

Cultural and linguistic diversity and interculturalism in Andalusian school: an analysis of education policies

Diversidad lingüístico-cultural e interculturalismo en la escuela andaluza. Un análisis de políticas educativas

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Abstract

This paper is based on some research projects about immigration and education in Spain where I have been working on. The objectives of this work are: 1). To show the linguistic diversity of the students at Andalusian school, due to the migratory phenomenon; and 2). To analyse the educational policies designed to manage the linguistic diversity in schools. The results –obtained by conducting questionnaires, interviews and participant observation– indicate that, due to the increase of linguistic diversity in the last decade, some educational policies have been designed to manage the new linguistic and cultural situation, but also indicate that there are ‘different kinds of policies for different kinds of students’. As a conclusion of this paper, I make a critical approach of how the government is treating the arrivals of ‘new students’, and how the different languages have been treated, because some of them have been more recognized than others.

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Resumen

El texto muestra parte del trabajo realizado a raíz de la participación en diversas investigaciones sobre inmigración y escuela en España. Los objetivos del artículo son: 1). Mostrar la diversidad lingüística de los estudiantes en la escuela en contexto andaluz, producto de los movimientos migratorios internacionales; y 2). Analizar las políticas educativas diseñadas para gestionar dicha diversidad. Los resultados que se exponen –fruto de la realización de cuestionarios, entrevistas y observación participante– indican que, para responder al incremento de la diversidad, las administraciones públicas han diseñado dispositivos para enseñar español al alumnado extranjero y programas para enseñar lenguas como el inglés, francés o alemán, a los que no asisten normalmente los/as alumnos/as inmigrantes, quedando fuera de estas políticas lingüísticas las “lenguas de los/as inmigrantes”. En la discusión se reflexiona sobre el trato diferenciador que se está dando con ello al alumnado, de tal forma que podemos hablar de “distintos tipos de políticas para distintos tipos de alumnado”.

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To claim homogeneity in Spain in linguistic and cultural terms has always been a controversial issue, tinted with explicit political interests. Linguistic and cultural

diversity in Spain is a historical fact. At the present time, and over the past couple of decades, we are undergoing an increasingly progressive growth of this diversity due to the

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international migratory movements ending in Spain. This "new diversity" lives now together with the historical heterogeneities of the country. For some time now we have seen how these new circumstances, generated within the globalised societies, are being defined with the concepts of "diversity of diversities" (Wallman, 2003) and/or "super-diversity" (Vertovec, 2007; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). Such theoretical proposals are showing the complexity and the behaviour of the existing heterogeneity beyond considerations anchored in reductionist cultural diversity concepts, which understand this primarily as ethnic diversity. This mostly applies to the studied context, and also to the context of the countries in South Europe (Padilla, Azevedo & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2015) in general, while interconnected, glocal, transnational societies where migrations have made communities very complex in their structure: origin, language, race/ethnicity, age, gender, social class, migratory status, etc. would be only some of the categories of the "super-diversity".

This phenomenon is more conspicuous within the formal educational environment spaces in such a manner that, for some time, the different administrations (central and regional) have been designing and implementing a number of educational policies to manage such a diverse reality. See the work of Antolinez and García-Cano (2011), Jiménez (2012), Olmos-Alcaraz (2010), Rubio (2013), Márquez and García-Cano (2014) and Castilla (2014), among others, in the case of Andalusia; Alegre (2011), Carrasco (2011) and Simó, Pámies, Collet-Sabé and Tort (2014), among others, for the Catalanian case; or Poveda, Jociles and Franzé (2009), Sánchez and García (2011), Del Olmo (2012) and Cucalón (2014), inter alia, to know better on Madrid's region. Likewise, we already have a diversity of works exploring different ways of managing the diversity related with immigration at a national level (García, Fernández, Rubio & Soto, 2011), and they offer comparative analysis among the regions.

The aspects of such policies largely reflect the socio-cultural constructions that the Spanish society as a whole makes on the

migratory phenomenon, and their beneficiaries: the immigrants. That is why different authors have expressed that a problematic consideration of migrations involves also their own management as a problem (Zapata-Barrero, 2001; Santamaría, 2002; Olmos-Alcaraz, 2012; Sebastiani, 2015). In this context -in terms of educational assistance policies pertaining to foreign students- we can see how the paradigm of interculturality has been strongly growing in this country since the nineties (Dietz, 2012), thus largely reducing the practices of what is called "Intercultural Education" to assist/act on students with certain conditions (Franzé, 2003; Ortiz, 2005; Olmos-Alcaraz, 2010; García *et al.*, 2011; Carrasco, 2011; Fernández & García, 2015). That is to say, in the Spanish context interculturalism began to gain strength to respond the influx of foreign migrant population not other historical diversities of the country (García & Martínez, 2002; Carrasco, 2003; Del Olmo & Hernández, 2004). During this process there are some categories of the diversity that are more evident: language and culture ("objectified" and understood as synonymous of "traditions and folklore"). Therefore it is necessary a critical analysis of these policies, designed and implemented to a regional level, that say -in the State as a whole- to respond to an attempt of "Intercultural Education"^[1] but ultimately respond to a model of "functional interculturality" (Tubino, 2004)^[2] Such analysis should remark that interculturality - "Intercultural Education"- as a political project, can not remain merely an acknowledgement of the diversity (or just a part of it), but it has to promote the beginning of dialogue processes among the minorities and the majority population. This would not seek to hide the power relations and hierarchies but to make them visible, to explain them and to put them in the epicentre of the dialogue (Quintero *et al.*, 2014), with the aim of addressing the relations of inequality prevailing in the society. It will be the only way to move towards a "critical interculturality" project (Freire, 2008; Tubino, 2004; Viaña, 2010; Walsh, 2008) whilst "society proposal, as a political, social,

