Intercultural and Multicultural Education

Enhancing Global Interconnectedness

Edited by Carl A. Grant
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Preface

> The challenge of the new millennium is surely to find ways to achieve international—or better, intercommunity—cooperation wherein human diversity is acknowledged and the rights of all are respected.
>
> —Dalai Lama (1999)

The idea for this book grew out of the Intercultural Education Conference held in Verona, Italy, in 2005. The conference brought together scholars from across the globe. The papers and formal discussions, as well as informal discussions over coffee, tea and other liquids, included a wide range of topics related to diversity, education and current events throughout the world.

One of the questions that generated a great deal of discussion and debate, which at times became fairly heated, was: What should serve as the primary term in education scholarship and practice—*Intercultural Education* or *Multicultural Education*? Such consideration of terminology relates to ways of discussing various problems and issues concerned with diversity (e.g., immigration, migration, the education of new arrivals); education that is demanding new analyses and different pedagogical and policy approaches; education/schooling in a society that is becoming increasingly interdependent; education in a society that is being conditioned by neoliberal ideas; and education in a society where, it seems, people need to be reminded that the academic and social preparation of students should be much more than preparation to be good workers. Efforts to reach agreement were not successful; however, it became clear that there is a need to understand the construction, history and meaning given to these two fundamental concepts within education, and the civil society and the practice that result (or do not result) from these concepts as well.

The book is not an attempt to advocate for either Multicultural Education or Intercultural Education at the expense of the other, or to impose definitive or normative descriptions of each. Rather, the authors featured in the following pages illuminate a host of intercultural and multicultural viewpoints, different problems related and defined by the context in which they occur, as well as efforts to bring about transformative change. In subsequent chapters, the writers present their thoughts and opinions in such areas as: how language surrounding Intercultural and Multicultural Education tends to be framed, national and regional policies that have been instituted, the best practices they have observed thus far, and suggestions that may be worthy of consideration and implementation for the future. In this

way the volume takes readers to the country, school or nongovernmental agency where Intercultural Education and Multicultural Education, either collectively or singularly, are active (often central) concepts or practices in the daily educational undertaking and discourse of society. Readers are informed about how Intercultural Education and/or Multicultural Education within a country came to be: the historical context, conceptual ideology, current terminology, practice, school curriculum, teacher preparation and parent/community involvement. They will learn about the debates over Intercultural Education and/or Multicultural Education at both the government and local level. Readers will also learn how Intercultural Education and/or Multicultural Education serve as a voice for social justice and human rights. They will also discover how these two concepts serve to inspire analysis and critique of arguments that forget that education is a human right and social justice within education is essential.

Yet, this project involves a much larger purpose: to establish a fertile climate for debate as well as discussion of theoretical framings and pedagogical practices. Complementing this, it seeks to enlarge the opportunity for ongoing development of an interconnected, pluralistic community of educators and other key stakeholders in order that we may continue to engage in much-needed conversations about education, human rights, social justice, peace and environmental good. This purpose, it is good to acknowledge, is gaining traction and support. In 2008 the European Union declared it was the *Europe Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008,* and 2 years earlier, the United States Senate declared 2006 *The Year of Study Abroad*. In addition, during this same period of time, articles and books published with a multicultural and intercultural focus continuously grew steadily. Hopefully, the interconnectedness we discuss and that the chapter authors (in so many ways) cry out for regarding Intercultural Education and Multicultural Education will be enhanced and also stimulate socially just action.

Finally, readers will note that there are three overarching sections that house the chapters. These consist of "Intercultural Education," "Multicultural Education," as well as "Intercultural and Multicultural Education". Although boundaries establishing such silos of organization are somewhat permeable, individual placement of chapters was based on the respective content in each essay.

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Learning, while often challenging, disturbing and transforming, can also be pleasurable. Keeping this in mind, we genuinely value the experiences and insights of everyone who has contributed to help us ready this book for publication. The chapter authors have been magnificent, learned and patient. Working across countries, time zones and different languages is, at times, a challenging task. **That said, we would do it again!**

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Part I

Introduction

1 A Global Invitation

Toward the Expansion of Dialogue, Reflection and Creative Engagement for Intercultural and Multicultural Education

Carl A. Grant and Stefan Brueck

> When we learn to recognize . . . 'the infinite extent of our relations,' we can trace the strands of mutually supportive life, and discover there the glittering jewels of our global neighbors.
>
> —Daisaku Ikeda (1996)

The project of this book is undertaken in the spirit of Daisaku Ikeda's wisdom, that global interconnectedness is a gem to be recognized and polished. It is becoming increasingly clear that many people involved with education across the world are addressing a variety of related issues in their own contexts and respective ways. Although born of different times and spaces, both Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education are continuing to develop as important responses to, engagements with and preparations for contemporary life. Each can assist in developing an understanding and ethical negotiation of the complex world in which we interact. Whether economically advantaged or situated in poverty, extremely mobile or relatively stationary, we all can benefit from more tools that might cultivate human thriving in our ever-changing, globalized landscape. In order to bring our best selves forward, there is value in educational scholarship, sharing experiences and passing along successful strategies.

This venture is, in part, an attempt to contribute to such worthwhile goals as well as foster increased dialogue and debate between thoughtful, caring and creative persons. Indeed, such discussion acknowledges that the most powerful ideas can be produced when people are expressing their opinions on various topics and listening to others express theirs (Hess, 2009, p. 14). Perhaps we might view the global educational community as one big classroom, and as such, attempt to treat it as our forum for ongoing inclusive and equitable conversations.

As the chapter title suggests, this book is an invitation to examine insights and analyses involving Intercultural and Multicultural Education from a collection of different perspectives. Yet the authors' contributions are rightly situated within pre-existing exchanges among academics, other educators, concerned citizens, activists and additional interested parties

about a host of related subjects as well. For example, multicultural/Intercultural Education intersects with complementary educational themes involving pedagogy, theory, practice, methodology and policy. This educational webbing also mixes with topics such as culture, identity, abjection, recognition, power relations, justice, cosmopolitanism, globalization, planetspeak and other arenas. As a supplement to the corresponding examinations and commentaries in later chapters, the following pages briefly address such connected strands as they surround and weave through Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education.

For example, intimately connected to and embedded in both Intercultural and Multicultural Education is the notion of "culture." Numerous definitions of the concept have been proposed. For example, it has been suggested as "a body of common understandings . . . (that are) the sum total and . . . arrangement of . . . (a) group's ways of thinking, feeling, and acting" (Brown, 1963, pp. 3–4). It has also been described as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001). Additionally, "culture . . . is not composed of static, discrete traits moved from one locale to another. It is constantly changing and transforming, as new forms are created out of old ones. Thus culture . . . does not arise out of nothing: it is created and modified by material conditions" (Mullings, 1986, p. 13). Accordingly, culture is never fully essentializable, but rather inherently incorporates hybridity.

From this, a string of related questions may come to mind. What dynamic processes are involved in the development of culture? What types of knowledge are valued? Who gets to decide? What are the implications and accompanying roles for various educational stakeholders?

Answers to such questions are dependent in part on aspects of identity formation. Rather than being purely fixed and stable entities, people's identities are to a large degree constantly assembled, based on who they believe they are and want to be. This involves both personal and social processes of construction, which often depend upon environmental relationships involving politics and power. In establishing who *one* is (i.e., the self) and who *we* are (i.e., a group and/or community), humans are shaped by their backgrounds and surroundings while also partially acting themselves in each present moment. Interpretations of similarity and difference are established as the shaping of *me* and *we* inherently also assembles *you* and *them*, a process that might be consciously recognized or not. The looseness and tightness of such bonding categories may well shift, depending on past group conflicts, alliances, positionality and a number of other possible factors.

Additionally, differing degrees of homogeneity and heterogeneity exist within group parameters. Identification of *insiders* and *outsiders* indicates

levels of intimacy that can create belonging or rejection, membership or separation, inclusion or exclusion. Outsiders and strangers may, for example, be invisible, respected or feared. Whereas extreme dissimilarity may appear exotic, with enough mental and/or physical distancing people can also be psychically "cut off." Often those who are deemed too different become xenophobically regarded as the *Other*. Importantly, when dominant groups exert their power in this way there are extreme repercussions and differential impacts.

Such a range of personal mental frameworks and collective imaginations affects behaviors. Resulting actions in turn have consequences for relationships between humans as well as those with their environments. In the interpersonal realm there are aftereffects when *Others* are devalued and judged as deviant. Possible responses include aversion, condescension, ostracism, stereotyping, silencing, abuse and worse. For example, in the United States the psychologically influenced medical model of disability has often labeled such persons as pathologically irregular. This in turn has led to the sorting and binning of body-minds into categories such as "normal" and "abnormal," with strategies for "fixing" those considered inferior, and society-wide reactions that include virtually all of the aforementioned callous discriminations.

Yet even when there are good intentions, communities and even entire societies that are trying to be inclusive may not fully do so. Take the case of immigration, a topic which numerous authors in this book address. Among many possible reactions, immigrants may at times be welcomed, shunned or harmed, both in terms of official policies and societal consideration. Regardless, how they are labeled and situated in the social order affects them in unique ways.

The concept of abjection casts light on such a phenomenon. Abjection is based on the social expulsion of those who represent the fear of particular features (Popkewitz, 2005). It can be seen as a kind of rejection that recognizes those not included, but in so doing, directs attention to borders by labeling some people as different (Kowalczyk & Popkewitz, 2005). As with caste-like minorities such as the Roma in much of Europe, such persons or groups can never fully be the same as the normalized population. They are in an in-between space. Thus, abjection is material, not just an idea; it is both real and conceptual. Abjection allows us not to think in binaries, dualisms or opposites, but includes multiple spaces and dimensions at once. It is simultaneously bringing something in while seeing it as different at the same time; the seeming paradox of mutual absence and presence.

Language and discourse also contribute toward reinforcing as well as assembling systems of reasoning, which in turn affect dimensions of belongingness. Relatedly, Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education resides amid such spheres involving scales of recognition. Both psychological and material, recognition in part incorporates facets of representation, individual and collective memory/forgetting, versions of historical account,

locale and territory claims, resource access, distribution, societal status and opportunity. It is within these and many related realms that race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality, religion, language, age and dis/ability have emerged as significant identifiers and grounds for celebration, negotiation and contestation. Such diverse and pluralistic assemblages have also spawned dual, hyphenated and multiple mixing of categories. These labeling devices can in turn align with or generate tension between self-understandings and socially imposed interpretations, recognition and valuing of personhood.

The combination of identity formation, dispositions and behaviors, abjection and recognition has significant implications in the real world. As a case in point, the self-construction of Barack Obama, president of the United States, may not be equivalent to those projected on him by other politicians, the media and/or the public at large. Although he personally embraces his dual Kenyan and American heritage, as well as his international upbringing, many others rarely refer to him in such a comprehensive light. Rather, he is typically reduced to being the first Black president. He has been branded as "not Black enough," and at the same time, vilified for his earlier relationship with a strong, African-American, justice-seeking pastor. Meanwhile, he has additionally been (falsely) "charged" with being Muslim, embracing socialism and having been born outside the United States. His youthful image and education have also been questioned. Still, given his historic election into the highest public office in the country, he too has gained support and acknowledgment at an unprecedented level. This wide range of markers demonstrates the assorted readings, lenses and priorities by which different segments of society are guided.

As the aforementioned processes unfold, and as the general public interacts across a wide variety of differences, this occurs within domains where power dynamics are constantly present and negotiated. Therefore, Intercultural Education and Multicultural Education also lives within social discourses and functions in situations that involve power relations. Internally generated power, often referred to as agency, can at times be created and utilized. Power with, among or against individuals, groups and structures is also embedded. Additionally, sovereign power, such as that which people have over one another, can support or significantly limit people's choices and possibilities. Oppression and hegemony[1] exist in contexts where these extreme institutional conditions reside.

Subsequent justice issues can materialize as claims for both individual and group rights emerge and are disputed. In diverse and pluralistic societies, conflict resolution between individuals as well as majority and minority collectives is at times necessary. It is in this regard that assorted social structures may engage in problem solving toward goals of equality, equity and/or the common good. A host of utopian ideals may be invoked as prevention or response. Pragmatic solutions are also sought. Both micro and macro fields can be negotiated. Responsibilities toward neighbors both

near and far are shaped as expectations of morality and citizenship may be deliberated and established. In this way, a particular focus may be shifted between local and global dynamics. "Glocalization" is a term used to refer to the dialectical synthesis between the larger world and provincial contexts, a process characterized by simultaneity, interpenetration and mutual adaptation (Robertson, 1995). Such vibrant interaction between multiple spheres involves nation-states but often crosses them. There is a constant circling back and through such constructions, while simultaneously touching upon and challenging other borderlands as well. This may have positive as well as negative consequences.

With awareness of such processes has come increased focus in some academic and political circles on the notion of the cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism, having taken multiple forms throughout history, may be broadly defined as "belonging to all parts of the world" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2008). It derives from the Greek word *kosmopolites*, which literally means "citizen of the cosmos, or universe" (Heater, 2004). Importantly, a distinction has been made between "cosmopolitanization" and "cosmopolitanism." The former suggests an internal process that includes interconnections across boundaries and affects the dialogic imagination, including that with the *Other*. Yet additionally, it has been seen as involving transformation of the social and political dynamics inside nation-state societies, such that everyday consciousness and identities are changed significantly (Beck, 2002). Thus, cosmopolitanization is claimed to be a process that affects persons and societies, regardless of intentional personal or joint awareness of it. Examples of such internal personal imaginaries influenced by global cultural flows are the increased public demand for "ethnic cuisines" and "world music" across many countries. In this way personal tastes have been significantly shaped, even transformed, by international networks.

"Self-critical cosmopolitanism," although, does involve conscious understanding of this process and has been claimed to recognize macro-interdependencies, while validating the inescapabilities and particularities of place, characters, historical trajectories and fate (Beck, 2002). At times, cosmopolitanism has been argued to exist within the private, individual realm and, by not being public, the possibility for social action is not deemed possible (Robbins, 1999). However, it also has been viewed as a cultural thesis about living that functions as a set of technologies for administering the principles of self-reflection, participation, agency and action (Popkewitz, Olsson, & Petersson, 2006). Cosmopolitanism might be both a moral and ethical standpoint (Roudemetof, 2005). In fact, a further designation for cosmopolitanism has been advanced that combines an outward-looking, interculturally sensitive component in tandem with such a standpoint (Bradley, 2006). A related interpretation of cosmopolitanism advocates neither relativism nor universalitsm. Instead, it

affirms the possibility of mutual understanding between adherents to different moralities but without holding out the promise of any ultimate consensus. Hence, cosmopolitanism may be said to involve two intertwined strands: the notion that we have obligations to other human beings above and beyond those to whom we are related by ties of family, kinship or formal citizenship; and an attitude that values others not just as specimens of universal humanity but as having lives whose meaning is bound up with particular practices and beliefs that are often different from our own (Appiah, 2006).

Thus, a cosmopolitan citizen is one type of personhood advocated by some in reaction to the present realities of globalization. The multi-faceted phenomenon of globalization has been traced to roots as far back as the Silk Road linkage between Europe and Asia (Keohane & Nye, 2000). Nonetheless, globalization rhetoric emerged largely during the 1970s, and the contemporary focus on globalization(s) in the 21st century has tended to cast light on the movement of people, technology, labor, economics and knowledge. Cultural, political, legal and environmental dimensions have also been highlighted as well as critiqued.

Accompanying such efforts, this book seeks to begin filling a void in standard globalization discourse: that involving education. To the relatively small degree that educational matters have been addressed in a global context, they have often been under the neo-liberal mantra of how schools need to generate versatile workers and contribute to economic development in ways that adequately meet challenges of the international marketplace. Educational planetspeak (Novoa, 2002) has materialized as one supplement to such strategies, with mention of lifelong learners, the role of reason and the need to develop problem-solving abilities increasingly threaded throughout educational literature. Promotion of these topics has filtered into actual policies as well. For example, Europe has been establishing networks of governance, standards and accreditation, marketability and accountability that incorporate educational planetspeak. Such actions demonstrate a type of worldmindedness, as there exists both an outward-looking stance beyond Europe and attempts to establish coherence within it as well. Debates about the knowledge economy and standardization of a worldwide curriculum have extended beyond Europe also, with additional pushes for literacy skills and expectations to learn the English language. Yet what of importance is left out of such universalizing initiatives that have the potential to be culturally imperialistic? To be sure, multicultural and Intercultural Education can assist in necessary stretching of current global education and world culture scholarship.

Relatedly, this text also supplements a multitude of additional broad-minded, interdisciplinary deliberations and endeavors. Below is a sample of further realms that both parallel and at times overlap with multicultural and Intercultural Education:

Anti-racist education	Human rights education	Non-violence education	Peace education
Humanistic education	Human capital education	Cooperative education	Developmental education
International education	Environmental education	Democratic education	Arts education
Health education	Holistic education	Futures education	Values and character education
Reflective learning	Appreciative inquiry	Conflict theory	Hope theory
Expectancy theory	Systems theory	Organizational theory	Leadership theory
Performance theory	Capabilities theory	Change theory	Hybridity theory
Learning theory	Citizenship theory	Alliance theory	Body theory
Critical race theory	Border pedagogy	Critical pedagogy	Perspective consciousness
Discourse analysis	Literacy studies	Indigenous studies	Diaspora studies
Global studies	Restorative justice	Postpositivism	Postmodernism
Poststructuralism	Neo-Marxism	Post-colonial studies	Feminisms
Queer theory	Disability studies	Human geography	Anthropology
Service learning	Experiential learning (includes study abroad)	Cultural competency development	Cultural relevancy

Figure 1.1

The intermingling of Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education with this wide array of fields attests to the rich and important work already being done across the world. It is understandable that intercultural and multicultural educators are attempting to make sense of situations that may appear under these alternate but related labels. As such work continues to widen and deepen, Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education advocates may hold positionalities, standpoints and approaches that allow for unique contributions to shared spaces and exchanges. Therefore, this volume affirms both the need for global educational conversations and discussions to contribute to such enterprising ventures and validates the sectors of the international K–16 community that are courageously accepting the challenge to do so.

As Daisaku Ikeda's quote reminds us, the net of human relations is indeed cast wide. To be globally aware as well as sensitively responsive to the ever-increasing diversity that influences our immediate contexts, we all have to learn about different people and places. We should keep striving to embrace the fact that there are many appropriate ways to be in the world. Making up stories about others is not sufficient, as fairness requires more than assuming, stereotyping and pigeonholing. Whereas personal, embodied experience is valuable, we cannot simply use our own countries and histories to make universal claims, especially if we are going to become more inclusive of different ideas and successfully live together. Moreover, it is often at the edge of our comfort zones where the excitement of real development, true growth and meaningful transformation lies. Intercultural and Multicultural Education both provide means for entrée toward this necessary expansion of personal and collective horizons.

Although it offers a small contribution to the discussion, this book matters as it can help us better understand some of the flora in our interdependent global and localized educational garden and provide assistance toward pulling out weeds and watering the flowers we want. Rather than shrinking into fear, our world desperately needs greatly improved listening and respectful understanding of not just our similarities, but also our differences. At the same time, may Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education advance not just conversations and contemplation, but bold, creative, localized acts that contribute to well-being and flourishing life for everyone and the world we share.

NOTES

1. Antonio Gramsci is attributed with having coined the term "hegemony," and the term refers to the permeation throughout society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations. Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an "organizing principle" that is diffused by the process of socialization into every area of daily life. To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the population it becomes part of what is generally called

> 'common sense' so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural order of things. (Boggs, 1976, p. 39).

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2 Intercultural and Multicultural Education

Epistemological and Semantic Aspects

Agostino Portera

INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the third millennium bears out Marshall McLuhan's prophecy in 1962 of the "global village": the spread of mass media, greater potential for information technology, remarkable geo-political changes affecting nation states and the establishment of new markets. In Europe, these extensive changes, variously described as "globalisation," "new economy" or "computer/information technology revolution," imply a "reduction" in distances, stronger ties between different geographical areas, greater mobility, along with new and diversified migration flows. However, emigration is no longer a prerequisite for interaction between citizens with different languages, behavior, valor and religions. In a scenario of globalization and interdependence, any person's life is directly or indirectly influenced by contemporaneous events in the rest of the world.

As regards migration, especially the collapse of the bipolar system, as was established by the Yalta Conference (1945), brought about a new world order. In the course of recent years, immigration areas have expanded (now including Spain, Italy, some parts of Central Africa and Eastern Europe), countries of emigration have reduced their dependence on countries of immigration (when contrasted with the colonial period), and the cultural distance between people affected by migration has increased (Soros, 1988). The advent of a single world market, concentration and internationalization of capitals, economic control exercised by multinationals and frequent financial crises in many national states, triggered an international imbalance of wealth, which had both demographic, political and social consequences.

Moreover, a demographic imbalance arose between rich and poor countries (differential demographic pressure). The so-called second demographic transition, typical of post-industrialized countries, is reflected in a decline of the fertility rate, a decreasing population growth, an increasing number of old people (in the consolidation of "new" families, often devoid of solid ties) and increasing migration flows. In this regard, a comparison between the European and the North African population increase shows a

constant population growth in the poorest areas, as opposed to an alarmingly decreasing birth rate and an ageing population in the most developed countries. Human life expectancy has increased more in the last 40 years than in the previous 2,000 years. In the year 2010, people over the age of 60 are expected to account for a quarter of the European population, with far-reaching implications for the distribution of resources, the labor market system, social policies and individual and family relationships (Council of Europe, 2007).

Therefore, a reduction in the migration flows is not expected in the near future. On the contrary, given the decrease of locally active populations and a growing demand for social services, migrations should be regarded as new resources and opportunities. The development of relations between nation states as a consequence of globalization seems to give a new connotation to the phenomenon of migration, inasmuch as its transient, marginal or even a phenomenon that leads to illness, in fact, this overtone gives way to its proper structural and systemic features.

In the meantime, above all in western socities, the culture of postmodernism, above all in western societies, is prone to promote an inward-looking human being, a person imbued with an individualistic and narcissistic attitude, self-centered, material goods and quantity-oriented (to the detriment of quality), with a volatile and erratic nature (Bauman, 1977; Giddens, 1998). Fickle tastes, unilateral satisfaction of pleasure, exaltation of domestic sphere and personal interests, self-fulfilment and physical well-being have become the essential elements of the present time. Fears of definitive and final decisions steer our lives toward superfluous values, ephemera and radical freedom. Individuals consider themselves as self-sufficient, driven by a constant and unilateral pursuit of immediate pleasure.

Education, and above all, school education and its system, are deeply affected by these changes. Fears and insecurities slowly surface, educational strategies, curricula and teaching methods are hastily revised, resulting in solutions that are often technical, devoid of clear aims and stable moral principles (like those in the declaration of human rights): Instead of being solved, problems escalate. The situation spirals downwards into a negative "treatment," in which solutions are often worse than the "illness" itself.

How can pedagogy[1] manage this kind of situation? Which answers are helpful or appropriate for educational praxis?

This article will analyze possible answers to the drastic and, at times, dramatic changes related with globalization, complexity, new economy and life in a multicultural society. In a period of crisis of values and stance, where especially school and family seem to be unable to cope with risks and opportunities, connected to the new situation, we need to invest in *education*. Human beings and their growth should be the focus of economic, political and social attention, and not only selling, profit, technology or TV audience. This chapter will provide an epistemological and semantic basis for the concept *Intercultural Education*, along with distinction between

the terms *multicultural* and *transcultural* education. The study moves on to an historic overview of exchanges of peoples with different linguistic, religious, cultural or ethnic features. The central point revolves around theoretical elaborations and practical experiences, above all in the European context and in the educational field. After providing a general outline of historical developments, the main contents, methods and objectives, as well as its limits, I will develop the thesis that education in its intercultural (and not multi- or trans-cultural) sense is currently the most appropriate answer to globalization and interdependence.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AS *PAIDEIA* FOR THE 21ST CENTURY?

Before discussing the most suitable education policy for the third millennium, in a season of constantly increasing real (immigrants, refugees, displaced people, illegal aliens, tourists, scientific researchers, industrialists) and virtual (television, cinema, Internet) mobility, it is essential to be aware that emigration is a very old phenomenon. In the history of humankind, the most likely scenario is a permanent network of cultural, and also genetic, exchanges between different people. According to recent paleontological, archaeological, historical, genetic and linguistic studies (Lewontin, 1984; Cavalli Sforza, 1993), the common origin of *all* human beings can be traced to an area between northeastern Africa and the Middle East.

Humankind has always been characterized by the phenomenon of migration. Since the origin of human beings, about 150,000 years ago, the first *homo sapiens* (the only "race" existing on Earth) began to move from Eastern Africa to the bordering areas, populating the whole planet in less than 100,000 years and adapting their eating habits, build and the color of eyes and skin. For many centuries the phenomenon of migration has affected the Mediterranean area. From 1500 to the beginning of the 19th century, caused by wars, poverty or reduction of natural resources most of the emigrational flows started also from (north) Europe, and the most desirable destinations were, above all, the "new" continents (America and Australia) and overseas colonies. After the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century and the achievement of a market economy, Europe became the centre of the emigrational system. The reasons why people moved within Europe were above all political, religious and economical disparity. For example, after WWII many Polish and Ukrainian workers emigrated toward mining areas and regions of the iron and steel industry in France and Germany; Italian laborers moved to France, Switzerland and Germany; Irish farmers moved to England (Bonifazi, 1998).

First and foremost, if we are aware of the common origin of *all* human beings and that in the history emigration is not the exception but the rule,

we should erase a false premise (and a scientific mistake), that is, the existence of several races (often based on different skin colors or features): *The only race on Earth is the human race.*

If it is true that human beings are *all relatives* (they share common origins and compatible DNA, they speak different languages but with similar roots), it is also true that they are *all different*: In the course of history, people have developed different somatic features and cultural standards. The origins of life and human existence are founded on difference. In the course of history, the main problems seem to originate from these differences.

Although migration is an ancient phenomenon, the question of peaceful coexistence remains as yet unresolved. The word "foreign" is commonly associated with negative or even threatening aspects. An historic overview of the meeting or clashes of people and cultures with different linguistic, religious, cultural or ethnic characteristics is not exactly reassuring.

1. The most notorious example has been the ruthless *suppression* of the numerically, militarily or economically weak: A foreign person (or "the other") can be perceived as a serious threat to a group's identity or existence; therefore, violence or weapons are employed to kill people with different ideas or somatic features (recent examples are the fratricidal wars in the former Yugoslavia, in Eastern Russia or in Uganda). In the educational field, because violence cannot be used, the common form is to push away people with "differences" (psychological suppression; educational exclusion can been interpreted as a form of violence).

   Pedagogically, this model cannot be proposed as an educational method. Violence does not help to solve problems. It usually "shifts" them, generating new violence and making conflict insoluble (Galtung, 1996).
2. Another widespread method is *assimilation*: A foreign national, who is commonly viewed as "primitive," "backward," "uneducated," "barbarian," will not be "eliminated," but rather absorbed into the dominant culture; therefore, a person must learn the language, customs, traditions, religion and thought of the majority group. The situation of pre-Columbian or pre-colonial African populations should sufficiently explain this point; still today there are many contemporary examples in various democratic countries.

   This method, turned out to be a failure. The process of assuming an identity is mainly unconscious, and nobody can be obliged to adopt a different identity (Portera, 1995).
3. The method of *segregation* or *ghettoization* has been also frequently employed: People with different ethnic, linguistic, religious or cultural features are segregated, and thus they become "harmless" to the dominant group. They are allowed to live following their own

religion and values but only if they are kept confined to their peers and do not attempt to have contacts with others (which often, but not always, means the majority). Dramatic examples are Jewish people during Nazism in Germany, Aborigines in Australia, Black people in South Africa during *apartheid* or Afro-Americans in the United States until 1954. This method is bound to fail, not only because of the political awareness and action based on human rights, but also because it does not consider the dynamism of cultures and of the forms of life: People and cultures cannot be delimited by walls or barbed wire.

4. A less known model is *fusion* (or the so-called *melting pot*): On the basis of a democratic principle, all cultural differences were combined to form a single culture, which ought to have been valid for all citizens (Zangwill, in the comedy "The Melting Pot" [1908] argues that, fusion "was a matter of love that can make people overcome their differences and fuse them to make totally new persons". This highly utopian goal, mainly applied in the United States (Glazer & Moynihan, 1970), turned out to be unsuccessful, a "*salad bowl,*" where people keep their own characteristics, even in self-segregation (as in areas like Little Italy and Chinatown).

