds of

interactions, which act as identity markers during adolescent years. The three kinds of limit transgressions, as presented, are: personal, civic, and social limit transgressions. First, personal limit transgressions were limited to the transgressions of rules in the peer group, and analyzed using a precise interaction that was observed during the data collection and has also been mentioned in other case studies: insulting and its relationship with humor (cf. Douglass et al. 2016; Sari 2016; Martínez and Morales 2014; Lesit and Müller 2012; Martin et al. 2003). Second, civic limit transgressions were analyzed as the transgressions of adolescents to explicit rules of the academic institution, most of which include authority questioning. Third, social limit transgressions were outlined as precise kinds of civic limit transgressions which not only make reference to the explicit rules of a society, but also to the implicit ones. These implicit rules were also designated as conventions. Social limit transgressions were only observed in the interactions started by non-local pupils. This suggests that such conventions and rules are naturalized for locals. The most remarkable example of these kinds of interactions was non-autochthonous students' opposition to Basque language learning, which implied an ethnic boundary enactment, and an identity opposition which worked from students to teachers, and often from teachers to students too.

Based on the data collected, previous contributions to the notion of transgression (cf. Foucault 1963; Bataille 1960; Foely et al. 2012; Jenks 2003, 2013) were discussed. The literature review on the concept of transgression, as presented in this work, defends that to transgress is to exceed the limits, but it does not imply an opposition. By contrast, as exposed in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9, to transgress may imply an opposition to civility and/or convention, in line with the results of this case study (cf. Foucault 1963; Bataille 1960; Foley et al. 2012; Jenks 2003, 2013). Please

note that I do not affirm all transgressions necessarily involve an opposition, such affirmation is made in relation to the case study presented. Furthermore, in reciprocal relationships as described in this work, an opposing transgressive message may as well encounter another opposition. Those in charge of keeping the harmony of rules and conventions, in this case, teachers, or more precisely, some of them, tend to oppose students' transgressions.

Also, classification on teachers' relationship with students was provided, based on the authority models provided by Levin and Nolan (2014). The classification by Levin and Nolan (2014) makes reference to the different authority bases teachers can use, whereas the one outlined in this work is focused on precise teachers' styles. The three categories created were authoritarian, caring, and ambiguous teachers, and were related to instructors' management of the classroom, their response to student disruption, clarity, and authority use. More precisely, the authoritarian teachers were demanding and very specific in their orders. The classroom environment was based on their power over pupils and disruption was usually ignored. The caring type established a more egalitarian relationship with students and pupils felt they could trust the teacher. At the same time, they gave clear but less demanding orders to students, and ignored disruption. By contrast to the previous models, ambiguous teachers used both authoritarian and caring styles and their orders and power were not clearly perceived by pupils. Consequently, student disruption happened more often than with authoritarian and caring teachers. Ambiguous teachers often reacted to that disruption and lessons were prone to be interrupted because the conflict between students and teachers escalated.

Finally, a contribution to the theory of identity formation in relation to three theoretical pillars was presented, namely: education system, limit

transgression, and boundary-making. These concepts were interrelated using the data collected. Education system in this context encompasses the majority of the external elements that affect students derived from a structural perspective. Limit transgression, as mentioned in the previous paragraphs, has to do with learners' ability to contest and challenge the external forces influencing them. Finally, boundary-making refers to the interactions between ethnically, linguistically, and socially diverse population, as presented in this work. The theory of boundary-making in relation to multi-ethnic interactions is related both to the external forces affecting students, and their capacity to challenge them. A final proposal on the concept of identity in interaction was made in relation to the results of the case study, based on the framework of diverse authors, which relate to these pillars (cf. Dubet and Martuccelli 1997; Dubet 2010; Mead 1982; Erikson 1989; Miles 2014; Jenkins 2008).

10.6. Difficulties, limitations, strengths, and future lines of research

One of the main difficulties in this research was the observation of conflict. Basque language learning opposition was a usual conflict in daily student-teacher interactions and the management of this brought about different consequences for the classroom environment. Many students acted disruptively when Basque language learning was involved, and this is a very political and sensitive matter in the Basque Country. Both to observe it and to ask about it were a rather difficult task. On the one hand, it created teacher-student tension. On the other hand, it could turn into a teacher-student conversation on the "validity" of the Basque language: students denied it and teachers defended it. □

As related to the limitations, it was mentioned in Chapter 1 that this work only focuses on two central student behaviors in multi-ethnic educational environments: boundary-work and limit transgressions. The restriction to both of these elements during the whole work enabled me to address these carefully, but also fails to address other elements, such as solidarity among students.

Besides, my presence probably changed some of the teacher-student interactions, and I believe this is a limitation when addressing limit transgressions and teachers' way of responding to those. Teachers may have felt observed and did not fully respond to student disruptions. As I explained in Chapter 5, I took a middle position between researcher and teacher assistant, but I was also integrated with students during playground activities. Probably the little age difference helped students look at me as close person in comparison to their teachers. I took student roles when I interacted outside the classroom with students, but inside the classroom, my role was closer to the teachers'. I was also integrated with some teachers and spent some time in the staffroom. In a sense, I was none of them and tried to be close to all of them.

Another limitation of this research is that as an investigation based on a very precise setting; the results are not easily generalized to other ethnographic contexts. In order to make a proposal on identity theory; I compared this case study with other similar ones. Nevertheless, more research on identity construction through limit transgression and ethnic boundaries in other secondary education settings could corroborate, question, or contradict the theoretical proposals of this study.

A strength of this work is that the case study analyzed is representative of other schools in the Basque Country. Centers with an analogous multi-ethnic characteristics have, according to the press (cf. Fernández Vallejo 2016;

Sotillo 2016; EFE 2016; Fernández de Arangiz 2016; Goikoetxea 2016; Departamento de Educación 2016; Save the Children 2016), teachers, and different reports (cf. Save the Children 2016; Departamento de Educación 2016; Luna 2014), similar student-student and student-teacher interactions. In this sense, it serves to expand the literature in the ethnographic setting described.