epistemic and ethical project conducted to the structural transformation (...), established on the construction of conditions among all -of knowing, being, power and life itself- (...). But also as a tool to act; meaning as a deliberate action, continuously" (Walsh, 2012, p. 13).

This research is set within the need of recognition of this reality at the inflection point we now are, characterised by the international, European and Spanish hardening of migration policies, particularly, within the socio-economic crisis present, to be able to reflect on cultural-linguistic diversity management in the current educational spaces. These are the questions which are the subject of this research: 1). Is currently the Andalusian school presenting a high degree of multilingualism thanks to the presence of students coming from foreign immigration?; and 2). Are the implemented linguistic policies at schools responding to the multilingual reality, favouring the access in equal conditions to every student to the various school itineraries? To answer these questions these have been the objectives raised: on one hand, with a descriptive character in mind, 1). To show the linguistic and cultural diversity at school in the Andalusian context, as a result of migratory movements; on the other hand, 2). To critically analyse the educational policies that are being implemented to manage this cultural-linguistic diversity. The description of the methodological design used for it is specified as follow.

Method

The work shown in this article is the result of the engagement in various ethnographic research projects^[3] carried out by the Laboratory of Intercultural Studies (University of Granada), of which I am part of as a researcher. It is therefore a work that brings together the investigation results obtained from different qualitative studies, with a largely descriptive and interpretative approach.

In the framework of the research, beside the number of observations and interviews described as follow, we did a questionnaire on linguistic diversity to know more about some

of the transformations entailed by the international migratory movements within the educational spaces. This instrument, developed and implemented during the school year 2009-10, was used in 9 secondary schools of 3 Andalusian cities^[4]. The items we asked for were about subjective linguistic competences - it was not at all a level test- and areas and contexts in which the different languages are used^[5]. It was designed with an accessible vocabulary for the secondary school students, and advice on translation was done when needed. It was a total of 1.953 respondent students^[6] between 11 and 19 years old. The sample comprised the total of the students in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th courses of the Compulsory Secondary Education within the 9 selected schools, as the research was to explore the cultural-linguistic diversity within all of the levels of the compulsory higher education. The statistical processing was done using the SPSS package^[7].

Regarding the ethnographical fieldwork, almost continuously conducted from 2004 up to the present day, has led to have a great number of interviews, observations and discussion groups, carried out -on-site- by a team of researchers. I would like to enhance this issue as I appreciate this is a rather unusual way to work ethnography. The team work has allowed to observe 44 secondary schools all over the 8 different provinces of Andalusia. Interviews have been carried out in all of them (121 in total) and participant observation during the school periods. We also got to perform discussion groups in 18 schools. The fieldwork has been taken to the educational administrations, completing 41 interviews to politicians and technical staff of these administrations. The processing of the produced data has been done with the Nudist Vivo software^[8].

Finally we have done a review of the regulations on the subject of this article. This has allowed us to compare the design of educational policies affecting the cultural-linguistic management in this context, with the implementation of them, observed through the fieldwork carried out.

Results: cultural-linguistic diversity and its approach at school

When Spanish is just one more language

With regard to our first objective, visibilise the linguistic diversity of the pupils at the

studied schools, the result of the analysis of the questionnaire points that Andalusian school is currently anything but mono-lingual or mono-cultural. Table 1 data indicates the different mother tongues of the sampled students. a total of 22 different languages:

Table 1. Mother tongues of the interviewed students

MOTHER TONGUE	Frequency	%
Arab (Darya)	27	1,38
Berber	2	0,1
Brazilian	1	0,05
Bulgarian	12	0,61
Catalan	1	0,05
Creole	1	0,05
Chinese	4	0,2
Spanish	1779	91,09
Fang	1	0,05
Fante	1	0,05
French	6	0,31
Hindi	1	0,05
Hungarian	1	0,05
English	56	2,87
Italian	1	0,05
Lithuanian	3	0,15
Polish	2	0,1
Portuguese	3	0,15
Rumanian	26	1,33
Russian	9	0,46
Ukrainian	1	0,05
Urdu	2	0,1
Null	13	0,67
Total	1953	100

