

Spain (Andalusia)

What is meant by intercultural education in Andalusia? The sense of interculturality in multicultural schools of Seville and El Ejido from the discourses and practices

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Summary

The public schools of Compulsory Primary and Secondary Education, and Baccalaureate that we have studied are located in multicultural social environments where students are in daily contact with cultural diversity in their neighbourhood. In Seville, the IES “Miguel de Cervantes”, the IES “San Jerónimo” and the CEIP “Buenavista” are located in “working-class neighbourhoods” within the Macarena district and the Norte district. In El Ejido, the CEIP “José Salazar” is located in the city’s urban core within an immigrants’ residential area and the IES “Santo Domingo” in a peripheral neighbourhood.

The discourse on attention to cultural diversity of the education legal framework leads to an interpretation that underestimates immigrants, as from its outset conceives a deficit in the individuals who belong to differentiated collectives. The legislative frameworks of education, LOE (Spanish Act on Education 2/2006, May 3) and its regional counterpart the LEA (Education Law of Andalusia 17/2007, December 10) mention cultural diversity as a particular (non collective) variable to be considered with other social and/or physical specificities of individuals, which hinders the development of educational activities or the access to them. The LEA considers the attention to the foreign students’ needs through the correction of linguistic, cognitive and social deficits. In this context the School’s Plans developed so far in each school do not refer any cultural variable from the perspective of intercultural dialogue. The schools’ focus is based on the implementation of both the ATAL (Temporary Linguistic Adaptation

Classrooms) for schools selected because of their foreign students' ratio, and the PALI (Language Support Program) which has to be requested by the schools to the Andalusian Ministry of Education and has to be supported by organisations of the third sector.

Together with a legal framework that imposes an attention to cultural diversity from the compensation paradigm, the policy of the Junta de Andalucía proposes an assimilationist "normalization".

The surreptitious practices of school integration and distribution of students, the policy on attention to cultural diversity and the policy providing educational resources point at a consolidated institutional racism that takes on many guises in both locations. The denial of the existence of racism in schools is based on the idea of disconnection of the schools with their environmental context; racism takes place in residential and work environments but not in schools. In this sense, the teachers believe that racism and/or integration is/are not their concern/s, therefore, social problems have to be resolved, and actions have to be deployed from other areas and in those environments where such racism and/or integration take/s place. The mere fact of pupils from different cultures coexisting in the classrooms is perceived as an evidence of integration and normalization. Thus, it is possible to avoid the need for structural and training changes, and to neglect the assimilationist effects of the linguistic policy and curricular programs on the minorities.

The social multiculturalism that the globalizing processes have produced requires the revision of an inclusive and participatory citizenship that may promote the rooting and membership of the immigrants in the localities. The education policy must conduct a **deep review of the educational paradigm**, according with the evidence of the transformation that these processes have produced in the immediate social and environmental context in which such policy operates. Only a change in the educational paradigm may assume intercultural education for training in that social model disseminated through the education policy discourse.

Introduction

Our research is based on a multi-located and comparative fieldwork simultaneously conducted in different public schools that offer Infant, Primary and Secondary Education, Baccalaureate and Medium/High-level Specific Vocational Education in the municipalities of Seville and El Ejido. This exploration has been accomplished by a team of six researchers, from March to September 2011. The object of this study is the

process of school integration of children from immigrant families in the selected schools of these two localities. We addressed the discourse analysis on attention to cultural diversity of the education legal framework in their respective juxtaposed levels of action, that is, UNESCO's recommendations and conventions, European directives, state and regional legislation, and regional policies and programs. Another main objective of our research is the management of cultural diversity in schools considering the schooling models and the programmes and resources implemented by the Andalusian education policy. The axes structuring this paper are: the political and legal discourse, the programs and resources for intervention, and the immediate observable results within the educative practice.

We start from a notion of education overcoming the perspective that is basically focused in the processes emerging from secondary formal socialisation. We understand that the educational process experienced by the individuals is a complex multidimensional process accomplished through different stages of life, resulting from mechanisms of cultural transmission that are juxtaposed in different spheres of social life: family, neighbourhood, schools and colleges, informal public learning processes and political action, among others. In this sense, we understand that in the schools are projected the cultural transmissions apprehended and reproduced by the different agents. Therefore, education as a process transcends the pedagogical communication operating in the schools' micro-social environment. In line with Bernstein (1990:16) we understand that *"education becomes a transmitter of power relations that are out of it. Pedagogical communication is simply a transmitter of something else than itself". Education is a transmitter of class relations, gender relations, religious relations, regional relations... "It is a transmitter of models of domination that are external to it"*.

Thus, according to this approach the analysis consists of two main pillars: i. description of the schools' socio-cultural and environmental context, and their legal framework, ii. analysis of how the schooling of immigrant population in school-age is managed, what is meant by interculturality and what practices are developed in order to address cultural diversity in schools.

1. The school and its environment

1.1. The school and its political context

In line with the above mentioned, it is evident that schools are part of an institutional architecture surrounding them, thus, schools develop their activity within the regulated

and legal framework of such institutional architecture. Moreover, the pedagogical communication in the sense of Bernstein (1990) takes place within some limits established that constrain the ability of educational action, by controlling the freedom of action and communication of all social agents involved in the educational process. In turn, coming back to Bajtin (1991), in regards with the interpretation of the discourse and communication this framework has another parallel effect: to act as a flux of discursive references that, from other spheres that are unrelated or external to schools and education, operates on such microcosm targeting schools, directly and firstly, as its social space of influence. Therefore, much of the discourse on education and/or the discourse (re-)produced in the school environment are influenced by juxtaposed institutional discourses.

Much of the political programmes and plans implemented by the *Junta de Andalucía* (Andalusian Regional Government) in order to address diversity in schools and classrooms (re-)produce a series of concepts that, often and at the same time, are objectives themselves and to which such documents and measures are developed. This is the case of the concepts "**cultural diversity**" and "**interculturality**". We have explained in previous papers¹ that the successive PIPIAs developed between 2002 and 2009 do not explain or develop the content and meaning of such concepts/objectives. Moreover, they are inserted into the text surrounded by euphemisms which hinders their interpretation even for specialists in this subject. We will not deepen into it. It is not the object of this paper to thoroughly explore the sense of the discourses regarding these concepts within the European directives and the state and regional legislations on education through the critical discourse analysis. Nevertheless, we will state in this section, based on a discourse analysis that we have previously conducted for this research, the key issues to be highlighted in regard to what the normative discourse presets on formal education. The critical analysis of these legal documents has been conducted from an anthropological perspective of legal language, thus taking into account the social influence and relevance of the interpretations and meanings of the concepts. It is necessary to keep in mind that these texts imply the construction of the framework programmes that develop the actions related to education in the Andalusian schools.

