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'Lived and taught interculturality': Reflections on conviviality relations and integration in educational environments in Spain (Granada) and Portugal (Lisbon)

ABSTRACT

Granada and Lisbon, cities defined as 'super-diverse', host dynamics of exchange and interactions among sociocultural groups that go beyond mere coexistence. Educational environments (both formal and informal) host these aforementioned relationships especially among teenagers. Adolescents represent a significant social group as the 'subjects/objects' of public interventions through intercultural programmes and are protagonists of daily intercultural dialogues. In this article, we approach these ideas through the concept of conviviality. We comparatively analyse the indicators from

KEYWORDS

education
conviviality
interculturalism
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migrant
immigrant youth
students

1. MIPEX is a tool created by Migration Policy Group (MPG) and CIDOB (Barcelona Center for International Affairs) to evaluate different immigration integration policies implemented by the governments of the member states of the European Union and other countries such as Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States (<http://mipex.eu>).
2. The researches are 'Culturas de Convivência e Super-diversidade' (PTDC/CS-SOC/101693/2008), funded by the Fundação para Ciência e a Tecnologia de Portugal and directed by Beatriz Padilla; 'Multiculturalidade and integration of the foreign immigrant population in Andalusian schools' (Junta de Andalucía, Projects of Excellence, 2007–10), and 'Building differences in the school. Studies of the trajectories of ATAL in Andalusia, its teachers and its students' (Ministry of Science and Innovation, National Plan of I+D+i, 2014–16), directed by F. Javier García Castaño (University of Granada).

the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), a policy instrument-tool, applied in the education field and the data obtained through ethnographic research carried out in educational environments in Granada and Lisbon in specific programmes targeting adolescents and youth. Through this analysis we unveil the gaps of migration integration indexes such as MIPEX in the field of integration in education, compared with an ethnographic assessment of intercultural relations on how youngsters live and learn interculturality.

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration has become a common feature of European societies, and countries and cities of Southern Europe, previously recognized as emigration societies, have become multicultural. Granada and Lisbon have been defined as 'super-diverse' (Padilla et al. 2015; Padilla et al. 2018), hosting dynamics of interactions among sociocultural groups that go beyond mere coexistence. Migrations bring the desire and need to welcome newcomers and their children in the new society. When looking at the future and the long-term effects of migration, education is a key dimension in assessing integration in multicultural societies.

In educational environments (both formal and informal) relationships develop among teenagers and educators. Adolescents are a significant social group that have become the 'subjects/objects' of public interventions through intercultural programmes, and are protagonists of daily intercultural exchange. In this article, we applied the concept of conviviality to education in multicultural contexts, assessing the gaps of integration indexes to assess intercultural relations on the one hand and how youngsters live and learn interculturality on the other. Coined by Gilroy (2004), conviviality refers to the processes of cohabitation and interaction that instigate multiculturalism to be the habitual and daily feature of social life of urban areas that transcend the festive and folkloric convivial contact.

Educational cross-cultural research includes both strictly educational aspects and broader social processes. It is not mere pedagogical investigation, but involves economic and socio-political dimensions. Following this line of thought, we have observed and analysed how conviviality portrayed in multicultural environments is managed politically, from a perspective called intercultural, in formal educational institutions schools and how it is lived and experienced by youth in informal educational contexts.

We compare the results from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)¹ on the integration of migrants in the field of education, contrasting them with our ethnographic investigations carried out in educational spaces in Granada and Lisbon.² Fieldwork in the educational realm involved observations and interactions in Temporary Classrooms of Linguistic Adaptation (hereinafter ATAL) in Granada and Free Time Activities (hereinafter ATL) in Lisbon and interviews with educators, staff and authorities of schools and NGOs. Beforehand, we offer brief notes of our theoretical scaffoldings, a brief description of the contexts of ethnographic data production and the methodological design of our investigations. Results in other dimensions (cultural policies, daily interactions, etc.) have been published elsewhere (Padilla et al. 2015; Padilla et al. 2018).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Contemporary globalized societies are increasingly characterized by daily experiences of super-diversity (Padilla et al. 2015; Padilla et al. 2018).

Diversity can be accepted and recognized as permanent, implying an exercise of decolonization (Mignolo 2000). It is not that diversity did not exist in the past; however, today, more than ever, diversity has become more complex, an integral part of 'us', ceasing to be a defining feature attributed to 'others'. It is true that 'generally, diversity is understood as otherness, which is why the autochthonous elements are not commonly considered as part of that diversity' (Padilla 2015: 339), leading to situations where conflict, discrimination and racism co-exist as part of conviviality and interculturality.³ It is in the latter – conviviality and interculturality – where it is possible to sense how diversity is understood on its own and allows to generate sentiments of belonging. Here, we analyse and reflect on these realities and experiences, which we defined as 'conviviality' and observed in our research.

Gilroy (2004) understands conviviality as a process of cohabitation and interaction that has transformed multiculturalism into a habitual and daily feature of social life in urban areas of colonial cities throughout the world.⁴ Hence, conviviality emphasizes the ability of interactions between different groups 'beyond the mere coexistence with festive dyes, despite the barriers and conflicts occurred with the excuse of racial, ethnic, and cultural boundaries' (Olmos-Alcaraz and Contini 2016: 5). For Gilroy conviviality has evolved in response to the work of anti-racist groups, which he calls 'daily multiculturalism'. He also refers to conviviality as unpremeditated tolerance and an attitude of openness existing in urban contexts around the world that still nevertheless lacks a sophisticated explanation and a disquisition of a political nature. However, he still maintains that it is possible to manage public matters differently – despite the conflicts that are continually justified by the existence of cultural, ethnic and racial limits – in response to a reality that shows that people interact and live with differences (García et al. 2011b). Other authors used 'commonplace diversity' (Wessendorf 2014) or 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise 2009) to refer to situations equivalent to conviviality.

