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Migration and Integration Processes in Portugal:
The Role of Intercultural Mediation

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Migration is generally described as a process that is nationally specific and that have features common to several countries. This has been shown by several authors through comparative research that compares the migration process of the same immigrant group to several countries (among others, Engbersen, Snel, & de Boom, 2010) or which scrutinises the migration realities of different countries (Zimmermann, 2005). Most of these studies are about geographically near countries, which are part of the same political system (the EU), and that have an established (albeit differentiated) welfare system. These proximities (geographical, but also political and social) allowed the authors of these studies to conceptualise the existence of several migration models or regimes: the southern European model (Baldwin-Edwards, 2012), the Iberian model of Migration (Malheiros, 2012); the intra-EU mobility regime (Engbersen et al., 2017). These migratory regimes are intertwined by migrant integration models or by different approaches to increasingly diverse populations. Although these are often identified as 'national models of integration', they do not fail to integrate the developments that have been recorded in the last decades in the international contexts in which the countries are inserted. Throughout the present text, the Portuguese experience in dealing with immigrant integration is used to reflect on the development of intercultural policies and practices, and on the role of intercultural mediation.

The article is structured in the following way: in the introductory section we will review the discussion on interculturalism; in a second section the Portuguese immigration context will be presented; in a third section the integration of immigrants in the country will be analysed, given special attention to the development of policies that support immigrants' integration process. In the fourth section, the role of intercultural mediation for the integration of immigrants will be considered.

Keywords: immigration, integration, interculturalism, intercultural mediation.

Research area: sociology.

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1. Introduction

One of the central points of the debate on immigrant integration implies the "acknowledgement of cultural differences and the extent to which they manifest themselves" (Cesareo, 2011: 9) in a society. The models used by different States to deal with the presence of diverse groups have been: assimilation, multicultural and intercultural model, and their derivations. Different countries have adopted each one of these models, and each of them led to different forms of integrating immigrants. Currently, the development of policies of immigrant integration is marked by the criticism (and decline?) of multicultural policies accused of promoting segregation, stimulating ethnic conflicts and having difficulties in fostering community cohesion and trust (Cantle, 2012); and by the rise of intercultural policies focused on contact and dialogue, and interpersonal relations between people from different backgrounds (Zapata-Barrero, 2017).

As affirmed by Ricard Zapata-Barrero (2017), Europe is experiencing an 'intercultural turn', visible, since the celebration of the 'Year of Intercultural Dialogue' in 2008, in the academic discussions and in local policies. Albeit this now decade-long interest in interculturalist views to deal with increasingly diverse populations, a common and shared understanding of its significance seem to be missing (Mansouri, 2017). It has been viewed as an alternative to overcome the failed promises of multiculturalism (Joppke, 2004), as complementing multiculturalism (Cantle, 2012), or as a variant of multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012). Irrespective of the arguments in favour and against these views, interculturalism and multiculturalism pursue "equitable ways of governing diversity, in globalised, transnational, 'super-diverse' societies, but with different, albeit complementary objectives" (Grillo, 2018: 10). Both are thus concerned with managing the integration of diverse groups of persons into societies that are already, and increasingly, heterogeneous. While the main focus of multiculturalism has been on the macro-national level, interculturalism emphasis the micro-level, the spaces where everyday practices occur (streets, schools, etc.) (Modood, 2017).

Interculturality is regarded as a policy to promote communication and interaction between culturally diverse groups. Since the mid-1980, the intercultural perspective has registered a steady and growing consolidation in diverse social spheres, and

particularly in the field of education. In education, the adoption of the intercultural perspective led to the affirmation of 'intercultural education' and 'intercultural pedagogy' as an "appropriate response to the new context of globalisation and the increasing convergence of different languages, religions, cultural behaviour and ways of thinking" (Portera, 2008: 483-484). The development of a new model that pay attention to aspects of identity frequently overlooked by multiculturalism, emerged slowly in the educational fields with the model of intercultural education (or intercultural pedagogy) that acknowledged plural and composite identities. Progressively interculturality transcends the spaces of the school and spread to other social spaces. Consequently, the instrumental use of the concept, aimed at promoting practical competencies that foster better communication between individuals of different cultures (Malheiros, 2011), has been, at least since the new millennium, extended beyond its educational dimension, and evolving to more general social and political dimensions.