As mentioned in the previous section, this work makes a critique to the theory of Bourdieu (and Passeron 1973, 1981; Bourdieu 2008a) in relation to his proposals on the reproduction of inequalities at school and the distribution of the cultural capital. This critique is also applicable to the works focusing on a structural perspective. My argument was that this theory is limited to explain the student-student and teacher-student relationships, as related to the results of this work. To question this theory I used the concept of transgression. More precisely, I analyzed adolescent interactions using the notion of limit transgression, and that is a strength and original contribution of this work. This approach is also innovative, as it focuses on the relationship between problematic multi-ethnic interactions with identity formation.

As related to future lines of research, I foresee four possible paths. The first is a follow-up of the academic life of the students who took part in this research. An assessment of their peer and teacher interactions a few years after the data collection took place could serve to review the theoretical proposals of this thesis. An important element to observe and analyze would be the nature of their interactions, and whether these are problematic regarding Basque language learning. Another theme could be related to their multi-ethnic, intra-ethnic, linguistic, and social interactions, as related to the boundary-making. The second approach is the application of the concept of limit transgression to other ethnographic educational multi-

ethnic contexts. As mentioned, this would enable the testing of this proposal in other multi-ethnic and multilingual environments. The third line is the study of the inverse situation in the Basque Country: when Spanish is the dominant language and the Basque language is used as a disruptive element. The analysis of these interactions would also be related to the constitution of identity. Such study would entail a thorough analysis on the elements that constitute Basque identity and linguistic opposition. The fourth path has to do with emotions as important elements influencing the process of limit transgression and identity making. For the study of those, specific observation and interview guides should be created.

Finally, I propose a dissemination plan after the completion of this dissertation. This plan is thought to apply the results that may be useful for the school where the fieldwork took place. The aim is to describe some of the student-student and student-teacher problematic interactions, and outline the key elements that help improve those. The goal is also to explain some of the elements that constitute identity in multi-ethnic educational environments, so that specific relationships can be enhanced. More precisely, I will offer to make a presentation of the results obtained in the center after the PhD viva takes place and give them a hard copy of this dissertation.

10.7. Summary of Chapter 10

Chapter 10 outlined the conclusions of this work, and was divided into different sections, as it follows. First, a review of the problem was made. The debate between structural perspectives and approaches that reinforce the capacity of individuals to react to their position was exposed. One of the important conclusions of this work is that subjects are embedded in the

structure of the education system and other social structures, which are often hidden, but they also show a capacity to contest them. Second, a review of the objectives in relation to each chapter was introduced, that is, the outline of the achievement of the objectives in each chapter was presented. Third, an assessment of the hypotheses, in relation to the objectives was exposed. An important conclusion is that not all hypotheses were confirmed. Fourth, a summary of the ethnographic and theoretical contribution of this work was presented, separated into two different sections. Regarding the ethnographic contribution, a description of Basque secondary public education centers with similar characteristics was done, as well as an illustration of the most important elements influencing school relationships and identity formation in the chosen center. Concerning the theory proposed, there are two elements to highlight: one, the discussion presented on the Bourdieusian theories and the concept of transgressions; and two, a classification of limit transgressions was suggested as important identity markers. Finally, a section laying out the difficulties, limitations, strengths, and future lines of research was presented.

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Appendix 1

Informed Consent

Baimen Informatua. Ikerketan parte hartzeko adostasuna

Consentimiento Informado. Acuerdo de participación en esta investigación

INFORMACIÓN GENERAL Y DATOS DE CONTACTOS / INFORMAZIO OROKORRA ETA KONTAKTUA

Nombre de la Investigación/Ikerketa proiektuaren izenburua: Education, marginalisation and clash of values in multicultural environments: a case study (Educación, marginación y choque de valores en ambientes multiculturales: un estudio de caso/Hezkuntza, marginazioa eta balio talka ingurune eleanitzetan: kasu azterketa)

Doctoranda/ Doktoregaia: Elizabeth Pérez Izaguirre, estudiante de doctorado, Universidad del País Vasco (UPV/EHU)

Directores/Zuzendariak: Antonio Casado da Rocha, UPV/EHU; Jasone Cenoz, UPV/EHU

Departamento/ Saila: Filosofía de los Valores y Antropología Social/ Balioen Filosofia eta Gizarte Antropologia

Contacto / Kontaktua: Universidad del País Vasco/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU)
Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación/ Filosofia eta Gizarte Zientzien Fakultatea

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Ikerketa helburuak

Ikerketa honek Euskadiko bigarren hezkuntzako zentro baten harreman kulturantzak ezagutzea du helburu. Horregatik, doktoregaia/ikertzailea nirekin kontaktuan jartzen da, zentro honetan ikasten edo lan egiten dudalako. Ikertzaileak nahi izango luke zentroan gertatzen diren harreman kulturantz horiei buruz datuak jasotzea, nire eguneroko bizitza besteekiko harremanetan kontutan izanda (zentroan).

Akordio orokorra ikerketan parte hartzeko

- Ikerketa zertan datzan ulertzen dut eta irakurri dut (edo irakurri didate) zein den ikerketaren helburua.
- Ikerketari buruz nituen zalantzak galdetu izan ahal ditut eta eroso sentitzen naiz jaso ditudan erantzunekin. Badakit galdera gehiago egin ditzakedala ere.
- Aske, bolondres bezala parte hartzen dut proiektu honetan
- Ikerketan parte hartzea onartzen dut, baina ulertzen dut ez nagoela behartuta hau egitera. Nik bakarrik erabaki dut parte hartzea, inork ez nau behartzen.
- Badakit ez ditudala gustatzen ez zaizkidan galderak erantzun behar, eta ikertzaileak ez duela nik nahi ez dudana idatziko. Gainera, ikertzailea grabatzen baldin badago eta nik zerbait ez badut nahi berak grabatzea, grabagailua itzaliko du.
- Badakit zehatz-mehatz zein frogetan parte hartuko dudan (elkarrizketan, behaketa parte-hartzailean eta/edo eztabaida taldeetan). Ikertzaileak azaldu dit eta dokumentu honen amaieran idatzi du, sinadurekin batera.