Educational spaces (both formal and informal) are paradigmatic spaces where these relationships among youth can be generated. These spaces are essential for conviviality because they allow to observe interactions derived from planning (intercultural educational⁵ policies) and from everyday situations of unpremeditated intercultural dialogues. Adolescents are a crucial group because they are both the 'object' of intercultural programmes and protagonists of an 'unconscious interculturality' (Olmos-Alcaraz and Contini 2016).

Based on the above statements, we ask ourselves whether there is a 'lived interculturality' (in courtyards, squares, classrooms, parks, etc.) and a 'taught interculturality' (in books, curricula, educational methodologies, etc.) as two different convivial educational realms. Do integration policy indexes help us understand how interculturality is manifested in multicultural societies? We strive to answer these questions throughout the article.

3. DATA CONTEXTS AND METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

This article entails different levels and scales of data and analysis. On the one hand, we used data collected at the national level for the MIPEX in Spain and Portugal in the field of education. On the other, we incorporate data gathered at the local level, obtained through fieldwork in educational environments (schools' and NGOs' programmes), collected in neighbourhoods located in Granada and Lisbon.

3. Interculturality is understood as a model that enables developing multiple identities where inter-ethnic/racial, inter-religious or inter-linguistic relations take place (Baumann 2001; Dietz 2012; Giménez 2003), exchange happens and new spaces of cohabitation and dialogue are generated and produced, even if issues of power are at hand (Walsh 2009; Olmos-Alcaraz 2016; García et al. 2011b).
4. There is a precedent to the concept coined by Gilroy. Ivan Illich in his work *Tools for Conviviality* (1973) already talked about conviviality to refer to the relationships of individuals with their environment, and how it is possible to create a society by having technology at the service of humans and not vice versa. Both Gilroy and Illich indicate with their respective concept proposals the ability of human beings to work together and identify themselves in diverse situations, irrespective of existing domination, discrimination and racism.
5. Intercultural education is understood as the one that seeks to recognize different cultures at the structural level (Walsh 2009, 2012) in all its aspects, elements and agents curriculum, organization of time and space, pedagogies and cultural-ethnics origin of teachers inside and outside the school. So, it results in something new, a new reality different from the pre-existing model (Olmos-Alcaraz 2009) and where interculturality is a global fact and not a mere reproduction; on the contrary, it

fighters against social inequality (Walsh 2012). See Dietz (2012) for a typology of intercultural educational models.

Fieldwork was of a qualitative nature, mainly an ethnographic approximation. Between 2009 and 2016, we had the opportunity to conduct interviews and participant observations in two neighbourhoods of Granada and Lisbon: one downtown and the other in the periphery (Padilla et al. 2015). The following aspects were studied: (a) the interactions and exchanges between neighbours in markets, squares and public spaces; (b) the interactions of adolescents in educational contexts (formal and informal) and (c) the planning of an intercultural event and the observed interactions during such celebrations. For this article, we only focus on the interaction of adolescents in educational spaces. To apply and assess conviviality in educational settings, we focus our observations on the following aspects: school initiatives and events (when possible), informal meetings/observation in school breaks, specific classes for not native students (second language classes) and programmes with explicit behavioural or cognitive aims such as relational skills, conflict resolution, guided support for homework. Observations took place in schools and/or in community organizations. Table 1 summarizes the details on the localities and programmes.

In the case of Lisbon, the neighbourhood located downtown, in the historic district, is one of the most diverse places in the city and country today. Actually, its diversity is longstanding as it has received residents of different backgrounds throughout the last decades. Indo-Portuguese (Cacém Muslims and Hindus) immigrants came in the mid-1970s, while people from Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Senegal and Zaire migrated in the 1990s. More recently, Chinese, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Nepalese immigrants have settled in its quarters. The neighbourhood has experienced several waves of rehabilitation and urban renewal, and at present, is facing gentrification. However, public policies are not necessarily trying to compensate the imbalances caused by inequalities and gentrification (Padilla and Cuberos 2015; Oliveira and Padilla 2017). With turistification and gentrification, diversity is changing as migrants from the Global South are being dislocated to the periphery and replaced by migrants from the Global North as residents or investors.

The neighbourhood located in the periphery of Lisbon has experienced urban growth in recent decades, accompanied by a noticeable increase in immigration flows. Immigrant populations are Brazilians, Cape Verdeans,

	Spain		Portugal	
	Central	Periphery	Central	Periphery
Neighbourhoods	Realejo	Zaidín	Mouraria	Agualva-Cacém
School	Faith-based (private with public funding)	Small public school for target population	Public schools near the neighbourhood	Public schools in neighbourhood
Programmes	Temporary classrooms of linguistic adaptation (ATAL)		Free time extra-curricular activities (ATL), civic education class, activities led by psychologists to solve behavioural problems, Portuguese as second language	

Source: own elaboration.

Table 1: Educational environments in Granada and Lisbon.