Thinking about Interculturalism, in the case of immigrants, we need to understand that each person lives between different cultures. Each person seeks to construct a new self, which is set between the culture of origin and the culture of arrival, separating those two worlds, joining them or building a third dimension of identity, seeking the safest path from an ontological point of view (Camilleri, 1993; Vieira & Trindade, 2008). We are therefore talking about the complex issue of the strategies that the subjects adopt to manage the multiple cultural contexts, in a way they consider less invasive in their permanent construction of their personal and social identity, to avoid the identity crisis to which they are particularly subject to in the situation of migration. The identity management comes across as a dilemmatic and conflictive terrain, of incessant negotiation between the objective and subjective conditions. The concept of identity strategy indicates that the individual is able to (re)invent itself differently (Camilleri et al., 1990). It is through these strategies that identity is built throughout life although not always used consciously. Identity reconfigurations will depend, therefore, on the structural places and the possibilities of agency that will be found in them (Dubar, 2006).

Those who through migration are subject to multiple cultural references and complex situations have the tendency for identity hybridism according to Hall (2003), or for *métissage* (Laplantine and Nouss, 1997; Vieira, 2014; André, 2012). As Stuart Hall points out, "(...) in the diaspora situation, identities become multiple" (2003: 27). In this sense, the search for the meanings and identity belongings becomes complex, requiring from the subjects a work of reflexivity and constant (re)construction of *one*

self, appealing to their own mechanisms that allow them to manage their subjectivities and idiosyncrasies with "*one foot in each place*" (Sarup, 1996: 7).

2. Immigration landscape in Portugal

During large parts of his history Portugal has been mainly a country of emigration, but, mainly since the mid-1980s, it turned to a country that also received immigrants. The recent visibility of immigration in the country doesn't mean that immigration was an unknown phenomenon of Portuguese society until the end of the twentieth century. Since the 16th century, the country received populations from Africa, and other European countries, either as free migrants (traders and labourers) or as forced migrants (slaves and refugees). But it was only during the 1980s that the country started to observe the development and consolidation of steady migration flows, and the formation of immigrant communities with some quantitative dimension and of varied socio-demographic composition (Fig. 1).

The foreign population living in Portugal increased significantly during the 80s (on average 6.4% a year) and registered a change of the origins of the immigrants, visible in the substantial growth of Asians (mainly Chinese) and South Americans (mainly from Brazil). In 1980, out of the 58,000 foreigners legally living in Portugal 48% were of African origin, 31% were from Europe and 11% from South America (mainly Brazil). The adherence of the country to the European Economic Community, in January 1986, sped up the internationalisation of the Portuguese economy and attracted more labour migration from the traditional sources. In 1990 the total number of foreigners legally
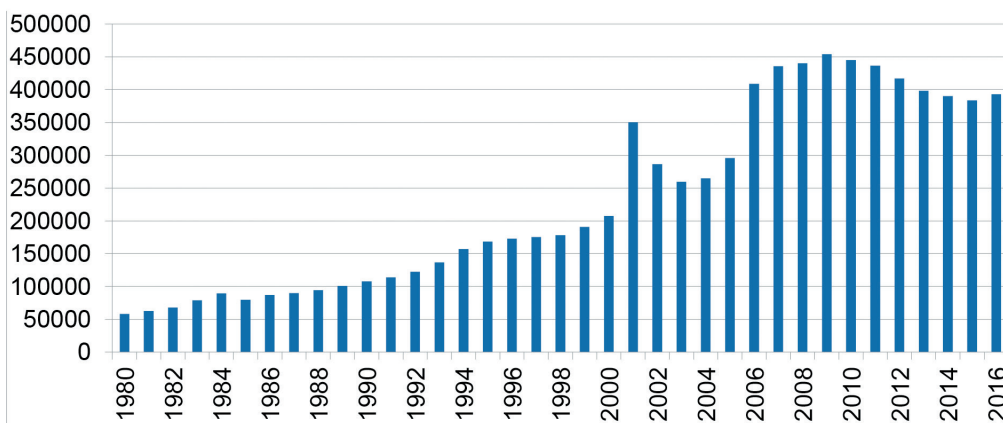
Source: SEF, several years.