As can be noted from the table provided, it is representative the wide range of native languages of the interviewed students but not so much the quantity of students speaking each of them. English is the more numerous mother tongue after Spanish, but it only represents 2,87% of the sample total, followed by 1,38% Arab (Darya or Moroccan Arab) and 1,33% Rumanian. The percentages are certainly very small. However when we consider all the students who have a different language, other than Spanish, as a first language, the percentage is almost a 10% of the interviewed students, in an educational system (the Andalusian) where Spanish is the only vehicular official language. These data are supported with the information obtained

through interviews and observations. See how one of the teachers tells us about the "linguistic situation" at his school:

There are English speaking students, from Ireland, this is a 3,7% (...). And the rest of them it depends, because obviously some of them speak Spanish, like Bolivians or Brazilians, they speak Spanish, but we have from Israel, India, Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, China (...) and they don't usually speak Spanish, unless they were born in Spain, there are some Chinese that they were born in Spain, but the rest don't speak Spanish. There are a lot of languages, yes. (Spanish language Teacher, 2010).

Then, the interviewee, told us that between the Chinese student and Rumanian student,

neither of them knowing Spanish, the learning speed is very different, due to the proximity/remoteness of their own mother tongues with the Spanish. It is important to keep this in mind, because it will help us to begin the critical analysis of the cultural diversity management educational policies that is shown in the next section.

Table 2 shows which are the second languages of the interviewed students. Almost

a 90% of them (1.736 students) have said that they speak a second language and -to the already mentioned first languages- we have to add the rest of the co-official languages of the Spanish state (Basque, Galician, Valencian), other official languages of EU countries (German, Dutch, Italian) and others like Bambara, Panjabi or Wolof. Between mother tongues and second languages, the studied schools have a total of 32 different languages.

Table 2. Second language of the interviewed students

SECOND LANGUAGE	Frequency	%
German	1	,1
Arab (Darya)	29	1,5
Bambara	1	,1
Berber	1	,1
Catalan	12	,6
Chinese	1	,1
Spanish	106	5,4
Basque	1	,1
Fang	2	,1
French	156	8,0
Galician	2	,1
Dutch	1	,1
English	1397	71,5
Italian	6	,3
Portuguese	3	,2
Panjabi	1	,1
Rumanian	4	,2
Russian	9	,5
Ukrainian	1	,1
Valencian	1	,1
Wolof	1	,1
Total	1736	88,9
Null	217	11,1
Total	1953	100,0

The languages spoken more often are English, French, and Spanish, in order of frequency.

A 70% of the interviewees (1.356 students) also say to speak a third language (Table 3), and even a fourth language a 7% of them (142

students). Japanese, Serbian, and various linguistic varieties of Romani ("Spanish Romani" and Rumanian Romani", according to the own emic categories of the students). A total of 36 different languages were recorded in the sampled schools.

Table 3. Third language of the interviewed students

THIRD LANGUAGE	Frequency	%
German	15	,8
Arab (Darya)	17	,9
Catalan	10	,5
Chinese	1	,1
Creole	1	,1
Spanish	38	1,9
Basque	1	,1
French	1038	53,1
Galician	3	,2
Dutch	1	,1
English	199	10,2
Italian	13	,7
Japanese	2	,1
Portuguese	4	,2
Spanish Romani	1	,1
Rumanian Romani	1	,1
Rumanian	4	,2
Russian	2	,1
Serbian	2	,1
Ukrainian	1	,1
Valencian	1	,1
Wolof	1	,1
Total	1356	69,4
Null	597	30,6
Total	1953	100

These data show the increasing multilingualism in Spanish and Andalusian schools, and the students plurilingualism. Maybe the question must already be asked what the level of such languages students have. The answer options in the questionnaire on their command of the spoken languages were VERY POOR, POOR, AVERAGE,

GOOD, VERY GOOD, PERFECT with regard to reading, writing and speaking. The questionnaire -as pointed above- has not been a level test on such questions. The research focus was the personal subjective assessments of the students on their language skills. In this sense the obtained results were as follow:

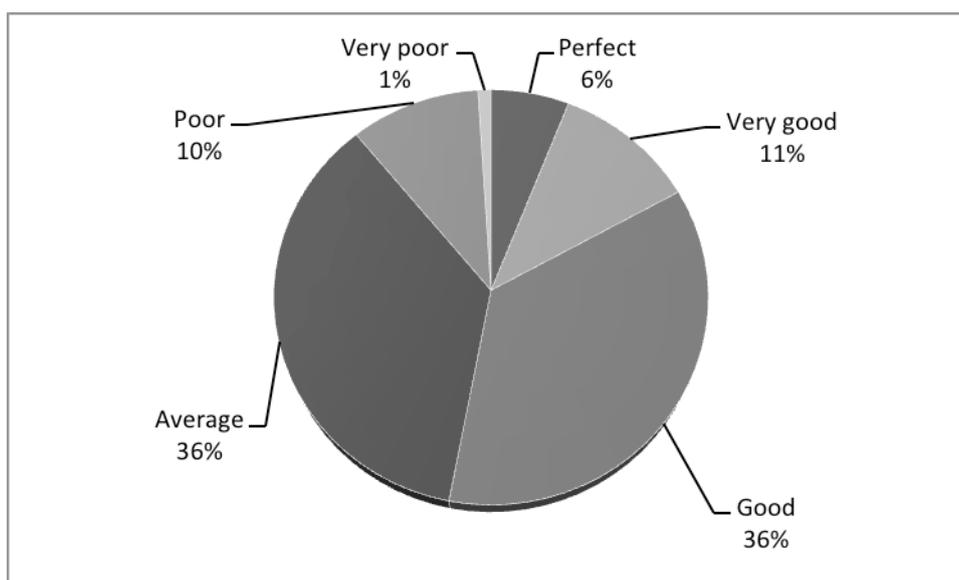


Figure 1. Second language skill level

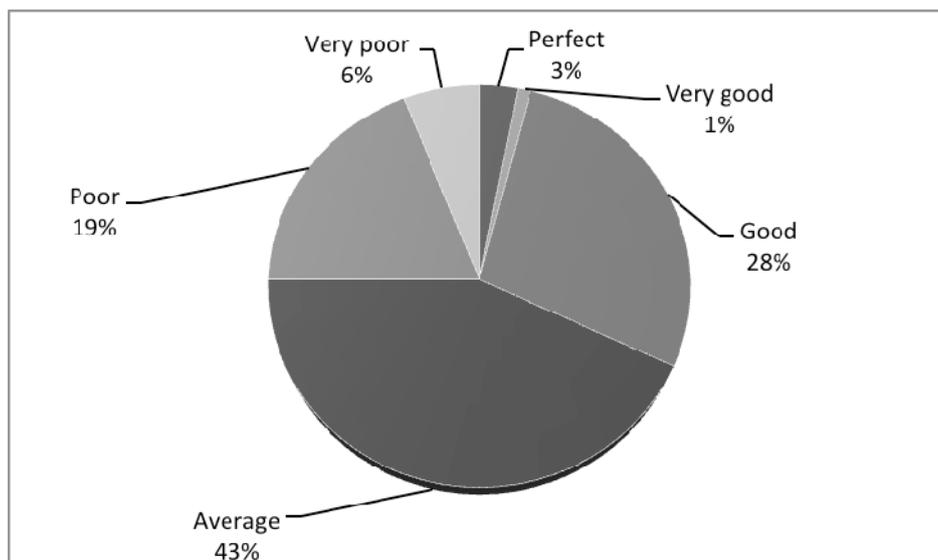


Figure 2. Third language skill level

Figure 1 shows how a 6% of the sampled students clearly state to speak PERFECTLY a second language, more than 10% VERY GOOD and almost 40% GOOD. There is a positive assessment on the second language skill of almost a 60% of the sample. With regard to the third languages (Figure 2), the level is lower but still more than a 30% of the interviewees affirm to speak at a good level a third language. However teachers do not perceived in many cases this diversity as a potential of the schools but, very much on the contrary, as a handicap:

We have considered many times what type of training should we claim for to deal with the situation of the immigrant students, what shall we do? if it was the case that everyone spoke the same language we could prepare materials and specialise ourselves in that language (...) but we have Rumanian, Moroccan, Chinese, Arab, what can we do, which languages shall we learn, how? and even for the Department of Education is difficult to appoint an interculturality teacher because, who is going to be the one? whoever comes is going to be completely null if there is no knowledge of the language, what type of work can you do? (School Headmaster, 2010)

Referring to a "lack of training" to work on such situations. Greater human resources would certainly help to change the perception

of the teachers in terms of the diversity issue at schools. Within the framework of a focus group with Spanish teachers for foreign students, technical staff of the Public Administration and researchers on these topics, a teacher, in the same line as the quoted headmaster, recently stated that:

We would like to know methodologies, advices, a pedagogical way to teach a foreign language, because it is not easy. I mean, I have some training but other teachers, teaching Spanish to the foreign students, do not have it, because we are everywhere. We are Maths teachers, Philosophy teachers, this and that. In other words, we do not have specific training. (teacher for foreign students, 2015).

Most remarkable here it is not the similarity of both arguments but the temporal gap of five years separating them, which indicates that the concern for a greater and better training remains.

Educational policies for the management of the cultural-linguistic diversity

Regarding the second objective of this article, to analyse the educational policies designed to manage cultural-linguistic diversity, it is necessary to resume the idea mentioned above on the importance to consider the percentage of the sampled students who do not have Spanish as their mother tongue: almost a 10%. This is

significant because the policies of this country, and in Andalusia, to manage cultural diversity are primarily policies to manage the linguistic diversity. In other words, when observing the treatment of the school population identified as "immigrants"^[9] in Spain is seen how the pupil reception plans are essentially the development of specific tools to serve those who do not speak the vehicular language of the school (Olmos-Alcaraz, 2010, 2012; García *et al.*, 2011) . Spanish for the Andalusian case.