   The non-consideration of the unconscious component of identity has probably contributed to the failure of this model: A person can be convinced that he or she is an American citizen, but in essence many differences are maintained (one person can be a citizen while keeping specific cultural differences. President Obama could be considered a successful representative on how a different background is not only recognized but made relevant to a citizen's life). If they are repressed, they will emerge in a more drastic and violent manner (as in recent violent protests by immigrants in Paris).
5. *Universalism* can also be defined as a pattern. On the basis of Kant's philosophical principles on universal values, or the objectives of the French Revolution (*liberté, égalité, fraternité*), aspects in common to all human beings are emphasized, whereas all differences are omitted or neglected.

   In this case, no mechanisms of exclusion, ethnocentrism, stereotypes and prejudices were elaborated, but real differences between human beings were not taken into consideration, Decisions in communist countries like Russia or China are the most well-known examples.
6. Finally, peaceful coexistence or *multiculturalism,* urged by UN and UNESCO recommendations, has been the most successful method to date: Human beings with ethnic, cultural and religious differences decide to live together in mutual respect and understanding. The historical basis can be found in the multicultural uprising in the United States; in Europe the best example comes from Switzerland.

The advent and consolidation of—de jure or de facto—multicultural societies brought a rapidly increased use of the concept of *integration*. Only a few authors and experts, however, are fully aware of the sociological meaning (and the traps) of this term. It only describes the exterior point that people can live together, but it does not indicate in which way. A. J. Copley (1979, pp. 52–54) draws a distinction between two levels of integration of foreign workers in Europe: primary and secondary. *Primary integration* means a stage when immigrants, despite strong feelings of nostalgia for their native environment, begin to internalize the values of their new country and adapt to their new lifestyle in the host country. On the other hand, during *secondary integration,* people get rid of their native culture and internalize languages, values, rules and social norms of their host country (a kind of assimilation). Essentially, integration can be put into effect in four different ways (Portera, 1995; Portera, 2007):

a. *monistic integration,* when the strongest culture leaves no scope for diversity and simply absorbs it into its own system (commonly called *assimilation);*
b. *dualistic* or *pluralistic integration,* when two or more groups of people with different cultures live side by side in the same territory, in mutual respect, but they determinedly avoid contact for fear of losing their identities. In this case we observe a *confederation*, a sort of official authorization of differences (commonly called *multiculturalism)*;
c. *integration as fusion of differences*, modeled on the American *melting pot*, where the different cultures of a territory should be gradually fused/combined into a single and common *ethos*; and
d. *interactive integration,* when people of different ethnic groups and cultures try to live together and *interact* with each other (when everybody is active in the psychological sense of activity), with a constant exchange of ideas, rules, values and meanings.

It is my firm conviction that, considering all models of precedent in the educational field, the best answer to cope with ethnic and cultural diversity is the intercultural model. Only the concept of *Intercultural Education* can be placed alongside the notion of interaction and interactive integration.

Even though in European countries several documents on education (Council of Europe, European Parliament) in European countries incorporate principles of Intercultural Education in their school policies, numerous studies and research (Allemann-Ghionda, 1999; Perotti, 1996; Portera, 2000) show a lack of clear semantic definitions and common epistemological formulations. Also, in an educational context, meanings, contents and aims are sometimes misconstrued or misinterpreted.

For this reason, before moving on in the discussion, I will offer a concise semantic explanation of the concept of Intercultural Education and its development, particularly in Europe.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION: AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC EXPLANATION

The first epistemological distinction should be drawn between the terms *meta-*, *trans-*, *multi-* and *Intercultural Education*. We should start by saying that the word *meta-culture* might mean a "culture beyond culture," a sort of "supra-culture" (like metaphysics compared to physics, or meta-communication to communication). If we consider that any educational approach necessarily involves cultural elements (education cannot happen without influencing cultural standards and identities), the concept of meta-culture cannot be employed in education. In pedagogical fields it is, therefore to be considered as erroneous, because it excludes the possibility of education itself.

On the other hand, the concept of *trans-culture* is noteworthy, as it refers to elements spreading through culture (as in *cross cultural psychology* or *transcultural psychiatry*). In the broadest sense, educational strategies are aimed at the development of universal and common elements, of formal values like respect, honesty, autonomy, and contents like person, peace, justice, environmental protection and the right to improvement. This approach is supported by the theory of cultural universalism, which is rooted in Emanuel Kant's cosmopolitan education of people free from barbarities, in the universal principles of the French revolution affirming the dignity of all human beings, and in Norberto Bobbio's studies on education aimed at "universal values" (Lukes, 2003). Philosophers of the French Enlightenment, primarily Voltaire and Condorcet, originated the idea that the fundamental purposes of humanity are identical all the time in every place, and there is only one truth.

This educational model is called *educazione alla mondialità* (education to a world vision) in Italy, *Erziehung zum Weltbürger* in Germany, and it might be possible to define it as "additional" (as other countries or the world itself are added to a native nationality). Although in this approach there are many advantages (education to real communities among all human beings: from common values to human rights to human needs), several objections could be raised to its rather improbable unitary vision of the world, which is actually fragmented and not homogeneous (the personal sense of social belonging might be lost). This is not to mention also the European origins of this doctrine and the consequent possibility of a superior cultural position of Western countries with their values and economic power dominating the rest of the world in a monopolistic control of culture. The transcultural or "structuralistic" approach of many educationalists underlines common aspects of different cultures, but it also overemphasizes stability and permanence, whereas movements and current processes of change in cultural systems are not taken into consideration. Some research (Perotti, 1996) shows that several teachers also risk using the term "human" as they please, thus neglecting the differences of cultural life. Various educators

can also be in danger or nurturing an "a-cultural" education or an assimilation of minorities.

Multi or pluri-culture means a sort of "*giustapposizione,*" a "peaceful coexistence of cultures," based on the principle of cultural relativism (Lukes, 2003), a position that claims that all cultural traditions are equally good and the choice of one or another is only based on taste. It implies also the concept of uniqueness and unsettled cultural differences, as well as the right to personal autonomy. A *multicultural* approach moves from contemporary circumstances: the presence of two or more cultures. The main educational aims are acknowledgment and respect of cultural diversity.

General multicultural epistemology arose between the two World Wars, as a result of criticism of the positivist approach, Cartesian dualism and the rationalist paradigm, by distinguished scholars (E. Husserl in philosophy, C. Saussure in linguistics, F. Boas in anthropology). The first studies where the notion of cultural pluralism emerged, hinting at diversity and acknowledgment of otherness, were written in 1580 by M. E. Montaigne, in his essays *Dei Cannibali* e *delle carrozze* (*Of Cannibals and Coaches).* However, the real foundations were laid between 1720 and 1740, above all by G. B. Vico, whose book *Principi di Scienza Nuova* is quite rightly regarded as one of the first text of multicultural epistemology. I. Berlin (1994, pp. 96–103) describes Vico as "the real father" of the idea of culture and cultural pluralism, considering that in his vision each culture has its own peculiar structure and set of values.

In Europe Multicultural Education became the study of common features and differences. Above all, it means recognizing diversity and respecting it "as it is," without claiming to modify it. In countries like Germany or France, this approach led to the development of a kind of pedagogy for foreigners, *Ausländerpädagogik*, or *Pédagogie d'accueil*, which is very similar in its objectives and methods to the special pedagogy for pupils with disabilities. In German schools, multicultural pedagogy (with the impossibility of respecting all diversities) has become a pedagogy of assimilation of the minority (Nieke, 1995, pp. 12–17). For these reasons, many European pedagogues expressed critical opinions about this model. Demetrio (1997, p. 38) describes a multicultural approach as "a city, a big house, a crowd of different nationalities, sharing the same territory, but without common interests or desire to exchange stories. They live in complete mutual indifference." Although this model may be appreciated because of the importance of education to respect and acknowledge the rights of the others, many traps exist. Among the risks of this approach, we can include the static and rigid idea of culture, social stratification and hierarchical groups. Educational intervention is often limited to folksy or exotic styles of presentation, which would inevitably and increasingly constrain immigrants to their "native culture" and to patterns of behavior outdated even in their country of origin.

Therefore, *Intercultural Education* in Europe constitutes a real *Copernican revolution*. Concepts like identity and culture are no longer approached

rigidly, but rather *dynamically* and in constant evolution (not only for immigrants, but also for the autochthonous population). Otherness, emigration, life in a complex and multicultural society, are not risk factors or potentially harmful features, but *opportunities* for personal and common enrichment. A person from a different ethnic group with a different culture poses a positive opportunity, a chance for discussion and study of values, norms and ways of behavior.

According to scientific literature, the intercultural system was introduced in a context of educational studies. Among the pioneers of Intercultural Education and its conceptual structuring, we should mention Louis Porcher, a sociologist, and Martine Abdallah-Pretceille (1986), who, after her experience as a teacher, in 1985 wrote the first doctoral dissertation on this topic (under the supervision of Porcher), for her Ph.D. in educational sciences at the University of Sorbonne in Paris.

The intercultural approach is placed between universalism (education *of the human being*, regardless of color of skin, language, culture or religion; Secco, 1999) and relativism (everybody should have the opportunity to assume and to show their own cultural identity; right of equality in the difference; Shaw 2000). It takes into consideration both opportunities and limitations, but it transcends them and builds up a new synthesis, with improved chances of dialogue, exchange and interaction. Whereas multi- and pluri-culture evoke descriptive elements, with people from different cultures living peacefully *side by side* (as in a block of flats or condo), the prefix *inter-* implies relations, interaction, exchange of two or more elements (Abdallah-Pretceille, 1990). As aptly noted by C. Camilleri (1985), societies can be defined as "multicultural," when we realize the presence of people with different traditions, customs, religions and thoughts, whereas educational interventions should be intercultural and promote interaction of differences. As a result, Intercultural Education rejects immobility and cultural or human hierarchy, and is meant to encourage dialogue and relationship on equal terms, so that people do not feel constrained to sacrifice important aspects of their cultural identity. Intercultural Education is based on the advantages of trans-cultural education (education to common humanities, human rights, human ethics and human needs) and Multicultural Education (education to acknowledge and respect other people and cultures), but it adds the opportunity of interaction: direct exchange of ideas, principles and behaviors, with comparison of preconceptions. In this real contact, it is possible to give one's own opinion and also try to change (in a democratic and open way) meaning and identity (for any person involved in the process, immigrant and natives). On an epistemological level, Intercultural Education owes its origins to the scientific principles of experimental social psychology (in particular, studies on cultural identity, on acculturation and acculturative stress), of trans-cultural psychology (above all, comparative studies, the concept of "cultural psychology" and "ethnic psychology"), plus general, social and comparative education, cultural

anthropology, ethnology, sociology, language and (intercultural) communication sciences. It is important to foster an interdisciplinary approach between all disciplines (including sociolinguistics, philosophy, geography, medicine, history, political sciences), in order to realize opportunities, risks and Intercultural Education interventions. Whereas in Europe a multicultural approach seems to affect descriptive and static groups, an intercultural strategy involves: acknowledgement of relevant values and facts in question; dialogue, exchange and interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds; opportunities of evolution, beyond egocentrism and ethnocentric views; and dynamic, dialectical relationships, developed in a spirit of communicative and cultural changes in the identity of all people involved (Rey, 1997).

In the light of this situation, Intercultural Education cannot be taught separately or in a special project; *it is important to include intercultural perspectives in all disciplines at school and in all planned activities*. Teachers should not adopt a cumulative approach (additional lessons about immigrant children, further history or geography lessons) or work out ad hoc plans or particular projects in addition to or in place of curricula. Intercultural Education is a different way of understanding teaching and education. It refers at an education which takes in to account and tries to face with *all manner of diversity* which may be present in the classroom: Not only linguistic, cultural, ethnic or somatic, but also, for example, gender, political, social status or economic differences. Experiences in Germany, France and Italy (Portera, 2006) shows that the best strategy is not to throw in a specific lesson on "Intercultural Education," but to change views, meanings and relationships. Intercultural Education requires and promotes a new *formae mentis*.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

The growth of Intercultural Education follows changes in migration flows and policies over the last century (Portera, 2003; Portera, 2006). The early spurs to its theoretical development came from international organizations, above all the United Nations, which encouraged world cultural cooperation and peaceful solutions of conflicts. UNESCO (the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*) has always strongly supported educational efforts to pursue the respect of human rights and fundamental personal liberties.

The prelude to Intercultural Education in Europe can be traced to the UNESCO General Conference of Nairobi in 1976, where the main subject was "Education to international understanding, cooperation and peace" (through appreciation and respect of all cultural identities). A few years later, at the end of the General Conference of Paris in 1978, member states signed the "Declaration on races and racial prejudices," which proclaims

that, (1) All human beings belong to the same species and group. They are created equal, are endowed with equal rights and are an integral part of humankind. (2) All individuals and all groups have the *right to be different*, to feel and be recognized as such. Then, following the Nairobi conference, a "Medium-term plan, 1977–1982" was implemented, with courses of action aimed at encouraging, promoting and respecting each cultural identity, as well as promoting open dialogue between cultures. During the World Conference on Education, held in March 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, a "World declaration on education for all" was announced. Later, in 1992, participants at the International Conference on Education in Geneva recognized the need for an *Intercultural Education,* thus enhancing experiences and important aspects of other cultures. With regard to education in the 21st century, a "Medium-term strategy, 1996–2001" was adopted by UNESCO, with a view to achieving and maintaining peace, based on equality, justice and liberty (UN, 1993).

In the United States, a country of immigrants par excellence in the early seventies, *multicultural* education became a topical issue, when the first scientific articles and contributions were published. As a consequence of the *melting pot* ideology, up to the end of the '60s, in schools and universities researchers awareness of real ethnic and cultural differences was rather low. Maintaining differences was literally taboo (but many did it proudly), until cultural contrasts and conflicts slowly emerged, boosted by the movement for civil rights, along with the struggle against racial segregation in schools and any form of discrimination. Respect for cultural minorities became a focus of attention and the "demand" for self-determination and cultural recognition came from Black and Native Americans. During the '70s, the movement *Ethnic-Revival* also contributed to the development of Multicultural Education, because many ethnic minorities identified with its principles. African Americans promoted the well known motto, *Black is beautiful* (which arose in the second half of the '60s) and proudly began to affirm their origins and study their roots (Sleeter & Grant, 2007). Two different views of *multiculturalism* are currently present in the United States: The former promotes American cultural expansion, without belittling the most important classics of Western culture, whereas the latter draws inspiration from relativism and grounds its ideal curriculum in works of different cultures. A third notion is orientated toward ethnocentrism and aims to achieve a unilateral revaluation of the cultures of minorities, after decades of oppression (Torres, 2009).

Likewise, curricula on Multicultural Education were introduced in Canada only in the '70s, mainly in response to Franco-Canadian movements and other anti-anglicizing minorities. Despite the fact that mass immigration started over a century ago and pressure on schools was great, even in Australia, the first educational programs on a multicultural level arrived only in the seventies. It is interesting to note that in several countries, and in many English books, no sharp distinction has been drawn between the

concept of Multicultural and Intercultural Education or pedagogy. Many authors still suggest multicultural strategies provide the best education possible, whereas others use the concept of Multicultural Education as if they meant not only knowledge, acknowledgment and mutual respect, but also exchange and dialogue (which form the basic foundation of an intercultural approach). Only in recent years, in some English-speaking countries (by authors in Canada, the United States and Australia), has the concept of Intercultural Education begun to take root (Gundara, 2000).

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN EUROPE

In Europe immigration reached its acme after the second World War and moved forward. Large groups of emigrants from colonized nations arrived in countries who had ruled them in the past, like Belgium, England, France and Holland, causing a somewhat "peaceful reverse colonization." Afterwards, in the '50s and '60s, migration increased rapidly, as young men from poor Mediterranean countries (Turkey, Greece, the former Yugoslavia, Italy and Spain) emigrated and settled in countries of northern Europe, like Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Scandinavia. However, during the '70s, after the oil crisis which affected all industrialized countries, states tried to restrict the number of immigrants, and, as a consequence, their social and political status in host countries regressed. With the exception of Sweden and Holland, where the development of a multicultural society was officially recognized, all other European countries (like Germany and France) implemented social policies with a goal of reducing the number of foreign immigrants.

The Council of Europe adopted a strategy of multiculturalism for many years. In 1970 the Council of European Ministers passed its first resolution (no. 35) on education for immigrant children in member states, aimed at supporting their scholastic integration in the host country, preserving linguistic and cultural ties with their country of origin, and facilitating their educational reintegration. In the course of the following conferences (1973 in Bern, 1974 in Strasburg, 1975 in Stockholm, 1976 in Oslo), educational problems of immigrant children were extensively discussed and analyzed, in order to preserve ties with their language and culture of origin. Encouraged by the *Conseil de la Cooperation Culturelle* (CDCC) between 1977 and 1983, led by M. Rey, a working group was created to envisage methods and strategies for teacher training in Europe. In this context, *intercultural*, not pluri- or multicultural, education was perceived as a necessity. Then, in 1983, at a conference in Dublin, the European Ministers of Education were unanimous in adopting a resolution to expatriate children, in which the importance of an intercultural dimension to education was affirmed. The following year Europe passed a recommendation stating that teacher training should be based on intercultural understanding. In the late '80s,

the Council of Europe promoted trial periods on Intercultural Education (Rey, 1986; see also Rey, 2009, in this book). .In light of these policies, European countries with a high immigration flow (France, Germany, England, Belgium, Holland) have followed a similar development: (1) problems are initially downplayed to linguistic aspects; (2) incentives are given to learn a second language; (3) multicultural projects to appreciate diversity are planned (Portera, 2006). Since the early '80s, primarily intercultural actions have been developed, whereas in the '90s educational authorities in Europe have wavered between universalistic solutions which downplay diversity and relativistic solutions which emphasize it (Allemann-Ghionda, 1999). Even now in many parts of England, most pedagogues prefer to use the term "Multicultural Education" (Gundara, 2000; Shaw, 2000); Switzerland is a notable exception, with its strict and rigid immigration laws, whereas Sweden is the only country where foreign pupils are entitled to have lessons in their native language. The Swedish government has always pursued an open-minded policy toward immigrants, who are granted the right to vote, the right of abode and favorable procedures to acquire Swedish citizenship.

On the basis of European experience, there are some *limitations* and "traps" inherent in using the concept of Intercultural Education and intervening practically in schools. (1) The *lack of clear concepts* (meta-trans-multi-intercultural) may pose a risk to teachers and educationalists, inasmuch as they are tempted to define any situation regarding foreigners as "intercultural," giving it "fashionable" overtones. Following books written by "experts" of various origins and discipline, which used different terms for the same objects or same terms with different meanings, often teachers only celebrate exotic cultures in a classroom and plan mainly "projects," without any critical analysis of values and progress of knowledge (Perotti, 1996). (2) Many scholars and teachers place the concepts of Intercultural Education as the only correct, as top of a *hierarchical* order. In fact, in many practical situations a multicultural or transcultural intervention might be the most appropriate approach (e.g., insufficient knowledge about different culture, inequalities or discrimination). Dialogue and interaction are not always possible or the best method. In certain situations it is necessary to establish the definite preconditions. (3) According to some research studies (Dasen, 1994), teachers may tend to emphasize only differences with a sort of *pédagogie couscous,* and thus they stereotype and marginalize students. (4) There is also the risk of *appointing foreign pupils as ambassadors of their countries* and forcing them to represent a culture of which they have no knowledge. Often foreign children are even attempting—not without difficulty—to free themselves from the culture of their country of origin and develop their own sense of identity, using a synthesis of preferred cultural standards. (5) A previous study (Portera, 1995, 2007) revealed another possible risk, what I called *xenophilia,* or a teacher's hyper-identification with a foreign child. Those teachers understood

Intercultural Education as "always defending immigrant children." It was observed that foreign pupils did not want to (or could not) renounce their privileged status in a classroom and had to stifle many of their interiorized cultural standards. (6) *Education is not a panacea*, even Intercultural Education can not solve many problems of immigrant population (like poverty, lack of home, work or food, political or juridical discrimination, psychic disorder, etc.). Educational (intercultural) strategies should be realized together with interventions in the field of economics, politics, law and the social sector. Multifactorial problems require interdisciplinary answers: There is the need for team and networking. (7) Intercultural Education in schools is often utilized singularly as education which concerns merely immigrant children. However, the substantive "Intercultural" means *consideration of all kinds of diversity,* from social status, to cultural, to gender issues. (8) Unlike Comparative Education or Multicultural Education, an intercultural approach still requires *necessary scientific researches* of its practical application, along with shared theoretical foundations and mutual epistemology for researchers of different nationalities and languages.

Nevertheless, besides these risks, all over Europe there is a danger posed by an increase of nationalism in recent years (due to the growth in popularity of right extreme Parties and the phenomena of racism and xenophobia). Many newspapers emphasize episodes of deviance or crimes committed by (mostly illegal) immigrants. However, although we should correct the endless stream of inaccurate or distorted pictures presented by the press (not only the tabloids), we cannot only label the media as ethnocentric or racist; we must take these episodes seriously, pay them careful attention and try to begin an open dialogue. The ideas of nation and citizen have to be revisited, in order to clarify not only rights, but also *duties*, and to develop social democratic norms for all citizens of a country (Schnapper, 1994). In other words, Intercultural Education will only work in conjunction with *education to lawfulness and respect of norms and limits*. No form of education will work without precise, clear and accepted rules and regulations. Especially the younger generation's need to discover, develop and then show their (cultural) diversity. However the right of one's own cultural identity does not imply, and cannot lead to, educational spontaneity, normative relativism or educational permissiveness, where anything is allowed and everything has the same value (cultural relativism; see Portera 1998, 2007).

Difficulties of another order ensue from a new line of research, which is taking root in France, in German-speaking and Anglophone countries, where critics *dispute the use of concepts like ethnic groups and culture*. Some European experts (Perotti, 1996) argue that these concepts (which were introduced to the United States in the '60s during the struggle for minority rights) are currently used to disguise the real problems of immigrants in Europe, because their difficulties are not cultural, but rather social, economic and political. In Germany some educators (Nieke, 1995)

remark that an intercultural approach is often considered only when there are foreign pupils in a classroom or when problems arise, as if this discipline were a "*Sonderpädagogik*," a "special pedagogy" for education of children with special needs.

Analysis of the development of an intercultural approach in European countries (mainly in Northern Europe) led to the conclusion that several benefits are sure to derive from Intercultural Education: revolutionary ideas, innovative educational strategies, interesting projects and noticeable, significant changes in textbooks, programs, curricula and in school legislation. Educators with different opinions are currently opposing this theory. They are teaching neo-conservatism, fearing that Intercultural Education will give way to relativism of values, political decadence and a universalistic educational vision. They dread that differentiation holds an element of individual and collective risks, whereas its only aim is to grant equal rights for all human beings (see Gundara, 2000).

CONCLUSION

In the postmodern period, with its weakening of authority, polyphony of values and fragmentation of life, we are witnessing a serious educational crisis involving all current institutions (primarily the family and school), and hence, a serious pedagogical crisis arises out of clear educational goals. The global and pluralistic society, fraught with uncertainty and a prevailing culture of economic force (money, consumerism and appearances are undisputed "musts") needs to rediscover its reference points, and it is necessary to start again from education. "When Socrates left the *agorà* (politics) and went to the streets and alleys of Athens, he pleaded that: 'Athens, as it is now, does not need to be ruled, but rather to be educated.' Only then will politics reconcile with its definition, that is, the art of governing equals" (Bergamaschi, 1995, p. 33).

Education, in its intercultural sense, constitutes the best and most appropriate way to answer such unavoidable questions. This revolutionary approach tackles our disorientation (epistemological and conceptual) and current societal changes, as it guides education by moving from past experiences and incorporating recent developments (mainly, in the field of knowledge, methods and educational opportunities), with an aim toward identifying present and past limits and risks. In view of our different situation, Intercultural Education, how was developed in Europe, allows us to revisit pedagogy, combining the best of tradition with contingent exigencies and taking into account future challenges.

However, if we look at the use of some educational concepts, worldwide there are still many barriers to overcome. (a) The term "tolerance," used until today in connection with Multicultural (and sometimes Intercultural) Education, in fact transmits a hierarchical idea: One person is

up and has to tolerate the other person's (down). The expression *respect* would be more equitable: The contact can happen on the same level. (b) In numerous countries and official documents, some terms like "races" or "primitive culture" are still used uncritically (Portera, 2000), although they are very discriminating and the word 'race' does not have any scientific foundation and was banned from European Parliament language (European Union, 1997, p. 20). The situation reveals several singular complications, if we compare the employment of pedagogical concepts between different countries. (c) In the United States the term "Intercultural Education" has been utilized since the 1930s with the goals of enhancing the self-esteem of immigrants and reducing the fear of new immigrants toward the mainstream American. In fact, in schools the didactic strategy aimed mainly on assimilation and seems to provoke segregation and discrimination. To face whit those problems, in the 1940th was assumed the notion of "intergroup education" for contrasting intergroup tension and reduce prejudice throw education). Contemporary, since 1970, the approach "Multicultural Education" is the most frequently employed. Up to the present time, in the United States, Canada or Australia, the term Multicultural Education sometimes is also utilized in a programatic manner, including the possibility of dialog (Banks, 2004, pp. 3–29; Grant and Brueck, in this book). In recent years, some authors have proposed the terms "cosmopolitan education" and seen in the "antiracist education" as better addressing the actual contemporary issues (Banks, 2009).

In this regard, an in-depth and thorough analysis on conceptual, epistemological and semantic levels is essential. The most significant aspect is not to maintain the adjective "intercultural." Considering the present situation in the industrialized countries of the world, there is an urgent and immediate need for a *semantic and conceptual* discussion of education, with a view to removing linguistic misunderstandings and finding common, shared terminologies. There is a great need of dialogue and international understanding. If researchers and educators achieve this basic framework for an agreement, and all concepts have the same meaning in any country and any language of the world, then it would be easier to start a clear and open-minded dialogue about contents and goals: to meet the educational challenges of globalization, pluralism and complexity.

In the new millennium it is essential to banish strategies of verbal, physical or psychological violence (which only increases or sidetracks problems), assimilation (which is bound to fail, because the process of identity acquisition always implies liberty) and universalism (which reduces anything and anyone to one level, and doesn't consider specific cultural features and identity). Above all in pedagogy, it is essential to take into consideration various past and present studies and theories, in particular those from the human sciences, in order to identify positive and negative factors in a time of globalization and cultural pluralism, as well as the real causes of progress or failure at school, and efficient strategies and politics regarding the

inclusion or exclusion of minorities. Another subject for discussion is the fact that in many part of the world, the idea of *cultural differences* is still utilized as a pretext for exercising one's power over other human beings (Torres, 2009).

During his inaugural address, British Prime Minister Tony Blair defined "*education, education, education*" as the cornerstones of his government (Giddens, 1998, p. 109). Similar reflections arrive also from Barack Obama. In a democratic, pluralist and multicultural society, an acknowledgment of the importance of culture, education and pedagogy oblige a reformulation of these concepts, in light of actual transformations. The real challenge is to overcome all forms of dogmatism, ethnocentric views and nationalism, without falling into the trap of relativism and unquestioned impulsiveness and spontaneity, where we can do anything we like. The human sciences, and above all pedagogy, as a theoretical reflection on education, should embark on a new path, paved with risks and pitfalls, and become the benchmark in a season of moral and axiological disorientation, not to mention the judicial system (with its necessity for governance of multinationals, Internet- or media-related crimes, widespread damage to the environment, and food adulteration). Education is a tool both for maintaining ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity and achieving social inclusion, equity and intercultural understanding. The core values of industrial countries, like human rights, democracy and respects of law, are necessary for living in a pluralistic society. Because identities, cultures and societies are not static but dynamic (in a constant state of flux), and values like human rights, social cohesion and intercultural understanding are not genetically transmitted to foster democratic culture, it is necessary and urgent to reinforce and invest more in the field of education.

In the global world, if scientists, politicians, parents and teachers manage to place human beings, education and pedagogy at the center of their reflections and main goals, perhaps it will be possible to make a contrast in which crisis and disorientation, globalisation and world interdependence, blossom into positive chances for personal and common growth.

NOTES

1. The term pedagogy is utilized in the sense of a theoretical reflection on educational approaches (Portera, Böhm, & Secco, 2007).

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Part II

Intercultural Education

3 The Intercultural Perspective and its Development Through Cooperation With the Council of Europe

Micheline Rey-von Allmen

This paper will first present the meaning that I give the word "intercultural," as expressing a dynamic, and underline the importance of the prefix "inter," as formulating explicitly the requirements for dialogue, exchange, reciprocity and solidarity, as well as the capacity to question various forms of egocentrism. This term also attests to the reality of interactions and interdependence, even when people do not recognize them. The understanding of cultures as dynamic and enriched by one another shows that the term "intercultural" is constitutive of cultures and identities.

Additionally, I shall present the strategy which gave us the possibility to conceptualize, diffuse and implement this perspective, thanks to the Council of Europe, in order to favor the living together and the cooperation of individuals, groups, communities and nations throughout Europe. I shall not describe good local practices. However, 30 years of reflection, training and education represent a concrete good practice at the international level, which birthed many local good practices all over Europe. It also shows, not that the meaning of intercultural has changed, but that this perspective is useful in any situation of our changing global world.