Fig. 1. Immigrants in Portugal, 1980–2016

living in Portugal was 107,767 individuals: 42% of them were of African origin, 29% were from Europe and 16% from South America (mainly Brazil) (Baganha, Marques & Góis, 2003).

During the 90s the positive development of the foreign population was further intensified, reaching an annual growth rate of approximately 7%[1]. This evolution was especially noticed in the foreign population from the African and European continents. These two continents accounted, in 1998, for 75.7% of the total foreign population (29.3% were of European origin and 46.4% of African origin). By the year 2000, the number of legally resident foreigners was only 207,607, approximately 2% of the country's total population (Baganha, Marques & Fonseca, 2000), and they were mainly from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa[2] and from Brazil (77% in 2000). The remaining immigrants were spread among over one hundred different nationalities, none of which was numerically significant[3].

To sum up, until the end of the twentieth century the number of immigrants living in Portugal remained still relatively low and were mainly rooted in the country's colonial past, its historical and cultural links, and its main economic connections (Baganha et al., 2003).

A sudden and intense increase and change in the Portuguese migratory landscape marked the beginning of the new millennium. Numerically, the number of immigrants legally living in Portugal rose from 208,198 in 2000 to 434,636 in 2003, which means that the volume of the foreign population with legal residence increased by about 109% in only 3 years. Qualitatively, to the traditional migrant flow from Western European and/or Portuguese-speaking countries, Portugal also began to receive an intense flow of labour immigrants from other origins, even from countries with which Portugal had until that moment no special relationship. This led to the transformation of the geographical origins of immigrants arriving at the Portuguese territory and to a change in the ranking of the main national origins of the immigrants living in Portugal. In 2003 the main immigrant group was no longer from a former Portuguese colony in Africa, but from an unknown origin in the nineties: Ukraine. Moldova and Romania, two other Eastern European countries, became also familiar countries of

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[1]   The growth registered during this decade was much more due to the two special legalisation processes that took place in 1992 and 1996, than to a continuous flow of new immigrants. These two legalization processes legalised approximately 39,000 (1992) and 35,000 (1996) immigrants that until that moments were living (and working) without the necessary authorization permits (Marques & Góis, 2005).

[2]   Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe.

[3]   SEF, Statistics 2000 (2000). SEF, Lisbon, available at: https://sefstat.sef.pt/Docs/Rifa_2000.pdf.
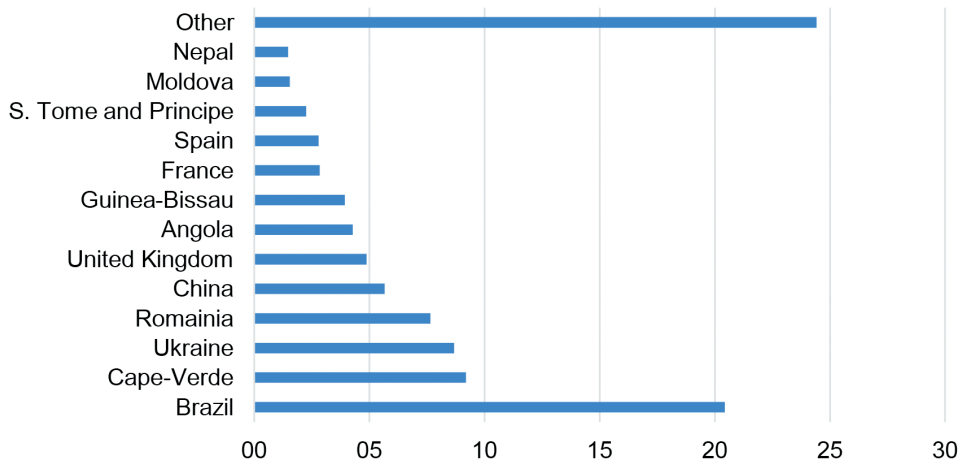
Source: SEF, 2016.