Despite this, the schools "do not quantify" languages to ask the educational administration for resources to implement specific programmes. This brings us to a first critical consideration on the educational policies to manage cultural-linguistic diversity, since there is no comprehensive way to know about linguistic diversity if what we observe is diversity of nationalities (these are the ones quantified in the school statistics). Let us see how this is mistaken by part of the school teachers, even when they -apparently- know the "differences". In this case, a school head teacher assimilates "immigrant" to "child of immigrants" when telling about how the educational administration provides resources for his school:

We know how to handle the issue when a child has zero communication level, we have the administration resources and, also, a teacher for these children. Right now we have 76 immigrant pupils. We distinguish between immigrants and foreigners and I am going to tell you why is this. Most of the children that are already being born here in Spain are already taking Spanish nationality, so if you only look at the nationality there are only 10 different countries I think, but on the other hand, if you consider their origin they come from 12 different countries. There is a difference there, we draw this line (...). These pupils, children of immigrants are here, there are 35 Moroccan, 6 Colombian, 15 Ecuadorian, 7 Portuguese, 1 Croatian, 2 Senegalese, 3 Algerian, 2 Bolivian, 1 Polish and 1 Argentinean... . (Head teacher, 2010).

Let us also see how the data differ in the sample of the conducted questionnaire. In Table 4 we can observe a link among the spoken mother tongues by the students according to their nationalities, although identifies only nationals or foreigners.

Table 4. Mother tongues of the interviewed students by nationality

MOTHER TONGUE	NATIONALITY		Total
	Spanish	Foreign	
Arab (Dariya)	4 (,2%)	23 (7,6%)	27 (1,4%)
Berber	0 (,0%)	2 (,7%)	2 (,1%)
Brazilian	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
Bulgarian	0 (,0%)	12 (4,0%)	12 (,6%)
Catalán	1 (,1%)	0 (,0%)	1 (,1%)
Creole	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
Chinese	0 (,0%)	4 (1,3%)	4 (,2%)
Spanish	1574 (95,7%)	202 (66,7%)	1776 (91,2%)
Fang	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
Fante	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
French	4 (,2%)	2 (,7%)	6 (,3%)
Hindi	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
Hungarian	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
English	52 (3,2%)	3 (1,0%)	55 (2,8%)
Italian	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
Lithuanian	0 (,0%)	3 (1,0%)	3 (,2%)
Polish	1 (,1%)	1 (,3%)	2 (,1%)
Portuguese	0 (,0%)	3 (1,0%)	3 (,2%)
Rumanian	1 (,1%)	25 (8,3%)	26 (1,3%)
Russian	0 (,0%)	9 3,0% ()	9 (,5%)
Ukranian	0 (,0%)	1 (,3%)	1 (,1%)
Urdu	0 (,0%)	2 (,7%)	2 (,1%)
Perdidos	8 (,5%)	4 (1,3%)	12 (,6%)
Total	1645 (100,0%)	303 (100,0%)	1948 (100,0%)

Spanish is not the mother tongue of more than 5% of the Spanish students, and -what is more interesting- for almost a 67% of the foreign students is. Among the first ones will be the children of mix couples (Spanish-foreign), children of migrant families that have already been born in Spain (the so-called "second generations"), or Spanish whose mother tongues are co-official of the Spanish state, among other circumstances; among the second ones will be basically all of the foreign pupils coming from Spanish speaking countries^[10].

These data indicates that nationality is not an effective predictor to justify the implementation or not of an educational policy for the management of linguistic diversity, -a priori- for obvious reasons: nationality is not the same as language. Nevertheless the Spanish context, for some time, has had statistics on immigration in school contexts, but not on national or regional statistics about linguistic diversity related to the arrival of migrants to the country. This could have offered data, not only from students with a mother tongue other than Spanish, but how many of them live in multilingual family circumstances and, particularly, which languages are these ones.

Two educational policies to manage linguistic diversity in the Andalusian context are analysed bellow. The two of them are part of the "Intercultural Education" that is being constructed on a political level. On the one hand, and being the longest, we have the Andalusian Education Plan for Immigrants (from 2011), hereafter AEPI. On the other hand, the Plurilinguism Promotion Plan, hereafter PPP, is also implemented from 2005. Both plans consider among their objectives the aspiration to interculturalise schools:

Andalusian Education Plan for Immigrants Objectives:

Objective #2.

Promote the development of intercultural Educational Projects within the schools facilitating and encouraging the exchange,

interaction and cooperation among cultures (Andalusian Education Plan for Immigrants 2001, p. 12).

Plurilinguism Promotion Plan Specific Objectives:

[...] The intercultural education for students will be enhanced to strengthen intercultural awareness, promote tolerance and ensure mutual respect among students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In this sense there will be a proposal for the central administration to incorporate new languages as a first language, especially the ones most commonly spoken by our immigrant students (Plurilinguism Promotion Plan, 2005, p. 56).

But none of these objectives are being achieved, as it is clarified below.