TOWARD AN INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE IN WESTERN EUROPE

The terms that we use to express ourselves are less universal than we might first think. Much like the tip of an iceberg, the visible and explicit meaning of a word is much smaller than the hidden and implicit meaning. Words have three significant dimensions: They reflect our perception of the world, they have an historical and contextual weight and they serve both to witness and to bring about action (Rey, 1992).

In the early seventies, being responsible for teaching the children of migrants in Geneva, I was struggling against marginalization of the migrant population. There was a strong xenophobic movement in my country, and I felt that the main problem was not related to the sociocultural level of

the foreigners but to their acceptance by the local population. The word "intercultural" (borrowed from a report on an experiment [IRFED, 1975], where exchanges had taken place between migrants and local people on a reciprocal footing) seemed adequate with what I wanted to express and do. Since then, I've worked with this term and the perspective it was able to offer. Later, in 1977, I had the opportunity to lead a program of the Council of Europe on training those responsible for teaching migrant children. I invited its members to adopt an intercultural approach. It was on the basis of this program that the intercultural approach was developed and conceptualized, in the Council of Europe and by the researchers and practitioners cooperating with it.

I offer here my own understanding of the term "intercultural," as well as of other words related to it: multicultural (or polycultural), pluricultural, transcultural and crosscultural. For somebody speaking French or a Latin language, my use of these terms is easily understandable, because I give the prefixes their etymological (Latin or Greek) meaning. However, it might not be easy to translate them in some languages not familiar to these particles.

Thus, intercultural, by giving value to the prefix "inter," implies interdependence, interaction and exchange. In addition, speaking of culture implies recognition of values, life styles and symbolic representations that individuals and groups refer to in their relationships to others and in their understanding of the world. The term "intercultural" includes the range of interaction happening within a culture as well as between cultures, and this within their changing dimensions in time and space.

I also use the proximity of the French word "interrogation" to remind that such exchanges have to question the various forms of ego-(ethno-, socio-, culturo-, europeo-) centrism, to develop a critical spirit as well as openness to diversity and empathy to others. Moreover, I often emphasize that the intercultural perspective has two dimensions. First, it has been recognized as a project. It has educational, social and political dimensions. It invites us to endeavor in order that interactions contribute to mutual respect and the enrichment of mutually supportive communities, rather than strengthen domination and rejection.

Even so, "intercultural" also has to be thought in terms of a fact, of a reality. Every life, every relationship is dynamic, every culture is diverse, gets adjusted to changes and gets transformed. In one way or another we are all migrants, creoles, hybrid, of mixed origin. At the academic level, the intercultural concept calls for an objective, scientific description of this interactive reality. This means recognizing the reality of the interactions that shape communities and on the basis of which they change, noting and recording the process set in motion by communication, exchanges, population movements, regional and intercontinental migrations. It also means attempting to understand and describe how they operate.

I use the words "multicultural" (*multi*, in Latin, meaning many) whereas some people say "polycultural" (*poly* in Greek, also meaning many) and

"pluricultural" (*plures* meaning several in Latin) in order to describe a situation. For example, all groups and societies are pluricultural or multicultural. Nevertheless, I see intercultural as a dynamic process to invite these people and groups, not to live side by side in juxtaposition (as in ghettos), but to cooperate, to live together equitably and harmoniously.

As for the terms "trans- and crosscultural," they define a movement, a crossing-over of frontiers. Like the terms "pluricultural" and "multicultural," however, they do not imply dialectic movement of reciprocity. Of course, interaction is not excluded by the words pluri-, multi-, trans- or crosscultural; neither is it formulated explicitly nor considered, as with intercultural, part of the underlying concept.

When we first emphasized the use of intercultural, it was opposed to the well-known word multicultural. It even happened that the French *interculturel* was translated as "multicultural." As a matter of fact, most of the studies that conceptualized this intercultural perspective were expressed in the French language and related to the social situation of countries experiencing the migration phenomenon in ways other than the English. (The United Kingdom did not want to participate to the first program of the Council of Europe, because they had no migrant workers as such.) The central words, main discussions and fights were not (yet) about racism and ethnic minorities/majorities, but about xenophobia, integration, underprivileged social classes and educational opportunities. As for the American usage of intercultural communication, it was perceived as too limited and often too related to commercial profits.

At that time, multiculturalism was essentially an Anglo-Saxon movement. It was tied to the recognition of ethnic minorities that were perceived as marginal to the majority group. Therefore, multiculturalism was criticized for its tendency to juxtapose, marginalize and isolate communities by freezing them into ethnocentric identities. In French speaking countries, the word "multicultural" was rather neutral, without reference to this debate.

When discussion on the intercultural perspective reached Anglo-Saxon regions and the international organizations accustomed to work with them, it inherited the critics of culturalism and multiculturalism. It was criticized for its (supposed) neglect of power relations which exist in and between social communities, and for seeing as cultural problems that were, in fact, social. It also was charged with ignoring the role of racism in today's society. This criticism is ill-founded if we refer to the historical and geographical context in which the intercultural approach was initiated: principally, in relation to the situation of migrants in the industrialized countries. On the contrary, the intercultural approach wanted to be a strategy for transforming and diversifying power relationships, and for making space on equal terms for those (individuals and groups) who are undervalued and for their competences, cultural references and modes of expression (Bourdieu, 1977). Recognizing the inequality of educational opportunity and of linguistic and cultural exchange, efforts tended to democratize studies and

equalize educational opportunities (Rey, 1993a). Moreover, going beyond theories that focus on handicap or denial and their proposals for unidirectional remedies, the intercultural perspective emphasized the need to perceive links between the various elements in play and integrate them in a dialectical approach. It stressed the fundamental importance of interactions, the need to learn to perceive them more accurately and to act accordingly.

International exchanges and language translations sometimes provoked other confusions of meaning. The impact of the intercultural perspective resulted in the use of this trendier word in social sciences, without its reference to interaction. It happened to refer to a comparative approach and be limited methodologically to the study of cultures through juxtaposition.

Let me refute an additional misunderstanding about the term "intercultural" and its history. Criticisms that have been made concern the intercultural itself less than the pitfalls (Rey, 1984) that still threaten it or into which those who refer to it or who criticize it have fallen: the pitfalls of simplification, rejection of complexity and dialectical tension.

1. Intercultural relations do not concern foreigners alone or any single group of people. Also contrary to what has been claimed, Intercultural Education is not the education of migrants. "Ausländer Pädagogig" (pedagogy for foreigners), as the German language used to say, is not intercultural pedagogy. It is surely important to be concerned with the welfare and education of these (or other) populations, but it is not enough. Being intercultural requires working on the quality of relationships between any group of people and others. It is not surprising, however, that intercultural efforts in Western industrialized Europe have been initiated in relation to the migratory experience (which may be very diverse). On the basis of observed unequal educational opportunities of children from deprived socioprofessional backgrounds, schools were called to account regarding the migrant population. They were criticized for their inability to recognize and appraise the values of "others," and enable them to participate on more equal terms in social interactions in educational establishments and later in professional life. Migrant workers were (and still are, although the groups have changed) the most visible evidence of otherness in industrialized countries. Nevertheless, to say that or act as if intercultural concerns are only about migrants is a trap laid by society, which finds it easier to marginalize the problems it faces (and attribute their cause to those who reveal them: migrants, schools, minority groups) than to confront them and seek comprehensive solutions that are necessarily complex and, above all, of concern to everyone. I would add that, strategically, it is no cause for regret that the exploration of intercultural relations has taken into account the situations of disadvantaged populations. It can be observed that, if they are successful, actions

involving the most disadvantaged are often generalized and offered to everyone. The opposite is not always the case: The privileges offered to the affluent are not so easily generalized; the population as a whole only receives crumbs.

Moreover, the categorization of people as migrants or indigenous people is inadequate. European societies are composed of the functional interweaving of differences and similarities. Immigrants are an integral part of society and European societies are pluricultural. They cannot be described as bipartite, consisting of natives and immigrants. The issue of identity arises for both in the same way. Values are in fact diverse and identities multidimensional; there are multiple senses of belonging and shared differences. Networks of communication and participation need to be developed that ensure both cohesion and social justice. The intercultural is, therefore, a dimension that can be described as cutting across the whole of life in society (Porcher, Perotti, Van der Gag, Mangot, & Jakobsson, 1986).

2. Some people wrongly consider that the intercultural perspective concerns only education. Conceptually, it has never been limited to "Intercultural Education." Whereas it is true that it developed first in education and training (for all sorts of reasons, some of them a matter of chance), its implementation in other fields was awaiting only the social agents ready to work on it. However, it was also because schools were confronted with plurality and because some teachers accepted the challenge, despite criticism by the French sociology of education of that time that thought schools were condemned to social reproduction and, therefore, could not be instigators of change.
3. One of the earliest criticisms of Intercultural Education concerned the risk of stigmatization. It is true that it is not enough to value differences in order to "do intercultural work." The teaching situation is more complex. Teachers need aids and illustrations, but when the means tend to be substituted for the approach, they can become traps and the intercultural is ossified. Vigilance is, therefore, required. Strictly speaking, whereas there are no required methodologies for ensuring an Intercultural Education or establishing intercultural relationships, some approaches are better able than others to develop intercultural dynamics (Rey, 1991a, 1996, 1997a). In teacher training (Rey, 1991b) and in children's education, active and participatory approaches, group projects that stimulate the interest and creativity of the audience concerned, that require them to use all their capabilities and enable them to express themselves and cooperate will be favored. Such projects include cooperative learning (Batelaan, 1998), democratic management of education (Holden & Clough, 1998) and communication education (Walker, 1992). Pupils will learn to observe interaction rites (Goffman, 1974), identify signs of potential conflict, send signals of appeasement (Mansour, 1993) and give each speaker

the possibility to save face. Teachers must be tactful. In ticklish situations, they should use distancing techniques in order to allow pupils to engage in intercultural dialogue without embarrassment or fear.

4. Some people have also rejected the term "intercultural," arguing that the quality of the interactions advocated by this perspective concerns not only relationships between groups or individuals from different cultures, but all relationships between individuals or groups of the same culture. If this approach has enabled people to become more aware of aspects of human relationships and has improved dialogue in all circumstances, this can only be welcomed!
5. Another aspect is seldom emphasized. As mentioned above, the intercultural approach has two dimensions, the first being a project for education and society, the second being academic, calling for an objective and scientific description of the dynamic and changing reality. In Europe, the "project" dimension preceded the "academic research" dimension (also the case with linguistics and with the recognition and knowledge of migrant populations' language competences). It was some time before the university took an interest in deprived groups and their relations to the privileged ones. The university has sometimes criticized the intercultural approach for its ideological orientation and "militancy," from which academics wish to distance themselves. However, is it possible to act without any perspective? It cannot be denied that, even in human and social sciences, objectivity can only be relative. Ideological positions and economic and political power relationships also exist among and between academic disciplines. Even today it is by no means certain that the intercultural perspective is less of a challenge at the research level than it is on the level of social action.

I would conclude this part by noting that various expressions and notions are used in Europe (Rey, 1997b). All have specific accents and approach problems from a particular point of view, but they intersect and contribute to the presentation of the same totality. As a consequence, they are not devoid of redundancy. This situation is accentuated by the fact that these preoccupations are advanced by nebulous groups or movements and are conveyed at national and international levels by such institutions as governmental or non-governmental organizations, religious movements and diverse agencies within society which, at the same time, tend to awaken awareness and elaborate on strategies, methodological tools and pedagogical material that favor this awareness. These movements, often anchored in local history, recognize themselves by means of key words that sum up their projects. For example, those in relation to education are International Education, Multicultural Education, Anti-Racist Education, World or Global Education, Education for World Citizenship, Peace Education, Education for Non-Violent Conflict Resolution, Human Rights Education, Development

Education, Intercultural Education, etc. If these diverse tendencies were in origin juxtaposed, not to mention rivals, each of them designed later projects taking in account many dimensions and consequently, the interactions are multiplying. Whereas researchers might aspire to a scientific *esperanto* of terms, an etic approach that is objective and neutral, there is no way to avoid a plural and emic negotiation. Perhaps these discussions are, in themselves, a worthwhile form of intercultural dialogue.

Speakers are the product of their cultural traditions, but they are also free agents and have the capacity to renew and enrich them. If the word "intercultural" or any other stresses a specific and important dimension, should it be preserved in its current meaning or should it enrich the meaning of other words, even if the word itself ceases to be used any longer? It is up to history to conclude. As far as I am concerned, I favor the intercultural perspective, considering that it is an inevitable pathway to any citizenship, human rights and development, which attempts to overtake ethnocentrism and which emphasizes integration and solidarity.

AN INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE IN THE ENLARGED EUROPE

From the early 1990s, the fall of the Berlin Wall and cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were a considerable challenge for Europe and for intercultural reflection and action. Central and Eastern Europe are characterized by diversity and the numerical importance of minority groups resulting from migration, imposed displacement of populations and numerous changes in borders throughout history (Foucher, 1994). Many conflicts arose in relation to the concept of Nation-State and the rise of nationalism, as well as the relation to "national minorities" (communities within a state that identify with the culture of a nation situated essentially outside of that state).

In this difficult situation, the Council of Europe was given the task to develop information, exchanges and cooperation between the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the countries of Western Europe, in a spirit of dialogue. I had again the opportunity to cooperate.

The intercultural was a relevant approach for helping with this task. Even so, some people reacted, thinking it was valid only in Western Europe in relation to the migratory situation, which is quite different from the minority problems encountered by the countries in transition.

However, interdependencies; interactions; the need for exchanges, opening the closures and solidarity; the questioning of one's own values; and recognition of the ways of life and values of others, even migrations—these are present in all societies, and intercultural dialogue remains essential. My contribution to this work was to stress with others that culture, identity and ethnicity are dynamic and interactive (Camilleri, 1995; Poutignat & Streiff-Fenart, 1995, Rey, 1997a) and that they are constantly evolving. Cultural

communities are already internally diverse and intercultural. Todorov said "L'interculturel est constitutif du culturel" (1986; the intercultural forms the cultural). They interact with each other and are subject to change. In a pluricultural context, all cultures in contact with each other are modified, not only those that are minorities. Immigrants, for example, like various cultural communities, change their own group structures and concrete expressions of identity, but also transform the more general social reality of which they are an integral part.

Thinking about identities has changed over the years. It has moved from a substantialist and monolithic conception to one that is pluralistic and interactive. Cultural identity used to be thought of as a given that was permanent and singular or as something that was constructed over time, diachronic and dependent on a single historical source. It is now thought of in dynamic and plural terms (Dadsi, 1995; Camilleri, 1995; Déclaration finale, 1997). It is a process that is constructed by interaction, not only diachronically, but also synchronically, on the basis of the many relationships and negotiations that individuals have to manage in the present. When context changes, the main concrete expressions of identity (languages, religion, name, ethnicity, etc.), as well as the interdependences, shift and change. The distinctive features of identity are then reorganized.

In addition to the objective dimension of interaction with the environment, there is also a subjective dimension. The interpretation of facts, the view or image individuals or members of a group have of themselves or of their group, affect the process. This image is not constructed in a vacuum. It is the reflection of the representation people have of what distinguishes them from others; the reflection, too, of the representation others have of those differences. Identity is, therefore, constructed "in reaction" in order to distance oneself from or conform to the image the other has of one. It is prescribed, says Camilleri (1994) as well as constructed. It is clear that relations with "the other" play an important role in transforming perceptions and concrete expressions of identity.

However, the current interest in identities is not innocent. The excessive attention they are given often results in the rejection of otherness. Identity is brandished as a weapon, whether defensive or offensive and against the other. The representation we have of identities, therefore, plays an important role because it leads to choices, not only individual choices, but also social and political ones. Whether one thinks of the definition of the citizen, the issue of migration, relations with minorities, European integration or cultural policies, etc., the apprehension of identity is the linchpin that fosters or blocks social relationships. Therefore, we have a responsibility with respect to the construction of these representations.

Individuals do not only have several identities (or a complex identity). In a pluricultural environment they may, in the construction of those identities, refer to elements (values, symbols, various cultural features) borrowed from several cultures and reinterpret them. The most common vectors of

identity include, for example, founding myths, collective memory, rights and duties, symbols, emblems and cultural heritage. Furthermore, people from different cultures may claim that the same elements (emblem, name, city, etc.) belong to their culture. The relationships that are maintained or have existed in the past between cultures are often ignored (it might be a wish to ignore them). Whereas in times of conflict some groups tend to destroy the cultural property (libraries, monuments, etc.) that they regard as belonging to their enemies in order to impoverish them and strike at their symbolic heart, a more accurate appreciation of historical reality would make people aware that these items are part of many cultures. They are, in fact, part of a common heritage (Patrimoine et société, 1995). Their destruction impoverishes all parts. We have a rich common cultural heritage (which does not stop at Europe's borders) that we have to learn to share and enrich.

COOPERATION OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN THE FIELD OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

It is time to say briefly what the Council of Europe is. It is an intergovernmental (not supranational) organization. Founded in 1949, it seeks to develop throughout Europe common and democratic principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts regarding the protection of individuals. At the present time, 47 European states are members and five other nations are observers.[1] Its aims are to protect human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law; to promote awareness and encourage the development of Europe's cultural identity and diversity; and to find common solutions to the challenges facing European society. Only questions of national defence are out of its competencies. It cooperates with international organizations such as the European Union, UNESCO, OSCE (the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and many non- governmental organizations. Its headquarters is in Strasbourg (France).

The Council of Europe should not be confused with the European Union, which is a political and economic community of 27 member states (in 2007), with supranational and intergovernmental features. The EU was developed in 1992, when the 12 member states of the European Economic Community signed the Maastrich Treaty. The countries that make up the European Union remain independent sovereign nations but pool their sovereignty in order to gain a strength and world influence that none of them could have on their own. Its headquarters is in Brussels (Belgium).

In the field of education, the Council of Europe's aims are defined by the Conference of Ministers of education from the 49 signatory states of the European Cultural Convention of the Council of Europe. The Council of Cultural Cooperation (CDCC) has often been its stimulating body.

Because I think that this organization's work is one of the central points of networks that have explored, conceptualized, promoted and implemented the intercultural perspective, I shall mention some of that work. Since it always cooperates with the academic community and with educational, social and political networks, I was fortunate to work with the Council of Europe for more than 30 years. Like many others, I have been, and still am an *external* expert.

This is an opportunity to point out that the work of international organizations is, in a way, what we make of it. This is all the more true today with the development of the European Union, which has important cooperation and exchange programs.

In the Council of Europe, the department concerned with employment and vocational training problems was the first to look at the social situation of immigrants in the industrialized countries of Western Europe. In 1970 a resolution was adopted (70/35) on school education for the children of migrant workers and since 1972, the program of experimental classes has been important in accounting for the needs of these groups. Efforts tended to help integration and keep the mother tongue alive. I had the opportunity to set up experimental classes in Geneva (1974–1976), then evaluate the whole program and ask that it be transformed into "Experiences of Intercultural Education" (Rey, 1979a). In 1973, the CDCC and authorities concerned with education took over examination of the educational situation of immigrant children. They organized meetings of experts, wanting to give a special training to teachers of migrant workers' children. I had the opportunity to suggest extending such training to all teaching staff in order to obviate the risk that immigrant children and their teachers would be marginalized and to prepare for the arrival of pupils in ordinary classes after the reception class. The idea gained ground.

Following various preparatory work and a symposium on the integration of migrant children into pre-school education (Rey, 1976) the Council of Europe launched a program for training the teachers of migrant workers' children. As said before, I suggested that our terms of reference be broadened and that we adopt an intercultural perspective. That led to the conceptualization of Intercultural Education and "interculturalism," a word I would now replace with the term "intercultural," refusing the dogmatism implied by "ism." Research and activities were structured around the compilation of files containing sociocultural data on countries of origin, host countries and the situation of migrants in those countries, analysis of significant teacher training experiments in several countries, a summary of courses, pilot projects and recommendations (Rey, 1979b; Porcher, 1981; Rey, 1986).

With the work of the group of experts on teacher training, the intercultural option was recognized not only as worthy of inclusion in the Council of Europe's cultural priorities, but also as a means of recapitulating its whole activity, in the double sense which could be given to this term.

On the one hand, as the L'Aquila Symposium stressed in 1982, during the final session of the program, the intercultural defined and summarized the nature of the efforts that have governed the Council of Europe's action since its inception in the field of human rights development, international understanding and the European Cultural Convention; it has also been a stimulating reference, method and perspective for carrying out all its programs and work, whether, for example, on the cultural development of cities, the recognition of minorities, particularly the Roma, student mobility or the recognition of degrees (Rey, 1982).

Since then, in particular, a great deal of work has begun on the Roma which has led to a re-examination of their situation in several countries of Western, Central and Eastern European countries (Liégeois, 1985, 1994).

At the end of the program on intercultural teacher training, as more and more countries became interested in such issues, a new project was put in place on "Education and cultural development of migrants" (1981–1986), chaired by Louis Porcher. It was more wide-ranging and involved a larger number of countries and partners than the preceding program. It was structured around the same type of work (case studies, study visits, colloquia, courses, recommendations, etc.) and disseminated the intercultural perspective in most Western European countries. From a conceptual point of view, it confirmed the fundamentally dynamic and dialectical approach of the intercultural and stressed the fact that, as underlined above, European societies are not bipartite, consisting of indigenous and immigrant people, but constitute complex networks with multidimensional identities, sharing differences and similarities.

At the end this Project, important recommendations were adopted on migrant women, second generation migrants and the intercultural training of teachers. The CDCC decided to pass the baton to member states. It was up to them to continue on a broader basis what had been started as pilot projects. Nonetheless, the Council of Europe cooperated by co-funding many activities, conferences, national symposia, workshops, journals and competitions aimed at developing Intercultural Education and cooperation. In addition, both responsibility for migrants and the intercultural perspective were either included in other CDCC projects (modern languages, primary and secondary education) or, with the CDCC's collaboration, taken over by other divisions of the Council of Europe, according to their competencies (human rights, Parliamentary Assembly, local and regional authorities, the European Committee on Migration, which developed a multidisciplinary project on intercommunity relations, etc.). Similarly, other international (UNESCO, European Union) and non-governmental organizations took up the intercultural perspective and continued the work. In many cases, the same experts were invited to cooperate with these bodies.

The International Association for Intercultural Education (IAIE) was established in 1984, following a Conference organized in England within the framework of Project Education and the cultural development of migrants.

It developed its activities, essentially, in the regions and with interlocutors able to communicate in English. It published a journal, now called *Intercultural Education*. Meanwhile, the Intercultural Research Association (ARIC) was created in French-speaking regions. In Switzerland, the review *InterDIALOGOS* was launched with Council of Europe support, while the Research Action Group of Psychologists for Intercultural Education, organized in Geneva within the program "Experiences of Intercultural Education," contributed significantly to introduce a reflection about intercultural relationships by social players other than teachers (Rey, 1993b).

After 1989 and the end of the Soviet Union, the situation was difficult for the countries in transition that wanted to get nearer to western countries and build democratic institutions. In order to develop cooperation, the CDCC launched a new project, "Democracy, human rights, minorities: educational and cultural aspects" (1993–1997), chaired by Thérèse Mangot. The countries in transition have been the priority for a great many actions, such as establishment of the Intercultural Centre in Timisoara (Romania), whose objective is to support efforts at dialogue between the various communities and cultural cooperation throughout the region.

The compilation of an anthology of documents on the emergence of human rights should also be mentioned. It showed that every country, in its own way and at its own speed, had, if not achieved, at least sought this "common ideal" (Carpentier, Hinnke, Minnerath, Schmale, & Zarin, 2000). The project resulted in an examination of cultural policy and the issue of identity (Perotti, 1994). The issue of identity and the scope of the intercultural have opened up new challenges, involving examination of what cultural communities are (a term which, in preference to minorities and majorities, includes both), what the cultural rights of individuals and communities are, and what they should be (Les droits culturels au Conseil de l'Europe, 1997). This is because, in democratic societies, taking cultural identities into account involves according adequate recognition to cultural communities. Work done within the framework of the project "Democracy, human rights, minorities" has made a significant contribution to this, as Grosjean (1997) emphasized. For a long time, issues concerning minorities were analyzed in terms of applying duties and responsibilities of the dominant cultural group to minority groups, in order to enable them to find an appropriate space in which to become integrated in the dominant cultural reality; this presupposed safeguarding the place of their autonomy and specificity. By the end of the Project in question, the issue seemed to be somewhat different. It was a matter of recognizing the different cultural communities as active participants in and constituent parts of the pluricultural social reality, responsible for their own development, but also for the common cultural development of the multicultural whole of which they were also part. It was a matter of ensuring a sharing of the symbolic space in the society, the identity of which was constantly changing as a result of the contributions of both minority and majority groups.

I would add that the whole question of communities and cultural rights is essential for Europe, but transcends it. One important issue is to understand diaspora and networks that are giving rise to transnational and transcontinental solidarities. This situation is to be explored in terms of the challenges (positive ones concerning the creation of new, potentially enriching, cultural dynamics) and pitfalls (as these networks may not always provide social conditions that accord with human rights).

From the late '90s, the project that was most wide-ranging for a number of years was the CDCC project "Education for Democratic Citizenship and human rights" (different phases from 1997 to 2009). It sought to respond to the pressing need expressed by member states, to re-examine the meaning of participatory democracy and the status of the citizen, in light of changes brought by globalization, the strengthening of Europe and technological developments. It is becoming increasingly clear that all citizens are involved in the collective project of democratic stability and have a role to play in combating extremism and establishing democratic stability and social cohesion (Education à la citoyenneté démocratique, 1998). Intercultural education offers an important contribution to this project.

Of all the aspects of diversity that democracy has to take into account, diversity of religion and philosophy of life has emerged as one of the most sensitive. Recent conflicts in Europe and other regions of the world have shown that religion is a significant factor in contemporary wars. After the events of September 11th, the Council of Europe, at the request of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education (Athens, November 10–12, 2003), decided to promote wide-ranging interreligious dialogue in order to enable European societies to achieve greater cohesion and reduce the risks of misunderstanding. This project, now being implemented, is chaired by César Birzéa. Entitled "Intercultural Education and the Challenge of Religious Diversity and Dialogue in Europe," it takes intercultural dialogue a step further (The religious dimension of Intercultural Education, 2004; Keast, 2007). The Council of Europe also has made intersectorial contributions to intercultural dialogue, for example, among others, activities on culture and heritage, conflict prevention, youth building peace and social cohesion. It also committed itself to a new dialogue between Europe and its neighboring regions of the southern Mediterranean, the Middle East and Central Asia.

Recently, a website dedicated to intercultural dialogue has been launched, and everyone is invited to share her or his vision of intercultural dialogue and submit examples of good practices. Moreover, in 2006, the Committee of Ministers launched the preparation of a White Paper on "Intercultural Dialogue—living together in equality." This will be an important contribution in 2008 for the "European year of intercultural dialogue."

Let us all take the baton and participate with such a spirit of cooperation for improvement of our living together in local contexts, in international and global relations and in our responsibilities.

NOTES

1. Member States: Albania, Andorra, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Monaco, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, San Marino, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom. Observers: Holy See, United States, Canada, Japan, Mexico.

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4 Comments on Intercultural Education in German Guidelines and Curricula

Cristina Allemann-Ghionda

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I shall analyze how much of the postulate to educate in an intercultural way has been included in recent education policies in Germany. In doing so, I wish to concentrate on three aspects: first, Intercultural Education in guidelines and intended curricula against the background of introducing education standards; second, chances and risks of the Bachelor/Master reform with regard to a more intercultural teacher education; third and last, I will discuss how the ideas included in the curricula may be played out in schools.

The term "Intercultural Education" was introduced in Western Europe around 1975, whereby the project group around Louis Porcher, leader of an important project within the Council of Europe, had a great share in. In German speaking countries (Germany, Austria and a part of Switzerland), educationalists began to discuss Intercultural Education in the late 1970s (Allemann-Ghionda, 1997; Allemann-Ghionda, 2001; Auernheimer, 2003; Allemann-Ghionda, 2006a). Only in 1996 did the German Conference of the Ministers of Education (Kultusministerkonferenz = KMK) issue a recommendation on "Intercultural Education" (KMK, 1996). The guidelines and intended curricula of most Bundesländer (the equivalent of states in Germany, which is a Federal Republica) have been including intercultural issues more and more since then (Neumann & Reuter, 2004).