Fig. 2. Main countries of immigrants' origin, 2016

origin of migrants living in Portugal (Baganha, Marques & Góis, 2010). Almost fifteen years later migrants from Ukraine continue, together with immigrants from Brazil and Cape-Verde, to be the numerically most important immigrant groups in Portugal. In 2016, Brazilians accounted for 20% of the total immigrants, Cape-Verdeans 9,2%, and Ukrainians 8,7% (Fig. 2).

The existent data on the demographic characteristics of immigrants are outdated because of the profound changes in the immigration population after the year of the last census (2011). Available data allow us only to know that the immigrant population is balanced by gender (with a slightly higher percentage of women).

Until 2005 immigrants came to Portugal mainly due to labour reasons. To reply to the necessities of the labour market, mostly of the construction sector, trade and retail sector, and the restaurant and hotel industry. After that date, and especially after the economic crisis of 2008, to these labour flow we have to add an increasing inflow of students (Góis & Marques, 2012) and of family reunification immigrants (Marques, Góis & Castro, 2014).

3. The integration of immigrants and the policies of integration

The presence of different groups of immigrants transformed the Portuguese society in an increasingly diverse society and brought about the necessity to face the integration of heterogeneous groups and to think about measures not only for the main cities of immigrant concentration but also for other regions were sizeable immigrant' communities are present.

Like other migration flows, immigration in Portugal is a complex and diverse reality, marked by different sociodemographic structures, and by various migratory reasons and processes. Currently (and more generally since the new millennium) the country experienced different types of flows that call for high flexibility in migration policies towards integration. The main types of flows can briefly be named as seasonal immigrants, temporary immigrants, and long-term immigrants. Each one of these types or immigrants has different integration expectation. For the first, the integration in the host society is mainly instrumental (a low level of integration) since their interaction with the host society is limited to small periods of time. The second type of immigrants also have short intentions to stay in the host country, but their permanence is more durable than the first one, and thus they are disposed to be involved in specific social systems (like the education system, or the economic system). The last type of immigrant intends to establish their living in the destination country and therefore need to be integrated in most (or in all) social systems of this country. Their integration in each one of the specific systems is however rarely homogenous, existing different degrees of integration in each social system (for example the degree of integration in the economic system can differ from that in the political system). Thus, different groups of immigrants have singular migration projects that impact on their expectations regarding integration in the host society. Despite these different expectations and of their constantly changing nature, the State has developed a set of policies aiming the integrating immigrants irrespective of their migration projects, and their intention to stay in the country.

The analysis of existent policies and practices suggest an effort, albeit sometimes incomplete and disconnected, of the Portuguese State in relation to integrating immigrants (Costa, 2016). This is acknowledged by the Mipex Index (Migrant Integration Policy Index) where Portugal occupy one of the first positions and through the international recognition of its policies towards immigrants. It is necessary to take into consideration that this index is based on the country's policies and structural conditions for integration and didn't analyse the practices of integration neither migrant's integration at an individual or group level. As pointed out by the authors of this integration index in 2007:

> A relatively new country of immigration, Portugal has put in place a legal framework on integration composed of favourable policies and best practice. Portugal does not have far to go to improve labour market access, family reunion, and anti-discrimination which all score second out of the 28 MIPEX countries (Niessen et al., 2007: 146).

In fact, if we analyse the legal framework regarding the integration of immigrants, Portugal seems to be a very successful country and a country that kept positive measures towards immigrant integration in the last years. The MIPEX report of 2015 acknowledges that:

> Immigrant residents in PT still benefit from the 2nd most favourable integration policies in the developed world, ahead of most Nordics and traditional countries of immigration and leading the new destinations (far ahead of ES and IT). Its 'family friendly' immigration policies and its 2006 model for citizenship reform have clearly helped more immigrants to reunite with their family and become PT citizens, even during the crisis (Huddleston et al., 2015: 178).

The effectiveness of integration policies is visible in the following Fig. 3. Excluding in one dimension, the country has an index of over 60% in all other dimensions.