Let us considered the "Intercultural Education" definition given by the regional government, since we have to be aware that it has got a great variety of models and typologies (García *et al.*, 2011; Dietz, 2012.). Thus, the administration "Intercultural Education" definition is:

The intercultural perspective starts from an approach where interaction is the essence, the recognition that cultural is necessarily an interactive phenomena where barriers are not feasible. Building interculturality requires the possibility to establish culture in its relationship with other cultures. This is only possible if everyone can contribute along the process and these contributions are subject of exchange and critical assessment (...). Interculturality compels to think about cultural relationships within an educational project, but also within a social project, that implies to allow equal human rights and opportunities for the people in a particular society (Andalusian Education Plan for Immigrants 2001, p. 8-9).

Understanding this as an approach to promote the interaction among the school groups; and a project that must be educational and social, meaning having a presence both in

and out of school. However, when it comes to the practical implementation of both plans, stands out the differentiation of various types of students, achieving just the very opposite: no interaction, no dialogue, no coexistence. Let us see why.

The most prominent action within the AEPI framework is clearly the Linguistic Adaptation Temporary Classrooms (hereafter LATC), devices to teach Spanish to the newcomer students^[11]. From 2007 there is a policy development for it, through the Order 15th of January 2007, in which the measures and actions to develop the attention of immigrant students are regulated. However such Order dedicates 11 out of its 13 articles to exclusively the teaching of Spanish issues. The other 2 articles deal with measures to welcome immigrant students (art. 3) and measures to preserve their culture (art. 13).

That is to say, we find that policy development, which should be a major foundation of the "Intercultural Education" in the studied context, primarily focuses in language aspects confined to part of the foreign immigrant population: teaching Spanish. Then, what happens with the budget for the "Intercultural Education" as a project where "everyone can contribute along the process and these contributions are subject of exchange and critical assessment" (AEPI, 2001, p. 9)? It obviously seems, with this type of measures, to be promoting more linguistic assimilation rather than plurilingualism and multilingualism. Let us see the inputs of the second policy mentioned, the PPP.

In this case, although one of its objectives reviewed was "to incorporate new languages as a first language, especially the ones most commonly spoken by our immigrant students" (PPP, 2005, p. 56), the existing programmes do not exactly reflect this. From 2005 12 Spanish-German bilingual schools, 59 Spanish-French bilingual schools and 782 Spanish-English bilingual schools (data for 2013-14 school year) have been created in Andalusia within the PPP framework. So the "immigrant" languages and mainly the "non-

European immigrants" are out of this plan. We should insist in the idea that a nationality is not a language, but this does not mean we can not observe how the most common foreign nationality within the Spanish school is Moroccan, with a 19,8% of the students^[12], not the British, American, French or German^[13].

We also have to reflect on who the students attending these bilingual programmes are. The previous criticism wished to reflect an absence of certain languages in the plurilinguism programmes in the studied context, and highlight the contradictions between the conceptual design of the regulation and the implementation^[14]. Nonetheless we could think that the PPP is prioritising bilingualism with more competitive languages for the current labour market, and that they will be needed and very useful for the professional future of the students. This argument perfectly fits with the English language; but it is not so clear for French or even less German. Therewith it may be wondered whether Chinese is not taught thinking about the potentiality in the very near future due to the increasing rate of Chinese businesses internationally. However it is much more problematic to observe who is the people accessing to these bilingual programmes. Neither in this case we have statistics, but my practice based on the years of experience in ethnographic field work -as mentioned in the methodology section of this article- allows me to affirm that the immigrant students with foreign nationality nor the students with a migrant background are, to a larger extent, the ones accessing the bilingual programmes. An interviewed teacher stated on this: "The immigrants are not usually within these programmes because the teachers recommend the best pupils for this bilingual itinerary. The immigrants usually have worse grades, they are not the best students, and therefore they are not in this programme, no" (Music teacher, 2012). While their Spanish and children of Spanish classmates enter such programmes, these immigrant students have to leave their standard classrooms to go to the Spanish lesson or curricular diversification or any other

type of special educational attention programme^[15].

So in terms of interculturality, while some students are attended with the AEPI, others, with the same argument, are attended through the PPP. This is having in mind that most of these students coming from migrant backgrounds have already English or French as a second language, due to their previous schooling in countries where the school vehicular language is the one from the former metropolis.

Discussion

There is a great linguistic diversity -and thus cultural- in the Andalusian classrooms, whilst the reflection of the current situation in Spain due to the international migratory movements in the last decades. In this context, and with the emergence and the development of the intercultural discourse in the country, the design of educational policies with objectives pointing to wish the management of the diversity, is -on the contrary- drawing with differentiating tints.