For many reasons, it is interesting to question what has become of the postulate of Intercultural Education in Germany. Some research has been done about the ways of implementing what the theoretical debate says on Intercultural Education and what recommendations, guidelines and intended curricula suggest that schools should do and teachers should teach. The results of research tell us that the well known gap between the discourse sphere of theory and the discourse sphere of practice is generally confirmed by a gap between the rhetoric of educational policies (recommendations, guidelines, intended curricula), which also represents a discourse sphere in its own right, and what is taught. However, some examples of best practice have also been retrieved and analyzed (Allemann-Ghionda, 2002; Gomolla,

2005). Little is known about the sustainability of such best practice examples, because educational research in Germany seems to pay less attention to empirical, grassroots research on school effectiveness than is the case in other countries. In this paper, therefore, it is hardly possible to shed light onto the discourse sphere of educational practice (more explicitly: the daily teaching practice in school) and the meta-practice, that is, how teachers talk about their own real or intended daily teaching practice.[1]

Another focus of research suggests that stereotypes on ethnicity and intercultural issues are widespread among teachers, so many of them develop their own naïve theories and strategies for coping with multicultural and multilingual classrooms (Edelmann, 2007). It may be assumed that a considerable number of teachers are not willing to implement ideas on Intercultural Education, even if the intended curricula that they are supposed to follow provide them a range of possibilities for doing so. This situation is generated by the poor degree of normativity of curricula in Germany, that is: Teachers are very free in their pedagogical decisions and activities, and there is little or no supervision or control of how curricula are taught. A discussion about standards in education and about how to assess how such standards are met is just beginning in Germany (Klieme et al., 2003). At the same time, teacher education does not necessarily contain curricular elements in the field of Intercultural Education.

In this paper, however, I shall exclusively consider the developments in the discourse sphere of the rhetoric of educational policy and some desirable consequences in the curriculum to be implemented, that is, in classroom activities. Despite the difficulties of implementing Intercultural Education, I consider that if recommendations and guidelines integrate this educational goal, this is an important step toward a more democratic education. This is especially true because in recent years there has been a very controversial public debate on how migrants are to be integrated. Some politicians claim that the only serious goal is to learn the German language, forgetting or denying everything that has been said or written on the recognition of other cultures and languages. A stream of neo-assimilationism is becoming more and more dominant in the German public debate. Since the German educational system has not abandoned yet its anachronistic, neo-feudal structure (selection and tracking in most cases after only 4 years of primary school), we can observe a paradoxical situation: The rhetoric of educational policy celebrates diversity, whereas the system itself practices division and discrimination on social and ethnic terms (Allemann-Ghionda, 2008a, 2008b).

Before going into the analysis of recommendations, guidelines and intended curricula, I shall make a very brief recapitulation of the state of the theoretical discussion on Intercultural Education. The concept of Intercultural Education is used in Germany as an equivalent of Multicultural Education. However, because the social and political background is specific and in some ways different from other countries, the meaning attached to the term Intercultural Education may differ in some respects. Originally

(in the late 1970s), most authors considered Intercultural Education to be a reasonable educational response to migration, which was seen in its turn as the most visible expression of societal plurality. The paradigm of difference, and at the same time of equality and recognition of all cultures, was and is the leading principle.

There followed a complex debate, including the critique of Intercultural Education; for some authors, too much attention was paid to cultural specificities and differences, essentialism was the consequence (and also the origin) of such reductive views, whereas socioeconomic discrimination was not adequately analyzed (Gomolla & Radtke, 2002). In the current debate, many scholars seem to agree upon the necessity to analyze, much more carefully than was the case originally, what meaning can and should be attributed to cultural differences, whereas these are seen, of course, as socially constructed and labelled differences. Diversity is the concept that encompasses a much wider range of possible differences along criteria like culture, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, ability, other individual and group features (Dietz, 2007). In this wider framework, the descriptions and analyses of why most societies, including the German society, are diverse, take into account more issues and sociopolitical realities than was the case when Intercultural Education was first discussed.

In the present discussion, migration is one of several processes that bring about social and cultural transformations which, in their turn, require education to be redefined. Although some authors still regard migration as the main or even the only source of plurality and the foremost reason for Intercultural Education, in my view three more "manifestations of plurality" (Allemann-Ghionda, 2004, p. 82 ff.) are equally influential and relevant:

- The intranational, historical variety of languages and cultures, for example in countries like Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, the United Kingdom, Spain and many other countries all over the world;
- The European variety of languages and cultures linked to European integration;
- Mobility in a physical and in a virtual sense: In the era of globalization, people are embedded and involved in a cross-cultural and transcultural net that challenges them more than ever before, forcing them to take notice of language and cultural variety and to interact with it.

For all these reasons, education needs to shift from a monocultural and nation-centered to an intercultural and international idea of humanity. Much more so until the age of the nation state ends, the anthropological premises of education are plural. This thesis is confirmed by the paradigm shift that occurred in social sciences during the 20th century. According to Camilleri, culture has become an analytic category at the same level as class, age or gender (Camilleri, 1995).

Education is to prepare every individual and group for life in a world in which everybody has contacts and needs to be able to communicate effectively, if possible, on equal terms with people whose backgrounds are different from one's own. So the concepts of intercultural sensitivity and competence, originally used in contexts of adult education or training, have gradually become part of the discussion related to school and university. Making education intercultural and open to diversity mean changing the content of curricula and textbooks in such a way that principles of the equality and recognition of all cultures are reflected in them. In Germany, as in most European countries, the language issue has been paramount because the very beginning of theories on Intercultural Education and later, education for diversity, which is confirmed by political statements of European institutions (Portas, 2005). At the same time, a critical wing (mostly represented by sociologists) denies that concepts like cultural difference, Intercultural Education, transnational and transcultural networks, etc., might have any sense. From my point of view, this position backs up the current tendency of neo-assimilationism that we can see in German politics, supported by the media.

Against this background, my own definition of an education that is intercultural and supportive of diversity is the following:

> Education is intercultural when it recognizes the fact of linguistic and socio-cultural plurality or diversity at the levels of organization, curriculum content and teaching methods. In all subject matters, different perspectives are included, compared and analyzed critically. Cultures and languages of national minorities or of migrants may be part of this process depending on the circumstances. Independently from the physical presence of persons with different socio-cultural and language backgrounds, the key-idea is to respect any and every socio-cultural and linguistic expression. This is not obvious, knowing that many representations (for example in textbooks) imply an ethnocentric view, i.e.: the supposed superiority of Western civilization. (Allemann- Ghionda, 2001, p. 105–106, translated by CAG)

This general statement of an educational goal becomes more specific, defining four pillars on which the concept rests (Allemann-Ghionda, 2001), but will not be repeated here for space reasons.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN GUIDELINES AND INTENDED CURRICULA AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF INTRODUCING EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

For a long time, the German Conference of Ministers of Education hesitated to adopt the intercultural idea and to declare it as a part of

the educational mission of school. It took 20 years until Intercultural Education lost, at least from the perspective of the official educational policy, enough of its supposedly subversive touch so that it was possible to name a recommendation after it without provoking a scandal. In 1996, "Intercultural Education" entered into the official rhetoric, so it is proclaimed as the modernized form of general education—and not as education for minorities only or, intended for the majority, but with the sole and precise goal of better understanding minorities. According to the Conference's recommendation issued in 1996, the aims of Intercultural Education are:

> Respect for the dignity of human beings and preservation of fundamental rights are constitutional norms which are concretised in the school laws of the *Länder* [the sixteen regional German states]. The educational perspective formulated there [in those laws] is based on the idea that all men are equal and that their values and cultural orientations have to be respected. Therefore, intercultural education is, first of all, realised as conscientious interpretation of the general goal of education. [. . .] Development of behaviours which are respectful of the ethical principle of humanity and the principles of freedom and responsibility, of solidarity and international understanding, of democracy and tolerance. (KMK, 1996)

Also, the term intercultural competence is used:

> School alone is overburdened with the realisation of the social claim to guarantee coexistence on equal terms of minorities and the majority. Nevertheless, school can help to prevent minorities from being excluded and promote attitudes according to which cultural diversity is perceived as enrichment and as a desirable challenge. Intercultural competence is a key qualification for all children and teenagers; it contributes to the private and professional planning of each individual's life and helps to secure the life chances of the following generations.

The policy document continues with a number of components contributing to the key qualification—intercultural competence—which pupils should acquire with the help of intercultural teaching activities or as a consequence of it. These components reach from openness to other cultural "imprints" to the acquisition of knowledge about "other cultures" to the deconstruction of prejudices and stereotypes, and, finally, to the capacity to solve conflicts peacefully following democratic rules. In a certain way, the recommendation of the Conference of Ministers of Education reflects the state of discussion in the mid 1990s insofar as *all* pupils are mentioned as recipients and actors of Intercultural Education, and insofar as *many* aspects of interculturality (not only the concomitants of migration) are

mentioned. But at the same time, expressions such as "other cultures" and "cultural imprint," which refer to a static and museographic understanding of culture, neglect that cultures are in most cases not "pure," but increasingly hybrid due to varied social interaction, that cultures in many cases transform themselves, and that cultural and ethnic features and factors intertwine with socioeconomic ones. Such closed conceptions of culture reflect an earlier stage of the scholarly discussion, but they often emerge in everyday talk.

The way of the intercultural idea through institutionalized, intended curricula was even longer and harder. In the year 2000, an analysis of how the intercultural idea is received and realized in intended curricula was published (Bühler-Otten, Neumann, & Reuter, 2000). This analysis showed that the sixteen regional states, the *Länder*, articulated different conceptions in their curricula. Some of them interpret Intercultural Education as part of general education, whereas others consider Intercultural Education only as a task for primary and less qualifying track of secondary school, which are usually attended by a high number of migrant children, thus revealing a limited view of the addressees and a compensatory objective.

In an essay published in 2004 in a thematic section of the journal, *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, Neumann and Reuter analyze again how the intended curricula, which meanwhile had been amended, interpret Intercultural Education (Neumann & Reuter, 2004). As examples, the authors examined the newly developed curricula for primary schools in Bavaria, Berlin and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. As a result for Bavaria, the authors mention a still one-sided view: Addressees are German children who are supposed to learn to understand the "otherness" of the foreign children. Again, a static and also an essentialist picture of the "others" is suggested. Compensatory education is still the dominant idea. Not only do we notice a reduction, but also a thorough misunderstanding of the intercultural idea.

As a positive example, the recommendation from the Senate of the City of Berlin is highlighted by Neumann and Reuter (Senatsverwaltung für Schule Jugend und Sport, 2001). In it, the development of intercultural competence is mentioned as a goal. Explicitly, standards with respect to intercultural competence are enumerated, but detailed proposals for how to attain and test the single issues of intercultural competence are lacking. Neumann and Reuter name conditions for how to introduce Intercultural Education successfully into the curricula and establish standards of education:

> An addressee-orientation which takes into account the multicultural pupils; [. . .] a reflective comparison not of "cultures" but of life forms, languages religious and secular attitudes; [. . .] a framework that aims at the reflection of social-historical as well as individual responsibility and possibilities of action [. . .]; evaluation of heterogeneity as normal;

> [. . .] criteria and tests designed to assess intercultural competence. (Neumann & Reuter, 2004)

The last condition mentioned in this quotation is evidently linked to the present German discussion about standards and competences (Klieme et al., 2003). However, the present versions of the curricula are by no means constructed in such a way that they would enumerate criteria and procedures with regard to the definition of competences and their assessment, especially not in the field of intercultural competence. In fact, this would be very difficult, because research on intercultural sensitivity and competence with respect to the testing of intercultural competence has not progressed far yet, to express it in a euphemistical way.

In the same issue of the *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* (*Journal of Education*), Göbel and Hesse present an analysis of the curricula for English as a foreign language of the sixteen regional German states (Göbel & Hesse, 2004). This is based on Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1994). The authors found that the intended curricula generally reflect a differentiated concept of Intercultural Education. But they also observe:

> As empirical research on intercultural sensitivity again and again enhances the importance of emotions and affects in the course of cultural encounters, this aspect should be taken into account more explicitly in the curricula. In the field of foreign languages it is about recognizing culturally critical situations [. . .]. The capacity of perceiving one's own and others' feelings as well as the mastery of adequate linguistic and social techniques of repair are very important competences in intercultural communication. (Göbel & Hesse, 2004)

My own analysis of the history curricula and books used for lower and higher secondary schools in North Rhine-Westphalia (1 of 16 states) has revealed, among other things, a hierarchy which we know from the German track-based and highly selective education system. In the curriculum for the *Hauptschule* (the least demanding track), understanding of foreign pupils is mentioned; in the *Realschule* (the middle-range track), social and intercultural competence of all pupils is the dominant idea. At the *Gymnasium* (the most demanding track), a more ambitious and sophisticated, content-based approach is proposed: It is about intercultural and multiperspectival ways of presenting the teaching contents which are defined and illustrated by examples in the curricula. These examples are realized in history text books. It seems that history teaching and learning in a broad intercultural sense is only "for a happy few" (Allemann-Ghionda, 2005). The intended curricula for lower and higher secondary schools in North Rhine-Westphalia, as they read in 1999/2001, return to ideas of the recommendation of the Conference of Ministers of Education issued in 1996 and

interpret them in such a way that general education is, in fact, opened to the heterogeneity of cultures. At least, plenty of proposals leading in this direction are made.

How much of the intercultural idea as a constitutive element of general education can still be found in the intended curricula that were amended after 2001? Let us take, as an example, the guidelines for the *Gesamtschule* (a comprehensive school which exists as an alternative beside the three tracks), at the lower secondary level in North Rhine-Westphalia, with the subject matter German (for everybody, not as a second language for minorities), which became operative from August 2005. The intercultural idea is neither mentioned explicitly nor implicitly, although this would be plausible, that is, with regard to the choice of literary texts and the work with media (cf. Allemann-Ghionda, 2005, 16ff). In return, dealing with multilingualism in the teaching of German is emphasized, either through specific promotion of bilinguals or through recommending the inclusion of linguistic comparisons:

> Children and teenagers speaking other languages of origin can make a contribution to a deepened linguistic competence and conscience, thanks to their experiences with multilingualism. On the other hand, they especially need broadly and carefully designed instruction. With respect to the assessment of their school achievement, their linguistic biography has to be taken into account adequately. (Ministerium für Schule Jugend und Kinder des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2005, p. p. 11 and 49)

In this case, the imperative to determine standards and competences leads to a reduction of the intercultural dimension to instrumental skills in the German language only, excluding additional possibilities.

With regard to the reception of the Intercultural Education theory, we find at least a partial progress until 1999/2000/2001 in the intended curricula. It is more than questionable whether the more recent guidelines, which are conceived as derivations of the idea of standards and competences, go in the same direction. The omnipresent thought of effectiveness ends up in a narrow understanding of efficiency which, moreover, is restricted to a specific promotion of students with a migration background, a promotion to which we, of course, cannot object. The students' experiences with multilingualism are being employed as a contribution to deepen the language competence and awareness of all pupils (against which we cannot argue either). But the idea that, for example, dealing with different linguistic and cultural worlds could be a way of doing Intercultural Education seems to have gotten lost. Compared to the leading ideas of the recommendation of the Conference of Ministers of Education issued in 1996, we can observe a regression and a narrower perspective.

CHANCES AND RISKS OF THE BACHELOR/ MASTER REFORM RELATED TO A "MORE INTERCULTURAL" TEACHER EDUCATION

It may seem strange from an Anglo-American point-of-view, but German universities have only recently begun to transform the whole asset of their research and teaching in order to adapt it to the Bachelor/Master model according to the Bologna reform. This process is taking place in the first decade of the 21st century.

How do the latest and coming reforms of higher education affect the curricula of educational science and, more specifically, of teacher education? The changed regulation of teacher education for the secondary level in North Rhine-Westphalia, which has been operative from October 1, 2004 at the University of Cologne, offers, in a way, a nearly ideal framework because the dimension of heterogeneity, as well as the gender perspective, are declared as necessary content of teacher education.

This framework, however, has already become obsolete because it is being transferred into the Bachelor/Master (BA/MA) model. The pressure to rationalize could have the same effect that it had on intended curricula: the effect of minimizing the importance of Intercultural Education. In an important expertise (Terhart, 2000), the sense of Intercultural Education as a cross-section dimension may be granted, but, in standards for teacher education which follow the recommendation of the Conference of Ministers of Education and which should form the base of future Bachelor/ Master studies, the standard of intercultural competence is diluted by the more general principles: "Differentiation, integration and promotion. Heterogeneity and diversity as conditions for school and instruction" (KMK, 2004).

In addition, the structural corset of the BA/MA model is tight and may, therefore, induce cancelling of academic content, reducing curricula to a minimalist format. This involves the risk of suffocation. In other ways, though, thanks to its output orientation, the BA/MA model is potentially favorable. This chance should be taken because it stimulates faculty to ask themselves explicitly: "What do the students and future teachers need to know?" This can promote the attempt, not only to reflect about information and analytical models but also, and above all, about competences, for example, about intercultural communicative competence, about the competence to teach intercultural lessons, about the competence to understand intercultural processes in a group, and so on. The risk of rigidity implicit in the BA/MA model should not be overlooked, because the pressure to structure rigidly, to study fast and to examine often will cause some cuts with respect to the teaching contents, as experiences made by other universities which already operate the BA/ MA model have shown clearly.

SOME REMARKS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERCULTURAL IDEA

Assuming that the intended curricula which are currently valid in the Federal Republic of Germany (if the apparent regression in some recent developments does not become a general tendency all over Germany) do, in fact, offer a respectable base for intercultural teaching, a question becomes most interesting: Is it at all possible to promote intercultural competence in class through instruction? According to Göbel and Hesse (2004), the implicit answer is "yes." They suggest that teaching models might be developed starting from the stages of intercultural sensitivity according to J. M. Bennett (Göbel & Hesse, 2004).

This would, however, require measuring existing intercultural sensitivity, using assessment tests. Discovering utopia in a German educational landscape, in which a sceptical attitude toward standardized tests is widespread, is a difficult undertaking, given the available test instruments on intercultural sensitivity. Göbel and Hesse observe that the analyzed curricula for the subject of English give only a few methodical hints about what might be done in the classroom. Besides these obstacles, which will be overcome in time, it is worth deepening the question of how students' intercultural sensitivity and competence could be fostered, based on the ideas expressed in the curricula and available text books. With regard to the question: "How can intercultural sensitivity be taught and acquired?" I am going to formulate some considerations which cannot be but fragmentary in this framework.

HOW TO TEACH INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY?

Following Gosch, Groß, and Leenen (Gosch, Gross, & Leenen, 2000), Auernheimer enumerates 10 different procedures with regard to intercultural training programs (Auernheimer, 2003, p. 158 ff.). His descriptions of examples are objective, informative, stimulating and moderately critical. In discussing one example, exchange student programs, Auernheimer rightly criticizes the naïve belief in the intercultural potential of international meetings, the lack of a thematic structuring of intercultural learning situations in that framework, and the absence of meta-communication on concrete intercultural issues. For him, such meetings are "not pedagogical arrangements based on more precise perception or investigation of cultural differences and a common evaluation of conflicts" (Auernheimer, 2003, p. 162).

It seems most probable that intercultural training or learning models reveal similar flaws. A well-directed adaptation, or the new development of models supporting the promotion of intercultural sensitivity and competence for learning situations in institutionalized education, especially in

school, still seems rare, at least in German-speaking countries. Even less frequent is the theoretically and empirically based assessment of acquisition of more intercultural competence in class. Evaluations of intercultural lessons and programs that actually take place in the realm of school hardly exist.

It appears to be an interesting challenge, to take up Göbel and Hesse's proposal to turn Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity into a curricular tool in such a way that student competencies can be defined more precisely, developed, and consequently, also assessed, along with any other kind of competence, for example language skills. Here, it seems appropriate to recall Bennett's stages of intercultural sensitivity. According to his model, there are six stages of intercultural sensitivity ranging from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. The three stages of decreasing ethnocentrism—(a) denial; (b) defence; and (c) playing down—are followed by three additional stages of growing ethnorelativism—(d) attention; (e) adaptation; and (f) integration (Bennett, 2004).

Following Piaget, the term "stage" is applied, although a person does not necessarily go through each of the stages, while in child development, the stages follow one another. The term "stage" implies a judgement: The more ethnorelative, the better. If a person actually goes through all of the stages, this process can be

> compared to the development of a child: first, the child is completely egocentric, i.e. it does not make any difference between its environment and itself. Gradually, [. . .] the child understands that there are also other persons beside it who may have other opinions. The child has to learn how to deal with these different perspectives and declarations of intention—this also means: it has to learn to understand the others. (Allemann-Ghionda & Ogay, 1995)

In a process of increasing sensitivity, the issue is about seeing through and overcoming one's own egocentrism and ethnocentrism, as well as sociocentrism (the belief in the superiority of the life form and culture of one's own social group, according to the criteria of income and social, cultural capital; Allemann-Ghionda, Perregaux, & De Goumoëns, 1999; Bourdieu, 1992). A person who works with models of intercultural sensitivity education or training (the latter, more restricted term is often used in the relevant literature), needs to think of actions that could lead individuals and groups, in case they are still ethnocentric, to develop more ethnorelative attitudes and behaviors.

As far as the implementation of this model for instruction in schools is concerned, the discussion, at least in German-speaking areas, has not progressed very far yet. The already mentioned model by Bennett and other similar models have been developed especially for and with adults. Training projects promoting intercultural sensitivity and intercultural competence

exist as concepts and are carried through in enterprises and, to some extent, in public institutions.

Some of the literature suggests that intercultural sensitivity can be learned and acquired (Allemann-Ghionda & Ogay, 1995; Bennett, 2004; Boyacigiller, Goodman, & Phillips, 2004; Byram & Morgan, 1994; Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2001). In some publications (even a little hazardous?), "assessment" of intercultural competence is discussed, which means nothing other than that intercultural competence cannot only be taught but the acquisition of intercultural competence also can be observed and maybe even measured (Altshuler, Sussmann, & Kachur, 2003; Byram, 1997; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). The latter tested the intercultural sensitivity of physicians who took part in programs of intercultural training and presented results which apparently prove that intercultural competence, in fact, increased. The question of whether or not the scale of intercultural sensitivity represents a continuum for each individual is still unanswered; in other words, we do not know whether there are persons who, due to their biography, their level of education, their psychic constitution and their social environment, have only few chances to progress from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism and overcome the stage of egocentrism and sociocentrism, whereas others are more likely to do so. Theories and empirical research on prejudice may help clarify this point (Nelson, 2006).

While dealing with models of intercultural sensitivity in order to apply them in institutions of education or in similar learning and teaching contexts, caution is necessary. Models of intercultural sensitivity very often implicitly assume that we work in a society without social classes. The impact of cultural differences is presented in a dogmatic way implying culture as a central issue that overshadows all other elements of human interaction. Cultural difference is not necessarily presented in an essentialist way because the authors, of course, know about the epistemological position of social constructivism in the domain of interculturality, although some critics assume that they do not. Following the generally accepted state of the art, cultural difference is a socially constructed and not a natural and congenital category, and cultures change and mix constantly. Very often, however, in models of intercultural communication the socioeconomic factors of human communication which account for so many asymmetries of power, are not dealt with, and this can result in misleading interpretations. Also, the imprisonment in one's own culture of origin often is presented and thus appears as a fact which necessarily must lead to misunderstandings, incompatibilities or incidents. The reasons for this pre-eminence of cultural characteristics and differences may be of several kinds. In social sciences, culture has become a dimension as important as class or gender, and this has been especially so since the 1970s, until this way of thinking reached a culmination point in Huntington's theory of the clash of cultures. Some social movements have stressed the importance of culture and ethnicity when the historical and political moment required it. And finally, investigating into

the field of cultural differences, sensitivity and communication, proved and proves to be an interesting way of presenting training programs that have some monetary value on the market of adult education.

Originally, models of intercultural sensitivity were not designed for schools but for persons in specific professions who, due to their professional field, were assumed to bring with them the motivation to being sensitized. These can be, for example, soldiers and officers, academically trained staff in international and transnational companies, physicians and nursing staff, social workers, police officers or persons in other professions who frequently are involved in intercultural encounters. Against this background, it often will be problematic to transfer such models to situations in schools with children and teenagers or to teacher education. There are differences with respect to age and motivation because children and teenagers do not go to school voluntarily (soldiers and officers also do not take part in programs of intercultural training voluntarily, but their motivation is strong for other reasons). And finally, very young peoples are still in the critical process of identity formation, so working to shape their intercultural sensitivity maybe a more risky and uncertain enterprise than while working with adults.

Additionally, it has to be examined in each single case whether the examples applied in intercultural training models are adequate. Examples can be taken out of real or probable life as is shown, for example, by the critical incident model (Brislin & Yoshida, 1986). Situations also can be constructed and, then, reveal more the character of a parable, as is the case in the games BaFa-BaFa, Abigale, Albatross and similar role plays (Allemann-Ghionda & Ogay, 1995). Depending on the group, selected role plays can fit or not. Parables can be so abstract that they may be almost incomprehensible or even hermetic for some groups or single people. This can apply to a game like BaFa-BaFa which is highly abstract and symbolized.

It is possible to learn from models of intercultural sensitivity and revise them for particular age groups as well as for the context of the school, but it is necessary to apply and construct case examples and role plays which refer to the life situation of the learners involved. If the theoretical presuppositions are adapted in such a way (based on a combination of intercultural and socioeconomic criteria of analysis) and if the simulation of intercultural communication is close to reality, a learning effect can possibly result. This form of intercultural learning may be particularly effective when embedded in subjects and teaching settings with a high intercultural potential: in the foreign language and history class or in topic centred, interdisciplinary projects which explicitly analyze intercultural questions.

INSTRUCTION, INTERCULTURALITY AND THE NEW MEDIA

In order to accomplish the demand to consider and take into account the emotional component in a better way, as it is proposed by Göbel and Hesse,

the integration of new media into intercultural teaching in subject matters or interdisciplinary projects is, in my opinion, a most promising idea. As Abdallah-Pretceille and Porcher express it in their book, *Education et communication interculturelle*: "today's youth" have grown up in a polychromy [sic] of time (Abdallah-Pretceille, 1996). Their rhythms and watching habits, which are much faster and much voluble than ours, may seem strange to us, and we may be outraged by the decreasing time spent on reading and diminished reading competence. Nevertheless, the potential for an intercultural sensitivity via the medium of film exists (Budd, 2002).

In a seminar on "Media and interculturality," students analyzed and tested this idea by means of films and documentaries. The film industry offers plenty of more or less intellectually demanding works in which the intercultural dimension plays a role, either implicitly or explicitly. Some of the numerous examples are: "Out of Africa," Sydney Pollack, 1985; "Dances with Wolves," Kevin Costner, 1990; "East is East," Damien O'Donnell, 1999; and "My Name is Tanino," Paolo Virzì, 2002. So-called "Bollywood" films proved to be an excellent means for practicing intercultural perception and sensitivity, so different are they from Western visual habits. Films permit an apparently playful introduction and the analysis of intercultural topics. Each spectator is free to identify with the characters or not. If the teacher is adequately educated, interculturally sensitive and prepared, discussions about sociocultural differences and intercultural misunderstandings or conflicts can be led more openly than in real life, because there are fewer risks that somebody might feel hurt or exposed. Film material can be used to illustrate multiperspectivism. By embedding film analyses in intercultural teaching, it can be shown that interculturality is not at all limited to relationships between foreigners and residents and more or less restricted to conflicts, as plenty of teachers still believe. What I have discussed above can be applied in schools with teenagers, but also in university seminars, including those on teacher education.

Similar experiences can be happen using television. Analysis of the evening news in two different countries is one example for intercultural comparison in class (Byram et al., 2001). In such a class, semantic analysis of the choice and presentation of content (priorities, order) as well as dramaturgy and aesthetics will be taken into account. Television documentaries deal with intercultural aspects in various forms. These range from polemic, tendentious and barely informative reports about migrant parents and pupils' lack of will to integrate, to presentations of "other" countries and habits which try to be as objective as possible (at least in reputable channels), to finally, TV documentaries with explicit critical intentions (Adick, 2000).

Inductively, various possibilities for discussing intercultural questions can be developed from theoretically prepared visioning of films and documentaries: intentional or unintentional production or reproduction of prejudices and stereotypes; criticism of racism and xenophobia; sociological analysis of conflicts between cultures, generations and social groups or

strata; and the empathic presentation of migration and biculturalism, to mention but some of the possibilities.

TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES, MULTILINGUALISM AND THE ACQUISITION OF INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY

Intercultural educationalists in Europe highlight the promotion of multilingualism to varying degrees. There is a consensus that an education following the principles of recognition, equality and equity must include the languages and the cultural backgrounds of migrants in a positive way. Additionally, some conceptions of intercultural sensitivity and Intercultural Education are based on the general assumption that dealing with "other" languages (of minorities and majorities) is of interest, from an intercultural perspective. Such conceptions refer to the linguistic comparative work of Wilhelm von Humboldt, published posthumously in 1836 (Humboldt, 1998). It is not always mentioned explicitly that intercultural competence does not derive only from the acquisition of one or more foreign languages. Intercultural teaching methodology of languages is based on the postulate that dealing with languages—also with the official language and literature of the country in which a particular school is situated (Amodeo, 1999; Ricci Garotti, 2000)—contains an intercultural potential.