Dimensions and indicators	Granada			Lisbon
	Realejo	Zaidín	Mouraria	Agualva-Cacém
Diversity of origins	Morocco, the United States, China, Russia, Colombia, Ecuador, Autochthonous Spanish	Latin American countries, Senegal, Eastern Europe, Morocco, Autochthonous Spanish	PALOP, India, Bangladesh, Eastern Europe, China, Nepal, Autochthonous Portuguese	PALOP, Autochthonous Portuguese, Portuguese Rome Population
Type of interventions	No plans to manage the diversities.	School and NGO based, with school resources and NGO partnerships. Plans to manage the diversities.	School based with school resources	School and NGO based, with school resources and NGO partnerships
Intercultural initiatives	No intercultural activities	Exchange programme Any activity is considered intercultural	Monthly celebration of different cultures (folkloric)	Opening of school year Intercultural programme Gastronomic day Partnerships with Choices programme
Problems identified	Small student body Encouragement to enrol students in other schools	Limited knowledge of Spanish language. Lack of resources and no continuity	Restructuration of district, school dropout and failing, bad discipline, petty crime, limited knowledge of Portuguese language	Restructuration of district, vandalism, gangs, poor infrastructure, insecurity, poverty, unemployment, teen pregnancy, not mastering Portuguese language; behavioural issues
Model of intervention	Faith-based, with public funding but privately managed, no attention to diversity	Spanish as second language. Compensatory education	Portuguese as second language	Civic education classes, conflict resolution, relational skills; support with homework assignments
Attitude towards school	Moderate motivation of families and teachers	Moderate motivation of families. High motivation of permanent teachers	High motivation, more family involvement	Demotivation, lack of family involvement
Conviviality among youth	Mixed groups	Mixed groups and some ethnic grouping.	Strong ethnic grouping	Weak ethnic grouping, mixing, naturalization of some aggressive behaviour (pushing, confrontational attitudes)
Conviviality with adult figures	Respect towards instructor Dedicated teachers.	Respect towards instructor Dedicated teachers.	Respect towards instructor Dedicated teachers	Trust relations with services providers, burnout teachers.

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 2: Educational environments: features and interventions.

Angolans, Guineans, Romanians and Ukrainians, and more recent newcomers from Guinea Conakry and South East Asian countries. This ethnic and national diversity is evident in educational environments. Our data revealed that in some schools, young foreigners or descendants of immigrants, from twenty different nationalities, reach up to 40 per cent of the student body.

In Granada, the neighbourhood located in the central district, Realejo, has great historical and heritage value and since the 1990s, it has become the home of many international students. This diversity can be attributed to the University of Granada's efforts to diversify (language training schools) and to an overall increase in businesses targeting the young and international population. In the last fifteen years, the neighbourhood has changed significantly due to requalification and gentrification. Gentrification has led to the displacement of older residents, mainly low-income native populations, to the periphery. Thus, this district is now the neighbourhood with the highest concentration of EU residents in Granada (British, Dutch, German and Italian mainly, but also other nationalities).

The neighbourhood located in the suburbs was founded in the 1960s as a working-class district, but experienced some changes later on. In the 1980s, it received immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa (mainly Senegalese and Guineans) and in the 1990s, from Latin America (especially from Ecuador, but also from Colombia, Peru and Argentina). Today, the neighbourhood remains a working-class neighbourhood but housing mixed populations. Considering formal education, the neighbourhood has several schools, each with different levels of diversity of the student body. While some have up to 50 per cent of students of migrant origin, others only include 1 per cent (García and Olmos-Alcaraz 2012). As a consequence, diversity is not evenly distributed within and across schools.

Table 2 provides comparative data on the educational settings (formal and informal) where fieldwork took place in both cities, accounting for the types of interventions considered in each case.

4. CONVIVIALITY AND INTERCULTURALITY IN SCHOOLS

To uncover conviviality practices among the youth of immigrant descents and national origin, ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in Lisbon and Granada in formal and informal educational settings.

In Lisbon, the team focused on activities and programmes where youth participated, either in schools or in after-school programmes. Some observations were also carried out in Portuguese in second language classes in the downtown district, and interviews with teachers and/or staff responsible for after-school programmes were carried out in both neighbourhoods. The composition of the school bodies varies in each school in a way that diversity is not necessarily associated with the diversity in the neighbourhoods but rather the policies of schools to accept students who require language support and/or how the school districts were designed. In the Lisbon Metropolitan area new districts had been created, affecting school and health organization. New school districts have become more hierarchical (School Grouping) and both in Mouraria and in Cacém, this shift has translated into changes in the student's demographics. Some students are precluded to enter the school of reference on the basis of language skills, and in other cases schools claim lack of vacancy based on the assumptions of students' misbehaviours (usually about students with a migrant

background). These subtle but common practices are a way to select student bodies even if forbidden by law.

Due to the physical features of Mouraria, located in the downtown neighbourhood, old infrastructure, limited open space, narrow streets and the absence of schools located inside its borders, students generally attend two different schools (MS1 and MS2) both located in the vicinity. Our team approached both, gaining differentiated access in each. Student bodies in MS1 are very diverse in terms of origin but not so much in terms of socio-economic status. Students come from Brazil, Romania, India, Bangladesh, China, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Angola mainly. MS1 also has many students with Portuguese nationality but of immigrant origin, mainly from PALOP countries (common denomination for people who come from African countries of Official Portuguese Language, namely Cape Verde, Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique). In MS2, 16 per cent of the students are of migrant origin from 30 different countries; even if most of them come from Brazil and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, almost 40 per cent of those of migrant origin, speak a different language, many with low mastery of Portuguese. In addition to the language challenge, the school has experienced increasing levels of repetition, dropout, absenteeism, indiscipline and socio-economic deprivation that lead the school to apply to special support funding for the school grouping (Priority Educational Intervention Program).

In Agualva-Cacém, the suburbs, students attend several schools. Often, professors complained about the frequent restructuring of school groupings. Fieldwork was carried out in two schools, ACS1 and ACS2, and in two local associations (NGOs) that work with youngsters, namely NGO1 and NGO2. In ACS1, 36 per cent of the students are of migrant background, from eighteen different nationalities, and yet 31 per cent are from PALOPs. ACS2 shares similar demographics. Students in both schools come from families with low wages, with precarious jobs or unemployment, and low educational levels. These conditions tend to be more evident, according to school authorities, among students of migrant origin, with many being integrated into classes of Portuguese as a second language.