As mentioned by several authors, if immigration policies are decided at the macro level (nation), the challenges of integration are won or lost at the local level. This is where both the specific social deficits that put into question the social cohesion of the communities are continuously manifested (Malheiros, 2011) and everyday encounters with diversity take place. The importance of considering spaces of daily interaction with the difference (neighbourhood, schools, etc.) is acknowledged by the MIPEX 2015

Source: http://www.mipex.eu/portugal.
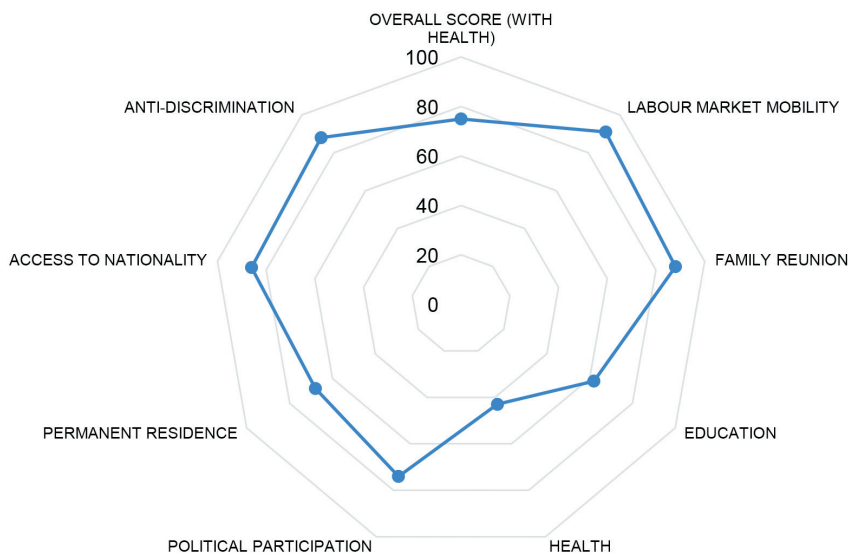
Fig. 3. Migrant Integration Policy Index, Portugal, 2017

report. One of its recommendations is to "Invest in the intercultural competencies of public service providers, in particular educators, to improve access to and quality of services," and to "Promote dialogue with and participation of families in education with the goal of reinforcing cultural diversity teaching in schools, improving parental support, and increasing the social inclusion of families." (p. 178). Thus, albeit the country scored well on the main structural integration indicators (mainly linked to institutional responses), immigrant integration could benefit from more individual or group level measures, and from measures that promote the expansion of intercultural practices.

4. The role of intercultural mediation

One strategy to deepen intercultural practices is through mediation in multicultural contexts, that is by developing intercultural mediation[1]. This can be characterised as:

> a modality of intervention of third parties, in and on situations of significant multiculturality, geared towards the achievement of the recognition of the Other and the approximation of the parties, mutual communication and understanding, learning and development of coexistence, regulation of conflict and institutional adequacy, between ethnoculturally differentiated social or institutional actors (Romero, 2010: 67).

Through intercultural mediation the perspective of interculturality develops to a much broader field of action, complementing the relational aspect (communication and interaction) with a transformational one. It is this transformation, that arose from the mutual understanding of the involved parts (A.M. Vieira, 2013; R. Vieira, 2011; R. Vieira & A.M. Vieira, 2016), that mediation seeks to accomplish, conducting thus to a deeper level of knowledge of the Other[2]. Intercultural mediation is regarded as a social pedagogy for interculturality that contributes to creating a dialogue between people with different cultural repertoires.

The progressive diversity of immigrant populations in Portugal brought with them new challenges for the Portuguese Society: in education, culture, understanding

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[1]   Other forms to materialize the intercultural perspective is, according to Romero, a) in the formulation and implementation of public policies; b) the challenge of socio-cultural diversity in school; c) the promotion of coexistence and social cohesion in multiethnic neighborhoods and, finally, d) through education for citizenship (2010: 51).