With respect to the curricula for English as a foreign language, Göbel and Hesse (2004) write that general cultural and teaching goals (the overcoming of ethnocentrism, development of cultural self-awareness, esteem of and interest in cultural differences) and specific cultural teaching goals (i.e., those which are directly linked to the knowledge of the Anglo-American languages and cultures) are close, but not necessarily linked to each other. Therefore,

> [an] appropriate use of teaching methodology, i.e. the appropriate order of methods which permit to refer to cognitive, affective and practice orientated goals and to achieve general cultural goals by means of cultural specific linguistic activities, is a task which still has to be worked at. The curricula [. . .] are not sufficiently detailed in order to arrange interculturally successful lessons. (Göbel & Hesse, 2004, p. 832)

The example of the curricula for English as a foreign language shows that the manifold proposals made by intercultural teaching methodologists only barely influenced the design of the curricula. With regard to the teaching methodology of foreign languages, it might be the right thing to integrate models of intercultural sensitivity and of intercultural training as well as experiences made by new media teaching methodology. For each language taught, adequate films or TV productions in which intercultural matters are presented and/or discussed can be found.

INTERCULTURALITY AND INTERNATIONALITY AS A CROSS-SECTION DIMENSION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

A necessary condition with regard to the transfer of general intercultural ideas into intercultural teaching methodology is that the curricula for teacher education indeed consider interculturality as a cross-section dimension. Then, the next step would be to arrange seminar lessons in such a way that they contribute to an increase of intercultural competence by future teachers and other persons with pedagogical tasks, for example, by making full use of the possibilities offered by the whole range of methods of intercultural sensitivity training mentioned previously and not—as it often is the case in higher education—just by trying to reach exclusively the cognitive level.

Concerning Intercultural Education and diversity in teacher education, and, with regard to the development of intercultural competence and a better placement of this issue in the curricula of universities, interesting proposals have been elaborated and disseminated. Some authors have given responses to the provocative question of whether intercultural competence has to or should be a new element of pedagogical professionalism (Auernheimer, 2002). Slowly but surely, general education and central university institutions perceive the qualification of teachers from an intercultural perspective as a necessity which has to be taken seriously (Allemann-Ghionda, 2006b). But here again, we find the problem of a discrepancy between the developments in the field of research, the rhetoric of educational policy and the institutional framework which may change depending on the political situation.

Consequently, a fruitful idea might be to integrate students into the development of scientifically based, more just instruments of observation and assessment in multilingual and sociocultural heterogeneous classes. According to a recent research project, primary teachers tend to have poor competencies for assessing students in multilingual classrooms (Allemann-Ghionda, Auernheimer, Grabbe, & Krämer, 2006). This is a major obstacle to the implementation of an education that is intercultural and just.

Teachers do not necessarily acquire more intercultural competence by accumulating linguistic skills and knowledge (or just plain information) about "other cultures" following an additive 'the more, the better' principle. It is more important to acquire linguistic and metalinguistic, cultural and metacultural, social and metasocial knowledge and competencies. Teachers and future teachers need to complete the process of overcoming their own ego-, ethno- and sociocentrism in order to be capable of teaching in an intercultural manner. Only this knowledge and these competencies can train them, perhaps, to become more interculturally competent players who are able to recognize and make full use of the potential offered by the guidelines of educational policies, by the intended curricula and teaching material, but also by the knowledge and competencies deriving from the experience of students and teachers. To determine competencies in order to realize standards

is no superfluous theory pulling (Herzog, 2005; Oser, 2005). The uncertain position of the intercultural idea in policies, but much more so in school practice, illustrates very clearly that it is necessary to counteract the current randomness and inefficacy by negotiating a more committed framework which must include ways of controlling the quality of teaching.

CONCLUSION: THE SYSTEM AS A SHIELD?

The rhetoric of educational policy of the Federal Republic of Germany and the 16 regional German states has integrated the intercultural idea. However, indicators of regression have become visible. For example, the curricula for the subject matter history in the different school forms (*Hauptschule, Realschule, Gesamtschule* and *Gymnasium* of lower and upper secondary education, 1999–2001) show that Intercultural Education is present, but understood and interpreted in different ways. Here, a belief in the legitimacy of differences between social classes and ethnic groups, which is firmly rooted in the German educational system and society, becomes visible with all its implications. Can intercultural ideas be taught, and is intercultural teaching methodology possible at all, if, at the same time, the education system consists of three tracks and is characterized by early selection in which the matter-of-fact stigmatization of social origin, often linked with ethnic attribution and gender-based discrimination, is a barely questioned, but decisive criterion? It is hardly disputable that teachers are tied, to a large extent, to a system-induced pressure and the habitus of the institution. But educationalists should not use the system as a shield. Even in an anachronistic and unjust education system, in which institutional discrimination is regarded as system immanent (Gomolla & Radtke, 2002), individuals are able to and should think independently. After all, we live in a time of extreme self-determination, including the construction of sociocultural and professional identity. Teachers and school principals must sometimes make decisions which demand a certain amount of courage, for example, concerning the assessment of pupils in multilingual and sociocultural heterogeneous classes or the implementation of Intercultural Education.

In teacher education, it is necessary to support this self-determining option as opposed to a fatalistic, system-driven hetero-determinism, helping teacher students develop toward a professional role in which one is able to make adequate and just decisions, in spite of an institutional setting that is not always just or adequate.

NOTES

1. In a comparative inquiry about how Intercultural Education was played out between 1985 and 1995, I analyzed the same question making a distinction between the different spheres of discourse: education theory, education

policy, education practice and meta-practice, including routine school education and examples of best practice (Allemann-Ghionda, 2002). For developments in the European Union after 1990, see also Allemann-Ghionda, 2008a, and Allemann-Ghionda, 2009.

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5 Intercultural Education in Post-Communist Countries

Krystyna M. Bleszynska

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines determinants, development and specificity of Intercultural Education in post-communist countries with special focus on the discipline in Poland. Particular parts of the article present the most significant factors and directions of Intercultural Education, as well as its course and background. Special attention is paid to the approach of post-communist educational systems regarding issues of race and ethnicity. Specificity of the discipline is analyzed in the context of historical experience; political transformation as well as the current situation in post-communist countries. The article also highlights the current status, areas of interests and debates, problems and practical implementations of Intercultural Education (IE), emphasizing the role of local and regional perspectives and cooperation.

DETERMINANTS OF THE DISCIPLINE'S DEVELOPMENT

Development of Intercultural Education in certain parts of the world is dependent on some general factors (globalization, interest in other cultures, evolution of educational doctrines, greater respect for human rights), as well as local particulars. Dominant theoretical perspectives, areas of interest and problems, as well as direction of the discipline's development, are connected both to past and present situations of the states and nations. Sociopolitical conditions also play a significant part.

Basic factors that determine the specific situation of Intercultural Education in the post-communist countries can be defined as historic conditions shaping a strong national identity, the experience of communism and its overthrow, current problems (ethnic relations, migration and diasporas, sociopolitical tensions accompanying the transformation, cultural hybridization, inclusion in the European Union, globalization), as well as participation in transnational cooperation and programs. In addition, political doctrines and education reform, both influential in the region, play a significant role.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORIC EXPERIENCE

Post-communist countries, except the Russian Federation, comprise a solid block of states occupying the reaches of Central, Eastern and Southern Europe. Some of them (such as Poland or Hungary) established multicultural federations of substantial military and political significance. The region's geopolitical location has led to incessant interest, political influence, invasions, conflicts and struggles with other countries for centuries. Especially, the 19th century (the apogee of state imperialism) proved to be the key era for development of a strong sense of identity by the area's inhabitants.

During this period, most of these countries lost their independence, becoming parts of the Prussian, Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman empires, and were subjected to exploitation, denationalization and extermination. Response to this repression (national liberation revolts and uprisings) led to formation of a new generation's consciousness of ethnic and religious identities, with national issues promoting ethno-nationalist ideologies (Bideleux & Jeffries, 1998).

Collapse of the European empires after WWI allowed these states to regain independence. Their recovered statehood continues to be rife with ethnic conflict fed by past resentments, a policy of cultural domination and activities of the nationalistic and communist parties operating in those countries. Economic and political crises of the interwar period fuel these conflicts through radicalization of the social movements. The landscape of growing conflict and mutual distrust is also populated with discussions concerning development of the Zionist movement (Berend, 1998; Bideleux & Jeffries, 1998; Jacobs, 2001).

World War II took a more brutal course in Eastern than Western Europe and had a great impact on the development of Intercultural Education. In general, it contributed to the development of prejudices against the occupiers: Germany and the Soviet Union. Attitudes taken by the satellite states (such as Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary and Ukraine), participation of their citizens in war crimes and genocide, and struggles for domination in the Balkan countries, as well as pro-German and pro-Soviet leanings of the representatives of certain ethnic groups in other East-European countries, increased, along with a lack of mutual understanding after the war (Held, 1992).

The Cold War period did not create favorable conditions for multiculturalism either, with political and economic isolation of the communist countries over a half century. That period was dominated by an ideology inimical to cultural differences, and ethnic, linguistic and cultural plurality within particular countries had been ignored. With the exception of the Soviet Union, where ethnic education and promotion of folk cultures had been a counterbalance to the so called "Russian bourgeois culture," these programs neglected issues of cultural sensitivity or the development

of intercultural competence by focusing solely on political and propaganda matters.

A growing interest in other cultures appeared in the 1970s, during the time of partial opening to the world by some communist countries, particularly Poland and Hungary. However, those interests were not reflected in educational policies that still promoted the model of social unity based on political and cultural domination, and forced assimilation of minority groups (Kossak-Glowczeski, 1995, reports punishing Kashubian minority students for using their mother tongue in school).

The situation changed somewhat under pressure from human rights movements and continuing decline of the communist bloc at the end of the 1980s. However, emancipatory drives by ethnic minorities gained momentum in that period, often finding recourse in separatist and ethno-nationalist sentiments. Old, historic intergroup conflicts were brought back to life, as successive waves of refugees and emigrants left the countries that offered them no fundamental life amenities and no future stability.

Collapse of the communist system and political transformation in communist countries has created sociocultural change marked by four different patterns in the development of Intercultural Education. The German Democratic Republic has been incorporated into the Federal Republic of Germany and has adopted the FRG approach to multiculturalism and Intercultural Education. A 'velvet revolution' taking place in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic has focused on local issues, bringing forth the issues (not without conflict) of ethnic and national minorities, such as cultural borderland diversity and reconstruction of their old traditions. Authorities in the disintegrating Soviet Union attempted to ignore its cultural diversity, replacing the previous commonality of the communist ideology with an idea of the cultural unity of all Slavs (in contrast to Western and Muslim cultures), and giving wars they were waging in Chechnya and Afghanistan the appearance of cultural conflicts. The most tragic course and background of Intercultural Education can be found in former Yugoslav Federation. The disintegration of the federation took the form of bloody ethnic conflicts, recollection of which hinders realization of educational programs promoting cultural diversity. Due to the memories and post-memories of past violence the contemporary educational policies exclude contents involving cultures of former enemies. Thus, in Bosnia, still grieving after its victims of the civil war, there has been enforced the policy of school segregation where Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian students are educated in the separated schools. Following the existing problems and challenges Intercultural Education is perceived however as an important element of stabilization, and issues of Human Rights Education and Education for Peace have become a focus of attention (Genov, 2006).

Gradual participation of post-communist countries in transnational structures, development of international cooperation and access to the European Union (EU) are essential factors affecting IE development at the

beginning of the 2000s. In this context, particular significance is accorded to growing migrations from post-communist states to Western countries, whereas the territories of post-communist countries attract immigrants and refugees from former U.S.S.R., the Middle East, Asia and Africa. These migrations highlight the importance of Intercultural Education, developing interest in the discipline as well as intercultural competence training. The formal framework, as well as the means for design and implementation of these programs, is provided by both European and overseas programs in academic, sociopolitical and cultural cooperation offered by numerous NGOs and governmental institutions. As a result, there is a growing understanding of political ramifications of the IE development, which stimulates development of the discipline in post-communist countries and bridges experiences and traditions of formerly divided parts of the world.

BACKLASH OF THE COMMUNIST EXPERIENCE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SITUATION OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

The situation of Intercultural Education in Poland as well as in the other post-communist countries is strongly determined by the history. And, due to the post-memory phenomenon, the special meaning should be ascribed to the years following WWII. The division of Europe sealed by conferences in Teheran (1943), Yalta and Potsdam (1945), separated Eastern Europe from Western for 50 years, throwing it into the realm of the communist system, one of the most inhuman and brutal political regimes in the world. Communist rule showed no respect for the cultural integrity, specificity and traditions of societies subjected by violation of fundamental human rights, political assassinations (Zelazko, 2007), persecution, repressions against religious institutions, forced resettlements, ethnic cleansings (Chudzik, 2006), discrimination of minority groups (Slabig, 2008) and expropriations carried out in the name of a very specific understanding of social justice interpreted as a domination of the political doctrine over law and economy, hostility toward entrepreneurship, discrimination by highly skilled professionals against unskilled physical workers, transfer of resources from those who work to those who don't intend to work. Development of this totalitarian system took place in the context of civil war, terror and manipulation that exploited ethnic and national animosities (e.g., anti-Semitism, Polish-German and Hungarian-Romanian resentments). Its logic also demanded support of ethnic conflicts by incorporating representatives of ethnic minorities into the political and repression apparatus (Stefaniak, 2008).

Ideological foundations of communism, particularly the idea of a lay and internationalist community of the working class unified against bourgeois and capitalists had deprived minority groups with their rights to preserve and maintain their cultural identities and created conditions for cultural

hegemony, forced homogenization and assimilation of cultural minorities. Justification for political hegemony in the Soviet Union was supported by the idea of the superiority of Russian culture, spurring opposition by the patriotic circles and contributing to the flare-up of ethnic prejudices as well as nationalist and religious attitudes.

The above mentioned experiences has impacted the approach of post-communist societies to Intercultural Education marking it by the strong emphasizing the category of nation, appreciating indigenous cultures, and recognizing the role of religion in the development of national cultures.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC ISSUES

The specificity of Intercultural Education in post-communist countries is predicated on the domination of ethnic, religious and national issues versus relatively small interest in the race category. The special significance of less sensitivity toward racial issues can be found in the relative homogeneity of post-communist societies, absence of colonial experiences and (except Romania where Gypsies were enslaved) the lack of responsibility for slavery (Augustinos, 1996; Bleszynska, 2006). Widely accepted is the anthropological approach distinguishing between 'race' and 'ethnicity.' The memories of WWII associate also racial perspective with the Nazi ideology.

Notions of 'ethnicity' and 'nation' are being determined by the history and ethnic structure of the region. These states, except for the Russian Federation, are relatively homogenous and derived mostly from Slavic tribes. They speak similar languages, are of similar religious persuasion and have similar culture and customs (Foucher, 1994). They share also the similar experience of long-lasting political isolation, historical memories and oppression suffered from other nations.

Their lack of sensitivity to race issues has been currently undergoing certain transformation due to migrations spurred by the opening of post-communist states to globalization processes, as well as accession of many of those states into the European Union. As a result, many inhabitants of so called "Young Europe" have settled in countries that are racially diverse due to global migration processes (such as Germany, France or the United Kingdom). Moreover, the implementations of international conventions on refugees and asylum seekers results in the increasing flow of migration from Asia and Africa.

Emergence of relatively new ethnic and racial relations impacts the social structure and social consciousness, challenging educational policy on diverse societies. It also stimulates revival of ethnic and national resentments accompanied by ethnic/racial stereotypes and prejudices, and little sensitivity to issues of multiculturalism, multiethnic societies, racism and discrimination. The catalysts for ambivalent attitudes toward racial diversity are anomie resulting from transformation and accompanying economic

problems. Increasing levels of social frustration stimulates some growth of authoritarian attitudes and intolerance toward people perceived as 'Others.' In this context, particularly distressing phenomena are the emergence of populist slogans of nationalist content voiced by marginal meaning politicians of a nationalistic orientation trying to build their political capital on the base of racism, religious intolerance, ethnic prejudice or xenophoby as well as the emergence of illegal ethno-nationalist and racist organizations cooperating with similar ones in other countries, particularly Russia, Germany, the United States and the United Kingdom (Bleszynska, 2006).

DIRECTIONS OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

The regional specificity as well as various levels of advancement and theoretical orientation of Studies on Education determines the lack of homogeneity in approaches to Intercultural Education in post-communist countries (Lewowicki, 2001). Lack of systematically gathered data, comparable reports and selectivity of existing analyses make review and evaluation of the status quo of Intercultural Education in these countries very difficult. Considering all of this, it seems justified to provide a general outline of the trends and problems related to the development of IE in post-communist countries, simultaneously emphasizing the situation of IE in the country with its relatively high advancement, that is, Poland.

Intercultural Education in all post-communist countries (including Poland) is considered part of Educational Studies and is located mainly at the university level and in colleges of education. Its theoretical status is currently in a phase of self-definition, meaning that it oscillates between the Social Sciences and Humanities.

The most frequent terms use to describe the discipline are "Multicultural Education" and "Intercultural Education." Although both refer to the diverse society, they reflect different aspects of its reality. There is also lack of consensus, and even some confusion, about the meaning of these concepts. Some authors don't differentiate between Multicultural Education and Intercultural Education" but perceive them both as synonyms. Others, such as Nikitorowicz (1995), Niemiec (1999) and Lewowicki (2000) refer to Multicultural Education when teaching about the cultural diversity of global society, as well as cultural differences between and within contemporary societies. This approach focuses on irreducible cultural differences and the perceived static features ascribed to certain groups and individuals. Its central categories are "similarity/difference," "ethnicity" and "ethnic identity," located within the perspective of social conflict. Also, its main task is to implement cultural pluralism in educational institutions and to develop, in groups and individuals, the ability to understand, respect and appreciate other cultures.

In opposition to Multicultural Education, Intercultural Education refers to teaching about both cultural diversity of human societies and processes of cultural interactions, relations, diffusion, exchange and the transformation of cultures initiated by intercultural contacts. This dynamic approach emphasizes categories like "between," "interaction," "dialogue," "cultural borderland," and "change" placed within the interactionist perspective. Educational efforts in this approach aim to develop in students a deep understanding of and respect for cultural diversity, along with an ability to manage cultural contacts and act in culturally diverse settings. They also seek to promote intercultural trust and dialogue, human equality, solidarity and cooperation (Bleszynska, 2007).

Intercultural Education is an area of discussion, polemics and controversies related to its formal status. In general it is located at the crossroads of Humanities and Social Sciences, and its theoretical background is of an interdisciplinary nature, combining pedagogic concepts with those that are philosophical, psychological, political, sociological and anthropological. As an academic discipline, Intercultural Education does not fit into the standard curricula of pedagogical studies in institutions of higher education. It is available in few academic centers (in Poland, the main centers of IE are in Warsaw, Bialystok and Cieszyn), because its courses are optional and a small number of scholars are working in the field.

The fact that IE still is not considered a pedagogical specialization places it, depending on the local interest, within sub-disciplines in Studies on Education with longer, more stable traditions. Most often, it is included in Theory of Education, Sociology of Education, Didactics, Comparative Education, Social Pedagogy or Adult Education. In rare cases, IE appears in curricula for Social Workers, Teacher Training or School Management. Until now, however, School Management was not required in the training of the future teachers and managers of the educational institutions.

All of this finds its correlate in the preparation of researchers and other faculties. Until the problematic of Intercultural Education was transformed, issues of migration, multiculturalism and, especially, ethnic minorities were absent in Studies on Education. As a result, the number of scholars dealing with this problematic is rather small, and their experiences, knowledge and competencies are drawn mostly from personal interest, regional needs, individual research and intensive cooperation with Western universities.

Development of Intercultural Education in post-communist countries runs in several directions and most often is related to the problems of indigenous minorities, Civic Education or European Education. In post-conflict societies such as Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, intercultural issues still generate strong emotional responses and find their way into the awareness of intellectuals and decision makers with great difficulty. In others, such as Moldova, Romania and the Russian Federation, the authorities responsible for educational and social policies display ideological approaches

and perceive elements of IE as threatening to the official vision of national coherence (http://www.intercultural.ro/about/presentation.html).

The remaining countries, including Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovenia, apply a utilitarian and positivistic approach that addresses present social needs and at the same time, displays dislike for treating the discipline as a means for political indoctrination.

Despite the fact that IE in these countries is highly eclectic, interdisciplinary and ready to incorporate new theoretical perspectives, its strong relationship to Culture Anthropology results in excluding such issues as youth, gang, persons with disabilities, gay and feminist subcultures. Also, Human Rights issues are discussed only as far as they relate to culturally diverse societies.

Additionally, the specificity of IE in post-communist countries is also found in the ambivalent approach to censorship and auto-censorship. Many influential scholars in these countries still attempt to maintain mechanisms developed under communism that limit freedom of expression. However, representatives of political dissidents, as well as a younger generation of researchers and practitioners, display critical attitudes toward "political correctness," which is perceived as a form of censorship/auto-censorship that contributes to the dogmatic, ideological and eventually ossifying approach in the discipline.

AREAS OF INTEREST

In particular post-communist countries, Intercultural Education addresses areas of interest by responding to the general challenges of developing civic societies, like European integration and globalization processes, as well as specific problems appearing in those countries. Recovery of regional memory and specificity binds Intercultural Education with Regional Education. The needs and programs resulting from European integration lead to an increased interest by educational institutions, centers for teacher training and academics in European cultures to connect Intercultural Education with a European Dimension in Education. Problems of globalization, migration, emancipating cultural minorities, combating racism, ethnic prejudice and xenophobia all influence the tendency in many centers to combine Intercultural Education with Global Education, Civic Education, Education on Human Rights and Education for Peace (Havlova, 2006).

Specific areas of interest reflect the regional/local problems and specificity. Most often, they are connected to issues of indigenous minorities, the history of ethnic relations and current politics of particular countries. In Bulgaria, for instance, great attention is paid to relationship with the Islamic world and an emphasis on Turkish matters (European Intercultural Workplace, 2006). Countries of the former Yugoslavia conduct ethnic education on indigenous groups with some stress on Education for Peace.

Post-communist parts of Germany implement Western programs that aim to prevent racial prejudice. In Poland, great importance is accorded to Jewish, Czech, Byelorussian and Vietnamese issues. Especially in Hungary and Romania, attention is given to the issues of Roma culture, whereas the Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus and the Russian Federation promote Slavic culture that is dominant in those countries.

Research initiatives and implemented programs also cover a broad area of tolerance and intercultural dialogue on the conditions of cultural diversity, as well as issues on development, education, upbringing and socialization. For instance, Polish research concerning children and youth focuses on three thematic areas: (1) issue of cultural identity and bilingualism in children from minority groups; (2) education and evaluation for children of different cultures in Polish schools; and (3) upbringing and intergenerational transmission in families of different cultures (Nikitorowicz, Sobecki, & Misiejuk, 2001). The thematic of Adult Education focuses on courses and training that develops intercultural competency for selected professional groups, particularly counselors, psychologists, social workers and business operatives (Bleszynska, 2007). Increasingly available are Intercultural Education programs for teachers supported by union funds (mainly on the level of post-graduate studies and in-service training). Relatively weak, however, is the development of programs shaping the intercultural competency of refugees and immigrants. Also very rare are IE programs developing social capital and bonds in local multicultural communities.

These programs are implemented by institutions of a diverse nature: There are universities and government institutions, as well non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved. Many projects are developed within the framework of EU programs (such as EQUAL, Youth and Leonardo da Vinci) in cooperation with centers in other countries (Maiworm, Over, Reisz, Teichler and Kehm, 1997). Examples of good practices can be found in the Czech projects, "Cultures and Crossroads" of the Multicultural Center in Prague, "Variant" of the People-in-Need Foundation (Havlova, 2006), the Polish projects "Warsaw Multicultural Week" (Warsaw School of Social Psychology; http://www.swps.edu.pl/new_www/english/) and "Intercultural Center for Vocational Adaptation" (Warsaw University; http://www.mcaz.org.pl/?l=uk), as well as projects implemented by the Romanian Intercultural Institute in Timisoara (http://www.intercultural.ro/eng/about/presentation.html) and the Hungarian Foundation for Human Rights in Budapest (http://www.hhrf.org/hhrf/index_en.php).

REGIONALIZATION

Topics addressed by different groups of Intercultural Education practitioners derive from regional concerns resulting from conditions in the discipline's development. As mentioned earlier, dominant strands of thought found in

all countries are the problematics of indigenous minorities, cultural borderlands, reconstruction of multicultural traditions of the past, and establishing friendly and peaceful intergroup relations. As a result, programs and research groups focus on specific regions where certain groups or social phenomena occur. In general, centers that are significant to the development of Intercultural Education are located in capitals and border areas.

In Poland the most influential centers of IE are located in Warsaw, Cieszyn and Bialystok. The Warsaw group of intercultural educators is centered at the School of Education, Warsaw University, and the Warsaw School of Social Psychology. Both centers carry out research and projects focused on postmodern multicultural societies, immigrants, urban ethnic enclaves, intercultural competences, education and socialization in multicultural societies, as well as the role of education in the social integration of refugees and immigrants. The practical effect of such research has been the 2004 establishment in Warsaw of the first Polish center for intercultural training in social services, as well as counseling for immigrants and refugees. MCAZ (http://www.mcaz.org.pl/?l=uk) was nominated for the EU Championship Award in 2007.

The University of Bialystok, located in the area inhabited by a population of Tartar and Belarusian origin, specializes in the problematics of ethnic socialization, cultural transmission in the family and Polish-Belarusian borderland affairs. The branch of Silesian University in Cieszyn, due to its geographic location, has been developing research related to the problematic of education, upbringing and ethnic socialization in the Polish-Czech contact area. Significant contribution to the field also has been made by the centers at Jagiellonian University (problematics of multiculturalism, the Jewish minority, refugees and the Polish diaspora), Nicolas Copernicus University in Torun (Roma and Armenian issues in IE), Wroclaw University (the Polis-German borderland), Rzeszow University (the Polish-Ukrainian borderland) and the Catholic University in Lublin (problematics of the Polish diaspora).

The interests and historical traditions of particular countries impact directions of international cooperation within Intercultural Education. Much research on the cultural borderland is carried out in cooperation with research centers of neighboring countries. Universities, governmental agencies and a growing number of NGOs participate in the IE programs carried out within the framework of the European Union. The direction of migrations from particular countries, immigrant settlement and diasporas, as well as historical relations with non-European countries, stimulate interest in overseas cultures, societies and educational experiences while encouraging cooperation with overseas countries, mainly the United States. Political transformations and economic development also attract partners from Asian countries. Some projects (particularly connected to the Education for Peace) are carried out in cooperation with UNESCO (the United Nations Economic, Scientific, and Cultural Organization).

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN TEACHER TRAINING AND SCHOOL CURRICULA

Intercultural Education in post-communist countries is still an academic discipline, with little import on teacher training programs, educational leadership and school management. The curricula of teacher training usually prefer content that supports existing policies of cultural domination. Some exceptions are being made for training offered to teachers of foreign languages, Roma teachers and minority school teachers. Content related to immigrant and refugee issues remain included, however, because of interest by educational authorities and teacher training centers.

This policy is further supported by legal regulations and EU directives promoting the study of indigenous minority cultures and languages (Rabczuk, 2002; European Charter, 1992). Few courses in Intercultural Education that are available to teachers in their studies, post-graduate work and in-service training represent a variety of content and are not mandatory.

The deficiencies in teacher education are matched by neglect in the school curricula. In all post-communist countries, selected elements of IE usually have been included in the curricula of Arts, Literature and Culture, History, Social Studies and European Education courses. In Romania, the Czech Republic and Hungary, they are a part of Civic Education and Human Rights Education programs. In the post-conflict societies of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, selectivity in educational content denigrates cultural achievements of the former enemy, because trauma is still fresh from the civil war. Intercultural Education in Russian and Belarusian public schools is limited by a belief that it instigates an emancipation drive by ethnic and national minorities. However, in Polish schools IE can function as a special course on condition that a school generates additional funding for its implementation.

AREAS OF DEBATE, RESISTANCE AND EMERGING PROBLEMS

IE in post-communist countries is an area of debates and resistance. The most contested area deals with the politics of multiculturalism and the role of education in a multicultural society. In these debates, at least two visions of society are presented. One is the modernist society, which attempts to retain the nation-state and the existing drive to maintain cultural homogeneity, using educational institutions for the assimilation project. The other vision is of a post-modern, open and multicultural civic society respecting cultural differences and implementing them in the practice of education and upbringing.