Zer gertatuko litzateke parte hartzeari uzten badiot?

Badakit edozein momentutan parte hartzeari utzi ahal diodala, horrek arazorik eragin gabe, ez ikertzaileari, ez beste edonori. Baita, parte hartzeari uzten baldin badiot, ikertzaileak (nik ahalbidetzen baldin badut) nik eskainiko informazioa erabili ahal izango du eta nik parte hartzeari utzi diodala idatzi ahal izango du. Baina ikertzaileak ezin nau behartu parte hartzera, nik nahi baldin ez badut.

Nolakoa izango da ikerketa

Badakit ikerketak fase ezberdinak izango dituela eta ikertzaileak datu ezberdinak jasoko dituela 2015/2016 kurtsoan, nik ikasten dudan institutuan. Ulertzen dut hiru froga motatan parte har dezakedala, elkarrizketetan (45min.-takoak), behaketa parte-hartzailean (zentroan nagoen orduetan: klaseetan, atsedenetan, eta eskolak antolatzen dituen ekintza batzuetan), edo eztabaida taldeetan (69-90min.-takoak). Dokumentu honen amaieran adieraziko dut zeinetan parte hartuko dudan.

Nola jarriko da harremanetan nirekin ikertzaileak?

Ikerketarako beharrezkoak diren frogak egin ahal izateko (elkarrizketak, behaketa parte-hartzailea eta eztabaida taldeak), ikertzaileak nirekin kontaktatuko du denbora tarte motzean, hauek burutu ahal izateko.

Ikerketa honetan parte hartzearen konpentsazioa

Ikerketan parte hartzeagatik dirurik ez dudala jasoko ulertzen dut, baina proiektu honetarako jasoko diren datuekin institutuak hobekuntzak egin ahal izango ditudala gure zentroan, hauek beharrezkoak ala onuragarriak baldin badira.

Ikerketa honen arrisku eta onurak

Ikerketa honek hurrengo onurak dituela ulertzen dut:

- Institutu honetan ematen diren kultu-arteko harremanen deskripzio, azalpen eta analisi sakona.
- Harreman horien aspektu positibo eta negatiboen erabilera gauzatu daitekeela, kultu-arteko elkarbizitza hobetzeko.

Baita, ikerketa honek dituen arriskuak ulertzen ditut:

- Ikertzaileak nire denboraren zati bat erabiliko dut.
- Agian arazo batzuei buruz hitz egin behar izango dut, eta gerta daiteke horiei buruz hitz egiten ez gustatzea.

Nor(tzuk) izango d(ir)a ikerketa honen autoreak?

Ulertzen dut lan hau tesi bat osatzeko dela, tesi honen autorea Elizabeth Pérez Izaguirre dela, eta bere zuzendariak Antonio Casado da Rocha eta Jasone Cenoz Iragui direla. Tesiari buruzko datuak badakit dokumentu honen hasieran daudela.

Ulertzen dut ikertzaileak hartuko dituen datuak fitxategi batean babestuta egongo direla. Fitxategiaren ezaugarriak hurrengoak dira

- Izena: Education, marginalization and clash of values in multicultural environments
- Deskripzioa: Doktorego ikerketarako datu pertsonalen tratamendurako fitxategia
- Fitxategiaren arduraduna: Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU)

Jendeak nire datu pertsonalak ikusi ahal izango ditu ikerketa honen bidez?

Ikerketa honetan nire izena inoiz EZ dela aipatuko ulertzen dut, eta beraz, jendeak ez du jakingo nor naizen publikatuko diren dokumentuen ondorioz. Nire datuak fitxategi baten barne egongo direla, segurtasun kodigo batekin babestuta. Datuen segurtasunerako fitxategia aurreko puntuan aipatutakoa da, UPV/EHU arduraduna izanik. Badakit UPV/EHU-ko LODP segurtasun arduradunarekin harremanetan jarri naitekeela hurrengo posta elektronikoaren bidez: avpd@avpd.es, eta gutun bidez hurrengo helbidean:

Responsable de Seguridad LOPD de la UPV/EHU

Rectorado, Barrio Sarriena, s/n,

48940 Leioa . Bizkaia.

Ikerketa hau amaitu ondoren, pilatutako datuak fitxategian babestuta kontserbatuko dira era anonimo batetan gordeko dira, hau da, datuak gordeko dira baina inork ez du jakingo datu horiek nireak diren. Honekin ados nago Bai Ez

Badakit nire datuei sarbidea izateko nire NAN-aren kopia batekin identifikatu behar naizela, baita nire izen-abizenekin.

Zer gertatuko da mugatu nahi dudan informazio kulturalarekin?

Ulertzen dut nire bidez lortu den balio kulturala duen ezaguerak publikatu nahi ez izanez gero, ikertzaileak hauek publikatu baino lehen nirekin hitz egin behar duela eta nire erabakia errespetatu behar duela.

Nork izango du sarbidea ikerketa honen emaitzetara?

Ulertzen dut ikerketa honen helburua tesi baten idazpena dela eta lana UPV/EHU-k publikatua izango dela. Badakit ere, ikerketa honen emaitzak jakiteko ikertzailearekin kontaktuan jar naitekeela dokumentu honen hasieran dauden kontaktu datuen bidez, bai posta elektronikoz, bai telefonoz.

Kexak

Ulertzen dut ikerketa honetarako eman ditudan datuei buruz larrituta baldin banagoela, bai ikertzailea, bai EHU-ko LOPD Segurtasun Arduraduna kontaktatu ditzakedala.

Jabetza intelektual

Ulertzen dut ikerketa honen emaitza doktorego tesi bat dela, eta jabetza intelektualari buruzko legeak babestutako lana izango dela da. Hortaz, egin duenari dagokio jabetza intelektualaren araberako eskubideen titulartasuna.