Our observations in both neighbourhoods in Lisbon show different patterns of intercultural exchanges and convivialities, sometimes spontaneous relations among students (school breaks, activities in NGOs), and others encouraged by teachers, schools or NGOs' staff, mediators, etc. Teachers highlighted that among students there is limited interaction among autochthonous students and youth of migrant descent (no newcomers) and those who are newcomers, who attend the classes of Portuguese for non-native speakers. Educators see little solidarity and exchange among these groups. Some teachers mentioned that students coming from the former Portuguese colonies are prevented from attending Portuguese support classes that they need because they do not master the language. This rule is perceived as problematic because many youths from PALOPs speak different creole languages as their mother tongue and are not familiar with written or oral Portuguese, and thus many fail school repeatedly. In addition, due to the economic crisis, some classes of Portuguese as a second language have been discontinued. Another problem that teachers mentioned both in Mouraria and in Agualva-Cacém was that the restructuring of school districts brought new students (not necessarily of migrant origin) with different habits that are seen as problematic (drug user and trafficker) who bring new dynamics to school life.

In Agualva-Cacém, observation at NGOs providing after-school programmes in Agualva-Cacém showed that convivialities result from the different types of sociabilities and interactions. Young people are exposed to 'diversity' and heterogeneity on a daily basis; thus they are receptive towards accepting differences by considering diversity a normal aspect in their lives, in contrast to the beliefs of their adult parents, teachers and the older population, who are less acquainted with diversity. Because youngsters grow up in environments that are not homogeneous, with classmates from different cultures, countries, languages and religions, they experience diversity as a quotidian encounter. Wessendorf has identified this as 'commonplace diversity' where on the ground and in the context of everyday lived diversity, multiple differentiations in cultural, religious or linguistic differences are not perceived as something particularly unusual (2014: 18). Participant observation revealed that youths face similar problems: absent father, single-headed household, parents working long hours and leaving kids alone, unemployment, alcoholism, numerous and extended families and teen pregnancy across generations, among others. These issues are experienced by Portuguese and immigrant families, although these sometimes tend to be more common among immigrants due to their higher vulnerability (legal status, unemployment, isolation, lack of social support and parenting). As a consequence, youths suffer from school failing, dropout, teen pregnancy, parents' abandonment due to work obligations and these conditions are perceived by school authorities and NGOs' staff as a vicious circle. However, on the positive side, because youths of different backgrounds grew up interacting among each other, segregation was less common and their problems were associated more with age than race/ethnicity or origin. Interestingly, NGOs staff members perceived youngsters from Guinea-Conakry as a model minority because their social behaviour is identified as responsible: they study hard, are well-behaved and do not cause problems in schools or in the streets. These positive features, according to our interviewees, are a consequence of their religion and religiosity: the practice of Islam.

An extra encouraging feature of interactions among youth is that their socialization did not show racial/ethnic boundaries or segregationist practices, contradicting their parents' practices and expectations. Inter-racial and inter-ethnic dating was common, mainly between white Portuguese girls dating Black boys, but also across other ethnic/racial groups. Our conversation with youngsters revealed that cross racial/ethnic dating is part of intercultural socialization that assessed Black boys as leaders as white girls as most desirable. The downside of premature dating – more common in Agualva-Cacém than in Mouraria – was teen pregnancy and teen parenting. In response, NGO1 developed programmes on this front. Its leader pointed out that teen pregnancy has been a problem on and off, and so planning interventions in the long run is important, even if some of the problems disappear for a period of time.

Territories play a role in fostering conviviality among youngsters, thus the infrastructure for leisure that schools, programmes and public spaces provide are relevant for them. While in Agualva-Cacém students attend schools close to home, allowing community building, in Mouraria schools are located out of the neighbourhood; hence opportunities for socializations are fewer. Youth in the periphery are manifested to be generally happy with their life, even if many of them never or rarely leave the neighbourhood. But, the availability

of youth programmes is important to engage the young population in activities they enjoy: music, theatre, dance, school support, sports such as karate, hand-craft with recycling material, virtual school, etc. At the time of fieldwork, Agualva-Cacém has many more options than Mouraria.

In Granada, the team encountered a similar situation: reduced number of schools, especially public, located downtown and more options in the periphery. The school in Realejo (RS) is a faith-based (Catholic) institution funded with public money but privately managed (*centro educativo concertado*), where students pay a reduced fee. RS has a reduced number of students of migrant background, about 2 per cent. When trying to register their children, most migrant families were advised by RS staff to send them to public schools located in other neighbourhoods, suggesting that they may be better served in centres that have programmes for non-native Spanish speakers. RS does not have any programme for students who do not speak Spanish, even if they claim to be interested in providing this language support and other intercultural programmes in the future. However, in practice, the fact that staff members openly encourage migrant parents to send their children elsewhere shows a different intention. Teachers believed that relations among students are good and do not entail confrontation, and the limited racial/ethnic diversity is not seen as problematic. On the contrary, educators perceived that students of migrant origin are well integrated and perform better than Spaniards. In this sense, conviviality is normalized. One constraint in the school is the lack of parents' involvement.

The school in Zaidín ZS used to be an extension of another educational centre, located in the most depressed area of the neighbourhood, with a high concentration of immigrant families, but later it gained autonomy. As a consequence, it faces some of the constraints in terms of infrastructure. The pedagogical programme is designed for students who have failed or face language limitations, with almost 50 per cent of the students being of migrant origin. Teachers and authorities were very aware of the difficulties of the students' body and sensitive to working and volunteering time for extra-school activities. Conviviality, according to them, is smooth and does not entail racial/ethnic hostility. Yet, in the beginning of the school year, socialization seems to be shaped by gender relations and ethnicity/origin, in which sports play an important role. Then, throughout the year, interactions become more intercultural. Relations between students and teachers are cordial and educators have time to dedicate to students as the faculty/student ratio is low. However, family involvement is limited, which is somehow compensated by the engagement of NGOs carrying out after-school programmes. One further constraint is that the student body changes every year, which does not allow any long-term planning. According to the school principal, with time all students get to know each other, overcoming any racial or ethnic divides, which illustrates how socialization plays an important role in demystifying differences.