On the position of migration, attitudes of educators are especially conflicted. Some of them accept the phenomenon of migration as an immanent feature of global processes and progress in the understanding of human

rights, postulating that the development of education programs prepares the younger generation to function in global and multicultural societies, and developing projects addressed to immigrants and refugees. Others propose to focus only on indigenous minorities and postpone programs addressed to immigrants who are perceived as a threat to the host country and its interests.

Resistance and even active opposition also appear within the context of social and political action. Historic and political ramifications make the problematic of interethnic and intercultural relations one of the most sensitive areas of social debates in post-communist countries. Issues of ethnic minorities, refugees, immigrants and repatriates generate strong emotional, prejudiced and xenophobic responses that are exploited by populist politicians and demagogues. A high level of social frustration resulting from problems caused by political and economic transformation is transformed into authoritarian social attitudes and a generalized dislike of diversity, which finds its expression in intolerant responses of some social groups to people of racial and cultural difference (Bleszynska, 2006).

These negative attitudes toward human and cultural diversity stimulate some social distrust toward the idea of Intercultural Education. In circles with religiously fundamentalist, traditionalist or nationalist leanings, the discipline is often perceived as a threat to national identity and interests. Result of this can be seen in attempts to limit or channel the content and scope of IE interests. Usually these attempts refer to simplified ideas of national education (combining patriotism with ethno-nationalism), Regional Education (focusing only on reconstruction of the historical cultural tradition of a region), European Education (limiting the interests of IE to European cultures), and even pan-Slavism (constructing a sense of cultural identity and unity among all Slavs, in opposition to the mental and cultural make-up of globalization and the West).

The unstable status of the discipline, paucity of scholars and centers dealing with the problematic of IE, lack of consensus, competency controversies and the hostile attitudes of populist politicians and activists often are accompanied by a weak legal status and insufficient public relations by Intercultural Education in countries of the region. However, this situation can be changed in the near future due to a growing interest of the younger generation in both Intercultural Education and developing intercultural competency. Courses and classes dealing with IE, as well as psychological, political, sociological and pedagogical discussions, and conferences on multicultural societies and policies belong to the most popular and widely attended ones. Publications on the subject print multiple editions. A systematic growth in the number of research projects, master theses and doctoral dissertations exploring issues of Intercultural Education can be observed. Also noticed is an increasing interest by political authorities, representatives of the media, administration authorities, governmental institutions

and NGOs requesting the consultation and cooperation of specialists on Intercultural Education.

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6 Cross-Cultural Education in Greece
History and Prospects

Soula Mitakidou

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss the history and practice of cross-cultural education in Greece. "Cross-cultural education"[1] is the official term for the model of educational policy attempted in Greece as a response to the apparent diversity of student population in public schools over the last two decades. The chapter describes this type of education and discusses its appropriateness in the Greek context. Discussion also focuses on a conceptualization of cross-cultural education as a social policy for inclusion and on the implications of this policy on the process of social inclusion and the recognition of targeted students.

INTRODUCTION

Cross-cultural education is, by definition, the kind of education concerned with the interaction between different cultures existing in a school. Embodied in the etymology of the word "cross-cultural" is a two-way exchange between the host culture and the guest culture(s). As in every exchange, power relations between the different cultures are seldom symmetrical or equitable, and this is a conceptualization of cross-cultural education that will also be addressed in our discussion.

Whenever I suggest to my classes that it is unfair for children of immigrants, refugees or traditionally excluded and disenfranchised groups in a society to have to sacrifice their mother tongue in the process of acquiring the dominant language, regardless of who the audience is, that is, undergraduate, graduate students or mature practitioners, a frequent response is: "But, isn't it natural?" Unjust social policies that abound in a capitalist, neo-liberal society such as the Greek create a cultural imagery that accounts for such reactions. It is hard for these students to identify the inequality lying at the heart of this phenomenon, because they actually reiterate ongoing structural social patterns and social policies that tend to privilege dominant over non-dominant groups in a society.

Institutional relations and processes are usually based on structural inequalities. Discrimination on the basis of origin, gender, class, religion,

language, physical ability and sexual orientation creates structural social relations that are basically unjust. Young (2001) points out that "governments, research institutes, and other organizations apparently legitimate such group-conscious practices by disaggregating general welfare measures according to gender, ethnicity, race religion, caste, age, occupation or region" (p. 1).

In order to guarantee social inclusion for the disadvantaged in a society, social policy has to aim at "participation as equals in social life," a task that involves rectifying conditions so that social justice is secured for people threatened by marginalization, both due to structural inequalities and cultural "misrecognition" (Fraser, 2001). A step toward remedying these patterned inequalities is identifying them and acknowledging them as unjust. Action for full inclusion and participation may follow.

In this discussion of cross-cultural education in Greece, an underlying premise is that the educational measures for including immigrants, refugees or traditionally excluded and disenfranchised groups in the mainstream school are based on neo-liberal ideologies that take structural inequalities for granted. Indeed, it is hard to imagine non-oppressive advocacy developing in an environment that is deeply shaped by the politics, views, positions and strategies of the authorities (Said, 2001).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The need for integration of students from other countries in the Greek school system appeared in the '60s when Greek immigrants to European countries, such as Germany, made their way back to the motherland. In 1974, following the restoration of Democracy (after a 7-year junta occupation) in Greece and up to 1990, small numbers of children of repatriates from Eastern European countries joined the student forces. The schooling of both groups of students was dealt with minor interventions, of administrative and functional rather than educational character; for example, favorable treatment in terms of grading. The educational aspect was first addressed in 1980, when *reception classes* were announced[2] to assist repatriate students to integrate in the Greek educational and social environment (Somarakis, 2003). In 1983, a new law, N. 1404/83, passed. This law, as well as subsequent annexes to it in the form of ministerial decisions, confirmed the operation of *reception and tutorial classes*[3] and extended their operation to include students of families both members and non-members of the European Union living and working in Greece, in accordance with a European Union directive "about the schooling of children of transient workers" (Somarakis, 2003).

Following the collapse of the Eastern European communist system in 1989 and increasing deterioration of the international economy, large

numbers of immigrants and refugees have chosen to settle in Greece. A country of approximately 10 million, Greece has accepted over half a million[4] new residents, most of them from Albania and the former USSR, with smaller numbers of newcomers from Poland, the Philippines, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and Egypt, as well as other African and Asian countries. This changed significantly the country's population composition as well as many aspects of everyday reality. Firstly, without this dynamic addition to its population, Greece, along with Germany and Italy, "would already have registered a population loss in 2003" (Mikic' Zeitoun, 2006/2007). Also, the presence of immigrants (i.e., surplus of cheap working hands) boosted the Greek economy (letting it develop at rates not intrinsically possible to its current standing), whetted the social security funds and allowed many middle class families to improve their living standard by benefiting from the supply of cheap services (Mitakidou & Tsiakalos, 2004).

Needless to say, this affected the student demographics in most public schools. Ten percent[5] of the student population at all levels (kindergarten–senior high school) of public school in the 2006–2007 school year constituted of students of immigrant and repatriate families. The idyllic picture of an allegedly homogeneous educational culture was disrupted,[6] long established self-evident certainties were shaken and serious doubts were posed as to the efficacy of the existent educational model to cover the needs of its diverse student population.[7]

To give a fuller picture of the array of difficulties the inclusion of "different" students has posed to the Greek school, a reference to its history will be revealing: Greece has survived a number of successive occupations (Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman) and since it gained independence from the Ottoman occupancy of almost 400 years (1453–1930), the school has played an integral role in "the vigorous nation building process that required a powerful national myth moulding multiple traditions and different collective memories . . . into a unifying ideological scheme" (Dimitrakopoulos, 2004, p. 8). This myth involved a historical trajectory that proceeded without any disruptions from antiquity to the present time and reconstructed changes so that the homogeneous character of the nation could be preserved. By the same token, "nationality was defined as the expression of genealogical descent and in direct reference to the glorious past of Themistocles, Pericles and Alexander the Great" (Triandafyllidou, Calloni, & Mikrakis in Dimitrakopoulos, 2004, p. 8).

To a large extent, this myth is alive and well even today.

In this context, the challenge for Greek teachers was great: Teachers who had been taught and had been trained to teach monoculturally were now confronted with the presence of children with different names, languages, religions and habits that required different professional skills. Faced with the challenge to include in the mainstream school children with low or no proficiency in the school language, educational authorities resorted to

the familiar, from previous decades, scheme, of educational intervention: classes for the acquisition of Greek. In other words, based on the universal myth that the unique and sufficient condition for these children's integration to the otherwise unaffected schools is the acquisition of the school language, educational interventions were mostly restricted to compensatory educational programs, that is, reception or tutorial classes.

However, very few teachers possessed the appropriate know-how to teach Greek as a second language, so once again the challenge was transferred to "the patriotism of teachers," to use an expression I heard from teachers numerous times. With this expression, teachers refer to a paraphrase of article 120, part 4, the very final sentence of the Greek Constitution, which clarifies that "observance of the constitution is entrusted to the patriotism of the Greeks who shall have the right and the duty to resist by all possible means against anyone who attempts the violent abolition of the Constitution."[8] In other words, teachers who felt that all children, regardless of their origin, were entitled and obliged, according to the constitution, to partake equally of the benefit of education, saw it as their duty to provide these children with the means to integrate.

Even well-intentioned teachers, however, could not secure equitable inclusion, because the school remained monocultural and institutional measures (i.e., remedial classes for the acquisition of Greek), with an emphasis on compensating for the children's alleged linguistic deficit, did not take into consideration other equally critical conditions (i.e., affective, social and so on) for the children's unhindered school progress. It was not long before immigrant and repatriate children's scores lagged behind compared to the scores of dominant school populations (Tressou & Mitakidou, 1997; Tourtouras, 2004).

Another sad report refers to a gradual increase of school drop-out rates in Greece: While up to 2003, there was a gradual decrease of drop-out rates (6.09%), this has been reversed in the last 5 years and an incremental tendency has been reported. For example, for the 2006–2007 school year, the drop-out rate increased to 6.51%. If we add another 1.5–2% for traditionally excluded children, who have never enrolled in school (i.e., Rom and children of illegal immigrant families), the percentage rises to 8.5%.[9]

THE LAW FOR CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION

When in 1996, the law (N. 2413/96) for "the Greek education abroad, cross-cultural education and other provisions" passed to address the needs of both indigenous and non-indigenous school populations threatened by exclusion, it seemed possible that the school as a whole could be transformed to offer all students the opportunity to experience a successful educational trajectory. Law 2413/96 provided for:

- The establishment of IPODE (Institute for Greek Diaspora Education and Cross-cultural Studies). IPODE's function is "the promotion of Greek education and culture to the Greeks living abroad, with special emphasis on the younger generation," but also "the coordination of the smooth educational and social integration of immigrant and repatriate children in the Greek educational community as well as of students whose cultural backgrounds make them vulnerable to social and educational exclusion. An added target is the dissemination and teaching of the Greek language and culture in Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia, and wherever else there is expressed interest."[10] IPODE would also undertake "the responsibility and coordination of efforts for the valid and timely application of the various programs abroad and in the cross-cultural schools" (the Ministry's translation).[11]
- The establishment of 26 (13 primary and 13 secondary) cross-cultural schools. A number of these schools (3 primary and 6 secondary) already had functioned in the two major cities (i.e., Athens and Thessaloniki) as "schools for repatriate children" since the mid '80s, so they extended their function to accept immigrant children as well. The rest of the cross-cultural schools used to serve as regular public schools and were renamed to serve as cross-cultural, according to law 2413/96. They are schools that are mainly located in Athens and Thessaloniki, but there are also isolated schools near the borders to Turkey, Albania (one primary and one secondary, correspondingly) and one school in Crete. To be called cross-cultural, a school has to have at least 45% of the entire school population made up of Greek repatriates and/or foreign students. The law provides that teachers in the cross-cultural schools should be either knowledgeable or receive special training on cross-cultural education and the teaching of Greek as a second language. Also, according to the law, "the standard curriculum is adapted to meet the specific educational, social or cultural needs of the students attending them," whereas "special curricula" and "additional or alternative lessons" may be implemented in the cross-cultural schools.
- The development and application of intervention programs. In the framework of cross-cultural education, in 1997, the Ministry of Education launched the development of programs for all groups of students threatened by exclusion from education. They were all European Union funded projects. One of these programs addressed the educational needs of immigrant or repatriate children, and two programs focused on indigenous student populations (i.e., Muslim children in Thrace and Rom children) who present the highest drop-out or non-attendance rates among school age children. A fourth program addressed the needs of Greek origin children abroad (Greek Diaspora Education) but will not be included in this discussion.

IN THE NAME OF THE CHILDREN?

All educational changes and interventions are allegedly attempted "in the name of the children," that is, with the children's best interest in mind. If that were the case, there would be not one child outside of school; there would be no school child that would not have a rewarding and beneficial experience. Also, education for all would not be on the agenda of so many organizations or agencies, and it would not be the vision of so many child advocates!

Today, 12 years after it has been in effect, a critical examination of the law and its application reveals that it has not contributed to the realization of the vision for a school for all. If anything, it has created two different educational "realities": the reality promoted by the ministerial rhetoric, which advertises a beautiful educational future, where the most progressive ideas in the field of Pedagogy prevail, and the reality of the educational praxis, which reveals that the planned intervention serves as a "potemkin village," meant to hide the fact of a public school system that condemns too many children never to reach their full potential (Mitakidou & Tsiakalos, 2004).

Let us return to the vision of a school for all and examine why the official cross-cultural policy has failed to accomplish this vision.

First of all, *the law* itself. Its vague and elusive wording allows for misconceptions, arbitrary interpretations and erroneous applications. This has led to implementations of a fragmentary character and limited power even to facilitate the smooth assimilation of their recipients into the mainstream (Mitakidou, Tressou, & Daniilidou, 2007).

Moreover, the idea that cross-cultural education should aim at the "educational needs of groups with educational, social, cultural or instructional particularities" (www.ypepth.gr) is problematic. In its current practice, the school either creates categories of particularities and special programs to handle these particularities or it agrees to deal with particularities in mainstream classes with a distinct tendency to "normalize" these differences and create a false appearance of homogeneity that has informed the Greek educational system for years. Cross-cultural education could only be effective, however, if it encouraged interaction of student population as equals and thus applied to both dominant and non-dominant students. Moreover, the obsession with 'cultural differences' that permeates official and academic rhetoric may fail to satisfy the actual educational needs of 'foreign' students. On the contrary, such an obsession may trap "these students in a stereotypically constructed difference" (Govaris, 2000, p. 17), which legalizes their status of exclusion.

Cross-Cultural Schools

The proposed ratio between mainstream and non-mainstream student populations (55%–45%, correspondingly) has almost never been respected

because there are some cross-cultural schools with very small percentages of non-mainstream students and others with not even one representative of the mainstream. On the contrary, there are schools, especially inner-city schools, which are not called cross-cultural but may have up to 80% non-dominant students in their population, as there is a distinct tendency among native parents to place their children in "clean" schools (MAKEDONIA, Sept. 10, 2008).

Again, the conceptualization of schools that are different by name and operate in the periphery of the mainstream is problematic, mostly because it draws an imaginable line between low and high quality programs. True enough, from the beginning of their operation, cross-cultural schools, especially the ones of secondary level, have run on the basis of lower expectations and watered-down syllabi, especially if they cater to a highly diversified school population. On the other hand, even if the number of non-mainstream and mainstream students is proportionate, in reality, cross-cultural schools have to follow the mainstream curriculum, so the directive of the law that "the standard curriculum is adapted to meet the specific educational, social or cultural needs of the students attending them," has not materialized. "Special curricula" or "additional or alternative lessons," coupled with lower expectations and unchallenging instructional material and practices, usually create feelings of incompetence and discontent, and/or completely turn students off to school (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). It is not surprising, for example, that for the 1990–2000 period a 5.4% of repatriate students from the former U.S.S.R. were detained in the same grade, when the corresponding percentage for the mainstream student population was 0.5% (MAKEDONIA, 31 March, 2008).[12] The same group of students were found to have significantly lower performance scores and higher drop-out rates compared to their mainstream peers (Mitakidou, Tourtouras, & Tressou, 2008).

Reception and Tutorial Classes

With ministerial decision Φ10/20/Γ1/708/7–9-1999, still in the framework of cross-cultural policy, reception and tutorial classes were redefined in an effort to become a more flexible scheme of intervention. Nevertheless, their role has remained the same, basically to facilitate transition to the dominant school by compensating for the perceived linguistic "deficit" of non-mainstream children. They mainly teach language and in some (rare) cases mathematics. Even though the law provides that the teachers assigned to them should be trained in the teaching of Greek as a second language, in reality, they rarely are, because these classes are often staffed by inexperienced teachers. The unchallenging content and practice, and the poor results these classes have been associated with, account for the low respect and value they have acquired in the educational community. In the context of a monocultural, inflexible school system, "different" classes that aim

at the assimilation of "different" students create rather than erase divisive boundaries among children. The ironic part is that they do not harm or exclude only "different" students, but they deprive all children in the school community of the riches that a dynamic, equitable interaction between students of diverse origins can ensure.

The same ministerial decision that regulates the operation of reception and tutorial classes provides for the instruction of the students' language and culture of origin: It can be taught at a maximum of 4 hours a week, if there is an adequate demand (7–15 students).[13] In reality, this option has been annulled by "exception," as Agamben (in Athanassiou, 2007, p. 12) indicates. By deciding the exception in a "special" case, the ruler practically implements and confirms the undisputed and undisrupted power of the law. "The continuous annulment of access to the law is dictated by the law itself, so the law acquires power through the continuous annulment of its application" (Athanassiou, p. 13). In this case, the "annulment ethos" is so strong that in the only case where a public school[14] attempted to activate the article and offer their students the option of further cultivating their heritage language, the ministry of education intervened and cancelled the mother tongue maintenance class as well as other innovative practices the school had developed in a course of 9 years.

Programs in the Framework of Cross-Cultural Education

1. "Education of repatriate and immigrant students": This program started in 1997 but its application has been disrupted twice due to administrative inertia and/or conflict. The main aim of the project, as expressed by IPODE, was "documentation of the numbers of repatriate and immigrant children and their inclusion in the educational system." Added aims were the "acceptance of students with cultural and linguistic particularities and support to their families."[15] Interventions had practical orientation and included the development of cross-cultural education programs for primary and secondary education, the development and improvement of support educational material, teacher training and sensitization programs and collaboration networks for schools–families as well as among cooperating schools.

   One of the basic problems to be found in the conceptualization of this program is that its scope and aims are often contradictory and thus confusing. In particular, despite its professed intention to put the whole school unit at the heart of the intervention and take measures that would promote the cross-cultural paradigm in school life (Papakonstantinou, 2007), the program for the education of repatriate and immigrant students, with its distinct emphasis on the teaching of Greek as a second language, did not avoid the assimilationist orientation that informs the Greek cross-cultural model. In fact, the precedence given to the teaching of Greek and the necessary training

of teachers to teach Greek as a second language was at the expense of other actions, such as the psycho-social support of teachers, students and their families and development of teaching material (Papakonstantinou, 2007).

2. "The education of Muslim children (PEM)": Muslim is the only recognized (religious) minority in Greece. According to the Lausanne Treaty (1923), Muslim children in Thrace, as well as the remaining Greek origin children in Turkey, are entitled to bilingual (Greek–Turkish) schooling.[16] Alternatively, they have the right to attend mainstream public schools. Muslim children constitute a heterogeneous student population: The majority are Turkish speaking children; there is a smaller group called Pomaki, who speak Pomak, a Slavic oral language; and an even smaller group of Rom (gypsy) students speaking Romani, also an oral language. A large percentage of the Muslim minority live in homogeneous isolated agricultural or underprivileged urban areas in Thrace, the northeastern corner of Greece. Overall, their educational level has been low and their chances to integrate in the local economy scarce. Due to their geographical and social isolation, and their poor prospects of social advancement through education, both city and village dwellers are often economically disadvantaged. Also due to their segregation, when the children enter school they speak little or no Greek. A long history of unseemly political maneuvers on both the Greek and the Turkish side has resulted in the isolation of a large group of Greek citizens from the social, cultural and political life of the country where most of them were born.

   Presently, there are 220 minority primary schools, most of them operating with an average of 20 students. They are one-class schools with two teachers, one teaching the Greek and the other, minority member, the Turkish program. There is usually little or no collaboration between the two parts of the program. This educational scheme has contributed to a long history of bad school experiences and high dropout rates among minority students. Children may have the right to bilingual education but any educational merit is undermined by political deliberateness, because they attend school segregated from their dominant peers in a learning environment that is not conducive to learning. They end up semilingual in both languages, because their school time is divided between two languages that they learn to keep separate. Moreover, the fact that they have "their own schools" deprives minority children of the chance to develop intercultural dialogue with the "other" (in this case an established enemy figure) and aggravates their geographical and social isolation (Dragona & Fragoudaki, 2008).

   In 1990, improvement in the relations between Greece and Turkey initiated a joint effort to pull the minority out of its isolation. The

program for the education of Muslim children was launched in 1997 and has been part of this larger scale political endeavor. According to IPODE, "the main aim of this project was the smooth integration of minority children in the educational system as well as in the wider society. The ulterior target of the pursued educational reform that gave special emphasis to the improvement of their proficiency in Greek was the future more equitable integration of these children in the work force." The long term target of the program was "the reduction of the high dropout rate so that minority children gain access to secondary but also tertiary education."[17] The program served approximately 7,500 elementary school children (6–12 years old) annually, engaged an interdisciplinary team of more than 150 experts, and implemented quite innovative interventions (intensive teacher training seminars, innovative school approaches, development of educational materials, self-assessment and empowerment of families) (Dragona & Fragoudaki, 2008).

However, despite the innovative practice and political sensitivity that has characterized the program, political and ideological obstacles have limited its impact. To begin with, the intervention was addressed to the Greek part of the curriculum only; the Turkish part could not be touched according to the bilateral Greek–Turkish agreement. Therefore, despite systematic efforts to serve as a paradigm and initiate a profitable interaction between the Greek and Turkish parties, there has been no striking improvement. One of the most demanding challenges of the program has been the effort to establish a dialogue between minority and majority teachers who alternate in the minority school classes, as well as build school–family–community relations. However, resistance to the dialogue is the result of long established stereotypical stances on both sides. Groups of the local community have been torn by parameters of the external politics for many decades. This "has established two parallel and biased interpretations of the entirety of problems, old and contemporary, so that a monologue in the form of truth is projected by both sides . . . attributing every negative aspect to the 'others'" (Dragona & Fragoudaki, 2008, p. 484).

3. "Inclusion of Rom students in school": This is a follow-up of the program "Education of Rom children," which started in 1997 and, like the program for the "Education of repatriate and immigrant students," underwent three major disruptions that involved administrative and staff changes. The program involved practices such as documentation of the living conditions of the Greek Rom and causes of their educational underachievement; supervision of the children's school attendance through, for example, home visits; development of appropriate curriculum and educational material, as well as appropriate practices for the inclusion of Rom children to school; and implementation of these practices to selected schools. Through these actions,

the program aspired to ameliorate the bad school experience and the high illiteracy rate among Rom children.

Rom people constitute in their majority a poor, highly marginalized population. They are Greek citizens but their participation in the economical, social and educational resources is much lower than that of most Greek citizens. They usually live in extremely poor disadvantaged areas, have close ties among them, maintain their culture and speak Romani, their own (oral) language.

The school system has not succeeded in including Rom children. In the 2003–2004 school year (after the completion of the first phase of the program), the Ministry reported that 75% of school age Rom children attended school, as opposed to 25% that attended 2 years earlier. If this is true, isn't it outrageous that 25 % of these children remain outside of school?

The current situation concerning the education of Rom children is not very optimistic, even though there is not accurate documentation.[18] An estimate of the school attendance of Rom children raises the number of children who have never attended school to higher than 50%. Those who enroll (an approximate 40%) attend the first elementary grades, but very few stay in school and most of them drop out as functionally illiterate in Greek (Hatzisavvidis, 2007).

It is true that these three programs served student populations with clearly diverse needs. Also, the intensity of the intervention was not equal in all three programs, because only one of them (the program for Muslim children) had the advantage of continuity. A common characteristic they all share, however, is that their results remained limited, failing to disrupt established hierarchies and long-standing asymmetries, failing to affect or even touch the traditional mainstream ethos. An obvious thought is: How much of the good practice that has been developed in the framework of these programs will continue without the EU funding? Finally, why is a research study or a program called in to cover established institutional gaps?

EPILOGUE

I'll end with a story. A bitter-sweet story.

The story of a group of teachers who, faced with the challenge to teach in a disadvantaged school environment, chose to do the self-evident: They managed to create a learning community that included equitably all children both in the learning process and the school life. And they did this without the slightest compromise to the quality of the educational good, without conceding the future prospects of any of the children, dominant or not.

The 132nd[19] elementary school of Grava has innate difficulties due to its location in a disadvantaged area in Athens. Most of the children come from

poor families, with the exclusions that this ensues. Seventy percent of the children in its population belong to non-dominant groups, with varying degrees of proficiency of the school language.

The teachers responded to the pressures of the school challenges in the most scientifically indicated way: They developed partnerships and through them, they grew as practitioners in a diverse school environment. In particular, they developed self-selected, in-school professional development programs, resorted to innovative teaching approaches (holistic, experiential, cooperative learning), tried co-teaching, in-class support teachers and exemplary operation of support classes. At their regular staff meetings, through disagreements and conflicts they created a non-threatening professional environment, where all differences were negotiated.

Empowered by their alliance and professional growth, and taking advantage of the allowances and inconsistencies of the law, but mainly of its evasive character, they proceeded in developing activities that involved the whole school community (i.e., students, teachers, parents, the community): They initiated workshops for the personal and social support of their students, who were at risk for criminal behavior; they introduced mother tongue maintenance courses and the teaching of Greek as a second language for parents; they worked hard to overcome the reservations and doubts of parents and welcome them to school; they organized activities so that all children's home language and culture were brought to play in their learning. They engaged their students in meaningful learning because they believed that this enriches everyone's learning experience. The school activities won international awards, were embraced by parents and the community, and were praised by the academic community.

This is the sweet part of the story. Now for the bitter part. A year and a half ago the principal of the school, the inspiration and heart of the program, was moved to another school during the principal selection process, conducted by the Ministry of Education. The new principal of 132nd elementary school made it clear from the first day that all innovative programs had to stop. The teaching staff took up the struggle to restore the school's innovative operation, but the whole administrative machine has been working against it. In his answer to a relevant question by a member of the opposition, the Vice Minister of Education talked about the school's "arbitrary practice" "outside the law," which jeopardizes "the democracy of the school system." and dynamites "the constitutional and legal order."

Once again, by invoking it, the dominant discourse mars democracy!

For the Greek bureaucracy, the prospects for success of poor and disadvantaged children can be channeled only through the official uniform educational program, even if it has repeatedly failed them. Once again the dominant discourse is attempting to legitimate disenfranchising dominant practices by "[framing] such children and their families as lacking the cultural and moral resources for success in a presumed fair and open society and as in need of compensatory help from the dominant society" (Sleeter, 1995).

Through their exemplary practice, the teachers of 132nd school of Grava have redefined the sources of strength for the education of traditionally excluded groups. They have also allowed us to dream that, with commitment to the basic principles of equity and democracy, the school for all children can become a reality.

NOTES

After a long struggle of the teaching staff of 132nd school as well as many teachers throughout Greece, the prinicpal of the school has recently been restored to her position.

1. Cross-cultural is the preferred term used by the Ministry of Education in the English section of its site (www.ypepth.gr). Both cross-cultural and intercultural, which is the most common term used in the European educational context, are valid translations of the Greek term "diapolitismiki."
2. With ministerial decision Φ. 818.2/Z/4139/20–10–80.
3. Reception and tutorial classes are transitional, remedial classes that mainly teach the school language to language minority students. Reception classes operate parallel to the mainstream school program, whereas tutorial classes run in after school hours.
4. Retrieving accurate statistical data is almost impossible due mainly to the large number of undocumented families living in Greece as illegal immigrants and the reluctance of authorities to release data to researchers. There are reports that raise the number to a million (see Dimitrakopoulos, 2004) or as low as over half a million (Petronoti & Triandafyllidou, 2003, for instance, give an estimate of approximately 600,000).
5. Statistical data drawn from www.ipode.gr, accessed September 13, 2008. The actual percentage is 10.01%, a percentage that has not changed significantly since the early '90s.
6. There had always existed groups of children, such as Rom children and children from the Muslim minority, that had traditionally been excluded from education or had bad school experiences and high drop out rates but their situation had not been allowed to affect mainstream schools.
7. The Greek is a highly centralized educational system, as its structure, organization and content are decided by the Ministry of Education, therefore, the curriculum is uniform and compulsory for every school in the country. In addition, textbooks for all subjects are centrally produced and distributed free to all levels of Education (tertiary included).
8. http://www.hri.org/docs/syntagma/artcl120.html#A120
9. Newspaper *TA NEA*, October 31, 2008.
10. Accessed from www.ipode.gr October 11, 2008 (my translation).
11. For a full description of law 2413/96 and others relating to cross-cultural education, see the site of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs: http://www.ypepth.gr and IPODE: www.ipode.gr
12. www.makthes.gr
13. Φ10/20/Γ1/708/7–9-1999
14. Reference to the 132 elementary public school of Grava, in Athens. Details about the history and activities of the school will follow. See also, www.132grava.net
15. www.ipode.gr. Accessed October 13, 2008.
16. For Muslim students in Greece, the Greek curriculum includes Greek language, history, geography, environmental studies and civic education. The

Turkish curriculum includes Turkish language, mathematics, physics, arts, physical education and religious studies.