La investigación

Esta investigación tiene como objetivo comprender las relaciones entre estudiantes de diferentes países/orígenes étnicos o culturas en un centro educativo del País Vasco. Por ello, la doctoranda/investigadora se pone en contacto conmigo, porque yo trabajo o estudio en este centro. La investigadora va a recoger datos sobre las relaciones multiculturales en el centro, teniendo en cuenta cuestiones de mis relaciones con los otros/as en rutina en el centro.

Acuerdo general para la participación

- Entiendo en qué consiste este proyecto y he leído (o me han leído) en qué consiste esta investigación.
- He tenido oportunidad para preguntar acerca de esta investigación y me siento cómodo/a de las respuestas que he recibido. También sé que puedo hacer más preguntas cuando desee.
- Participo voluntariamente en esta investigación.
- Accedo a participar en esta investigación, pero entiendo que no estoy obligado/a a hacerlo. He tomado yo solo/a la decisión de participar y nadie me está obligando.
- Sé que no tengo por qué contestar a las preguntas que no me gusten, y que la investigadora no va a escribir nada que yo no quiera que escriba. Además, si la investigadora está grabando y yo no quiero que grabe algo, ella apagará la grabadora.
- Sé exactamente en qué pruebas voy a tomar parte (entrevistas, observación participante y/o grupos de discusión). La investigadora me ha informado de ello y lo ha escrito al final de este documento, junto con las firmas correspondientes.

¿Qué ocurrirá si quiero dejar de participar?

Sé que puedo dejar de participar en esta investigación, sin que ello cause problemas ni a la investigadora, ni a nadie más. Además, si dejo de participar, la investigadora podrá (si yo lo permito) utilizar información que le he aportado, además de escribir que he dejado de participar. Pero la investigadora no podrá obligarme a participar si yo no lo quiero.

Cómo va a ser la investigación

Sé que la investigación va a tener diferentes etapas y que la investigadora va a recoger diferentes tipos de datos en el curso 2015/2016 en el instituto en el que estudio. Entiendo que puedo tomar parte bien en las entrevistas (duración aprox. 45min.), en la observación participante (durante la jornada escolar, clases y recreos, siempre en el centro educativo o en actividades organizadas por el mismo) o en los grupos de

discusión (duración aproximada 60-90min.). Al final de este documento especificaré en cuál/es voy a tomar parte.

Cómo contactarán conmigo

Entiendo que para hacer todas las pruebas (entrevistas, observación participante y grupos de discusión) necesarias para esta investigación, la investigadora contactará conmigo en un corto período de tiempo para llevarlas a cabo.

Compensación por participar en esta investigación

Entiendo que no me pagarán dinero por participar, pero que los datos con los que la investigadora principal trabajará podrán servir para hacer mejoras donde estudio, si éstas son pertinentes. Además, todos y todas los/las que aquí estudiamos y/o trabajamos, podremos conocer aspectos nuevos de las relaciones multiculturales que se dan en nuestro centro.

Riesgos y beneficios de esta investigación

Entiendo que esta investigación tiene los siguientes beneficios:

- Descripción, explicación y análisis minucioso de aspectos relacionados con las relaciones entre el alumnado con origen cultural diferente en este centro.
- Utilización de los aspectos negativos y positivos de dichas relaciones para mejorar la convivencia entre las diferentes culturas en mi centro, si fuese necesario y beneficioso

También entiendo que esta investigación tiene los siguientes riesgos:

- La investigadora va a utilizar parte de mi tiempo.
- Tal vez tenga que hablar de cuestiones que no me gustan mucho si tienen que ver con algún problema que haya tenido en el aula.

¿Quiénes serán los autores de esta investigación?

Entiendo que para poder completar este trabajo, la autora principal de la tesis es Elizabeth Pérez Izaguirre y sus directores son Antonio Casado da Rocha y Jasone Cenoz Iragui. Sé que los datos acerca de la tesis están al comienzo de este documento.

Entiendo que la investigadora principal será la autora principal de esta investigación y que guardará los datos en el siguiente fichero protegido:

- Nombre: Education, marginalization and clash of values in multicultural environments
- Descripción: Fichero para el tratamiento de datos de carácter personal en la investigación doctoral
- Responsable del fichero: UPV/EHU

¿Podrá la gente conocer algunos de mis datos personales a través de esta investigación?

Entiendo que mi nombre NO será mencionado en ningún documento como consecuencia de esta investigación, y que la gente no sabrá quién soy tras leer los documentos que se publiquen a partir de ella. Las carpetas y archivos creados a partir de mis datos personales estarán en el fichero mencionado en el apartado anterior, del cual la UPV/EHU es responsable. Soy consciente de que puedo contactar el/la responsable de seguridad LOPD en la UPV/EHU vía email en avpd@avpd.es, y vía correo ordinario en la siguiente dirección:

Responsable de Seguridad LOPD de la UPV/EHU

Rectorado, Barrio Sarriena, s/n,

48940 Leioa . Bizkaia.

Cuando acabe esta investigación, los datos recogidos serán conservados en el fichero de manera anónima, es decir, los datos estarán guardados y protegidos, y no se podrán relacionar conmigo. Estoy de acuerdo con esto: Sí No

Entiendo que para poder acceder a dichos datos deberé identificarme mediante una copia de mi NIF y mi nombre y dos apellidos.

¿Qué ocurrirá con aquella información de carácter cultural restringido?

Entiendo que si yo no quiero que se haga pública cualquier tipo de conocimiento cultural obtenida a través de mí, la investigadora principal deberá hablar conmigo antes de tomar cualquier decisión y deberá también respetar mi decisión.

¿Quién tendrá acceso a los resultados de esta investigación?

Entiendo que esta investigación tendrá como objetivo la escritura de la tesis doctoral de la investigadora principal y que este trabajo será publicado por la UPV/EHU. Entiendo que para poder conocer los resultados de esta investigación, puedo contactar con la investigadora principal mediante los datos de contacto que se facilitan al comienzo de este documento, bien por correo electrónico o teléfono.

Propiedad intelectual

Entiendo que el resultado de esta investigación será la escritura de una tesis doctoral, y será protegida por la ley de propiedad intelectual. Por ello, la titularidad de los derechos de propiedad intelectual le corresponde a aquella persona que la realice.