We briefly highlight a number of conclusions arising from the analysis conducted:

- 1 - The intentionality linking education and labour market appears discursively intertwined in the various documents studied at the European and Andalusian

¹ Castaño, A., Martínez, F. and Manjavacas, JM.: "*Critical discourse analysis in the Comprehensive Plans for Immigration of the Autonomous Government of Andalusia*". Working paper wp1-02 TOLERACE (-US).

level². It is clear that all the legislation analysed in terms of education seems to be teleologically pointing towards the economic sphere and the labour markets at the state level. The use of indeterminate concepts like "*quality of life*", "*social integration*" or "*prosperity*" aim at the idea of the population's adaptation to the labour market. Educational programs become shapers of future workers, this is their main objective, and therefore facing cultural diversity implies framing an imaginary through education, in which a labour orientated world-view can prove fruitful. The teleological thinking emerging from institutional texts conceives education as a step in the life cycle towards the adaptation to the labour market, and when it considers the diversity related to immigrant population tends to develop special measures for the young people to acquire skills that presumably they have not acquired in their previous primary and/or secondary socialisation in their place of origin. Thus, the legal and political discourse deploy measures to accommodate in the educational system the cultural diversity caused by new migrations. What we try to highlight is that far from the ideal of knowledge as a value for human development, these texts are mainly focused in the importance of training future human resources with an economic and market value.

2 - But we have also found a dichotomy between the official discourse arising from institutions in their respective territorial areas of expression and the actual educational interventions. Both in international agreements, such as the International Agreements on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child recognize the right of children to their culture, not as part of an economic asset, but as a constituent part of their identity. The right to a non-discriminatory treatment on ethnic, religious, economic, social, etc. basis is recognised by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, by the Spanish Constitution or by policy provisions such as the PIPIAs of the *Junta de Andalucía*. However, **interculturality** as a remedy and objective implies, de facto, an adaptation of immigrants to an ideal national model legally established. Within this framework, education is conceived as shaping the social diversity by fitting the differences emerging from the different origins of the population. The difference is managed so that it adapts itself to a presupposed national

² The Charter on the Rights of the Child of the United Nations General Assembly of November 20, 1956; European Charter on the Rights of the Child (OJ No C 241 of 21 September 1992; European Parliament Resolution of April 2 2009; Council Directive 77/486/EEC of 25 July 1977 by reference in later texts of the EU; Decree 167/2003, of June 17; Law of Education of the *Junta de Andalucía* Law 17/2007, December 10; Law 9/1999, of November 18, on Solidarity in Education of the *Junta de Andalucía*; Comprehensive Plan for Immigration in Andalusia (I and II).

"normality" by the development of policies "normalizing" cultural differences. In this sense, the implicit perception that denies the cultural diversity within the Andalusian society prevails, which helps to set a correlation between cultural diversity and immigration. We should make a final statement, since most of the institutional texts tend to avoid dealing with the national population, although the II PIPIA of the *Junta de Andalucía* has tried to overcome this fact in its own discourse by making major references to the students as a whole, as can be seen in most of the PIPIA's objectives and measures referred.

3 - We note that often vague legal concepts are used, i.e. legal concepts that are not sufficiently clarified in the regulations, thus they are subject to be interpreted by the public administrations that make the policies. This leads to the use of terms like "multiculturalism", which are used without making any distinction from other terms like "*interculturality*" or "cultural diversity". The result is that the political model becomes pointless and social integration appears as an undefined object that has as its only proof the access to the labour market.

Interculturality and **cultural diversity** are undefined notions within the education legislation, thus, they are subject to the social interpretation related with the interests of many social communities that intervene in this legislation, helping to "build" it without disrupting the ethnocentric bases of the School Programs, of bodies and institutions that provide formal or non-formal specialized training, and of organic specialists/advisors, among others.

4 - Finally, to complete these conclusions we analyze the leading measures of the *Junta de Andalucía* in regards with the legislation for the intervention on the immigrants' education. In the Solidarity Act of 1999, the *Junta* proposed the establishment of Temporary Linguistic Adaptation Classrooms (ATAL) for the first time. The function of these classrooms is the attention to non Spanish-speaking immigrant population in the schools for vehicular language teaching. The main matter of this measure is its lack of efficiency. Firstly, because of the lack of funding support and trained human resources, as the legislation understands that teachers do not need to have language skills in relation to the diversity of students in these classrooms, in fact specific and even higher degrees, like the philology degree, are not considered at all. On the other hand, the provisions regulating the ATAL established the figure of the intercultural mediator. Curiously, the translation of the students' native language is not among his/her functions, but such mediators are conceived as

an emissary-bridge for the understanding of the culture of young immigrants. A one-way bridge as it is not considered making any transfers to the national student group. This leads us to interpret that many of the intercultural practices entail a process of cultural assimilation, as in the practice the intercultural activities' nature falls in the stereotypical representation of uniformities, rarely deep transformations promoting significant changes in the students' thinking are addressed, but the change in attitudes and skills of young immigrants to adapt themselves to an imposed social and educational model.

1.2. The schools and their urban environment

The schools of our research were selected for three reasons: their location in an urban environment characterised by a multiculturalism emerging from the settlement of immigrant families in Seville and El Ejido; the development of public policies for the attention to cultural diversity in these urban areas; and the schools' willingness to cooperate with our research.

We share with Torres the idea that the simple fact of the existence of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, per se, does not imply any coexistence or integration. According to Torres (2006) *"the arrival and establishment of the new neighbours has transformed these neighbourhoods, (...) usually immigrants are not the majority, though because of their number, significance or activities they ultimately give 'character' to the neighbourhood or to part of it"*³. The relationships arising from such co-residence and co-presence may lead to tensions and conflicts, although across the case studies we have confirm a situation of a peaceful, but distant coexistence, characterised by having significant reservations about strangers and by avoiding to interfere in their affairs. As we shall further see, the presumption that the presence of diverse cultures in a given context implies coexistence and integration opposes the observed negative perception of the foreign families and foreign students, which has been manifested in the schools explore for this research.

The schools explored in Seville are located in the city's northern area, in the Macarena district, consisting of multiple sections and neighbourhoods that shaped the oldest periphery working area of Seville. These neighbourhoods were formed by a fast urban and population growth in the mid-20th century as working-class neighbourhoods, where the different migration fluxes, originated in the Spanish agricultural environments, settled in Seville city. The response from the city's urban policy along

³ In Carles SIMÓ Y Francisco TORRES (Eds.) (2006) *La participación de los inmigrantes en el ámbito local Valencia: Tirant lo Blanc* (:100)

various management urban plans between the decade of the 50s and 70s, was framed through social housing plans that finally shaped an environment that currently suffers from severe infrastructural and services deficits.

The CEIP⁴ (Secondary Education School) "Buenavista" and the IES⁵ (Primary Education School) "San Jerónimo" are located in the neighbourhood of San Jerónimo. With a population of over 10,000 inhabitants, San Jerónimo still has very depressed population groups⁶. This neighbourhood emerged from a former slum settlement that went through a process of self-constructed housing, which was later the subject of a plan for access to housing managed by the Board for Cheap Housing and Social Housing (VPO). It was also subject to successive relocations of displaced Gypsy population. This neighbourhood arose from primitive settlements related to railway facilities and old textile mills in regards with a process implementing the industrial fabric of the city, its remains have left their mark on its urban landscape and appearance. This environment has faced the most recent population settlement linked to the "new migration" (Latin-Americans, Moroccans and Senegalese). Its percentage of non-communitarian resident population is above the average of the rest of the city, 29% in "San Jerónimo" versus 5.6% in the whole Seville city.

The IES (Secondary Education School) "Miguel de Cervantes" is located in the suburb of "El Cerezo", one of the suburbs with the lowest demographic density and worse urbanized in the Andalusian capital city. "El Cerezo" has the highest rate of elder population and the largest population census of ethnic minorities, hosting a very heterogeneous population, with clear signs of becoming a multiethnic neighbourhood. The arrival of foreign population has relatively boosted its economy, it is significant the activation of certain ethnic businesses offering a wide variety of things and which presence has increased in recent years.