Fieldwork helped us to understand how in both schools the understanding of interculturality varies according to the actors involved. Some people believed that interculturality is something related only to people of different origins, ethnicities or races, others believed that interculturality is an activity that promotes the involvement of people of all cultures, not just the ones who are perceived as 'different', while still others felt that the simple diversity present in school is the actual interculturality.

- 6. This has been referred as the 'first and second generation of immigrants' in MIPEX. We have already expressed caution when using these categories (Olmos-Alcaraz 2012) considering that they serve to perpetuate a process (of migration) as a permanent or unfinished state.
- 7. This includes foreign immigrant students and students with immigrant parents.

5. ANALYSING EDUCATIONAL INTEGRATION THROUGH MIPEX IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

MIPEX shows that immigrant students or those with an immigrant background, who sometimes hold foreign nationality,⁶ despite existing educational policies explicitly designed for immigrant education, do not achieve good academic results in many countries. One of the primary reasons why such disparity persists is due to deficient or inefficient implementation of the existing policies originating from a mismatch between political designs and educational practices (Olmos-Alcaraz 2010, 2016). The 2014 ranking of immigrant students' academic results, provided by MIPEX, puts Portugal as number six of the 38 countries considered. This rank can be assessed very positively. On the other hand, Spain is ranked twenty out of 38, which is less optimistic.

MIPEX has analysed and measured the integration of educational policies for immigrant populations in Spain and Portugal. In Spain, the main policies are structured around the so-called welcome/reception classrooms, or Spanish as a second language – for teaching the local language, in this case, Spanish. These classes are framed in broader Welcoming/Acceptance Plans, which include mediation, curricular innovation and work with the families. However, in practice, only language classes are provided, and thus there is a coincidence between findings from MIPEX and our research; only language classes are offered while the rest of the policies are not implemented. MIPEX assigns 37 points out of 100 in this field.

Portugal, evaluated as the second-best country globally, and sixth in the educational dimension, received 62 of 100 points, indicating a *limited performance*. Immigrant students rarely receive additional support that prevents them from dropping out of schools. On the other hand, there is some adaptation of educational curriculum considering diversity, generally in citizenship education classes. MIPEX points to Portugal as a country where young first-generation immigrants have access to language support courses, although they are available to all students and not exclusively to immigrants. According to MIPEX, contextual factors, such as speaking Portuguese at home, contribute towards the students' school performance. A considerable gap remains between immigrant students and second-generation descendants, but also with the natives. A 2008 survey carried out in some neighbourhoods with a

Indicators	Dimensions (selected)		
1. Access/universality of the education system	Equal access to all educational levels for undocumented students		
2. Attention to specific needs	Educational guidance	Language classes	Permanent economic resources
3. Taking advantage of diversity	Teaching mother tongue language		
4. Development of intercultural education for all.		Intercultural education (as a subject or a method)	Teacher training on interculturality and/or on needs of immigrant students

Source: Personal analysis of MIPEX's data.

Table 3: Educational integration of immigrant students.⁷

high percentage of immigrants or students with an immigrant background showed high repetition rates and low performance among them. School failure measured in terms of grade repetition showed that 71 per cent of the surveyed students from an immigrant origin repeated one grade, while 40 per cent of the native students failed. Racialization of ethnicity was also identified as a factor that negatively influenced the students’ performance since most of the students who failed were of African origin (Padilla and Ortiz 2014).

The indicators of MIPEX used to evaluate the educational integration policies are as follows: easy access to the universal education system; attention to specific needs; use of new opportunities that promote diversity; and development of a universal intercultural education. In the following sections, we will address each, but the last two, items 3 and 4, will be addressed together. Table 3 shows a summary of the analysis to follow:

5.1 Easy and universal access to the education system

In case of Spain, MIPEX shows equal access to education for all students, including foreign students in an irregular administrative situation. However, we can highlight certain nuances. It is true that everyone under 18 has the right to compulsory and post-compulsory education irrespective of their migration status; however, legislation regarding foreigners does not foresee that this right can be exercised for levels of non-compulsory education for students who are over 18 years of age. This situation leads to identifying cases that are particularly cruel to students, especially once they are no longer minors.

An example is young students who are over 18 years of age, in an irregular administrative situation, when studying in non-compulsory educational levels (modules of Medium Degree and/or other options classified as ‘professional training’). Our research shows that schools do not usually oversee these cases and that students generally attend classes without problems. However, many are unable to graduate and obtain their diplomas as they need to complete internships as part of the school curriculum. In these cases, the legislation does not allow students who hold irregular status to work, consequently stopping them from completing their studies.

In Portugal, MIPEX shows that the access of undocumented young students to school is partial even if the law stipulates mandatory secondary schooling for all children and youth because once they turn 18 years old, they can no longer be enrolled in school. Considering that many students of immigrant background are behind schedule, it is likely that when they turn 18, they could be at any level of the mandatory schooling. In TRESEGY (EU-funded project), we found that many youngsters must leave school when reaching that age (Padilla and Ortiz 2014).

5.2 Attention to other specific needs

MIPEX’s data on this indicator have to do with (a) the existence or absence of orientation protocols for families and newly arrived students; (b) language classes and (c) permanent (*systematic*) funding to support schools with immigrant populations.