Quejas

Entiendo que si estoy preocupado/a a causa de esta investigación y los datos que he proporcionado, puedo llamar a la investigadora principal o al Responsable de Seguridad LOPD en la UPV/EHU, mediante los datos de contacto previamente facilitados.

Parte hartuko ditudan frogak hurrengoak dira / Las pruebas en las que voy a tomar parte son las siguientes

Baimen Informatua irakurri dut eta ados nago / He leído el Consentimiento Informado y estoy de acuerdo con él

Parte hartzaileak sinatuta / Firmado por el participante en la investigación

Parte hartzailearen izena eta NAN-a / Nombre y NIF del participante en la investigación

Parte hartzailearen ordezkari legalaren sinadura (beharrezkoa izanik) / Firmado por el/la representante legal del/la participante de la investigación (si se aplica)

Parte hartzailearen ordezkari legalaren izen abizenak eta NAN zenbakia (beharrezkoa izanik) / Nombre y apellidos el/la representante legal del/la participante de la investigación (si se aplica)

En _____-n, a 201_ ko _____ de 201_

Doktorego ikertzaileak sinatuta / Firmado por la investigadora
principal _____

Doktorego ikertzailearen izen-abizenak eta NAN zenbakia / Nombre y
apellidos, y NIF de la investigadora
principal _____

En _____-n, a 201_ ko _____ de 201_

Appendix 2

Informative Reports

Elizabeth Pérez Izaguirre

Balioen Filosofia eta Gizarte Antropologia Saileko
Graduondo Laborategia

Filosofia eta Hezkuntza Zientzien Fakultatea

► **Udabia BHI-ko zuzendaritzari zuzendua**

Tolosa Hiribidea 70, 20018

A la atención del IAS Udabia

Donostia/San Sebastián

Mirebe

Teléfono: (0034) 943015494

Andre/Jaun agurgarria,

Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatetik (UPV/EHU) zuekin kontaktuan jartzen gara doktorego-ikerketara proiektu bat Balioen Filosofia eta Gizarte Antropologia Sailetik aurkezteko. Proiektua ikasleen arteko harreman eleanitzak aztertzen ditu Euskadiko bigarren hezkuntzako zentroetan eta zuen zentroa aukeratua izan da web orrian publikatuta daukazuen kulturartekotasuna (blogean), elkarbizitza eta arazo-konponketa positiboen proiektuengatik (Elkarbizitza Proiektuan). Hauek ikertzaileengan interes handia sustatu baitu, kultu-aniztasunaren inguruan aztertzen baitu proiektuak. Berez, proiektuaren helburua kultu-arteko harremanen inguruko azterketa teoriko eta praktikoa da, eta atal praktikoa, hau da, landa-lana, zuen zentroan egiteko interesa dugu. Landa-lana burutzeak, hurrengo frogen gauzatzea ekarriko du: elkarriketak, eztabaida-taldeak eta behaketa parte-hartzailea 2015/2016 kurtsoan. Mesedez, kontutan har ezazue klasearen dinamikan parte hartuko ez duela doktorego ikertzaileak, ez parte-hartuz, ezta metodo pedagogikoen ebaluaketa eginez ere. Izan ere, gure helbururik garrantzitsuenak ikasleen arteko harreman kultur-anitzak direlako, haien analisi sakon bat egitea, ikasle-taldearen arteko eraketen arrazoiak ulertzea, etab. dira.

Zuek zentro modura onartzekotan, jakin ezazue proiektuan parte hartzeak ez duela konpentsazio ekonomikorik izango. Hala ere, zentroak ikerketa honetan egiten diren analisisiez balio ahal izango da, beharrezkoa balitz, interbentzio edo adaptazioak egin ahal izateko kultur-aniztasun, elkarbizitza eta arazoaren konponketa positiboen gaineko proiektuetan.

Proiektuaren aurkezpena oso motza izanez, proiektu honek zentroaren dinamikan tartea sartzeko modua eman ahal duela ulertzen dugu, baina ez litzateke hala izango. Horregatik, zuekin kontaktu zuzenean jarri nahi izango ginateke proiektua maila sakonago batean azaltzeko.

Gutun honen amaieran proiektuaren eta ikertzaileen datu orokorrak eranstean ditugu.

Zuen arreta eskertzen dizuegu eta zuen erantzunaren zain gaude.

A quien le pueda interesar,

Nos ponemos en contacto con ustedes desde la Universidad del País Vasco (UPV/EHU) para presentarles un proyecto de investigación de tesis doctoral que estamos llevando a cabo desde el Departamento de Filosofía de los Valores y Antropología Social. El proyecto se centra en las relaciones multiculturales en centros educativos en el País Vasco y su centro ha sido seleccionado debido al interés que muestran en algunos de sus proyectos publicados en la web por la convivencia positiva, la resolución de conflictos (Proyecto Elkarbizitza) y la interculturalidad (Blog Elkarbizitza). El proyecto tiene como objetivo realizar un análisis teórico acerca de las relaciones multiculturales entre el alumnado, y después llevar el enfoque a la práctica en un aula de secundaria en el País Vasco. Nos gustaría que el apartado práctico del proyecto tuviera lugar en su centro, y consistiría en la realización de entrevistas, grupos de discusión y observación participante durante varios días a lo largo del curso 2015/2016. Querríamos resaltar que en ningún momento se intervendría en la dinámica del aula, ni tampoco serían evaluados los métodos pedagógicos que utiliza el profesorado. De hecho, el objetivo principal es analizar a fondo las relaciones entre alumnado de secundaria de diferente origen étnico y comprender si se forman grupos de alumnos/as por el origen cultural, cuáles son las características de dichos grupos, etc.

Si el centro aceptase la participación en el proyecto, hay que resaltar que dicha participación no sería remunerada. Sin embargo, el centro podría valerse de los análisis realizados tras la recogida de datos mediante las pruebas mencionadas anteriormente para realizar, si fuese el caso, intervenciones o adaptaciones en proyectos planteados anteriormente. Es decir, la información puede resultarles interesante o valiosa de cara a

realizar mejoras, si fuesen necesarias, en algunos de sus proyectos que tienen que ver con la interculturalidad, convivencia positiva y resolución de conflictos.