[2]   See Smolyaninova and Trufanov (2018) for an example of the necessity to complement the development of multicultural competencies aimed at promoting the acceptance of the other with measures designed at individual transformation that would allow a deeper knowledge and understanding of the other (that changes the individuals consciousness).

of values, practices and social norms of immigrants. This understanding makes up a basic principle of openness to the other (Malheiros, 2011) that lead to a dialogue with this other. Dialogue is, in this case, conceived as an interaction that fosters debate and discussion, listening and talking, sometimes even disagreement and conflict. In this dialogic process, intercultural mediation counteracts monolithic integration processes and contributes to the development of an intercultural inclusion of the other. This form of mediation requires a great capacity for active listening, understanding, and respect for the other (A.M. Vieira et al., 2017). It exceeds its use as a tool, a technique or a cyclical procedure with which to face a particular problem. Mediation is always contextual, gaining special characteristics with processes, conflicts or situations of a personal, family, neighbourhood, national or international nature (Caride, 2016). In this sense, intercultural mediation is a new strategy or modality of social intervention aiming the intercultural inclusion of the other.

Like other forms of mediation, intercultural mediation is: a) "creative in the sense that one of its purposes is to create new connections between people or groups, from which both parties' benefit"; b) "renewing to the extent that it allows to improve the existing connections between the mediated parties, connections that had been deteriorated or loosened before the conflict"; c) "preventive in the sense that it foresees and prevents the conflicts that might occur between people or groups"; d) "therapeutic every time that a mediator comes into play when the conflict is already existing and has to assist and help the people and the groups to find solutions and to choose ways out of the conflict" (Six, 1990 cit. in Sani, 2015: 2583).

The methodology of Intercultural mediation is multifactorial by identifying, defining and characterising three orders of factors implied and mutually interrelated in the situations of mediation: personal, situational and cultural. The complex and subtle connections (between personality, status and culture) are the ones that the mediator must discover, with which they must be familiar, and each new mediation action must be a source of learning of this matter in particular (Romero, 2010).

As in other European countries, intercultural mediation in Portugal is conceived as a strategic tool for the integration process that facilitates "Communication and social cohesion between different groups"; secondly "success to public services and citizenship rights of minorities and immigrants"; and lastly "the management (identification, prevention and resolution) of conflicts that arise in multicultural contexts" (Casadei & Franceschetti, 2009: 99).

In Portugal mediation emerged in the 1990s, driven by community programs aimed at the socio-professional integration of underprivileged social groups. There are projects of entities such as the "*Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude*" ('*Cultural Association Youth Mill'*), the "*Obra Nacional para a Pastoral dos Ciganos*" ('*National work for the Pastoral of the Roma'*) and the "*Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Lisbon*" which introduce the concept and practice of sociocultural mediation in Portugal (Almeida, 2010). Sociocultural mediators are provided with vocational training courses promoted by these entities, aimed for young people at risk of exclusion, in order to provide them with educational and professional competences, enabling their socio-professional integration[1]. Regarding the work of socio-cultural mediation with the Roma population in Portugal, it is noteworthy the pioneering formation of the program for Social Promotion of Roma of the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Lisbon*, between 1993-95, and then continued by the Pastoral of the Roma, and the formation of cultural mediators to support the schooling of children of the Roma community – Project Go to School – of the responsibility of the Department of Basic Education of the Education Ministry (training course implemented between 1994-97) (Souta, 1999).

In 2001, the legal status of the socio-cultural mediator was established through Law nº. 105/2001 (from 13th August). According to this Law, the socio-cultural mediator "has the function of collaborating in integrating immigrants and ethnic minorities, in the perspective of strengthening intercultural dialogue and social cohesion" (article 1 of Law nº. 105/2001). This Law also defined the public service where the socio-cultural mediator should develop their functions: in schools, social security institutions, health institutions, the Foreigners and Borders Office, the Social Reintegration Institute, the local authorities and other services and public bodies where their experiences are necessary (article 2).

More recently, intercultural mediation was inscribed in public policies of immigrant integration through the Project of Intercultural Mediation in Public Services (MISP). This project is based on three principles: the principle of mediation, the principle of interculturality and the principle of communitarian intervention. It is a project developed by City Councils in partnership with entities of the Civil Society, namely, immigrant associations. The main goal of the Project of Intercultural Mediation in Public Services (MISP) is to contribute to social cohesion, improving the life quality and intercultural citizen conviviality in municipalities with a significant cultural

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[1]   On multicultural education and on the role of mediator in Schools, see, among others, Souta (1997).

diversity. This is achieved through a positive and preventive management of that same diversity, throughout the mediating intervention and the participation of local protagonists. The project envisages the constitution of municipal teams of intercultural mediation (EMMI), based in the municipalities that promote the intervention. These teams intervene in different areas: education, housing, communitarian strengthen.