For Spain, MIPEX does not provide information on the first two dimensions, although there are numerous studies and field experience on that show how public administration has been working to create norms and recommendations for migrants’ families in these fields (Olmos-Alcaraz 2009, 2016, 2018). On the other hand, as already pointed out, in Spain ‘language classes’ are only one part – although the most developed – of the so-called Welcoming/

8. Even though in Spain education is decentralized, so each autonomous community has the power to design and implement its own educational policies, when it comes to students of migrant origin in relation to Welcoming/Acceptance Plans, differences across regions are almost non-existent (García et al. 2011a). In this sense, what MIPEX shows at the national level coincides with what observed at the local level (ATAL in Granada-Andalusia).
9. Examples of organizational measures are flexible groupings, group splitting and teacher assistance support. For more information, refer to Rubio (2013).
10. There have been criticisms that these devices do not 'teach' the language as quickly as proposed due to segregation within the educational centres.

Acceptance Plans. Since 2000, regulations and action protocols have been developed in almost all Autonomous Communities to provide guidance to educational centres on how to design these Plans (García et al. 2011a).⁸ These protocols provide instructions on how to articulate measures and actions to facilitate registration procedures, foster the internal organization of the schools, ease communication and contact with families, make curricular adaptations and promote 'coexistence' among students.⁹

However, these issues are not prioritized in current regulations. Furthermore, 'in general we could affirm that [...] [these issues are] not given too much importance, given that welcoming/acceptance actions are articulated within broader objectives' (García et al. 2011a: 437). The most regulated of all intervention are the 'Aulas de Acogida' – or Spanish and other co-official language classes. So, there has been a significant progress in terms of regulatory development, school coverage and faculty provision¹⁰. This progress, however, has slowed down since the economic crisis. To give an example, in Andalusia, these courses were significantly reduced, from 310 to 216 (Castilla 2014; Montes 2015). Currently, the educational administration is developing a strategy as a replacement to this service, called Language Support Program for Immigrants (PALI), which is designed as an extracurricular activity and taught by school-hired instructors.

Moving onto the third dimension considered by MIPEX, the permanent (*systematic*) funding of resources for educational attention to immigrant and/or immigrant students, the MIPEX score indicates that Spain shows high support in this item; yet, it is still important to discuss the different levels of support. When compensatory education programmes provide support to students, resources (economic and human) are permanent as long as the programmes are defined as compensatory. This statement has generated some controversy. In some cases, centres have been 'forced' to be defined as compensatory centres to receive support from administrations. Consequently, it may imply a reinforcement of the processes of stigmatization and/or social 'ghettoization' (García and Olmos-Alcaraz 2012). The situation changes when considering programmes that do not fall under this classification and/or labelling. Thus, it is not possible at present to comprehensively affirm that Spain has a permanent and systematic endowment of resources. Data indicate that resources have been reduced and programmes outsourced since the economic crisis (García et al. 2015).

For Portugal, MIPEX identified welcoming/acceptance protocols for recently arrived students, and the existence of systematic support for schools with a sizable immigrant population. However, it does not identify the availability of language courses. What differs in Portugal is that there are programmes that provide extra funding for schools that face high levels of grade repetition and with a population of low socio-economic status. These programmes do not necessarily focus on cultural diversity or interculturality as they are based on the broader context. Many schools and intervention programmes in certain territories, such as the Choices/*Escolhas* programme, are not specifically designed for immigrants or second-generation students. However, they serve students of immigrant origin or target Portuguese Roma students as primary recipients. It is striking that MIPEX classifies Portugal, where a high percentage of repetitions and low school performance of immigrant students are widely spread, as the top third country in the ranking, out of 38 countries. Our fieldwork also revealed other vulnerabilities related to Portuguese-language programmes, which are often not available for foreign students from the

former Portuguese colonies, as they are expected to master Portuguese. This expectation is unreasonable because these African countries tend to be multi-lingual and even though Portuguese may be the official language, there are many unofficial languages that are students’ mother-tongue. Thus this forced expectation inhibits integration while encouraging discrimination towards PALOP students. Moreover, MIPEX does not include language discrimination as an item, which explains the high rate of failure among students of African origin, illustrating their exposure to socio-educational inequity.

5.3 Utilization of new opportunities that foster diversity and development of intercultural education for all

MIPEX’s data to assess the achievement of these indicators include the existence/absence of specific training programmes in the mother-tongue language of immigrant populations, the existence/absence of an intercultural education in the format of ‘curricular subject’ or as a method approach and faculty training.

For Spain, MIPEX points to the existence of language and culture education programmes for students of Moroccan, Portuguese and Romanian origin. For intercultural education, it discusses ‘cross-curricular priority’, incorporating interculturality into its teaching methods. No special faculty training exists.

Regarding intercultural education, the analysis should go back to its origin, two decades ago, when the debate on the implementation of intercultural education in Spain took place (Dietz 2012; García and Martínez 2000; Olmos-Alcaraz 2016). Other studies discussed the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of intercultural education in Spain (Olmos-Alcaraz 2016; Olmos-Alcaraz and Contini 2016). In Andalusia, the Integral Plan for Immigration (2001)¹¹ became the starting point of the discussion, which defines interculturality as follows:

Interculturality goes beyond the multicultural perspective because, based on the recognition of cultural diversity, it places cultural interaction as an educational fact. Interculturality forces us to think about cultural relationships within an educational project, but also within a social project, which means making equality of rights and opportunities for people in a specific society possible (Junta de Andalucía 2001: 8–9).

At that time, educational administration was supportive intercultural education, supporting theoretical approaches with fully funded policy interventions (Martínez 2012; Ortega 2012). However, school practices have been tremendously diverse. Although there are interesting yet limited cases of interculturality (Olmos-Alcaraz and Contini 2016), the dominant tendency seems to be moving towards a different direction since the assigned resources and political interest have been reduced notably in recent years. Therefore, interculturalization of the centres has not taken place, and intercultural qualifications are ignored. For instance, the ATAL (as a separate and specialized space for those who do not know the dominant language of the school) is shrinking. This is due to the externalization and cuts in service, and not more inclusive approaches to diversity.