17. www.ipode.gr accessed October 13, 2008.
18. There is a reported difficulty to find accurate and reliable data for all the groups of excluded students mentioned here. For the problem of documentation of excluded student groups, see Dimitrakopoulos, 2004, and Dragona & Fragoudaki, 2008.
19. Public elementary and secondary schools in Greece do not have names, they are distinguished by numbers.

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7 Intercultural Education
The Theory Deficit and the World Crisis

David Coulby

THE WORLD CRISIS

Unlike previous world crises, the one which is currently unfolding has clear causes: hydrocarbon depletion and global warming. These forces are impacting on a planet which is carrying an unprecedented high, and still expanding, human population.

Both these forces are politically, although no longer scientifically, contested (Klare, 2005). Hydrocarbon depletion is easily understood: There is a finite amount of coal, gas and oil contained in the earth. It is being consumed to generate electricity and power cars and planes at an increasingly rapid rate. Oil dependency is particularly important: One day it will all be burned. At some point the oil industry will extract its highest annual amount of oil from the earth, after which the annual amount will steadily decline. This point is known as 'peak oil.' "Experts disagree as to when the world's oil fields will attain maximum . . . production and begin an irreversible decline—some say this will occur by 2010, others in the second or third decade of this century—but *all* acknowledge that the planet's original petroleum inheritance has been substantially exploited and that a reduction in output is inevitable" (Klare, 2005, p. 23). New oilfields are being and will be discovered but they will not match the rising consumption of oil and the depletion of the current fields. Rising oil prices are starting to reflect awareness of the eventual scarcity of hydrocarbon fuel. Oil prices reached record levels, of over ninety dollars per barrel, in advance of the northern winter of 2007. These prices can only be exceeded as the demand for fuel increases. Rising fuel prices will have a major negative impact on the global economy.

It is likely that the 21st century will be one of conflict between states and corporations over resources. Water and minerals will be important, but hydrocarbons and especially oil and gas will be preeminent. China's current initiative to make political and commercial alliances with selected African states is designed to secure the supply of minerals and energy to the mushrooming industries of its Pacific Coast. Shifting patterns of military and political alliance in Central Asia as Russia, the United States,

China and British Petroleum all struggle for influence are aimed at controlling the distribution as well as the extraction of that region's oil and gas. The direction of a pipeline and its eventual destination point can have significant economic and political impact beneath the Baltic from Russia to Germany, for instance, thereby cutting out Poland. As many powerful states recognize that they are increasingly dependent on imported oil and gas, not only for their industry and wealth but for the standard of life of their populations—Russia cut the oil pipeline to Ukraine for 3 days in the winter of 2005–2006—they will define their foreign and defence policies in terms of energy security. Some interpret the invasion of Iraq by the United States and its allies or Russia's brutal subjugation of Chechnya in these terms. "Slowly but surely the US military is being converted into a global oil-protection service" (Klare, 2005, p. 7).

So what is the relevance of all this to Intercultural Educational theory? If theory about developments as significant as these is not taken into account, Intercultural Educational theory is likely to find itself marginalized. Actually, however, the relevance is more direct: firstly, in terms of internal relations within particular states, and secondly, in terms of the wider international relations of interculturalism. The second point will be returned to after climate change has been added to the picture. Internal conflicts in oil rich states are often caused by the struggle of the elite to control the oil revenues, safeguard their control over the police and military and distribute as little of the wealth as possible to the rest of the population. "When imbalance in the allocation of oil rents coincides with ethnic, religious, or political divisions—as it so often does—you have a natural recipe for internal conflict" (Klare, 2005, p. 127). Hydrocarbon scarcity and the wealth and poverty it creates are already generating conflicts between groups in Nigeria, Indonesia, Chad and Congo-Brazzaville. The transportation line of oil and gas similarly underlies apparently ethnic conflict in Chechnya and Georgia. In many states, hydrocarbon control and distribution are already major sources of intergroup tension and conflict.

It is the burning of hydrocarbon fuels that has gradually built up the layer of carbon in the atmosphere, the density of which is currently significantly increasing. It is this carbon layer which is resulting in global warming, associated climatic variations and, through expansion of the oceans and melting of the ice caps, rising sea levels. Some predictions about the consequences of these changes have been sufficiently apocalyptic to promote denial among right wing and religious groups in, for instance, the United States. Nevertheless, the changes are already happening: Low-lying land is being abandoned to the sea in Eastern England as well as Indian Ocean Islands; there is doubt as to whether New Orleans can ever again be a viable city. World crisis, then, is perhaps not too alarmist a terminology: A huge and increasing world population is faced with energy depletion and energy conflict in a rapidly changing (for many, deteriorating) climate. Already some commentators (Diamond, 2006) relate the genocide

in Rwanda or the current group conflict in Darfur to large populations and scarce resources more than to ethnic hostility.

These topics have not conventionally been seen as central to Intercultural Education: To the extent that they have entered the educational discourse it has been more via the area of Futures Education (Hicks & Slaughter, 1998). However, Intercultural Education may be embedded in the world crisis as it becomes manifest in struggles between groups. This has been considered as conflicts develop within states over oil revenues, but it is likely that it will also take the form of conflicts between states over, especially, energy resources. Rationales of nationalistic and religious exclusion and hostility, which are familiar to Intercultural Education, will be used to disguise increasingly severe policies of energy security. On one level, "the war on terror" disguises a war on Islam; on another level it disguises a war for oil.

Looked at historically, the demographic movement of people to the cities of the European Union, North America and Australia may be seen as early manifestations of this crisis as people sought to maximize life chances for themselves and their families. Intercultural Education came into being largely as a result of this initial demographic shift. However, as the world crisis unfolds, does Intercultural Education have a much wider role to play in educating rich countries about the plight of peoples in the rest of the world? No state has yet embraced either hydrocarbon depletion or climate change as major strands of the curriculum. These topics are more prominent in some subjects at the university level than they are in school. Nor has Intercultural Education yet understood that the ways in which these two topics are taught, or, equally significant, are excluded from the curriculum, will help to shape the formation of intergroup and international conflict in the coming decades.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION'S THEORY DEFICIT

To move to Intercultural Educational theory is not a shift from global to parochial. Intercultural Education provides one of the discursive alternatives within which this crisis will or will not be understood in schools and universities.

The terminological shift from Multicultural to Intercultural Education that occurred rather swiftly over 20 years ago was accepted at the time unquestioningly and apparently without hesitation. The shift coincided, either side of 1980, with an attack on Multicultural Education from two directions: Firstly, the familiar nationalist concern that school practices and knowledge should embody those of the state and only the state in terms of language(s), religion, culture or values, according to the context; and secondly, from a more pluralist position, the concern that Multicultural Education did not sufficiently and directly address issues of racism and that

it offered only a token understanding of non-dominant knowledge, denigrating cultural difference as the study of samosas, saris and steel bands (Mullard, 1980). Whilst the terminological shift did not resolve these two sets of concerns, it seemed to offer a fresh start and one less influenced by the previously dominant and self-contained theory and practice emanating from the United States and the United Kingdom.

Retrospectively it might be asked: What was the discursive strategy of this lexical change from Multicultural to Intercultural? Was it simply the need to begin anew, to provide a positive presentation of the subject? Also, without leaning too heavily on the semiotics of one word, what are the connotations of Intercultural? Does it not serve to disguise the historical realities of most cultural interaction? Far from positive intercultural reciprocity or hybridity, these have been much more commonly characterized by conquest, slave trades, imperialism and genocide. Has anyone ever set out the theoretical (as distinct from the moral) premises of Intercultural Education? This remains a field of study where the normative and the prescriptive are of overwhelming importance. The assumptions of this study link it to other areas of forward-thinking educational policy: human rights, gender equality and progressive pedagogy. It is one of the contentions of this paper that wide acceptance within the discourse of these normative concerns serves to distract from fundamental theoretical weaknesses and could lead to intellectual parochialism in the face of the World Crisis.

Is it a realistic aspiration of Intercultural Education that education should be able to negotiate between cultures rather than only show that there is more than one culture? In Finland, Swedish remains the first compulsory foreign language, representing in policy the presence of Swedish speakers in (not only) the Aaland Islands (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 1999). This policy, then, is Intercultural: It allows pupils access to each other's culture, and it asserts the primacy of both groups to the formation of the nation. What of the Saami speakers in the North and in the cities? Their languages are by no means part of the compulsory curriculum for either Finnish or Swedish speakers. And what of the languages and cultures of more recent immigrant groups to the cities of Finland? Take the current wave of Russian migrant workers: Can Russian be taught to their children in the schools of Helsinki? Will other Finnish children learn Russian? Will they learn important aspects of Russian history and culture? The Russian example, of course, is not entirely innocent. The history of colonialism and warfare between the two countries would lead to some complex curricular decision-making. Russia's history of serfdom and emancipation, of Revolution and the Great Patriotic War, of Soviet gulags and disintegration, would need a notable amount of classroom time if it were to be handled seriously. Its literary, musical and artistic culture might threaten to dwarf other achievements of the Baltic region. Can Intercultural Education in Finland teach pupils and students to negotiate between all these cultures? The proposition is unrealistic in the extreme. Of course, this is not an exclusively

Finnish dilemma: Similar levels of complexity can be found in Belfast or Bilbao, in Sarajevo or Daugavpils. An assumption of an unrealistic normative inclusiveness, then, is one of the fundamental theoretical weaknesses of Intercultural Education. There is a too-ready assumption that the ideal educational policy or curriculum is known and that stubborn policy makers are the ones who refuse to implement it. The problematic of the analysis of educational policy formulation in highly diverse areas requires more than exhortation about what should be done.

It is not only the immediate context but the wider framework that is too often undertheorized and effectively depoliticized. Demographic movement is at the center of much (although by no means all) Intercultural Education. Demographic movement results from national, and increasingly international, economic, political and cultural forces. These forces may be expressed, for the sake of brevity, as globalization. Other forms of intergroup differentiation and inequality (not necessarily connected with demographic movement) such as exploitation, imperialism, ethnic cleansing and neo-colonialism also operate within a wider social context that may be characterized as globalization (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Coulby & Zambeta, 2005; Stromquist & Monkman, 2000). If the educational experiences of Kosovo refugee children in South London, say, are to be understood, these contextual aspects cannot be ignored. To put it another way: To the extent to which the context of globalization is overlooked, Intercultural Education will have depoliticized its subject matter and, despite its progressive normative position, will ill-serve both its subjects and wider social understanding. As the World Crisis unfolds there is potential for increased demographic movement in terms of refugees and for enhanced internal and international conflict. To depoliticize Intercultural Education is to cut it off from many possibilities of political action and redress. Intercultural Education needs to develop a discourse which can move from the global forces that have brought NATO troops into Pristina to the intricacies of a teenage boy learning English in the prejudicially framed school and society of London (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006).

The unfolding of U.S. military monopolarity and the evolution of global conflict for the control of hydrocarbons has immediate and overwhelming impact on patterns of interculturalism. Perceptions of Islam and Islamic people have been shaped and shaken by the "war on terror." (This is not exclusively a tabloid issue: Consider the apparently academic—but actually racist and imperialistic—"clash of civilizations" notion.) Neither the conflict nor the perceptions are limited to the Middle East. The conflict in the West Bank and Jerusalem and the U.S.-U.K. military occupation of Iraq are issues of bitter, daily reference throughout the Islamic and the Arab worlds. Wherever Islamic children and young people are educated, in Brussels, Karachi or Thrace, these issues are part of their consciousness and thus part of the global context of Intercultural Education. In the main, these elements of identity and global group solidarity will take precedence

far in advance of any benevolent, normative notions of interculturalism. While an argument can be made that the school should be a neutral zone, free of conflict (which may of course imply, in France and Turkey, free of religious symbols and manifestation), this cannot mean that either teachers or researchers can reduce their understanding of the contested global forces actually operant on identity formation. These contemporary conflicts are central to the evolution of Intercultural Education: Unpacking the self-interest and blatant militarism in Washington, Moscow and Jakarta that underpin the "war on terror" and the relation of these to the different patterns of colonialism, decolonization and neo-colonialism is central to the enterprise of Intercultural Education (Harvey, 2003).

Like all discourses, Intercultural Education has its own literature and frames of reference. Again like other discourses, however, there is a risk that this known literature can be perceived in too narrow a focus. Are researchers in Intercultural Education sufficiently cognizant of current developments in economics, political studies or history? In Chinese Central Asia is the vast province of Xin Jiang (Tyler, 2004). That this area is part of the People's Republic is almost an historical accident: Its domination by China across the millennia had been intermittent, but its occupation coincided with the consolidation of the Westphalian state system in this region in the middle of the 19th century. It contains a wide diversity of people, many of them Islamic and many speaking Turkic languages. The politics of this region concern Beijing's insecure grasp on the indigenous population and spasmodic (and largely unreported) resistance to its control. Here, as in Tibet, a policy has been to encourage mass immigration by Han Chinese so that in many places, especially urban areas, they outnumber the Islamic population (Fewsmith, 2001; Nathan & Gilley, 2003; Roberts, 2003; Terrill, 2003).

The economics of Xin Jiang inevitably involve mineral wealth and the possibility of oil and gas reserves. This impacts on politics of the whole of Central Asia and makes it a region of potentially international conflict as Russia, China and America compete to build influence and military bases in the former Soviet states, the United States and the United Kingdom troops occupy Afghanistan, and a network of proposed fuel pipelines begins to emerge. This point is obviously linked to the earlier one about context, but here the emphasis is on the wider political, economic and historical literature and theory that are needed to understand developments in such a complex and conflicted region. To understand education in Xin Jiang (Dong, 1997; Tawakkul, 1999), it would be necessary to draw on a complex range of literature and theory in order that this context should be understood in the widest terms. Emerging literature on the World Crisis itself is an extreme example of wider areas of analysis which urgently need to be incorporated into Intercultural Education at all levels.

Similarly, concerning the extent of references on Intercultural Education, how far outside academic publications are researchers able to extend

to oral history or literature, art and culture? Kadare's novels offer an insight into conflicts in Albania (Kadare, 2003a; Kadare, 2003b) beyond the reach of academic writing. Pamuk's novels provide an insight into the profound complexity of identity formation in contemporary Turkey within the conflict between Kemalism and political Islam (Pamuk, 1995; Pamuk, 2004).

Artistic and cultural exhibitions are often interventions in Intercultural Education made by states, major museums and corporate sponsors. They provide an opportunity to frame the discourse on how different cultures, and indeed states, are perceived. The exhibition "Turks" at the Royal Academy in London in 2004 provides a contentious example (Roxburgh, 2005). With support of the Turkish government and the Topkapi (to say nothing of the Garanti Bank, Aygaz and Corus), this exhibition presented Turkish culture as stretching far beyond Anatolia and Istanbul (Findley, 2005). It offered a version of Turkey, including the Ottoman Empire, as a richly cultured part of European history. The fall of Constantinople and the conquest of the Balkans were airbrushed out of this picture that provided the appropriate frontispiece for U.K. support for Turkish membership in the EU in subsequent, vital negotiations. The study of Intercultural Education, of the Kurds in Eastern Anatolia, for example, needs to be wide in its references both to academic work and to culture itself. If this width can be achieved, then it could seriously enrich what academics are able to offer to their students and teachers to their pupils. Culture is politically defined and politics are culturally defined.

That is not the whole story, however, and it is economics that can least afford to be ignored. In terms of the World Crisis, the "Turks" exhibition concealed at least as much as it revealed. There has been conflict in Eastern Anatolia for over three decades that has at various points amounted to open civil war (Mango, 2004). This conflict has been described by Ankara and outside observers alike as an "ethnic conflict" between Turks and Kurds. Certainly issues of language and education have figured high in the conflict (Jones, 2001). However, Eastern Anatolia controls the headwaters of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Turkey has used these waters to stimulate intensive agriculture in the region. This has resulted in conflict with countries further down the water basins, Syria and Iraq, who are deprived of water. Furthermore, Eastern Anatolia borders onto Northern Iraq where there is a continuation of the Kurdish population. This is one of the oil-rich areas of Iraq. This border has been the site of both conflict and refugee movement in the past. The transportation line of oil from Northern Iraq is of considerable economic importance to Ankara, especially in view of the new pipeline terminal and associated facilities located on the extreme south east coast of Turkey. Eastern Anatolia is a point where the politics and economics of the World Crisis are disguised in "ethnic conflict" and the "the war on terror." Marx's insistence of the importance of the economic base over the cultural superstructure remains relevant. "Turks" at the Royal Academy served to conceal rather than

reveal these current tensions. The interplay between culture and politics, and the vulnerability of both to the forces of globalization, form the basis of the exacerbating conflicts of the 21st century. Even in cases of conflict over heightening water and hydrocarbon shortages, cultural and nationalistic rhetoric is being used to disguise the nature of the clashes. By providing insights into these processes and rhetoric about them or concealing them beneath a nationalist or fundamentalist agenda, schools and universities are major participants in these conflicts.

Understanding fully another culture is probably impossible for most people. Those fortunate and diligent enough to be brought up in more than one language or those who take the time and trouble to acquire additional languages probably have the best chance. Despite the brilliant efforts of translators, language stands as a major obstacle between the Anglophone and a full appreciation of the Greek poetry of Cavafy. Language, culture and education itself inevitably limit the understanding that Europeans can grasp of Japan or Japanese of Europe. Translations of literature, history, legal and policy documents put a researcher at once removed from the subject. Illustrations and videos of buildings, artworks and artefacts provide a similar level of alienation. It is the boldness of the aspiration to understand more than one culture and how they mutually interrelate, however, that might characterize Intercultural Education at all levels. Certainly this effort will involve recognition of the difficulty, even impossibility, of the enterprise, but it will also assert the necessity of the attempt, if gateways are to be made through the barriers of language and distance.

There may be advantages to revisiting postmodernist theory in a more measured way than has previously been attempted (Coulby & Jones, 1995). Within Intercultural Education there seems to be a divide between those who hold to some moral, epistemological and even political certainties and those for whom everything is relative. On the one hand, Enlightenment rationality (or perhaps Renaissance humanism) provides a set of axioms for understanding issues as important as knowledge and legalities ("rights"): Hume, Kant and Jefferson or, if you prefer, Montaigne, Castiglione and Shakespeare. On the other hand there is the relativistic insistence on no one-true-way for either knowledge or policy, and the post-modern impatience with the category of "rights." This polarity or, at least, discursive conflict, might provide another way of addressing the perceived theory deficit within Intercultural Education. The inclusion of Biblical biology ("intelligent design") at the expense of Darwin in school curricula in both the United States and the United Kingdom has made it more difficult for intercultural commentators to insist that the value claims of all versions of science are relative. The perpetuation and reproduction of falsehood in schools has encouraged a less relativistic approach to truth.

Similarly, recent experience of imprisonment without trial in both of these countries and the torture and murder of prisoners by at least one might convince postmodernists that equality before the law is a right

worth protecting. Unfortunately, this does not resolve all areas of political relativism: The assumption of the superiority of bicameral democracy, for instance, and its appropriateness in all cultural contexts, remains open to question. The dichotomy between relativism and a more committed approach may, however, not be utterly irreconcilable. The discourse of Intercultural Education needs to be reinforced by a persistent awareness that the struggle between these relativities and absolutes informs all aspects of theory and policy. The need for collaborative research and writing is self-evident, perhaps, even for collaborative writing that goes beyond the consensual. There has been little meeting of minds in Intercultural Education for the last 25 years between those who see culture and politics in totally relative terms and those who have an absolute version of knowledge and/or "rights" (which unfortunately, all too often, carries with it normative and cultural absolutes). It is highly unlikely that this difference can be readily resolved. It does, however, need to be explicitly addressed.

All this, of course, is not merely theoretical. The concept of an accurate contextual audit advocated above, for instance, could readily be transferred to school or university curricula. Indeed, this paper could be entirely rewritten from the other way up, from the point of view of the learner. What should comprise the content of the school and university curricula for history, geography, civics and languages? What should be taught to children and young people about Finland, China and Anatolia? The point is that the terms (theoretical, lexical, discursive) in which a contextual audit of these topics might be conducted, contextualized and subsequently evaluated have been insufficiently explored in Intercultural Education, let alone agreed upon or contested.

These theoretical deficits go part way to explaining why Intercultural Education is slow to address the World Crisis. Restricted in its access to the wider theoretical literature and insensitive to the political understandings implicit in culture itself, Intercultural Education is in danger of becoming a theoretical backwater. Yet the unfolding Crisis is one in which the rhetoric of cultural clash will need to be resisted as never before. Furthermore, the content of school and university curricula needs swift and radical change if students are to be able to understand the context in which their lives will be lived. Corporate green-wash ideologies ("Beyond Petroleum") will need to be explored and exposed. Intercultural Education has much to offer to this curricular reconception.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNATIONAL IGNORANCE

States will increasingly pursue policies which are savagely self-interested. In Europe and the United States, this is currently manifested in energy security policies. Elsewhere, as in Israel, it may be seen in land and water security policies.

This is not a prediction of conflict. The conflicts have already begun. Cultural differences (Rwanda, Bosnia, Sudan, Iraq, Chechnya, Turkey) provide political solidarities within which these conflicts take place (Tutsi and Hutu, Kurds and Turks, Catholic and Protestant, etc.). Rationalizations of the cultural warriors ("war on terror," "clash of civilizations," "last days"; reconquest and liberation rhetoric of Kosovo, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Kashmir, Tibet, the Damascus Caliphate) are providing

propaganda for these political solidarities. These rationalizations are of increased importance where the state is weak, traditional solidarities of nationalism do not apply, and religious divisions within states provide stronger loyalties, especially for oppressed groups. In international terms, those who use these rationalizations will struggle hard to conceal outright aggression. Scepticism in the United Kingdom about involvement in the invasion and occupation of Iraq indicate that not all populations are happy to accept the rhetoric of cultural war. The question is the durability of this scepticism at a point when oil costs $500 per barrel or when Russia interrupts the flow of gas to the EU in January.

The context of an unprecedented large world population, rising sea levels and resource (especially energy) depletion is one in which the likelihood of conflict is exceptionally high. In this sense Intercultural Education is a marginal activity. Even so, culture is one of the frames in which these conflicts occur. To this extent, Intercultural Education, even at the margins, might provide a corrective:

- To educate the rich world about conditions of the poor;
- To insist that demographic and climatic changes are understood in international terms; and
- To focus on modes of intercultural conflict resolution as well as conflict.

Given the strongly embedded position of the cultural warriors in many nations and between nations (Catholicism, Islam), this will not be an easy task.

One of the advantages of the term multicultural is (was?) that it had a clear opposite, monoculturalism. Interculturalism appears to have no opposite and no enemy. The comparative process of putting one culture, curricular system or educational policy alongside another—without any relative judgment or assumptions of superiority—gives insight into the illuminations and limitations of each. An evaluation of previous strategies of judgment and assumptions of superiority, as in post-colonial discourse theory, can only enhance this process. Interculturalism, then, is by nature wide-ranging, comparative and international. The act of juxtaposition allows for contrasts, omissions and inclusions to be noted. This is not, by any means, a matter of attempting formally to compare education, or some aspect of it, in Peru with that in Bulgaria. Rather, it is a matter of being

aware of a range of policies and contexts and of the international environment within which they all stand. Not that Intercultural Education will itself be without conflict: The issue of political relativism highlighted above provides example of an area where total agreement is unlikely in the immediate future. Once many artefacts (curricular systems, educational policies) are in play, however, the possibilities for interillumination (interculturalism) become manifold. This is unlikely to be encyclopaedic but it may be relativistic, contextualized, politically valorized and decentered. This interplay will not of itself modify monocultural beliefs and practices. Rather, it provides a vital component in the discourse whereby monoculturalism may be meaningfully contested.

This paper suggests that Intercultural Education is confronted with a double dilemma. On the one hand, the subject suffers from profound theoretical weaknesses (decontextualization, depoliticization and lack of contact with the economic base). On the other hand, it is confronted by the need to understand globalized movements and conflicts which have been characterized as a World Crisis. The intellectual task, to say nothing of the associated political action, is considerable. At the beginning of the previous century, H. G. Wells described human history as a race between education and disaster. Education is not winning this race. The disaster is as great as even Wells's imagination could conceive.

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8 Intercultural Education in Japan
Foreign Children and Their Education

Maki Shibuya

INTRODUCTION

According to the Immigration Bureau of Japan, at the end of 2005, for the first time, the number of non-Japanese nationals exceeded 2 million, or 1.57% of the Japanese population. Foreign nationals residing in Japan are divided into two groups: oldcomers and newcomers. The former comprises ex-Japanese colonials and their descendants, that is, Koreans and Taiwanese. They are the 'special permanent residents' who have no restrictions on their occupations and duration of residence. Japan colonized Taiwan from 1895, and Korea from 1910 until the end of World War II. Before and during the war, some Koreans were forced to work under severe conditions in Japan; others came to Japan for a better life. These Koreans lost their Japanese nationality in 1952, when the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed. Most Koreans living in Japan at that time returned home; however, some remained. While in 1959 more than 90% of all foreign nationals were Korean, the percentage keeps decreasing on account of deaths and naturalization. Still, Koreans were the largest group until 2006, accounting for about 30% of all foreign nationals.

On the other hand, the number of newcomers is increasing. Newcomers are those who came to Japan after the 1970s. The newcomers came from various backgrounds. Some were post-World War II, war-displaced Japanese women and orphans (and their descendants) from China, who returned to Japan after the latter revived its relationship with China in 1972. These people are called "returnees" from China and, according to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, number approximately 20,000. These returnees also bring their relatives, making the estimation of their total population 100,000 (Araragi, 2000). Some were the refugees from Indo-China. In the 1980s, the Japanese government accepted about 10,000 refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Since the Immigration Control Law was modified in 1990, the number of migrant workers from South America has increased. They are mainly Japanese descendants from Brazil and Peru. Additionally, there are the foreign spouses of some Japanese. Some Japanese men, often those who are socially less privileged, have arranged marriages with Asian women from other countries.

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) reports that in 2005, about 70,000 children (aged between 6 and 15) with foreign nationalities were registered in Japanese state schools for compulsory education. Some choose to attend private Japanese schools, whereas others choose to attend ethnic or international schools. However, some do not attend any school. Although the exact number of unregistered children nationwide is unknown, it must be no less than 10,000 (Ota & Tsuboya, 2005). Most unregistered children are newcomers who are unfamiliar with the Japanese culture and have poor comprehension of the Japanese language.

According to MEXT, in 2004, about 20,000 children with foreign nationalities studying in state schools needed support to learn Japanese; this is 3.6 times the number of such children in 1991. The mother tongues of these children number 54. There are 7,033 Portuguese speakers (mainly children of migrant workers from Brazil), 4,628 Chinese speakers (mainly returnees and children of intermarriages) and 2,926 Spanish speakers (mainly children of migrant workers from Peru). Although most schools have only a few such children, there are about 1,000 schools with more than five children who need language support. There tend to be a larger number of such children in urban and industrial areas.

In this chapter, I shall describe the education of foreign children in Japan. First, I shall explain the definition of Intercultural Education in Japan in comparison with those of other related terms. Second, I shall describe the policy on foreign children's education in Japan. Third, I shall introduce some good practices related to the education of foreign children[1] in Japan. Finally, I shall discuss the implications of Japanese practices and future perspectives on Intercultural Education.

DEFINITION OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN JAPAN

In Japan, there are a few terms that relate to the practices and research regarding foreign children's education. Some of these terms are 'kokusai (rikai) kyoiku' or International (Understanding) Education, 'tabunka kyoiku' or Multicultural Education, and 'ibunkakan kyoiku' or Intercultural Education. Although all the areas signified by these terms pursue the coexistence of people with different cultural backgrounds, each has its unique characteristics.

'International Education' or 'International Understanding Education' is a frequently used term in classroom practices and educational research. The concept of International Understanding Education has been influenced by UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) since the 1950s. In the 1980s, development education and environment education were added to the sphere of International Understanding Education, while the education of Japanese children returning from foreign countries became an important contemporary issue. The 1990s witnessed

extensive interest in International Understanding Education, and as a result, it was integrated into the field of Global Education (Sato, 2003). As an academic organization, the Japan Association for International Education was established in 1991. It aims to 'appeal for the importance of international education so that Japan can peacefully coexist with the people from other nations' (Japan Association for International Education, 1991).