When we refer to mediation as an area and a set of competences transversal to various professions, and as a hermeneutical philosophy, we assume interpersonal and intercultural communication (A. Vieira & R. Vieira, 2016b) as a systematic interpretation of interests of the parties in interaction and as the will of those involved. In the mediation between different cultural values, anthropologists, sociologists, social worker and social educators emerge as mediators between social groups and the most diverse public and private institutions, relying on a multi-topical hermeneutics for the realisation of the rights and interests of the groups and subjects involved in the interaction. The purpose of the mediation process is to seek the autonomy of these groups and people, a practice known today as empowerment.

Although the alleged precursors of "mediation theories" are not known, there are mediating perspectives and concepts, present in many theories of social sciences. Thus, anthropology, psychology and sociology, end up having a position regarding the relation between the subject and the social structure or the so-called agency of the subject. By working with the diversities, that is, with other identities, and by seeking ways to help emancipation, mediation has been developed in various fields, from Legal Sciences, to Management, Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology and in transversal themes in the field of education.

Regarding the analysis of the school's role in society, the educational sciences have been demonstrating how society determines or conditions the school. In this context, there is a need for a mediator in the educational and training system, since the social dynamics relates to the intermediation of the reproduction and transformation of social relation processes of which school life is made of. If education should be an instrument to promote equal opportunities and an instrument to favour social justice, the school should become a fundamental space to legitimise and strengthen values which structure the State that is nowadays increasingly multicultural. In this sense, the school has to seek forms of intercultural translation (Vieira, 2009) since it not only reconstructs cognitive systems but also operates at the level of personal and group identity processes.

Thus, the student's monitoring is assumed as a foundation of intervention directed to underprivileged social groups and is translated in the form of mediation between

the student, the educational action and the outside (with the family, community, social services, health, etc.) in an integrated and student-centred approach. This monitoring is carried out in a significant way in sociocultural mediation. In this sense, school plays a fundamental role as a mediating institution, to promote not only the academic success of those students but also the social inclusion.

According to Torremorell (2008), the transforming and humanising role of mediation should move from the simple proceedings of the judicial process, or an alternative to it, to occupy a central place of a new universal culture. Mediation presumes an advance in the desired social cohesion. It includes the different participants in the conflict, promotes the capacity to understand, accepting the different versions of reality, defends plurality and contributes to democratic participation, as it fosters free decision-making and commitments. But this process is not automatic. As Torremorell (2008: 8), states, "(…) we do not assume that the mediation processes alone will build a social bridge for a more humanised future, but that such processes may set one of the stones that will help us cross the river in both ways".

To Cohen-Emerique (1997) the particularity of intercultural mediation encompasses the idiosyncrasy of the use of three possible modalities: 1 – preventive mediation that seeks to promote the rapprochement, communication and understanding between people, groups and communities with different cultural codes; 2 – rehabilitation mediation that intervenes in the regulation and resolution of intercultural tensions and conflicts; 3 – transformative mediation that presumes the opening of a creative process that surpasses norms, customs and particular points of view, in a situation of multicultural coexistence to reach new norms and forms of shared relation, what we have previously designated as learning to coexist, according to Jares (2007).

The functions of the intercultural mediator go far beyond the concept of arbitration in contexts of strong multiculturalism and of their conflict resolutions. The intercultural mediators, from our point of view, cannot avoid taking part. They cannot be neutral to where injustice, violence and inequality are reproduced. On the contrary, they have to be empathic with everyone, enter into everyone's cultural world, and by doing so, they are exactly in the opposite symmetric of assuming a position of neutrality. Instead, they choose multi-partiality because it facilitates communication between people, assists social agents in their relationship with the minority, helps people and minority communities, promotes access to public and private services, builds multicultural citizenship able to make intercultural integrations and social integration and empowers and promotes social and community participation. However, all these functions imply

an attitude of social pedagogy (A. Vieira & R. Vieira, 2016), and a position in the search for autonomisation. And, clearly, these functions do not only occur in immigration contexts or in work with ethnic minorities. These social functions of the intercultural mediator may be developed in any scope of social intervention, be it educational, social, socio-family, community, legal, labour, environmental, health etc.