In the considered sample there is a clear heterogeneous and plurilingual structure, which could be leveraged to build multilingual and intercultural paradigmatic spaces. Nevertheless the work done so far suffer from serious pitfalls, without discrediting the efforts of the professionals working towards the management and implementation of the plans mentioned in this article^[16]. Hence, as proactive conclusions, we must consider that:

- It is necessary to institutionally recognise the linguistic diversity in the classrooms, with intercultural comprehensive educational policies. In other words, education can not segregate if we want it to be intercultural. The major issues emerged from intercultural educational programmes in different contexts have to do with the fact that there was no link between what it was theoretically designed at a political level and what was implemented (Muñoz, 2009), or with the assumption of a functional intercultural paradigm (Tubino, 2011;

Walsh, 2012) that does not respond to the necessities and characteristics of the societies where is implemented. This is also the case of Andalusia and Spain in relation to: law, policies and plans drafting gather some "Intercultural Education" definitions according to the idea of an equal exchange among the different groups, with no segregation, but this is not implemented as such. And the teachers have been claiming for a long time greater resources and training to address properly this every day reality. The objectives proposed by the authorities in the studied context are very ambitious, commendable we may say, fair if we are aware of the current structure of the population. But, as showed on this article, a theoretical conceptualisation of some objectives is not enough if the implementation points contrarily the other way; or the demands of the school professionals, who are the ones dealing with the diversity on a daily basis, are not properly considered. Therefore it is required to encourage real plurilingual educational projects -based on an effective knowledge of the diversity in linguistic terms, but without forgetting the rest of the aspects of it- to respond to the particular contexts where they are implemented and to their specific heterogeneities.

- Many academics have already pointed the advantages of an education in different languages (Martín & Mijares, 2007; García-Cano *et al.*, 2010; Siqués & Vila, 2014). For the immigrant student case the establishment of educational programmes in their corresponding mother tongues contribute to a better comprehension of a second language (Cummins, 1979; Hamel, 1995; Vila, 2000). In the observed context, Andalusia, a recent research on the differences between the pupils on the bilingual programme and the ones who are out, reveal the achievement of better learning results on the bilingual group, because they improve their studies techniques, they enhance their use of the new technologies and they have better

reading habits (Caballero & Reyes, 2011). In this sense other recommendation would be to work towards a greater participation of the immigrant students in the bilingual programmes, since the resulting substantial benefits -for everyone in the educational community-. The majority of these students are coming from countries with a colonial background where they speak a different language at school, not their mother tongue, and it is usually either French or English (the two most representative languages in the bilingual programmes of Andalusia). Meaning, these students command more than one language but schools seems to understand this more as a handicap rather than an opportunity, delegating them to the compensatory education programmes.

- The linguistic diversity management model should focus on multilingualism and not bilingualism. The mother tongues of the immigrant students could be included within the possible options of the bilingual programmes. Despite of working on the no differentiation of the students and the exclusion of part of them, the preservation of the present diversity in the classrooms would be encouraged. This could redound, as seen in other contexts -regarding especially to Latin American countries- in a rediscovery, recognition and appreciation of the heterogeneities, generating dialogue among subjects with different cultural secondments and contributing to a comprehensive development of all the students (intercultural) identities (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2008). This obviously requires an investment in human and financial resources for the schools and we have to keep it in mind at this present context of economical crisis.
- Finally I would like to highlight, as it has already been done in many of the researches carried out all over the country (and internationally), the necessity of -initial and continuous- training on interculturality for public administration staff in general (Donoso, Cabrera, Aneas,

De Santos & Curós, 2009; Martínez, 2011); and more specifically on "Intercultural Education" for teachers (Aguado, Gil & Mata, 2010; Soriano & González, 2010; Soriano & Peñalva, 2011; Leiva, 2012). This will provide critical tools in the different contexts of work to design and develop educational approaches, programmes and plans according to the diversity in the classrooms. However, it is not merely about "knowing every language" -as noted one of the teachers quoted above- but providing the teachers with skills orientated to criticism and social transformation (Quintero *et al.*, 2014). In other words, to train with and on intercultural competences (Olmos-Alcaraz & Martínez, 2014) to promote the emergence of innovation processes and change from the teachers themselves. To get here working from an intersectional perspective (Crenshaw, 1991) could give us the key to a better management of the diversity in the classrooms. Considering the presence of different axes around which the categories who generate inequality processes rotate and disregarding analysis which understand this as a lineal consequence of the students cultures of origin and mother tongues, would provide tools to tackle the management of the diversity in the classrooms in a more holistic and contextualised way (Olmos-Alcaraz & Rubio, 2013, 2014).

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Notes

- [1] The main policy tools covering the "Intercultural Education" in the studied context are the Law 9/1999, on Solidarity in Education, the Decree 167/2003, in which it is established the educational regulation for students with special educational needs related to deprived social conditions, the Andalusian Plan of Education for Immigrants (2001), Culture of Peace and Non-Violence Plan (2002), Andalusian Plan to promote Multilingualism (2005) and the Order 15th of January 2007, in which the measures and actions that are being developed for the assistance of immigrant students are regulated and, particularly, the Linguistic Adaptation Temporary Classrooms (2007). All of them have been gradually integrated in the Comprehensive Plan for the Immigration in Andalusia in its various restatements (I for the years 2001-2004, II for 2006-2009 and III for 2014-2016). Similarly, we have to mention the different policies developed on the integration of the immigrant population at state level (García & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2010; Contini, Olmos-Alcaraz & Contini, 2016) and the limited references present in the state education laws so far (see Rodríguez Navarro *et al.*, 2011)
- [2] Tubino (2004), from the Latin American context, defines functional or neo-liberal interculturalism as a model advocating for dialogue and the recognition of the diversity without ever questioning inequality and poverty chronic condition in which cultural subaltern groups are. In other words, this model is not questioning the system and hence it allows its replication being "functional" to the Nation state and the capitalism. He gives us the example of the Anglo-Saxon multiculturalism, and talks about positive discrimination and compensatory education as "palliative programmes to the issues, [that] do not build citizenship, [and] promote upstream equality" (Tubino, 2004, p. 6), and so they are patronising. In this sense a consideration can be seen for the Spanish case at Olmos-Alcaraz & Contini (2016).