Entendemos que esta presentación es muy corta y que a priori pueda resultarles una intromisión en la dinámica del centro, por ello nos gustaría ponernos en contacto directo con ustedes para explicarles el proyecto con más detenimiento.

Les adjuntamos también al final de esta carta los datos generales del proyecto, así como los/as investigadores/as participantes.

Les agradecemos su atención y esperamos su respuesta.

Un saludo cordial / Adeitasunez,

INFORMACIÓN GENERAL Y DATOS DE CONTACTOS / INFORMAZIO OROKORRA ETA KONTAKTUA

Nombre de la Investigación/Ikerketa proiektuaren izenburua: Education, marginalisation and clash of values in multicultural environments: a case study (Educación, marginación y choque de valores en ambientes multiculturales: un estudio de caso/Hezkuntza, marginazioa eta balio talka ingurune eleanitzetan: kasu azterketa)

Doctoranda/ Doktoregaia: Elizabeth Pérez Izaguirre, estudiante de doctorado, Universidad del País Vasco (UPV/EHU)

Directores/Zuzendariak: Antonio Casado da Rocha, UPV/EHU; Jasone Cenoz, UPV/EHU

Departamento/ Saila: Filosofía de los Valores y Antropología Social/ Balioen Filosofia eta Gizarte Antropologia

Contacto / Kontaktua: Universidad del País Vasco/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU)
Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación/ Filosofia eta Gizarte Zientzien Fakultatea

Teléfono/ Telefonoa: (0034) 943015494

Correo electrónico/ Posta elektronikoa: elizabeth.perez@ehu.eus

Appendix 3

Recommendations

TXOSTENA: KULTURANIZTASUNA, KULTURARTEKO HARREMANAK ETA ELKARBIZITZA - 2G

Txosten honetan azken hiru hilabetetan (urria-abendua 2015) egin dudana datu-bilketaren ondorio batzuk ateratzen saiatuko naiz. 2G taldearen eboluzioa, talde giroa eta harreman kulturantzak behatzea izan da nire helburua. Orokorrean, urritik abendura talde giroaren hobekuntza nabaritu da, bai klaseko espazioaren antolaketa berriak proposatuz, bai ariketa ezberdinen bidez, batez ere tutoretza orduetan. Komunikazioa, orokorrean, hobetu da ikasleen artean, nahiz eta oraindik ere, zailtasun batzuk egon haien artean.

Positiboak izan diren aldaketak klaseko dinamikan

Oso adierazgarria izan da ikasleak taldearen parte sentitzen direnean, askoz ere azkarrago eta erosoago lan egiten dutela. Behaketaren ostean nabaria da amankomunean jartzen dituztenean elementu linguistiko eta kulturalak, modu batetan onartuta sentitzen direla, eta normalean bata besteari entzuten diotela. Galdera sinple batek, adibidez, “nola egiten/esaten da hau zure herrian?” aktibatzen die positibotasun hori. Eta positibotasun horrek eragina du haien arteko harremanetan.

Baita, talde txikietan lan egitea lagundu egin zaie. Hau da, bata besteari lagundu behar dietenean erosoago sentitzen direla behatu da. Batez ere, zailtasun gehiago duten ikasleak erraztasun gehiago dituztenekin nahastean eta bata besteari laguntzen dietenean, harreman positiboak eratzen dira normalean. Harreman positiboak izan arren, ikasleen arteko errespetu faltak edota limiteen transgresioak ohizkoak dira, “txantxetan” egiten direnak.

Batzuk oso deigarriak dira baina ikasleek beraiek normaltzat hartzen dituzte.

Errepikatzen diren arazoak egunerokotasunean

Aurreko puntuan “txantxetan” gertatzen diren dinamikekin lotuta ere, egunerokotasunean arazo batzuk agertzen dira, zeinak klaseko dinamika mozten dituzten. Egoera horien ondorioa ez da bakarrik klasea gelditzea, baizik eta klaseko giroa okertzea ere.

Alde batetik, ikasle batzuk klaseko dinamika mozten saiatzen dira. Eta mozteko, lehendabizi irakaslea zirikatzen saiatzen dira. Horrek ez dabilenean, orduan irakaslearen autoridadea kuestionatzen dute, eta askotan, beste ikasle batzuk ere zirikatzen dituzte aldi berean. Klasea mozteaz gain, ikaskideen arteko harremana okertzen da, tentsioa nabaritzen da eta irakasleak hau gelditzen saiatzen dira, baina hau ez ohi da erreza izaten. Egoera hau maiz behatu ondoren, gehienetan dabilen teknika hurrengoa da. Lehendabizi, eta posible bada, probokazioak alde batera uztea, argumentazioa eta arrazoia ikasleekin erabili gabe. Zirikatzea jarraitzen badu, irakasleek agindu motz, finko eta argiak ematean baldin badituzte, “desorden” hori askoz ere azkarrago mozten dela ikusi da, ordea.

Zehatz mehatz, oso nabarmena den “boikoteo” modua euskararekin lotuta dagoena da. Hau da, ikasle batzuk euskarekin eta euskal kulturarekin lotuta dauden elementuak kuestionatzen dituzte edozein momentutan. Momentu horietan, behaketaren arabera, irakasleak euskararekiko kritikak eta kuestionamenduak alde batera uzten baditu eta ez entzunarena egiten baldin badu, kritikak ez dira hainbeste errepikatzen. Horren ordeaz, efektu positiboa duen teknika bat elementu linguistikoak partekatzearena da. Hau da, euskarazko hitzak klaseetan sartzean galdetu ahal zaie ia nola esaten

den hori haien herrialdeko espainolean edo hizkuntzetan. Kulturarteko eta hizkuntzarteko loturek laguntzen dute, ikaslekideak elkarri ezagutzeko eta klaseko “onarpen giro” bat eratzeko.