In the case of Almeria, the schools where we have conducted the fieldwork are located in the urban municipality of El Ejido. This municipality has been shaped since the mid-20th century as an agro-industrial district arising from successive economic plans and the agricultural capitalization, leading towards an under plastic horticulture specialisation. Consequently, a relentless economic, demographic and urban growth,

⁴ Infant and Primary Education schools. They have two educational levels: the second level of Infants Education, not compulsory, for infants from 3 to 5 years, and the level of Compulsory Primary Education, from 6 to 12 years. The compulsory education is subdivided into three cycles: 1st cycle (1st and 2nd year), 2nd cycle (3rd and 4th year) and the 3rd cycle (5th and 6th year).

⁵ Secondary Education. It covers the last level of Secondary Education, also compulsory, designed for ages from 13 to 16 years. It is divided into two cycles and students choose between two major areas: socio-linguistics and science and technology.

⁶ Homes with a 50 square meters average size or less, a 50% rate of uneducated people, which is higher than the municipal average.

led to a process of political segregation of El Ejido from the municipal capital of Dalías in 1982, becoming itself as a municipality. El Ejido has 83,773 inhabitants as the result of successive internal migrations from Andalusian territories and other Spanish regions, in addition to the foreign migration arriving since the late 80's, and which represent the latest phase in the municipality's multiculturalization process, with a rate of immigrants population representing 33.95% (data from the National Statistical Institute -*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*- March 31, 2011).

The CEIP "Salazar" (in the southern area of El Ejido) is the oldest Primary School in the municipality and until the 80s was the only school. On the other hand, the IES "Santo Domingo" is the oldest Secondary Education School and is the only public secondary education and post-compulsory education school within the eastern area of EL Ejido. Both schools share the consequences of an urban growth and territorial restructuring conducted during the last decade by the I Urban Development Plan (PGOU) of 2003 which has strengthened the spatial ethnification and segregation of urban spaces. Such urban changes have increase the value of the eastern part of El Ejido, since it was an agricultural hamlet and became a residential suburb that now is annexed to the urban city center. On the other hand, the southern area of the city has worsened, as it has been gradually displaced from the municipality's centre through an urban planning policy that has strengthened the segregation of those residential areas with a largest foreign population, which coincides with the primitive neighbourhoods of the municipality. It is possible to verify in El Ejido what Zukin (1995)⁷ and Wacquant (1993)⁸ consider regarding the re-signification of the urban territory in relation to cultural diversity and the management of fear: the formation of voluntary-ghettos and racial-ghettos that go beyond, transcend and disrupt social reproduction. The link between physical proximity and distance with moral proximity and distance, allows for the internal homogeneity to contrast with the heterogeneity of the outside, as in a perfect light-dark. However, substantial differences between the racial ghetto and the voluntary one imply that the sense, function and characteristics of each ghetto are a lot and very different. For instance, both the inhabitants of the racial and voluntary ghettos are linked by residential space, ethnicity and class.

The effects of social practices in the access to housing and rents are linked to the effects of the urban plans comprising from the 2003 PGOU to the 2009 PGOU currently in force. Thus, a demographic map has been consolidated in which non-European foreign families are concentrated in residential areas consisting of scattered

⁷ Zukin, Sharon (1995) *The cultures of cities*, N.Y. Blackwell Publishers; Quoted in Bauman (2001)

⁸ Wacquant, Loic (1993) *Urban outcasts: stigma and division in the black American ghetto and the French urban periphery* in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, nº17.2, pp 365-383; Quoted in Bauman (2001)

settlements and hamlets in the west part of El Ejido, the segregation of gypsies was carried out through social housing relocations within the neighbourhood of Santo Domingo in the southeast area and also in some scattered settlements along the national highway in western Dalias, on the other hand, a Maghribian ghetto has been created in the southern part of the city. We understand this process of spatial segregation as one of the adjuvant effects within the social reproduction of El Ejido, in the sense proposed by Bauman (2001); the close relationship that occurs in this municipality between socio-spatial segregation, class status and the economic logic:

The ghettoisation runs parallel and complements the criminalization of poverty; there is a continuous exchange of population between the ghettos and prisons (...) these are the two varieties of the strategy 'tying the undesirable people to the ground', their 'confinement' and 'immobilization'. In a world where mobility and ease moving have become major factors of social stratification, it is a weapon of extreme exclusion and degradation (...) the criminalization of poverty and the normalization of the precariousness regarding paid employment in a flexible labor market (Bauman, 2001:117).

1.3. The schools, students and teachers

We will take a brief look at the data on the school insertion of foreign students in the Andalusian context to better appreciate the specificities of the schools explored in our localities of research. The total number of students in Andalusia during the school-year of this study (2010-11⁹) is 1.510.708¹⁰. The students from families of foreign origin¹¹ are 5.34% (80,666 students¹²). The most of them are in compulsory education (from 6 to 16 years), although it is not negligible the number of students registered in Infant Education. However, the percentages are significantly lower in post-compulsory¹³ education, that one giving access to qualified labour market whether academic or

⁹ We use data provided by the Andalusian Ministry of Education from September 2011. Final data will be published by the Administration in December.

¹⁰ By stages: Early Infant Education absorbing 24.66% (372.490 students), Primary Education, the 36.10% (545.399 students), Secondary Education, the 24.34% (369.128 students), Baccaulaureate, 7.34% (116.861 students) and the Medium and High Level Vocational Training, 4.73% (100,655 students).

¹¹ With this name we try to clarify the subtle difference between origin and autochthony in students. After more than two decades of migration process, many of the children considered as "immigrants" in the statistics conducted by the Andalusian Ministry of Education and schools are natives of Andalusia. This invisibilized data has a fundamental social and symbolic significance. In Spain, children from non-EU parents inherited the legal status of their parents, thus the *jus sanguinis* prevails. The paradox of being autochthonous in fact, but not in law has strong connotations that are transferred to the institutional practices of the public administration, the schools themselves, and the discourses and perceptions of the students and other actors involved in education. The relevance of this type of stigma is that it enables intergenerational exclusion by constructing from education a hierarchy and structural processes of social segregation.

¹² Of the total students registered for each level of education, students from foreign families in Infant Education are 5.60% (14.697 students), in Primary Education, 5.85% (31.197 students), in Secondary Education, 6.88 % (25.408 students), in Baccaulaureate, 3.64% (4265 students), and 3.96% (3987 students) in Medium and High Level Vocational Training. In addition, they represent the 6.43% from the total students registered in public schools (72.887 students) and 1.92% (7.779 students) in private schools.

¹³ Of the total students registered at each level of education, students from foreign families in Infant Education are 18.22% (14.697 students), in Primary Education, 39.57% (31,197 students), Secondary Education, 31.5% (25,408 students), in Baccaulaureate, 5.29% (4265 students), and 4.94% (3987 students) in Medium and High Level Vocational Training.

professional; therefore we deduced that a significant number of these students are unable to access higher or qualified education¹⁴.

At the provincial level, Almeria is the province with the highest percentage of students from immigrant families in relation to all the students from families of foreign origin in the schools of Andalusia, occupying a prominent first place (16.01%), followed by Malaga (8.66%), Huelva (5.24%) and Granada (4.5%). Away from them, appear Seville (2.66%) followed closely by Cadiz (2.41%), Cordoba (2.29%) and Jaen (2.07%)¹⁵.