With respect to faculty training, there are no specific training sessions on interculturality and/or the needs of immigrant students in Spain. However, through our fieldwork, we discovered that this type of training has been provided under the term ‘continuous education’. In recent years, there has been a significant reduction in these training sessions; but due to changes in the curriculum under the Bologna Plan, a series of new subjects related to

11. The normative basis comes from Law 9/1999 of November 18 of Solidarity in Education, which establishes ‘to enhance the value of interculturality by integrating respect for the culture of minority groups into education. It will also develop communication among the members of the educational community, regardless of their personal abilities and their social or cultural situation’. We also found a precedent in 1997, in the Integral Plan for the Gypsy Community of Andalusia (BOJA of 20 February 1997), which established the need for an intercultural approach in schools.

12. In our current work, we have detected that 80 per cent of Spanish public universities include the four grades analysed (pedagogy, early childhood education, primary and social education) in their curricula.

‘interculturality’ and ‘migrations’ have been created throughout the country¹². It is too soon to assess the effects because only one cohort of educators have benefited from to those sessions.

For Portugal, MIPEX indicates that schools offer courses in the maternal languages of the students, but these courses are not funded unless they are covered through other academic associations or entities and when offered, they are outside the school curriculum. Classes on other cultures remain optional and not mandatory, thus they usually are not offered. School curricula only encourage students to learn about other *cultures* – but from the traditional perspective of geography and history. Overall, Portugal lacks diversity policies aiming either the student body or faculty. The training provided to teachers does not focus on diversity and it is up to interested educators to seek further instruction. Some general courses were offered for intercultural mediators, but not focusing on schools or targeting faculty. The High Commission for Migration (ACM) offered mediation services in public services, but later on they were undertaken by only some municipalities. In higher education, there are already tertiary courses focusing on sociocultural relations although they do not solely focus on interculturality. It is worth noting that the concept of interculturality remains ambiguous in Portugal.

6. ETHNOGRAPHY AS SUPPLEMENTAL TOOL FOR ENHANCING MIPEX

Our fieldwork experience allowed us to identify four relevant points that suggest how the analysis carried done by MIPEX can be enriched, improved and complemented with the contributions from ethnography.

The first point relates to the level of measurement adopted by MIPEX, mainly focusing on the national level. Educational policies in both countries, Spain and Portugal, operate at trans-scalar levels as they are not always national, regional or local; on the contrary, many policies and programmes only operate at the very local level, while others are designed at the national level but are implemented differently in each locality. Differential implementation may result from the discretionary power that is attributed to schools or district authorities or to a lax and convenient way to avoid implementing certain measures, as when schools reject students or convince parents to register their children in a different institution, knowing that such advice implied breaching the law, and yet it is a common unlawful practice identified in Portugal and Spain. While tools such as MIPEX are blind to these nuances, ethnography, which allows observing daily practices from below, provides a more holistic vision of how educational policies work. One further example is the Welcome Plans in Spain. Even if it is recognized that education is decentralized and a prerogative of the autonomous regions, and that these plans are different from region to region, in practice, ethnographic observation indicated that welcoming plans tend to implement very similar rules (spoken or hidden). Thus, micro-ethnographic approximations enable the observation of convivial dynamics shedding light on and lending more clarity to quantitative indicators or those that capture the law but not its application.

Second, our ethnographic methodological approach provides the perfect framework to reflect on MIPEX’s ‘object of measurement’ because it coincides with the ‘theoretical object’ of our research: integration, coexistence and conviviality, not as mutually equivalent but as simultaneous and intertwined processes-phenomena. Thus, the object is not a final result of the application of a given policy, but rather an ongoing and unfinished process that is

evolving. Long-term ethnographic observations open the way to capture changes in policies and their enforcement.

Third, MIPEX does not allow to capture all angles of conviviality around ongoing integration processes. By focusing on the implementation of educational policies that result from the inclusion of students of migrant background into schools, such as Spanish/Portuguese for non-native speakers, MIPEX does not pay attention to how 'diversity and difference' is incorporated into conviviality and what the resulting interculturality is, including the lived and taught interculturality. Moreover, the fact that diversity and difference are built around a second language is problematic as in this scenario, youngsters coming from Latin American countries or African countries of Portuguese languages, thus the postcolonial migrants, are not considered part of the diversity even if they are. Moreover, to assume that they all master the colonizer language is presumptuous, given that most countries are multilingual and speak different autochthonous and creole languages. In addition, preventing them from registering in language support classes is an act of not recognizing the full diversity of people coming from the former colonies. Tools such as MIPEX do not fully reveal the complex realities deriving from diversity and interculturality, while ethnographic methodologies tend to focus on the convivial aspects of diversity, difference and intercultural interactions.

Last, but not least, MIPEX seems to focus on understanding 'taught interculturality' translated into second language classes and support, but interculturality is a process that is lived, experienced and generated on a daily basis among students, between students and faculty, and the school and neighbourhood. However, indicators developed by MIPEX are unable to capture conviviality interactions or diversity either embedded in the system or internalized by the subjects, be those students, teachers, staff or services providers (psychologist, social workers, etc.).

7. FINAL THOUGHTS ON CONVIVIALTY AND EVERYDAY INTERCULTURALITY IN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

Conviviality denotes the possibility of social interactions in contexts of diversity beyond simplistic idealization of a harmonious conviviality despite the existence of inequality (Gilroy 2004) and hierarchies of power (Padilla et al. 2018). If experienced in an educational context, it implies the possibility of groups of adolescents or children of diverse origins and socio-educational backgrounds generating daily intercultural dialogues.