Aurreko puntuarekin lotuta ere, nabaria da ikasle batzuen esperientzia pertsonalek eragin handia dutela haien ikasle-ikasle harremanetan eta lorpen akademikoetan. Izan ere, ziur aski horregatik batzuk blokeatuta daude, bai betebeharrak akademikoetan, bai haien ikaslekideekiko harremanetan. Blokeoen aurrean, behaketan ikusi denez, mezu positiboak eta talde lanak laguntzen dute. Blokeatuta dauden eta iniziatiba gehiago dituzten ikasleen artean talde lanak egiteak laguntzen du. Hala ere, blokeo eta egoskorkeria batzuk edozein lan eragozten dituzte, irakasleak mezu positiboak bidali eta pazientzia handia izan arren.

Laburbilduz,

txosten honetan aipatu diren elementurik garrantzitsuenak hurrengoak dira:

- Egiten ari diren espazio eta antolakuntza aldaketek efektu positiboa izan dute.
- Taldeetan lan egitea, edota lan indibiduala denean, zailtasun gutxien duten ikasleak zailtasun gehien dituzten ikasleen alboan jartzea elkartasuna lantzen laguntzen die.
- Probokazioak ematen direnean, hauek alde batera uzteak laguntzen du, kasurik ez egitea eta agindu motz eta finkoak ematea zirikatze hori mozten saiatzeko.
- Sesioetan ikasleei galdetzea nola deitzen/egiten den elementu bat (linguistikoa, historikoa, natural edo geologikoa, ohiturazkoa ...) haien herrialdetan efektu positiboa du. Haiek diskurtsoaren parte

sentitzen direnean askoz ere interesa gehiago jartzen dute, elkarri ezagutzen diote eta orokorrean hobeto sentitzen dira.

Appendix 4

Observation Guide

OBSERVATION GUIDE

Date

Classroom

Composition of students (today)

Space:

- Distribution of space
- Location of the teacher
- Location of students (voluntary or involuntary)

Time:

- Morning or afternoon?
- Did students arrive on time or late? And the teacher?
- Do students feel tired, hungry...? Do they communicate it?

Subject:

Is it theoretical or practical?

How much do students have to work?

Do they complain because of the work they have to invest in it?

Teacher:

- Does he/she connect with students? How?
- Are classes interactive? How? Based on what rules?
- Does the teacher establish clear rules? How?
- What is his/her voice tone like?

Students:

- Do they feel at ease with the teacher?
- Do they demonstrate the teacher how they feel? How?
- Do they like the subject the teacher teaches?

Language:

- What language is the subject taught in?
- Do all students speak that language fluently?
- Do problems arise because of the language for instruction?

Student-student interactions:

- Are there student-student interactions?
- Who is interacting with whom?
- What are interactions about?
- Do students from the same ethnic background interact more with each other? Why?
- Are interactions harmonious or problematic?

Student-teacher interactions:

- What is the nature of student-teacher interactions?
- Has the teacher started the interaction? Or was it the student? Why?
- Are they problematic or harmonious interactions?
- If problematic:
 - Why is it problematic?
 - Is Basque language at the root of the problem?
 - How does the teacher manage the conflict?

Appendix 5

Interview Guide

Entrevista al alumnado

Entorno

1. ¿Cómo te sientes en Mirebe?, ¿qué te gusta o qué no te gusta?, ¿y en el País Vasco?, ¿te gusta?, ¿Has vivido en otros lugares?
2. ¿De dónde eres?, ¿has nacido aquí?, ¿cuándo viniste?

Centro educativo-grupo

3. ¿Qué te parece el centro (Udabia)?, ¿qué te gusta más y qué te gusta menos?
4. ¿Cómo te sientes en clase, con tu grupo? ¿Notas diferencia entre el principio de curso y ahora en la distribución de la clase, en cómo os tratáis, si os lleváis mejor...? ¿Qué te gusta más y qué te gusta menos en estos cambios?
5. ¿Te gustaría estar en otra clase?, ¿por qué?
6. ¿Con quién te llevas mejor de tu grupo?, ¿Tienes buena relación con personas de otros grupos?, ¿te llevas bien con todo el mundo? ¿O hay con gente con la que coincides más o te entiendes mejor?, ¿por qué?
7. ¿Cómo eliges a tus amigxs?, ¿qué es lo que consideras un amigx? ¿compartes algún hobby con él/ella?
8. Cuando haces actividades en todo el centro, ¿con qué personas te sueles poner en el grupo?, ¿por qué?

Actividades extraescolares

9. ¿Con quién sueles estar en los recreos?, ¿por qué?

10. ¿Hablas euskera en los recreos?, ¿hay en tu grupo de amigxs alguien que hable en euskera?
11. ¿qué planes sueles hacer a las tardes?, ¿haces alguna actividad extraescolar?, ¿con quién sueles estar?
12. ¿Notas diferencias entre tu grupo de clase, y los alumnxs, por ejemplo, de modelo D? , ¿eres amigx de ellxs?

Euskara y autoridad del profesorxs

1. ¿Te gusta aprender euskera? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué te gusta o qué no te gusta? ¿crees que es necesario aprender euskera, aquí en el instituto?, ¿y en Mirebe?, ¿y en el País Vasco?
2. ¿Te opones alguna vez a aprender euskera?, ¿por qué?
3. ¿Qué opinas del enfado de algunxs profesorxs porque lxs alumnxs no quieren aprender euskera?

Límites y transgresión

4. Los alumnxs, a veces os insultáis entre vosotrxs. ¿qué te parece eso? ¿eres de los que insulta a menudo?, ¿es una broma?, ¿por qué lo haces?, o , ¿por qué crees que lo hacen tus compañerxs?
5. ¿Alguna vez te has enfadado cuando te insultan?, ¿te acuerdas de qué os decís?, ¿y si os enfadáis, por qué os enfadáis?
6. Algunas veces tenéis problemas con lxs profesxres, os peleáis con ellxs. ¿Tú te has peleado alguna vez?, ¿por qué?, o, ¿has visto a algún/a compañerx pelearse con algún/a profesorx?
7. Crees que a veces tú o algún compañerx se ha pasado?, ¿por qué?, ¿Dónde está el límite?