The data on ethnically differentiated students allows noticing a slowdown in the absolute insertion figures in regards to formal education. The consolidated tendency at all non-university¹⁶ education stages to increase significantly the presence of these students in schools, since the academic year 1999/2000 (10,987 students) until 2008/2009 (101,993 students), was interrupted in 2009/2010 (101,838 students) and finally descending in the school-year of our study (2010/2011) to 101.283 students during September 2011.

These data are significant if they are linked with the data obtained from the fieldwork conducted on the situation in the labour market. While the number of foreign students registered has declined, the absolute figures of total foreign population (data which include those in school age) have continued increasing from 2008 to 2011 in 103,897 people. This means that there has been a decline in the registration of new students¹⁷, which the withdrawal of the education system of many students who reach the age to access the labor market has to be borne in mind. Such decline is also couple to the situation arising from the social effects of the economic crisis in Andalusia since 2008 that, as explained in another research papers¹⁸, has led to the pursuit of new domestic economic strategies among immigrant families, like the return of the dependant members of the families to their place of origin in order for them to be attended by the extended family.

¹⁴ As contemplated in the 2010 Lisbon Objectives and the Objectives of Europe 2020 of the European Commission.

¹⁵ In absolute figures per province (added we talked about 80,666 foreign students): Almeria, 20.035, Cadiz, 5.931, Cordoba, 3.517, Granada, 8.065, Huelva, 5.307, Jaen, 2.649, Malaga, 24.938, and Seville, 10.224.

¹⁶ Besides those already mentioned, we must add the adults, arts and languages education; as well as the distance and nighttime learning of Secondary Education, University and Vocational Training.

¹⁷ According to data from the Andalusian Ministry of Education, the decrease from the year 2007-08 to 2010-11 has been at regional level a 45.5%. Again according to this Ministry, this is motivated by the decline in new registrations of foreign students. At provincial level, the new registrations in Seville have declined by 22.3% (however still being the province with more new registrations) and Almeria has fallen a 42.1% (ranked in the fourth place).

¹⁸ Castaño, A.: *"The insertion of immigrants in the Andalusian labour market: policies and intervention processes in Seville and El Ejido in comparative perspective"*. Working paper wp2-01 TOLERACE (-US).

In the schools studied, both in Seville and El Ejido, we found disparate percentage data, but they all share one thing in common: the five schools exceed the regional and provincial averages. Thus, in Seville, the IES "Miguel de Cervantes", which has 500 students registered in secondary education, baccalaureate and Medium and High-level Specific Vocational Education, foreign students are add up to 25.6% (a total of 128 students); while in the schools of "San Jerónimo" neighbourhood the percentage exceeds the 10% of presence of students from families of foreign origin in the case of the CEIP "Buenavista" from a total of 320 students registered, and the 7,4% from a total of 578 students registered in the case of "San Jerónimo". In El Ejido, the IES "Santo Domingo" has 861 students registered in Secondary Education, Baccalaureate and Medium and High-level Specific Vocational Education, of which 24.40% (210 students) are from foreign families, and in the case of CEIP "Jose Salazar", this group is strikingly the 68.43% (245 students) of a total of 358 students.

In Seville the schools host students from an average of 15 non-EU nationalities, predominantly Spanish-speakers. This information was provided directly by the schools, as the public statistics of the Andalusian Ministry of Education and the City Council do not detail this percentage ratio for schools. The management team of the CEIP "Buenavista" did not provide us any data about the students' distribution in the school on the basis of their country of origin. In the "IES San Jeronimo" Latin Americans become the predominant group accounting a 53.49%¹⁹ of the total of foreign students; while young Africans²⁰ are the second major foreign group and European students (from EU and non-EU countries) represent a 13.95%. There are also Chinese (4.65%) but with a residual presence and the presence of the Andalusian Gypsy collective accounts a 18.6%.

In the IES "Miguel de Cervantes", located in "El Cerezo" neighborhood of Seville, 78.9% of young students from foreign families in the schools are Spanish-speakers²¹. The presence of other groups is residual; however the students from Chinese and Moroccan families are significant with a ratio of 5.5% and 7.03% respectively.

The situation in El Ejido's schools differs from the above markedly since the presence of students from Spanish-speaking families in both schools is merely symbolic: the CEIP "Salazar" barely reaches 5% and in the IES "Santo Domingo" the ratio is 13%. By schools, in the CEIP "Salazar" the student are mostly of Moroccan origin (68.57% of all foreign students), representing 46.93% of total school census,

¹⁹ The largest group are Colombian (18.6%) followed by Ecuadorians (16.28%) and Bolivian (9.03%).

²⁰ Moroccan 9.03%, other North Africans 6.96% and 16.28% from other African countries.

²¹ Of the total of foreign students in the center, the collective from Bolivia accounts 30.47%, followed by the collective from Ecuador, with 25% and the Bolivian 7.81%. The rest of Central and South American countries account 15.63%.

compared to 31.56% of the 'national' group. They are followed from a distance by other representative groups: Bulgarians (8.16%), Romanians (6.94%), Russians and Colombians (both the 2.86%). In total, there are children from 20 different nationalities coexisting (not to mention possible identitarian ethnic differentiations). In the IES "Santo Domingo", the largest groups are Moroccans (25.72%) and Bulgarians (24.07%), followed with a much lower representation by Russians (8.3%). Other groups are from the EU countries (9.54%) and non-EU countries (4.56%).

Regarding the teaching staff in the schools²² we highlight two facts that are deeply linked to the contexts in which teachers must develop their work. The first is the widespread recognition of the teachers' deficit and inadequacy of their continuing training in cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. There have been many voices that have recognised on the one hand, the need to increase the training of teachers and other professionals (such as administrative and service staff) and on the other hand, the limited practicality of the training they have received so far, too "theoretical" and slightly practical in order to solve specific situations in the classrooms, that in some cases far exceed the averages in the whole of the Spanish State. Such inadequacy encourages the teacher's self-training, so they search and produce their own material, with the aggravating circumstances of no receiving any advice at all, working outside work-hours and assuming greater individual efforts. Add to this another general perception expressed in the Discussion Forums accomplished in both localities²³ and in the interviews conducted by our team, we are talking about the hyper-bureaucratization of the teaching work, which restricts the time and dedication that teachers could be focusing on other educative areas like the one concerning us. We must not overlook the close relationship between training and transmission of content related to the cultures of origin. Emerging from these deficits and burdens, the teachers of the schools in both localities are not aware of the educational proposals arising from the immigration policy of the *Junta de Andalucía* (PIPIAs), while they ensure that there is no comprehensive immigration policy for the educational sphere in regards to integration, moreover their perception of public administration and working conditions is negative.

The second issue overcomes training and affects directly the quality of education, as it prevents the design of strategies of pedagogical communication within a medium-term experimentation/assessment. We refer to the teaching teams, cloisters and

²² We talk about teaching teams consisting of: 15 teachers in the CEIP "Buenavista" (Seville), 16 teachers in the CEIP "Salazar" (El Ejido), 60 teachers in the IES "San Jerónimo" (Seville), 53 teachers in the IES "Miguel de Cervantes" (Seville) and 74 teachers in the IES "Santo Domingo" (El Ejido)

²³ Within the framework of the research were conducted in April 2011 two Discussion Forums in Seville and El Ejido with representatives of organizations and institutions who collaborated in this research.

educational departments' stability and mobility, depending on who occupies the teaching position. In the Seville schools, the teaching staff has certain stability. Between 70% and 79% of teachers who obtained and selected their public teaching position in these schools are developing their work steadily and there are very few cases of mobility as a general pattern in the three schools studied. In contrast, in the schools of El Ejido we have found that much of the teaching staff are covering teaching positions that are already assigned to a fixed holder, but to be filled by an internal substituted holder, reaching 56% of internal non permanent teachers in the CEIP "Jose Salazar", and 49% in the IES "Santo Domingo".