- [3] The projects are "School successes and failures. Sociocultural paths of foreign immigrants and native pupils in the Andalusian educational system" (Ministry of Science and Innovation, National Plan for I+D+i (Research, Development and Innovation), 2010-2013), "Multiculturalism and integration of the foreign immigrant population in the Andalusian schools" (Andalusian Administration, Excellence Project, 2007-2010) and "Assessment of the educational assistance initiatives for immigrant students in Andalusia" (Andalusian Administration, 2004-2006), all of them conducted by Professor Francisco Javier García Castaño. This is all continuing through the Research Project "Building differences at school. Studies of the ATAL (Spanish acronym for Linguistic Adaptation Temporary Classrooms) paths in Andalusia, of the teachers and the pupils" (Ministry of Science and Innovation, National Plan for I+D+i (Research, Development and Innovation), 2014-2016
- [4] At first the 10 schools from Málaga, Almería and Granada with a higher rate of foreign students were selected, then, following initial contacts, the ones who were showing more accessibility and willingness to cooperate with the research were chosen to carry out the questionnaires.
- [5] A detailed use of the questionnaire can be seen in Olmos-Alcaraz (2010b).
- [6] The surveys were done by researchers Ouafaa Bouachra Outmani, María Rubio Gómez and Mónica Ortiz Cobo.
- [7] Due to the objectives of this article with regard to the obtained data from questionnaires remain to highlight the linguistic diversity among the interviewed students (descriptive objectives), the answer is on the statistical evidence, limited to offer percentage data from frequency and contingency tables.
- [8] We elaborated a theme categories template to facilitate the analysis of the discourses. The analysis and interpretation of the information were linked and some times simultaneously generated, due to the - ethnographical- characteristics of the work. .
- [9] We have to question and de-construct the way we refer to a *process* (immigrate) as if it was a perpetual *status* (being "immigrant"). How long are you "immigrant" for? While the migration process lasts, the displacement... should we think. However reality is a different one. The demographic category "immigrant" in the studied context has suffered a transformation that makes it look a socio-cultural category, with negative meanings and that it holds indefinitely in time for certain groups, reaching to the point of speaking about "second generations" of immigrants to relate to people that have never been displaced.
- [10] Ecuadorian and Colombian nationalities are currently the largest in Spain, meaning a 5% (240.735) and a 4% (194.812) respectively of the total of the foreign population (National Institute of Statistics).
- [11] Last school year we have data of (2013-14) there was 250 LATC teachers throughout Andalusia. The same number of courses has been kept after registering a non increase of them over the last years. Nevertheless, the manpower have not been decreased even though the state funding has subsided (Andalusian Government, 2013)..
- [12] Data from the Education and Science Ministry for the 2011-12 school year.
- [13] In this sense, it is interesting the obtained results in a research on the perceptions of the teachers of this linguistic plan: 81% of the teachers were opposed to the idea of the integration of other languages in such a programme (Travé, 2013).
- [14] We must talk about the diversity of programmes existing in the region, what is called TCLO (Teaching of the Culture and Language of Origin) (ELCO is the acronym in Spanish) in which they teach Moroccan and Rumanian. These are after-school classes and for the 2013-14 school year there were 20 Moroccan nationality teachers and 6 Rumanians for the whole region (Anadalusian government, 2013). In previous years Chinese and Portuguese were included in this programme, but these languages have their own programmes now, still after school. All the mentioned programmes have a very small coverage of the region.
- [15] See Rubio's work (2013) for a presentation and a detailed critical analysis of such programmes for secondary school in Andalusia. These can be broadly divided in: 1. Organisational programmes; 2. Curricular adaptation programmes; and 3. Programmes for specific attention to the diversity of "the immigrants" at school.

[16] A symposium on special reception classrooms for immigrants was recently organised within the VIII International Migration Congress. In this symposium and within the framework of the research mentioned above called "Building differences at school. Studies of the ATAL (Spanish acronym for Linguistic Adaptation Temporary Classrooms) paths in Andalusia, of the teachers and the pupils" (Ministry of Science and Innovation, National Plan for R+D+i (Research, Development and Innovation), 2014-2016), were presented different papers where there is a reflection on this topic and a recognition of the professionals. Some of the presentations were carried out by the teachers and the technical staff of the Educative Administration, which is not usual in the Academia and could be a proof of a starting dialogue between the stakeholders involved. The proceedings of the Congress are available to review these papers.

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To know more / Saber más

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