Irakasleei egindako elkarrizketa

Taldea

1. Zein da zure perspektiba orokorra 2G taldeari buruz? Nola deskribatuko zenituzke beste taldeekin alderatuz? Zergatik?
1. Banan-banan hartuta, zein berezitasun azpimarratuko zenuke? Nola deskribatuko zenituzke zure klasean? Entzun al duzu ezberdintasunik dagoela zure klasean egiten duten eta beste klaseetan egiten dutenaren artean?
2. Taldetxoak eratzen direla ikusten al duzu? Kulturantzatasunari begira, zer esango zenuke? Taldetxo horiek etnikoki banatuta al daudela ikusten al duzu? Jatorri edo nortasunaren aldarrikapen ugari ikusten al dituzu?, oso nabariak al dira berezitasun kulturalak haien artean? Eta haien eta beste taldeekiko desberdintasunak?

Harremanak-giroa

3. Harremanak eta giroari buruz hitz egin nahi izango nuke. Nola ikusten dituzu zuk klaseko harremanak irizpide etnikoa alde batera utzita, ad. generoa edo nerabezaroa kontutan hartzen baldin badugu?
4. Niretzako nabarmena den elementu bat limiteen transgresioa da. Hau da, ikaseak orokorrean limiteak hausten dituzte. Limite fisikoak eta hitzezkoak haien artean, eta batzutan, klaseko edo irakasleko/autoridadeko limiteak baita. Eta limiteen transgresio horri buruz hitz egin nahi izango nuke, zure ikuspuntua izatea gustatuko litzaidake. Zuk hau antzematen al duzu ere? Nola? Zergatik?

5. Limiteen haustura horren kasu berezirik aipatu ahal izango zenuke? Zuri gertatu al zaizu? 2G talde honekin? Eta beste taldeekin? Adibideak jarri, mesedez.
6. Batzutan ordena mantentzeko, arauak errespetatzeko, eta limite horiek ez hausteko “Desorden fokoak” terminoa aipa dezakegu. Nola saiatzen zara hauek kontrolatzen?

Euskara

7. Zer pentsatzen duzu euskararen inguruan 2G taldekoek egiten dituzten komentarioen inguruan? Adibiderik al duzu? Beste hitzetan, hau zure klasean gertatu al da? Nola? Nola kudeatu duzu zuk hau? Zergatik?
8. Zure iritzia jakin nahi nuke: batzuetan 2Gko ikasleak euskara ikastera oposatzen dira. Zergatik uste duzu hau gertatzen dela?
9. Oposaketa horren konponbiderik ikusten al duzu zuk? Zergatik?

Ikasketa Buruari eta Zuzendariari egindako elkarrizketa

Galdera orokorrak

1. Nolakoa da zuzendaria/ikasketa burua izatea? Zaila al da? Zeintzuk dira zure funtzioak?
2. Eremu kulturantz batetan al zeneukan esperiantziarik? Nolakoa izan zen hau?

Zentroa

3. Noiztik ezagutzen zenuen zentroa? Nolakoa izan zen hasiera?
4. Nolakoa izan da zentroaren eboluzioa azken urte hauetan?
5. Nondik/zein zentrotatik datoz ikasleak? Zergatik?
6. Nola kudeatzen dituzue egoera ezberdinak?
7. Erabaki zailak, nola gestionatzen dira? Zergatik? Zein irizpide hartzen da kontutan?
8. Beste zentroetako errealitaterik ezagutzen al duzu? Hain kulturantz ez den beste zentro bat? Konparaketa egin ahal duzu?

Egoera zailak

9. Kurtso batzuetan banaketa linguistikoak (eredu linguistikoaren banaketa) banaketa etniko edo herrialdekoa bihurtzen da. Zergatik uste duzu hau gertatzen dela? Zein da gurasoen garrantzia honetan?
10. Zergatik uste al duzu hain egoera gogorra/disruptiboa ematen dela talde batzuetan, ad. 2G eta 3G konparatzen baldin baditugu.

Talde txikia: kulturantzatasuna, nortasuna eta limiteak

- 11.Limiteen transgresioa ohikoa da nerabeetan, baina zergatik da hain disruptiboa 2G taldea? Zer uste duzu honi buruz? Zer onar daiteke edo zer ezin da onartu? Arauak. Adibideak jarri.
- 12.Noiz eta nola uste duzu izan zaitezkeela malgua?

Irakasle esperientzia

- 13.Zein taldetan ematen duzu klase? Nolakoak dira? Konparaziorik egin ahal izango zenituzke taldeen artean?
- 14.Ematen al da talka bat irakasle eta zuzendari/ikasketa burua-ren arteko funtzioetan? Erabakiak hartzeko momentuetan kontraesanak sentitzen al dituzu?

Appendix 6

Focus Group Guide

Grupos de Discusión

Bienvenidxs a todxs,

Objeto: Os he reunido para preguntaros algunas cosas sobre las que ya hablamos en las entrevistas, pero que quiero que discutáis en grupo. No hay una respuesta correcta, no os preocupéis.

Preguntas guía:

1. ¿Qué tal en Mirebe?, ¿y en el País Vasco?, ¿Cómo os sentís?, ¿Por qué?
2. ¿Qué tal en el centro?, ¿y en clase?, ¿qué impresión tenéis de vuestra clase?, ¿por qué?
3. ¿Qué tal se os da aprender euskera?, ¿os gusta?, ¿estudiáis?, ¿por qué sí o no?
4. Explicadme por qué a veces os peleáis con los profesorxs.
5. A veces os insultáis y os pegáis entre vosotrxs. ¿Por qué lo hacéis?, ¿es broma?, ¿y si os acabáis peleando?
6. ¿Cómo elegís a vuestros amigxs?, ¿con quién soléis estar?
7. ¿Cómo creéis que podéis mejorar vuestras relaciones en clase y con lxs profesorxs?