The disconnection of the teachers from the changes produced by migration in El Ejido and in the schools is a consequence, among others, emerging from the socio-spatial segregation of certain collectives and the resulting conflicts (Moreno Yus, 2003). In this sense it is possible to analyze the case of the CEIP "Salazar", which also has the aggravating of the schools' board team instability, which in the last 2 years has changed for three times of responsible. This often means a great difficulty to set any proposal regarding educational intervention lasting for more than one school-year, so it can affect also to the curricular content and quality of education. The CEIP "Salazar" is a school with a 68.43% of students from immigrant families, thus, the educational challenge that involves meeting the needs of these students, who have different referents than the referents of the hegemonic ethno-national discourses of the curricular content, entails a burden of work and a creative ability that not all teaching professionals are willing or able to face.

As the discourse and practices on interculturality are outside the curricular content, its development is a challenge when we try to develop interculturality without falling into folklorizations, since in a similar environment transversality is an ordeal within a pedagogical communication based on an eurocentric world-view and the transmission of the nation-state's imaginary as legitimating collective identity. Intercultural education, in its deepest sense, means to accommodate educational communication to the diversity of the world in order to facilitate the access to know the plurality of all civilising worldviews. The approach to the knowledge emerging from other epistemologies means the reformulation of the educational content of the national imaginary. With a clear sense of educational difficulty and loss of contents in relation with the representative tradition of "us", in the view of the emergence of new referents of collective identification within the globalization's fluxes that the new generations assume, a teacher from one of the schools of Macarena District in Seville asserted:

"From my point of view one thing is to include it [interculturality], to consider it, but another thing is to turn everything around, among other things because the teachers are not prepared neither have the time... otherwise it would become in something else, and the curricular content in Spain is the curricular content in Spain ... and all of this is leaving almost no room for autochthonous things ... [inclusion of cultural diversity] and as everything is previously globalized thus we celebrate Halloween ... and if you look carefully, now all children ask Santa Claus for toys and here before we asked the Magi ... and you know, it comes at a time when you think: I am very respectful with the culture of others but I'm losing my own culture ... what we need to find is a balance, things need to be there, we need to know them, to work on them, but without abuse and without losing sight of what we have to do, our own and the others, and that's difficult."

This is an illuminating example of the conflict taking place in the schools where multiculturalism is experienced: the result of the presence of the 'otherness' and the skip-generation in the different ways of perceiving the own characteristics, while the adult generation comprising the teaching collective has doubts about the training and instruction that they have received for their professional performance. In these circumstances culturally minoritised students in the schools are perceived as the ones causing the loss of quality in education, as this requires a "lower level" adapting the contents to students affected by a kind of "*cultural disability*" that is caused by a peculiar and unintelligible native culture; this is linked to the impression of a latent, and sometimes evident, conflict/tension in the school environment. In parallel is expressed the opinion that the co-presence and coexistence of different collectives in the school environment is itself an evidence of the minorities' school integration. Deficiencies in communication with families and students are attributable to their cultural specificities, to their lack of awareness of the Andalusian educative system and to their linguistic incompetence.

The peak of diversity is the presence of Islam in the schools. The collective imagination and the discourses of the context feed Islamophobic discourses in the schools, where the cultural fragmentation of students end up diluting both, the linguistic diversity of those students coming from Eastern European countries and the ethnic diversity of Latin Americans, in the magma of the collective imagination of the *Europeanness* and religious closeness of Christianity as assumptions of a shared Western civilisation. While the perception of Muslim diversity just enhance the totem of 'otherness' as a symbolic representation of diversity in the school, ignoring other minorities which may break the total icon.

In line with the need to overcome all the "difficulties" of a polysemous and polyphonic diversity, the different professionals working in the schools vehemently denied the possibility of racism in schools, thus this is a clear sign of the decontextualization of schools regarding their immediate social environment. According to the teachers, racism is something external to schools, though it is in other spaces outside the institutional and corporate imagination: in neighbourhoods, in the street, in

working environments... therefore, they believe that the educational management of (anti-)racism does not compete to them, neither should be part of the curricular content. Therefore, Institutions can obviate, as actually happens, the need for structural changes and training of professionals, the transformation of teaching contents, moreover, they can ignore the effects of the assimilationist linguistic policy and the curricular programmes on minorities.

Another aspect to be highlighted is the lack of coordination between the different schools' board/management teams with different competences related to the resources of the schools and the departments or areas that develop interventions that are perceived as "external" to the corporative education, as are the cases of the school's Department of Educational and Vocational Guidance, the social workers conducting the programme on absenteeism and the cultural mediation. Thus, in a school of Seville teachers were not aware of the name neither of the activities conducted by the cultural mediator, in other schools the social workers claimed to have difficulty getting data from absenteeism through the records of students attending the classes carried out by the teachers, and a school director did neither allow us to have access nor to interview the school's counselor. While in the schools from El Ejido, teachers were neither aware of who were the mediators nor which cultural mediation these mediators were conducting within the schools. That adds to the hyper-bureaucratization surrounding the work of teachers, the decrease of resources and the social demand for the teachers to educate in social values by delegating duties that previously were assumed and were competence of the family's' socialisation role. This accumulation of factors may explain the decline in the quality of public education in Andalusia; the lack of involvement in the monitoring of students with "problems" that is confirmed among the teachers; and the statistics reflecting a 37.5% of school failure in Andalusia compared with the 10% of Madrid, Navarre and Basque Country. This is an illuminating expression of the regional and social inequality of the Spanish state.

2. Interculturality in action²⁴

2.1. Insertion in school

In Andalusia, the registration of a minor in a school is determined by schooling Reference Zones: the student has a place in a school according to his/her registration in the municipal census. This mechanism may be considered as a more or less fair

²⁴ All words in quotation marks are reproductions of the texts consulted on legal and political education.

tool²⁵ when assigning places in schools for school-age young people. In order to finish assigning school places, since there may be more than one school per zone, or family predilection when choosing a school, there is a point scale (siblings at the school, proximity to the father's/mother's workplace, among others) that is what ultimately determine the school's assignment. However, in El Ejido there are other distorting factors, since the assignment of places is influenced by segregationist practices that affect equally to both schools studied: the interests of the Municipal School Council²⁶ (CEM) radically altered the relationship between residence and schooling zone, and are consolidating a parallel dynamic of ghettoisation in the CEIP "Jose Salazar" and foreign presence contention (especially regarding Moroccan students) in the IES "Santo Domingo". According to the mechanisms and procedures described by CEM members in El Ejido, the schools' directors self-regulate the number of these students by using a series of procedures to distribute foreign students in the schools, requesting the parents' income tax in order to give or not a school place; using the strategy of the "waiting list" in the transits of educative stages in breach to the rules established by the Andalusian Ministry of Education²⁷; and by the "undercover" rejection advising to the families to send their children to other schools arguing that the presence of students from the same country will help the student's integration²⁸.