Before moving into the final thoughts on conviviality and everyday interculturality, we should consider that in Spain and Portugal education is a right but not fully accessible or attainable for all youngsters. Inequalities affect some students more than others, with children of immigrant background facing disproportionately more inequalities. However, focusing on conviviality in schools allows to capture other situations where teachers and/or school administrative staff use discretion, make exceptions or turn a blind eye to discriminatory rules that prevent children from accessing schools due to their migration status. In addition to attitudes from school officials, some legal frameworks may or may not penalize minors due to their migration status, but ethnography data can provide evidence on how and if these regulations are implemented. Thus, our ethnographic approximation allows to illustrate situations that Santos (2009) describes as 'emergencies' and alternative realities. The alternative would be to do what some teachers do on a daily

basis: ignore unfair laws that generate inequality among students and preventing them from accessing education.

Now, going back to the questions posed at the beginning of this article of whether it is possible that 'lived interculturality' (in courtyards, squares, classrooms, parks, etc.) and 'taught interculturality' (in books, curricula, educational methodologies, etc.) coexist within the convivial educational realm and whether integration policy indexes help us understand how interculturality is manifested in multicultural societies, we arrive at some conclusions.

Is it possible to bridge 'taught interculturality' and 'lived interculturality'? Are these different processes or two sides of the same coin? Interculturality, first of all, should be comprehensive; otherwise, it cannot be considered intercultural. Comprehensiveness may be interpreted in many ways, but using Dietz's interpretation, the best intercultural education is 'one that no longer requires the intercultural adjective' (2013: 19). In Spain, interculturality was incorporated into educational policies in the 1990s; however, at present is not a priority. This lack of interest is not due to the incorporation of interculturality into normalized dynamics or mainstreaming in educational centres; rather, it stems from the decline in political interests. In other words, this reluctance towards the intercultural approach does not derived from having reached its aim, but from a shift in politics. Yet and despite this decline, it is still possible to analyse what and how schools enforce 'interculturality' and how the students experience conviviality. MIPEX used two indicators to assess education integration, namely, 'taking advantage of the new opportunities that favor diversity' and 'development of an intercultural education for all'. The dimensions developed to measure them involved teaching mother tongue language (of the country of origin) in schools, intercultural education and teachers' training on interculturality. While in Spain there are some Arabic, Portuguese and Romanian language and culture courses, in Portugal, immigrants' mother languages are not taught, with the exception of Chinese and Ukrainian, but offered and funded by private associations and parents' groups. In Portugal, Mandarin and other languages that are defined as *languages of the future* are taught in some schools, mainly private, but not promoting interculturality or intercultural education. Thus, the top-down strategies of 'taught interculturality' identified are not only rudimentary and incomplete, but do not promote interculturality or value diversity.

On the other hand, 'lived interculturality', by definition, is a bottom-up process arising from the relationships of conviviality developed in courtyards, classrooms, break time and socialization in parks, transcending existing structural inequalities. Lived interculturality does not involve teaching/learning 'other languages' but rather, has to do with an everyday experimentation of diversity. In this sense, any activity has the potential to become an opportunity for students to take advantage of, experience and live diversity together. So, how do youngsters live in a multicultural context?

In the case of Portugal, interactions among young people take place according to different groups, varying from school to school. Among the students of immigrant background, there is a diversity encompassing 'second and more' generations (generally students of African descent who have lived in Portugal longer) and the children of more recent migrants from Brazil, Eastern Europe (Ukrainians, Romanians, etc.), China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc. From what we observed, conviviality between non-immigrant youths and young people of African origin and even Brazilians (usually *mestiços* or whites) seems to come naturally in the educational environment. Nonetheless, close

conviviality was less common among young people who had just arrived to Portugal. In some cases, gender within some cultures affected interactions among students. For instance, Muslim girls had more limited interaction with other students due to parental and religious influences, and tended to miss more classes than other students. Many Chinese students left school due to academic failures and the desire to work. This shows that not all young people share the same opportunities to socialize and interact. Our observations in after-school programmes in the periphery indicated that most students were of African origin because they need more support as a consequence of their parents working long and late hours, which prevents them from providing help with schoolwork. Overall, many of the programmes offered provide support that is relevant to school work but also include training courses to develop social skills to learn to 'live' and interact with one another. All combined, schools and NGOs refer to them as 'relational training'. Project managers saw these trainings as a path to live together, control emotions (physical and verbal violence) and establish structure since almost every student had a so-called 'dysfunctional' family. Overall, on many occasions, the spontaneous conviviality of young people was distinctly intercultural, especially among natives and young people of African origin and of 'second or third' generations. Some girls mentioned having African boyfriends not only because they liked them but also because in this way they challenge their conservative parents who opposed interethnic and interracial relationships. Similarly, we identified fewer intensive conviviality trends among natives and youngster of other immigrant origins and Portuguese Roma population (gypsies). In one of the observed centres, youngsters of Roma background, despite living in the neighbourhood, were not allowed to enter the centres if the so-called 'gypsy cultural mediator' was not present. This limitation reinforced exclusion, even among students who knew each other and freely interacted in the streets.

Overall, ethnographic approximation to intercultural convivial practices in educational environments was appropriate to identify and describe existing practices in Spain and Portugal, complementing and enriching data provided by MIPEX. In addition, ethnography is more suitable to recognize the nuances and complexity of convivial relations and interculturality. Thus, we were able to reveal that while taught or top-down interculturality can lead to positive interactions in schools among students and faculty, lived or bottom-up interculturality offers a promise of a brighter and long-standing future within the educational system, which may translate into better students, better people and better citizens. Inclusive societies need to develop more educational and integration policies to become more intercultural.

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