5. Conclusion

Contemporarily an increasing number of Nation-states are experiencing intense flows of different types of migration movements (permanent, circular, temporary, etc..). This led to an increase in the population groups that are present in national society. To the diversity that is naturally present in each society (difference by age, gender, class…), other forms of diversity come about (ethnic, national, etc.). In addition to this increased diversity, former identity markers are becoming less and less exclusive. People can nowadays (and in several national and local settings) drawing upon different 'identities' develop their particular identity, and "create hybrid or multiple identities that are dynamic and change over time and in different contexts" (Cantle, 2012: 52).

Faced with a diverse population, and with (in some cities) super diverse groups, States have experienced difficulties to integrate this diversity in societies and everyday life. Two main models have dominated the management of diversity: assimilation and multicultural. Both have been put in practice in various National States and have resulted in singular outcomes for overall societies and immigrant groups (and their descendants). In recent years, the two models have been challenged by a 'new' model: the intercultural model that, contrary to the other two, put emphasis on everyday contacts between individual. This model moves away from macro deterministic policies and from policies that aim, mainly, minority groups ('the other'), and embraces micro-level policies and practices that aim to enhance contact between different cultures and that see us ('the majority') as part of the diversity.

In the enforcement of the intercultural practice, the intercultural mediator takes up an important role by increasing the possibilities of contact between cultures, of preventing conflict and, in case conflict arises, of solving it. Intercultural mediation is a multifactorial process that takes into consideration several levels of factors: individual, situational and cultural. It is conceived as a practice to promote interculturality. Mediation is thus a form of social intervention that can (and should) be practiced in different fields (education, social care, health, etc.). Since for most (or all) societies it is not easy to welcome and appreciate the difference, the practice of mediation needs a

constant action. As noted by Tabboni (1990, cit. in Cesareo, 2011: 9), "In contemporary society, nobody is completely a foreigner, such as nobody is totally integrated. The experience of extraneousness is not only endless, but also never complete, since it always concerns only a part of the individual".

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Процессы миграции и интеграции в Португалии:
роль поликультурной медиации

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Как правило, миграцию описывают как процесс, имеющий некий пул общих и уникальных для различных стран особенностей. Некоторые авторы (Engbersen, Snel & de Boom, 2010 и другие) сравнивают миграционные процессы одной и той же группы иммигрантов в ряде стран или анализируют миграционные реалии разных государств (Zimmermann, 2005). Большинство таких исследований посвящено странам, которые

близко расположены географически, выступают частью одной политической системы (ЕС) и имеют установленную (хотя и дифференцированную) систему социального обеспечения. Подобная близость (географическая, политическая и социальная) позволила авторам исследований построить ряд миграционных моделей: южно-европейскую (Baldwin-Edwards, 2012), иберийскую (Malheiros, 2012) и модель мобильности внутри ЕС (Engbersen et al., 2017). Названные миграционные режимы связаны между собой подходами к интеграции разных групп населения. Хотя их зачастую называют «национальными моделями», они встраиваются в общий международный сценарий, складывающийся в мире последние десятилетия. В данной статье рассмотрен португальский опыт работы по интеграции иммигрантов, который служит информацией к размышлению о развитии национальной политики и межкультурной практики, а также о роли поликультурной медиации в этом процессе.

Структура статьи включает вводный раздел, где представлена дискуссия о межкультурности, далее описан португальский иммиграционный контекст, дан анализ интеграции иммигрантов в стране (особое внимание уделено разработке политики, поддерживающей процесс интеграции иммигрантов) и, наконец, показана роль межкультурного посредничества в интеграции иммигрантов.

Ключевые слова: иммиграция, интеграция, поликультурность, поликультурная медиация.

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