Other social practices that are developed in parallel contribute to the effects of these dynamics, because the autochthonous families (from El Ejido, Andalusia and/or Spain) in order to avoid being registered in the multicultural school assigned to them according to their municipal zone of residence, they register the family in the census of their second homes in the beach residential areas of the municipality. To meet the needs arising from the autochthonous students been forced to travel outside their actual municipal residential area, the Andalusian Ministry of Education provides public funds for school transport service. The schools built outside the urban core in high standing residential areas, "voluntary ghettos" in the sense of Wacquant (1993), are

²⁵ If we qualified the fairness of this bureaucratic tool is because it does not save, but rather radicalizes, that some schools are overwhelmed by students coming from families who suffer different types of social exclusion.

²⁶ Regulated by the Decree 332/1988, of December 5, it consists of the city's Mayor (who also acts as chairman), two representatives of the Provincial Department of Education, six teachers from different educational levels, three fathers, nominated by AMPAS, three students nominated by the students associations, a representative of the PAS (Management and Services Staff), proposed by their associations or unions, a municipal councilor and an entrepreneur-owner of a private school.

²⁷ In the lists of students who pass from Infant to Primary Education and especially from Primary to Secondary Education, the applications of foreign students are retained, prioritising the registration of autochthonous students. The policy of the Provincial Department of Education avoids having to apply the student-school assignment. The management of schools plays a deterrent strategy: leave in stand by the applications of foreign students producing a "huge bag" (in the words of one of our informants) meanwhile the lists of admitted students are closed. It is "then when playing with points and repeaters" to stable the ratios. Foreign families beset by a legislation requiring school attendance for their children, are driven to register their children in ghetto schools, in which the ratio is not accomplished through this manipulation.

²⁸ This strategy is used in the IES Fuente Nueva.

established for a ratio of children and young people much lower than the criteria normally considered by the policy establishing school facilities. Ignoring these social practices that violate the current regulations may invisibilize an institutional policy that has corrupted the criteria of equity in the distribution and access to socio-educational resources, and that in turn make the institutions accomplice to segregationist dynamics. These dynamics can only be interpreted as an evidence of the existence of surreptitious institutional racism.

The Almeria Provincial Delegation of the Andalusian Ministry of Education is aware (and consents) such practices, since we have been informed by the City-Council and the schools that there have been protests, complaints and reports aiming at finishing with such practices, though there has not been any response from the public administration.

2.2. The paradigm of compensation

Once our case studies is focused in interculturality²⁹ we can assert that it only becomes visible under the **paradigm of compensation**³⁰, since cultural diversity is understood as a series of factors (linguistic, training/formative, study discipline or habits, disinterest in education) constraining a "normal" performance within the Andalusian educational system. Thus, programmes for the attention of cultural diversity are the responsibility of the schools' Department of Educational and Vocational Guidance represented by the figure of the school counselor. The Order of 25 July 2008 leaves to schools and their teaching staff to decide the measures for the attention to diversity. According to this Order the school's management team can avoid to directly intervene in the socio-cultural and psychophysical diversity of the students, relegating all the diversity's variability to other professionals who tackle the problem of diversity by treating it as a set of deficiencies, this is indiscriminately conceived as a mechanism to alleviate social and disability disadvantages. As regards the "set of limitations" of the students, according to Law 17/2007, the system recognizes as individual deficits: the functional diversity (cognitive, physical or motor and sensory), the socio-economic disadvantages of the direct and nuclear family environment, and/or the cultural differences. Such is

²⁹ Regardless of the contextual local variables that influence in schools, in the sense developed in Section 1 of this paper, interculturality is addressed from the same paradigm in all centers.

³⁰ As seen from the analysis of semantics in the legal texts explored: Law 9/1999, November 18, on Solidarity in Education (art. 2.2) that includes intercultural education in compensatory education, in the wake of the Decree 1174/1983 on equal educational opportunities and schooling outcomes, the Organic Law 1/1990 of October 3, on the General Educational System Planning (LOGSE), in its Title V, dedicated to compensate inequalities in education, amended by Act 2/2006 of May 3, on Education (LOE), Law 17/2007 of December 10, on Andalusian Education (art. 113), ratified by the Order of July 25, 2008, "by which is regulated the attention to the diversity of students of basic education in public schools of Andalusia" (BOJA n.º 167: 7).

the depth of this distinction that we found an argot of teachers, school directors and counselors, within this argot students diagnosed with a deficit are labeled as "DIS", "DES" or "CUL" (natural disability, socio-cultural disadvantage or cultural diversity).

The teachers refer diverse students to the school counselor, -who usually is graduated in psychology- who decides, after a psychological assessment, to carry out a psychotherapeutic intervention with external resources (doctors, psychologists, educational psychologists, speech therapists), with social support (social workers) or special education (special education teachers). These mechanisms do not consider at all the casuistic related to cultural diversity; therefore this diversity has not a compensatory treatment in the practice so far, but through indirect processes leading to assimilation and ethnocide. In this regard the comment of a counselor is illuminating:

“...when assessing a child I have difficulties because sometimes I cannot differentiate whether the problem (the child does not answer the test's questions) is influenced by the language or not. Conducting an intelligence test is very difficult when a child does not understand you. There are no standardized tests for immigrant students.”

On top of that, there are other parallel effects for the family group, if the student is attended under the premises of a socioeconomic disadvantage deficit, measures veer towards the control and monitoring of his/her family by the Local Department of Social Affairs, pressing and increasing the siege and fear of certain collectives who are already subject to pressure and control by security forces, as indeed is happening to North Africans, Roma ethnic Romanians and Andalusian Gypsies³¹.

In other words, the foreign student whose manifest and visible cultural difference will "prevent" him/her to accomplish the minimum curricular content at the "natural" pace and to "regularly" follow the classes, will require some curricular adaptations in regards with a diagnosis of deficits or "set of deficiencies" that the student may not necessarily has. Curricular adaptations may be slightly or very "significant" depending on the nature of the adaptation/compensation of deficits that are determined by the psychological diagnosis. Such diagnosis, as explained, determine what type of Special Educational Needs (NEE) or Therapeutic Pedagogy (PT) are required by the student and what kind of specialized resources and mode of intervention are going to be deployed (inside or outside the classrooms). The total number of students with such deficiencies and their age are also taken into account, since significant transformations in the schools' structure, methodology, curricular content, distribution and structure have to be undertaken if the school has a high amount of students aged 14 and above (3rd course of Secondary Compulsory Education) diagnosed with SEN or PT needs: this is called "Curricular Diversification." Such "Diversification" is itself a "diversion" to

³¹ It is a data to be taken into account with connotations ⁱⁿ El Ejido that police units and this local department share the building.

which students that are "diagnosed" as "different" are doomed, hindering their access to Higher Education and retaining this population during the years of compulsory education to prevent their early incorporation to the precarious Andalusian labour market. On the other hand, the result is that the "attention to diversity" becomes in an increase of public schools in new spaces expressly established to "educate" people other than the hegemonic majority and without causing disturbances to this majority, while not disturbing the fundamental function of the education institutionalised as instruction: to reproduce the dominant model and the social organisation.

Within the context described above the concept of "normalization" that is developed by the PIPIAs³² of the *Junta de Andalucía* achieves the very semantics of assimilation. Considering the PIPIAs in the field of socio-educational intervention, the provision or not of resources, measures and plans offered by the Regional Administration through this policy in order to deal with intercultural education or attention to students of foreign families (as the text states, in order to "adapt educational attention to the characteristics of the students"³³), does not necessarily depend on the presence of an immigrant collective or any other collective in the schools. This response is a consistent effect of the principle of "normalization," since it is interpreted as "for *all the same and the same*", "*without distinction*". The "*normalization*" in multicultural educative environments has an ambiguous, polyvalent sense deforming reality. It leads to the fusion of such differentiated concepts like *access to the public system, contents, methodology, pedagogy and/or specific support* in the educational process.

Consequently, once we have confirmed the existence of measures projected by the PIPIAs that are framed by the semantics of "normalization" in the studied schools - beyond the teachers' opinion regarding this policy-, these measures are limited to very specific aspects: Welcoming Plans, which basically consist in the mere translation of policy documents from the Andalusian education system; ATAL programmes to promote Spanish language learning (Linguistic Adaptation Temporary Classrooms)³⁴ as a compensatory measure that takes place during school hours and which are considered by the representatives of the Andalusian Ministry of Education as "*the jewel*

³² Comprehensive Plans for Immigration in Andalusia (2002-2009).

³³ II PIPIA: specific objective 1.2, socio-educational area.

³⁴ The Linguistic Adaptation Temporary Classrooms (ATAL), as mentioned, have been promoted by the Andalusian Ministry of Education through the I and II PIPIA, as a compensatory intervention measure. The ATAL were launched in the school- year 1998/99 as a pilot experience in the province of Almería. Students are secreted outside the regular classroom where a specialist teacher in foreign language teaches, if possible, from the 2nd cycle of Primary Education (from 8 years on, using psico-evolutionary basis for learning a second language). The student cannot be more than two years attending these classes, regardless of his/her age, his/her native language level; moreover during his/her progresses the number of hours will also be reduced. Its procedure is to pass a standardized test to diagnose the student linguistic level of competence the actors involved are the counselor, tutor, student, the teacher of the ATAL.

in the crown" or "*the vanguard of multiculturalism*"³⁵; The Linguistic Support Programs for Immigrants as an extracurricular activity outside school hours (PALI); and Intercultural Mediation along with the meager Native Culture designed for emphasizing the intercultural fact. All these measures are not devices for the enhancement of cultural diversity in society through education, since in fact intervention in favor of attention/integration of minorities is related to intervention aiming at the coexistence and conflict resolution, which at the end feeds a series of ideas-myth (normalization, integration, coexistence, interculturality) that overlap each other as synonyms when are repeated ad nauseum.

Another issue to consider is the assessment criteria for the provision of resources. Taking the example of the ATAL, it is important to clarify that when schools do not offer linguistic compensation this does not imply that they have no demand of such measure. The only criterion established by the Andalusian Ministry of Education to provide this resource is the presence of at least 10 students in the school³⁶.

Therefore, the **School Coexistence Plans**³⁷ (*Planes de Convivencia Escolar*) operate as "alternative" measures, covering the gap of the official discourse when facing the daily life of schools. The Coexistence plans are principally aimed at "*introducing in the schools a culture that facilitates the effective management of school conflicts, with the goal of preventing a deterioration of the school climate because of such conflicts*"³⁸. Three measures arise at this point: i) Spatial and organisational measures by creating a Coexistence Classroom to which teaching hours and coordinating bodies are deployed, ii.) Regulatory measures, aimed at controlling and monitoring the students and of their families, iii.) Corrective measures by creating a system of sanctions that are executed through a pre-commitment signed by tutor-student-parents in order for them to be involved in corrective actions and in the design of "reports of expulsion". These later measures consist of forms reporting to the School

³⁵ Literal from the interviews conducted with agents from the public administration.

³⁶ This criterion, the existence of at least 10 students for any activity, severely limits and restricts the possibility of carrying out other activities proposed by the *Junta*, that afterwards are offered in a public open call. Thus, in the schools of Seville there is not ATAL anymore, but there is demand for language reinforcement, so students are referred to other professionals and resources, in detriment of other needs of the student, given the school curricular pace. At another school of El Ejido, it was noted in one of the hamlets (Pampanico, a native gypsy settlement in the area) the morning service was dismantled under the same pretext, this is a resource to support balancing family and working life, the school instructor lost her job, the company its project and the community lost its public service. Also nine families lost a service in which they relied, and who cannot afford any other way to replace it than through family and affective networks.

³⁷ The *Junta de Andalucía* has been emphasizing school coexistence through the slogan and promoting the Culture of Peace. The measures are the result of various regulations that lead to the Decree 19/2007 of January 23, through which *measures for the promotion of a Culture of Peace and for the improvement of the coexistence in public schools* are established, and the Order of July 18, 2007 regulating the procedure for the preparation and approval of a plan for coexistence.

³⁸ "*Material para la Mejora de la Convivencia Escolar. Normativa*", Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Educación 2007, page 8.

Board the acts committed by the unruly student on the basis of which punitive actions may be undertaken, moreover such measures can be the student expulsion/separation from the school. All these control measures will remain regardless of whether the student has been "recovered" back into the education system. These Plans are also under the competence of the school's Department of Educational and Vocational Guidance, in which framework one of our informants defined her activity as follows: "*what I am trying to do is to interconnect everyone with everyone*". It should be pointed that because of the powers given to this department, these procedures end up linked and/or related to, depending on the case to be studied, the programs to deal with "absenteeism", "mediation" and, above all, to the diagnosis of the type of the students' "diversity" in general and especially, in regards with our research, the students' cultural origin. The nature adopted by the attention to cultural diversity is reflected in this arbitrariness regarding who is responsible/competent to deal with it. There must not be only "compensation" in regards to cultural diversity, moreover the school bodies managing and governing the school's climate and composition open up the way of punishment against "conflict", through and in favour of "coexistence", instead of appealing to intercultural dialogue. The lack of an internal Intercultural School Programme or any other intervention plan, coordinated and comprehensive; the lack of a positive interpretation on the issue of intercultural dialogue; the deficits in the teaching/learning of the vehicular language; and the mediation related to "conflict resolution", end up in the transfer of competences to the Department of Educational and Vocational Guidance.

2.3. An undermined mediation

We consider the ideological framework arising from the Comprehensive Plan for Immigration in Andalusia in regards with **intercultural mediation** -promoted by the I PIPIA (2002/2005), followed by II PIPIA (2006/2009) and by the draft of the III PIPIA (not yet in force, as an alternative resource that is superimposed to the framework for educational activities and without real practicability. The measures, objectives and resources established (mainly in the II PIPIA) are subject, according to the *Junta de Andalucía* and its respective Ministries, to the consideration of transversality that "normalization" implies in the integration processes³⁹. Thus, we find that the references

³⁹ Thus, the I Plan 2002-2005, in its particular objective 1.1 on "schooling children of immigrant families in all seasons, and under the same conditions as the Andalusian students", establishes between the resources "mobilized" in order to achieve this objective, "collaboration agreements for the introduction of the intercultural mediator, to attend the immigrant collective in ^{relation} to the school environment" (I PIPIA: 74-75). The II Plan 2006-2009, stresses again as a means to achieve socio-integration processes, the need for the mediator through agreements with the third sector, " collaboration agreements for the introduction of the intercultural mediator, to attend the immigrant collective in relation to the school

to intercultural mediation are limited to the agreements with the entities from which immigrants will depend in regards with their labour and contractual relationship; nothing is said about the functions that cultural mediators must have in their relationship with the educational community, neither the training required for them to be formally working in such disparate activities as the ^{labour}, health, social services, justice, education, etc. mediation. What it is stated by the official discourse is the mediators role in the access of the student and is/her family to the Andalusian public education system, while the mediator must "*adapt educational attention to the student's characteristics*". Also the *Junta de Andalucía* considers that mediation must "*contribute to the social and school integration of immigrant students*." This makes of this figure a "means" of communication with the families instead of a resource to achieve an educative "end": to achieve the inclusion of cultural diversity in education and in the school environment.

The emphasis made on the preferential and almost exclusive activity of family mediation requested to intercultural mediators emerges from a perception that empirical data contradict: it is believed that the families of students from families of African origin do not value their children's training, thus this is the reason why they are not involved in the process of learning and teaching of their children who are affected by school absenteeism, since they have their residences in ZNTS areas (Areas with Needs of Social Transformation) where disadvantaged population live, "focusing"⁴⁰ school absenteeism by regulatory control. Since these African families are settled in these zones with other autochthonous and immigrated minorities and disadvantaged population, they are the subject of a school absenteeism eradication Plan, in which family control is one of the main objectives of such policy of intervention. The issue of the low participation of families in the educational process in schools is a widespread reality in the whole of Andalusia and a 'traditional' demand within the teachers' discourse. The presence of immigrated 'otherness' minorities in some schools as a result of the spatial construction of the difference in urban environments, or in other words, as the evidence of a "poverty mapping", expression and meaning of socio-spatial inequalities, is the alibi that dilutes the evidence of an absenteeism related to historical processes of inequality, exclusion and marginalisation towards disadvantaged autochthonous minorities⁴¹. The new "disadvantaged" population allow

environment "(II PIPIA: 119). Similarly, in the draft of the III PIPIA, socio-educational area, without providing any other element to the already mentioned, the specific objective 1.2 in its measure 1.2.3 says (repeats) that, there is a need of agreements with private entities to introduce the intercultural mediation service as a resource for the immigrant students in the Andalusian schools.

⁴⁰ Expression extracted from the regulatory documents on absenteeism.

⁴¹ Data from schools in El Ejido show that almost 70% of cases of school absenteeism is related to autochthonous Roma and Bulgarians. And in the case of Seville the student absenteeism in respect to the

to hide and excuse, along these oscillations of the collective perception, the blatant failure of the integration policies for the Andalusian Gypsy minority and for the eradication of poverty in Andalusia.

Add to the situation of the mediators in schools is the deterioration and underestimation of this professional figure, which is also reflected in their quantitative reduction in Andalusia and inside the schools, while the ratio student/schools to be attended has increased. On the other hand, intercultural mediation has ended up focusing its attention in Muslim collectives, Andalusian Roma and gypsies principally, who are identified as 'otherness cultures'. As a consequence of the blurring between its functions and its actions this figure has become an appendage of programmes of coexistence, becoming in some schools an agent for "conflict resolution" or a simultaneous translator for foreign non Spanish-speakers families, at the expenses of interculturality, as noted above. However, it has no presence, neither sense in the so-called Classroom of Coexistence, liminal space where issues regarding conflict resolution are resolved and space for reflection, managed by the school's Department of Educational and Vocational Guidance.

However we must point out in this comparative perspective between our case studies, that the role of mediation has more presence in the schools of Seville as mediators are at the school one day a week. In contrast, intercultural mediators in El Ejido just go to the schools "on demand", due to the number of schools that each mediator must attend. Also in this municipality schools only meet with the guidance team by previous appointment. However, the tasks they conduct, especially in high schools in both provinces, are very similar: just symbolic specific workshops, and lectures on socio-labour insertion or personal hygiene; in El Ejido, mediators are not even involved in the design of the activities for the intercultural week/day, propaganda activity to clearly demonstrate the intercultural action in schools.

Moreover, deepening into the issue of the mediator's figure deterioration, when there is no mediator and neither schools' welcoming plans to be applied, the figure of the *student-assistant*⁴² is activated to solve everyday life, especially in the adaptation

Muslim students is almost residual. Often it is found that the Africans who made up as absentee actually do not longer live in the neighbourhood.

⁴² This program is activated when new students arrive in the mid of the school-year and a fellow from the same country of origin guides the student through the early stages of the adaptation process into this new environment, different than his/her familiar environments in many respects. Not only is the language, is the pedagogy, discipline, provisions of the area, timetables... In El Ejido, in school-ghetto, this dynamic that initially helps ends up becoming in a serious obstacle for the acquisition of the vehicular language, hence our insistence to pinpoint the need for such reinforcement to alleviate the serious deficiencies that some children have when accessing to Secondary Education. Because it is not only learning to communicate, is to pass or not the subjects and exams. In addition, this caused a very negative impact on how the hegemonic collective perceive that some students speak in their language between them, accusing them even more of cultural closure and of having little interest towards exogamous relationships.

period of newcomer students who role the school when the course has already started. The new figure of the *student-assistant* allows compensating internally the lack of interculturality. This figure is shaped again by the School Coexistence Plan. It is very remarkable the metamorphosis experienced by intercultural mediation from the PIPIA to the School Coexistence Plan. The schizophrenic tendency of the educational system to operate and deliver ambivalent discourses, while advocating for external openness by demanding the participation of the Association of Parents, subcontractors leisure companies and education for extra-curricular activities (sociocultural promoters), limits the access and the educational action of external experts (mediators, social workers, educational researchers, among others). It is confirmed that the main function in the procedural corpus of the mediator's professional profile, which has never been allowed to be developed because mediators require structural stability at the schools: the **mentoring guidance** of the student in process of adaptation to the new cultural environment has been plundered to mediators, as professionals, and irresponsibly "hired" to students from the same country of origin who are in their own process of maturing their personality and identity.

Conclusion

Regardless of the percentage of immigrant students and the environmental context of schools, the programmes developed on attention to diversity are the same programmes and all operate from the paradigm of compensatory education, which is implicitly addressing cultural difference as a deficit that affects the student's school integration. The discourse and, at the same time, "target" of "normalization" as the ideal of integration to be achieved -such ideal is promoted in an educational system that operates from the paradigm of compensation as a system of attention to psychophysical and socio-cultural diversity- means a crass political error because of the incongruity in which the political and legal discourses fall. Within this paradigm the discourse on intercultural education can only be interpreted as the penetration of a discourse that is constructed from discursive levels and frameworks of action that are external to the education system itself and to the schools. Intercultural education is necessarily oriented toward the phagocytosis of any foreign cultural logic, but the dominant logic, as intercultural education lies within a closed system in which pedagogical communication is oriented in a functionalist way towards the reproduction of a hegemonic world-view, which makes even more difficult to distinguish between

education and training for the labour market. Thus, unfortunately, we highlight the emptiness of the discourse in light of the explicit teleology of the system.

The social multiculturalism that globalization processes have produced at the local level requires the revision of an inclusive and participatory citizenship that may promote the rooting and membership in the localities. Educational policy must be consistent with the evidence of the changes that these processes have produced in the immediate environmental and social context of the spaces in which they are located, to conduct a **deep review of the educational paradigm**. Only a change of educational paradigm may assume interculturality to educate in the social model expressed by the discourse that disseminates it.

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