In elementary and junior high schools, since 2002, a 'period of integrated study,' whose aim is to cultivate ways of learning and thinking and an attitude of trying to solve or pursue problems independently and creatively, has become compulsory. International Understanding is one of the recommended topics for this new subject; consequently, there are more classroom practices on it. Unfortunately, some practices do little more than show exotic fashion, foods and festivals of different cultures, and are criticized as reproducing stereotypes. Moreover, International Understanding Education in Japan tends to be relativistic and nationalistic, and risks neglecting the unequal status quo.

On the other hand, Multicultural Education emphasizes not only cultural diversity but also unequal social relationships between the majority and minority. Some of its key terms are 'coexistence of multiple cultures,' 'human rights' and 'anti-discrimination.' Multicultural education borrows from the practices and research in the United States, Canada and Australia. It also inherits elements from Japanese practices, such as 'dowa kyoiku,' or integration education for people who are socially discriminated against,[2] and education for resident Koreans. Nakajima (1998) argues that Multicultural Education should be of concern not only to minority groups but also to the majority group. She insists that school culture should be critically examined and, if necessary, changed. The challenge to Multicultural Education is to clarify the similarities and differences between the various minority groups, such that they can collaborate and eradicate discrimination.

Kobayashi (1986) explains that the term 'Intercultural Education' was newly created by the Intercultural Education Society of Japan. It was established in 1981 by those who were interested in returnees. In Japan, Intercultural Education used to be linked with education for returnees; however, it also focused on the education of other cultural minorities. Unlike returnees from China, returnees that the Intercultural Educational Society of Japan were originally interested in were Japanese children who had lived abroad for several years and returned to Japan because of their parents' businesses. These returnees became prominent after the 1970s. Some of them could not adapt easily to Japanese society because, it was believed, they did not have an adequate understanding of the Japanese language and customs. They were regarded as Japanese in terms of ethnicity and nationality but not in terms of culture. Thus, they provided the opportunity to think about negotiations between different cultures. The main topics in returnees' education are cultural adaptation, identity construction and intercultural communication.

The Intercultural Education Society of Japan has been striving to give the term 'Intercultural Education' an original definition. Kobayashi (1986)

defines it as something that inclusively encompasses various practices and problems in education caused by negotiations among different cultures. Sato (2003) argues that the mission of Intercultural Education should be to reconstruct the relationship between different cultures and make the coexistence of differences possible.

Practitioners and researchers in these fields tended to maintain a positivistic notion about culture. Recently, various viewpoints of cultural studies have been introduced (Shibuya, 2001; Matsuo, 2005). It has been insisted that culture should not be regarded as a stable concept, but instead as an arena wherein a meaning is negotiated among various differences. Thus, the focus is shifting toward how a difference is discovered, which leads to the emergence of a boarder, which subsequently results in the unequal distribution of power.

POLICY ON THE EDUCATION OF FOREIGN CHILDREN IN JAPAN

In this section, I shall explain the Japanese policy on foreign children's education with regard to two aspects: (1) integration; and (2) the recognition of differences. Japanese education is centralized; therefore, each school has limited autonomy. Thus, I shall describe the policy of the government and the local governments.

Integration

The Constitution of Japan states that 'All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided by law. All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided by law' (Article 26). The Fundamental Law of Education states that 'the people shall all be given equal opportunities to receive education according to their abilities, and shall not be subject to discrimination in education on account of race, creed, sex, social status, economic position or family origin' (Article III).

These sentences need to be read carefully. The original Japanese word for 'people' is 'kokumin,' meaning 'Japanese national.' This results in MEXT's attitude toward foreign children's education. It insists that 'although the children of foreign nationals are not under an obligation to be schooled, they should be accepted if they wish to attend state primary and secondary schools in our nation. Once accepted, they ought to be treated equal to the Japanese pupils with regard to free tuition, the free supply of textbooks etc.' (Children Living Abroad Returnees Internet). That is, the law does not require children with foreign nationalities to undergo compulsory Japanese education. This could be one of the reasons that children with foreign nationalities have a higher drop-out rate and still tend to be neglected by the government.

However, MEXT still practices various policies for teaching foreign children in Japan and supporting their school life. Since 1986, MEXT has

been publishing guidebooks and teaching materials to teach foreign children. Also, it has been providing extra teachers to teach Japanese since 1992. Since 1993, it has been providing in-service training to teachers and supervisors of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) so they can hone their skills for teaching foreign children. Furthermore, since 2001, MEXT has been developing the curriculum for Japanese as a second language (JSL). In 2005, it published guidebooks for foreign parents in seven languages. It also has been researching the situation of non-registered foreign children since 2005. In 2006, it established center schools in 16 areas to create educational support models for foreign children. It dispatched teaching assistants and coordinators who understood the mother tongues of foreign children and set up classrooms for teaching Japanese.

For preschool children and their parents, the Agency for Cultural Affairs has organized Japanese classes in the children's neighbourhoods. Some local governments that deal with a growing population of migrant workers, have started their own policies, such as offering in-service training for teachers, dispatching additional teachers, publishing and distributing guidebooks for parents, and employing consultants who speak the children's mother tongues.

In 2001, the mayors of 13 local cities established a 'Council of Cities with High Concentrations of Foreign Residents' and signed a joint declaration in Hamamatsu. The council declared that both Japanese and foreign residents shall work together to increase mutual understanding and respect, and establish a society in which multiple cultures coexist. For this, it appealed for the enrichment of education for foreign children. It suggested several proposals of educational reform to the State, prefectures and related organizations. The proposals included encouraging foreign children to attend school and enriching the teaching for them.

Recognition of Differences

Most children classified as oldcomers attend Japanese state schools. They speak Japanese as their first language. Compared with newcomers, they experience fewer difficulties getting assimilated into Japanese culture. Still, some parents choose to send their children to ethnic schools. One of the reasons is that they may face discrimination. To avoid unfavorable treatment, they tend to disguise the fact that they are members of an ethnic minority. One example of this is the usage of Japanese names by Korean children, instead of their ethnic names. Moreover, in state schools using the Japanese curriculum, foreign children do not have an opportunity to learn their own culture, including their language. Under such circumstances, it is not easy to establish positive cultural identities based on ethnicity.

On the contrary, in ethnic schools, the teachers and children share the same ethnic background. Here, foreign children can learn their ethnic cultures,

including their mother tongues. There are some Chinese and Korean schools in Japan. The latter are divided into North and South Korean.

However, ethnic schools do have some problems (Fukuda, 2005). With the exception of some South Korean schools, the government does not recognize ethnic schools as formal schools, but as 'schools in the miscellaneous category'. Thus, the graduates of such schools have a systematic disadvantage when they apply to Japanese universities and try to find jobs in Japan. Also, many ethnic schools have financial difficulties. Although local governments offer some support to these schools, there is no national financial support.

Recently, ethnic schools for newcomers, such as Brazilian and Peruvian schools, have been established. They are an attractive choice, particularly for children who will return to their countries in the near future. Yamawaki (2005) estimates about 24% of school-aged Brazilian children in Japan attend Brazilian schools. Some Brazilian and Peruvian schools are recognized by the Brazilian and Peruvian governments, respectively. Even so, the Japanese government does not recognize them as formal schools. Ishikawa (2005) and Yamawaki (2005) argue that it is very difficult for the graduates of such schools to continue their education or find non-manual jobs in Japan, because they are usually not literate in Japanese. Moreover, immigrant workers cannot always afford the tuition, and some of these schools need to improve their facilities and management. Further, there are no ethnic schools in areas with less foreign residents.

GOOD PRACTICES OF FOREIGN CHILDREN'S EDUCATION IN JAPAN

In this section, I shall introduce two good practices of foreign children's education in Japan. First, I shall consider the practice at an elementary school in Yokohama City, Kanagawa prefecture. The school is successful, not only in increasing the pupils' academic achievement, but also in supporting their cultural identities. Staff members of the entire school are responsible for education of the foreign children. The school has a strong link with the parents and the community. Second, I shall describe the practice to support post-compulsory education in Osaka prefecture. Osaka prefecture has a tradition of integration education. The enthusiastic teachers, who are sensitive to human rights, have succeeded in tackling foreign children's education.

Supporting Academic Achievement and Self-Esteem in an Elementary School

Icho Elementary School was established in 1973. Since the end of the 1980s, the number of children in the area with different cultural backgrounds has

been increasing. One of the reasons is that the Indochina Refugees' Centre for Promoting Settlement was located here. This area also has public housing where many Indochinese refugees and returnees from China live. The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture designated this area in an effort to promote the acceptance of foreign children. In this school, 38% of the 220 pupils are foreign nationals. If pupils with dual nationality and naturalized Japanese citizens are included, 53% of the pupils have foreign backgrounds. There are eight countries of origin of the foreign pupils and eight languages spoken by their parents. The largest group is Vietnamese and the second largest is Chinese.

"Creating a school where multiple cultures coexist" (Yamawaki et al., 2005) is a book written by various teachers, parents, etc., who are involved with Icho Elementary School. I shall describe the following four characteristics of foreign children's education in the school, referring to the book and the school's homepage:[3] (a) academic support; (b) holistic approach; (c) school–home–community linkage; and (d) cultural identity.

Academic Support

Icho Elementary School tries to increase the academic achievement of foreign pupils by offering language support. For those who need to learn Japanese, Yokohama City has four 'centre schools' with JSL classes. Icho Elementary School is one of them. As 2006, the JSL class at Icho Elementary School has 14 pupils. The pupils from Icho Elementary and other schools in the area attend this JSL lesson. Here, the pupils learn Japanese twice a week for approximately 1 year. Teaching assistants speak the children's first languages, that is, Chinese, Cambodian and Vietnamese.

Most foreign pupils at Icho Elementary School have everyday conversations in Japanese with sufficient fluency, because they were born in or have lived in Japan for many years. This, however, does not imply that they have no problems learning at a Japanese school. For instance, some foreign children have limited experiences of reading at home. Therefore, the 'International Classroom' came into being in 1992. To promote foreign children's adaptation to the school and develop their individuality, Kanagawa prefecture sent extra teachers to the 'International Classroom.' In some cases, teachers would instruct the foreign children separately; at other times, they would personally assist the children in their original classrooms.

Holistic Approach

'Classroom Kingdom' is a phrase that criticizes the exclusiveness of Japanese elementary schools. It implies that the classroom teacher does everything in his/her classroom, that is, nobody else can be involved in the classroom. However, Icho Elementary School implements the 'whole school

team teaching' policy, according to which every staff member (classroom teachers, school nurse, etc.) is responsible for every child.

In Japanese schools, children are expected to learn not only academic subjects but also things relating to school life as a whole; for example, eating the school lunch, cleaning a classroom, changing for Physical Education, etc. Some foreign children find it difficult to adapt to Japanese school culture. In such cases, implementation of the 'whole school team teaching' policy is effective; wherein, a teacher might visit an absent pupil at home, while another teacher conducts the classroom. A school nurse might clean a pupil's ears before swimming lessons, while a teacher in charge of nutrition may help another pupil eat the school lunch. The staff members take time to understand each individual pupil and use various approaches when dealing with pupils. Icho Elementary School believes that this enthusiastic and holistic care by the entire staff helps each foreign child to feel at home.

School–Home–Community Linkage

Miscommunication between teachers and parents is a serious problem in a multicultural school like Icho Elementary. Language is an obvious barrier to effective communication. The staff team tries to use simple Japanese and, sometimes, even pictures to communicate with the parents. Some staffs even learn their pupils' first languages. Sometimes, miscommunication occurs, not only because of the language, but also because of the school culture. It is difficult to explain things like sports day or why a child should remain absent when he/she has rubella, if the parents don't have much experience. So there is a Japanese class for foreign parents that they can attend with their children. In this class, using material that is actually used in school, such as event schedules, parents can learn Japanese school culture as well as the language. They can also look around the school to understand their children's school life.

To narrow the communication gap between parents and teachers, Icho Elementary School tries to create more opportunities for staff members and parents to meet. Like other Japanese schools, it has parent–teacher meetings. However, some foreign parents do not understand Japanese. Moreover, they often work during the day, which is when school meetings are held. Thus, the school holds parent–teacher meetings in the evenings rather than during the day. Also, each meeting is held four times; once in Japanese and three times (with interpreters) in Chinese, Vietnamese and Cambodian. This makes foreign children's parents come to school and get involved in their children's education. It also brings the parents together and enables them to establish a network among themselves. One of the activities that emerged from the parents' network is the Chinese lesson conducted by parents. The foreign parents at Icho Elementary School are active. On one occasion, a mother came to school to teach the members of the staff how to cook Vietnamese food. Later, a Vietnamese lunch was served at school.

Several representatives of the parent–teacher association are the parents of foreign children.

In addition, the school has a strong link with the community. An NPO runs a supplementary class for foreign children. The residents' association of the housing estate holds children's festivals and participates in school events. The school also has close contact with nursery schools, kindergartens, other elementary schools and the junior high school in the neighborhood. Moreover, the school works with a group of researchers to improve its education for foreign children.

Cultural Identity

Unfortunately, in Japan, some foreign children are so afraid of being discriminated against that they hide their ethnic backgrounds. For instance, one of the parents at Icho Elementary School recalls the sad experience she had in junior high school after she came to Japan from China. She said that she used to wish she was an 'ordinary' person, irrespective of whether she was Chinese or Japanese. When she had a daughter, she did not go to her daughter's school. She believed that if she was seen at her daughter's school, her daughter would be bullied, just like she was. She believed that if she refrained from being seen at the school, her daughter (who was born in Japan, had a Japanese name and spoke Japanese) would become 'ordinary' Japanese. However, it was her daughter who asked her to come to her school, and the woman discovered that Icho Elementary School was different from the school she attended.

Icho Elementary School tries to appreciate the cultures of foreign children. When pupils learn about topics such as war, teachers try to welcome the diverse experiences of the children. Parents run Chinese classes after school, which avoids miscommunication between the children and parents. Additionally, parents started a Chinese dragon dance-learning activity, and the school supports such activities. This helps the Chinese children be proud of their cultural background. Consequently, pupils at the school do not hesitate to disclose their ethnic identities.

Promoting Post-Compulsory Education

Although 97% of Japanese children, on average, attend high school after compulsory education, the rate of foreign children who receive post-compulsory education is significantly lower. They tend to discontinue even compulsory education. Even the students who succeed in passing high school entrance examinations tend to drop out of high school. Also, they tend to go to less competitive schools, such as vocational and part-time schools.

Shimizu et al. (2006) report that in Osaka prefecture, which had the fifth largest population of foreign children needing language support in 2004, more foreign students go to high school and less students drop out

than those in other prefectures. Besides, almost all the students succeed in attending full-time general schools. In 2005, almost half the high school graduates went to universities. Shimizu et al. (2006) explain the background of the success in Osaka prefecture. I shall organize these elements into the following three factors: (a) ethnic characteristics; (b) history; and (c) the system.[4] Note After I submitted this chapter, the book based on the oral presentation at the conference was published. See Shimizu (2008).

Ethnic Characteristics

One reason for the success, as Shimizu et al. (2006) explain, is related to the fact that in Osaka prefecture, about 60% of high school teenagers classified as newcomers are Chinese. Generally, in Japan, the Chinese attend high school more than other newcomers, such as Brazilians and Peruvians. Chinese newcomers are mainly returnees and children of intermarriages, whereas Brazilians and Peruvians are the children of migrant workers. This suggests that unlike these migrant families, the Chinese intend to live in Japan for good. Additionally, Chinese returnees receive special treatment in high school and university selection. Also, education in China tends to be stricter than in Brazil and Japan. The linguistic similarity between Chinese and Japanese could be yet another advantage. Therefore, it is easier to successfully send newcomers to high schools in Osaka prefecture.

History

Historically, a considerable number of children classified as *buraku*, or foreigners, have been unable to attend school or perform well academically due to poverty and social discrimination. Since the 1960s, Osaka prefecture has emphasized human rights and practiced social integration education to eliminate discrimination and liberate *buraku*. This tradition has continued for the education of resident Korean children since the 1970s. Schoolteachers have sought solutions for narrowing the academic gap between minority and Japanese children, who form the majority. This makes the school atmosphere in Osaka prefecture supportive for newcomers. For instance, since the 1990s, the schoolteachers, who are enthusiastic about foreign children's education, have been exchanging information and experiences beyond the confines of their schools. They have held gatherings for foreign students to form friendships and social networks, and have role models.

The System

The system that Osaka prefecture created for *buraku* and Korean children is also suitable for newcomers. Osaka City formulated the earliest guiding principle in foreign children's education in 1970. In 1971, the Educational Research Council for Integration established a section for the education

of Korean children in Japan, which later became the Research Council for Foreign Children's Education.

The board of education in Osaka prefecture sends additional teachers to provide support to the foreign students for JSL and other subjects. A newcomer is taught in a special class, in a mainstream class with a supporter, and after school. The board is concerned not only with increasing the academic achievement of minority students but also enabling them to develop positive ethnic identities. The purpose of 'ethnic instructors' and the 'ethnic class' is to provide children with the chance to learn their culture, including their mother tongues, so that they can develop higher self-esteem.

Five high schools in Osaka prefecture have full-time Chinese instructors with teaching certificates. These instructors occupy the central position in promoting foreign students' education and serve as role models for them. The Chinese lesson is an optional part of the curriculum. Students take it, not only to develop a more positive cultural identity, but also for future university entrance examinations and occupations. For smaller groups of minority students, part-time instructors are employed once a week to teach them their native languages.

In Osaka prefecture, many state high schools, even those with low rankings, are not vocational but academic. This allows newcomers to enjoy post-compulsory education at a low cost and sustains the possibility that newcomers attend universities later. Further, academic counseling is given, particularly to the foreign children. Moreover, students who need language support are given special treatment at the entrance examinations for high schools. They are given more time when writing their exams and can use dictionaries. In addition, five high schools have a special selection system for Chinese returnees and foreign students: 12 foreign students are chosen in addition to the Japanese students at each school. This affirmative action encourages newcomers to continue higher education in Osaka prefecture.

CONCLUSION

In Japan, International Understanding Education commenced in the 1950s and was influenced by UNESCO. Later, the Japanese government viewed this education in a positive light; therefore, many schools started practicing it. This education runs the risk of reproducing stereotypes and being nationalistic. Multicultural education is more sensitive to equality and human rights. It borrows from Western research and practices, while simultaneously inheriting elements of Japanese education for *buraku* and resident Koreans. In the early 1980s, researchers who were interested in returnees from Japanese business families began using the term Intercultural Education, which focuses on negotiations between different cultures. Recently, the term 'culture' itself has been explored critically.

Despite differences in emphasis, Intercultural Education, along with International Understanding Education and Multicultural Education, is serious about the education of foreign children. Education for oldcomers assumed significance in the 1970s and that for newcomers gained significance in the 1980s. The Japanese government makes an effort to assimilate foreign children while it is prudent to recognize ethnic education. However, it is local governments, where many foreign residents live, that are faced with the educational needs of foreign children.

Good practices in the Japanese elementary school indicate that holistic support by all staff members in the school is effective in enabling foreign children to adapt to school life. It is also useful to create a strong link between parents and the community. Supporting the cultural awareness of foreign children is as important as increasing their academic achievement.

Education for newcomers in Osaka prefecture has borrowed from integration education for Buraku and education for resident Korean children. The system for educating traditional minority groups (with 'ethnic instructors' and an 'ethnic class') is also beneficial for newcomers. By emphasizing human rights, teachers try to increase the academic achievement as well as self-esteem of minority students. Affirmative action, such as special treatment on entrance examinations, is also effective in enabling newcomers to enjoy post-compulsory education.

Despite these successful practices, most schools are still struggling to fulfil newcomers' educational needs. A considerable number of newcomers do not attend school; even if they do, their academic achievement tends to be low. Because of frequent migration, migrant workers' children face the risk of not being able to learn any language satisfactorily. By not having mastered any language, they are unable to understand academic subjects in schools. Some foreign children succeed in adapting to Japanese society but face the risk of losing cultural sympathy from their families.

At present, foreign children's education in Japan tends to rely too much on enthusiastic teachers. Systematic support is necessary to lessen the burden on individual teachers. Good practices, including useful knowledge and techniques, need to be spread beyond individual schools, prefectures and even nations.

Some Japanese teachers try to treat foreign children as the 'equals' of Japanese children and, consequently, ignore the special needs of these foreign children. Other teachers try to respect the ethnic differences of foreign children and end up reproducing stereotypes. Undoubtedly, newcomers should not be left as outsiders. However, it is not enough to make them inferior Japanese. Intercultural Education should strive to empower minority children.

The education of foreign children is not an issue that concerns minority groups alone; it concerns everyone. In order to improve the learning environment for foreign children, it is first necessary for Japanese children to try to have an understanding of foreign children. Schools in which foreign

children learn effectively are often good for Japanese children as well. The ultimate goal of Intercultural Education is to nurture citizens to create a new consensus within a multicultural society. All children need to be able to coexist with people from different cultural backgrounds.

NOTES

1. Okubo (2006) explains that the legal distinction between being Japanese or not lies in whether one has Japanese nationality—based on *jus sanguinis* (by parentage)—and restrictive naturalization, whereas the Japanese perception distinguishes being ethnic Japanese from being non-Japanese. Both the legal distinction and the perceptual distinction of the dominant Japanese majority influence the forces of 'the system' that impact minority groups. In this chapter, 'foreign children' refer to children without Japanese nationality and those who are not ethnically Japanese.
2. They are called Buraku or Burakumin, i.e., people who lived in the socially discriminated areas. They are a politically constructed outcast group, whose status dates back to the Middle Ages. Although the discrimination against Buraku was banned by the law, this problem persists.
3. Available online at http://www.edu.city.yokohama.jp/sch/es/icho/ (Retrieved October 23, 2006).

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9 Becoming American
Intercultural Education and European Immigrants[1]

Cherry A. McGee Banks

Immigration, assimilation and inclusion constitute a pathway that immigrants have historically followed as they moved from the margins of society to the mainstream. For a brief period during the first half of the 20th century intercultural educators worked to create a new pathway framed by cultural pluralism. This was a difficult task because in the early 1900s European immigration was frequently associated with class conflict, poverty, crime and social disorder (Fairchild, 1926; Higham, 1972; Olneck, 1995). Intercultural educators tried to reduce intergroup tensions by creating a positive image of immigrants, thereby calming the fears and misconceptions of mainstream Americans about immigrants. They also worked to improve educational opportunities for immigrants and their children by incorporating ethnic history and cultural content into the school curriculum. Their efforts, however, did not represent a complete rejection of assimilation. They embraced a weak form of assimilation and took the position that it wasn't necessary or helpful for immigrants to completely shed their culture. Ethnic cultural was seen as a bridge to a transformed American culture—one that incorporated elements of immigrant culture. Leonard Covello captured that sentiment when he said that Americans could learn from and be "enriched by the cultural heritage of all the world without sacrificing any degree of that which is essentially American" (Covello, 1939, p. 11). This chapter describes three major initiatives that were developed by intercultural educators to reduce intergroup tensions and incorporate ethnic content into the curriculum: the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, the Springfield Plan and the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools Project.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION DEFINED

The three initiatives that are described in this chapter were part of the Intercultural Education movement. This movement included a wide range of Intercultural Education initiatives that addressed different populations, sites, strategies and activities. It is important to note that even though there was variation among intercultural initiatives, all of them shared several common threads. Those threads included a focus on education as a means

to address intergroup tensions, democratic values and responsibilities, and communities as well as schools as important educational sites.

Another important characteristic of Intercultural Education and the initiatives that grew out of the movement was recognition of the role that theory should play in practice. Even though Intercultural Education was an applied field, it wasn't limited to educational practice. It had an important research component. Intergroup educators researched ways to help teachers gain the skills and knowledge they needed to work with students from diverse groups (Cook, 1950; Taba, 1953; Cook & Cook, 1957) and to reduce student prejudice (Trager & Yarrow 1952). The three initiatives described in this chapter focused on practice; however, their actions were informed by social science research. (See Banks, *Improving Multicultural Education,* 2004, for a discussion on the role that social scientists played in providing the intellectual leadership required to sustain the on-going growth and development of the Intercultural Education movement.)

William Heard Kilpatrick and William VanTil (1947), two influential scholars who were involved in Intercultural Education, defined Intercultural Education as follows:

> Intercultural education aims at the best possible achievement of the values of participation with, acceptance of, and respect for others. It is an effort to bring education to bear as constructively as possible on actual and possible intercultural tensions and on the evils of any and all bias, prejudice, and discrimination against minority groups. In short, the effort of intercultural education is to ensure to all the adequate realization of these social values and to remove and cure the bias and prejudice leading to such discriminations. This is the fundamental meaning of intercultural education, and it explains the presence of intercultural education as an integral part and aspect of modern democratic education. (p. 4)

Readers will see the essence of this definition reflected in each of the Intercultural Education initiatives described in this chapter.

THE SERVICE BUREAU FOR EDUCATION IN HUMAN RELATIONS

The Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations was the first Intercultural Education organization with a national audience. It advised schools throughout the nation on problems related to intergroup tensions and established programs and projects to improve intercultural relations. The Bureau is an example of an advocacy group. Its founder, Rachael Davis DuBois, a New England Quaker, was a social activist who was committed to incorporating ethnic content into the curriculum and linking schools with communities. The Springfield Plan was a citywide effort to promote brotherhood and assimilation. It is offered as an example of how city and school officials cooperated with intercultural educators to create a prototype of a city free

of prejudice and discrimination. The Springfield Plan illustrates the power of social networks and the role that schools can play in social change. The last program discussed in this chapter is the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools Project, directed by Hilda Taba. Unlike the social activist perspectives that grounded the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education and the social network that supported the Springfield Plan, Taba's work reflected her stance as a professional educator and scholar. Her work focused on prejudice reduction through research, curriculum development and professional development for teachers.

In 1933, Professor Mabel Carney of Teachers College Columbia invited 16 academic and community leaders to a lunch where they discussed establishing a service bureau for education in human relations. Professor Carney opened the discussion by emphasizing the need for schools to address intergroup tensions and referencing the school assembly programs that Rachel Davis DuBois had begun implementing in 1929. By the end of the lunch there was a consensus that the group would constitute an advisory board and work to establish a service bureau. By 1934, only months after their first meeting, the advisory group had established the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations. The Bureau grew out of the advisory board's vision for a place where educators and community leaders could turn for information and resources on Intercultural Education.

Rachel Davis DuBois served as the first executive secretary of the Bureau and eventually became a major figure in Intercultural Education. She helped establish the Bureau and its precursors as the premier organizations in Intercultural Education. The Bureau implemented Intercultural Education programs that included the study of ethnic groups, assembly programs and club activities in Englewood, New Jersey; Washington, DC; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; New York, New York; and other cities. The Bureau developed and disseminated newsletters, articles, reading lists on Intercultural Education and curriculum materials to a national audience. It also offered inservice courses for teachers, served as a network for individuals interested in working in Intercultural Education, and advocated for Intercultural Education among school and community leaders.

The goals and direction of the Bureau were guided by its funding sources and the intellectual orientation of it leaders. Bureau leaders were well connected to the intellectual community in New York City and to funding sources through their positions on influential boards and organizations. Eight members of the 25-member advisory board that established the Bureau were faculty or staff members at Columbia University or Teachers College, Columbia University. They provided the academic creditability necessary for the nascent Intercultural Education movement to have intellectual legitimacy. Bureau leaders also had connections to the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Jews and Christians. These groups were an important source of funding for the Bureau.

Over the years the name of the Bureau changed three times. It was originally called the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, later

the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, and finally the Bureau for Intercultural Education. Under its various names, the Bureau provided intercultural support to schools from 1934 until it closed its doors in 1954. Rachel Davis DuBois was associated with the Bureau under all of its names. However, with each name change she moved further from the center of decision making within the Bureau. She also saw more of her ideas about the importance of ethnic contributions to American life, the self-esteem of immigrants and cultural maintenance challenged.

One of the major challenges to DuBois' leadership concerned the assembly programs that she developed and which over time became closely associated with the Bureau. Based on her experience with the programs and data that she collected during her years at Woodbury High School, DuBois believed the assembly programs were effective. When she administered the Newman Attitude Test to Woodbury high school seniors who participated in assembly programs and to a similar group of seniors in a nearby school who had not participated in the programs, she noted that students who had participated in the programs were more tolerant (DuBois & Okorodudu, 1984).

Staff members at the Bureau collected data on student responses to assembly programs. Their information, which was anecdotal, suggested that students had more positive feelings about their own ethnic groups after participating in the assemblies than before participating. For example, Bureau staff reported that German students at Tenafly High School were less fearful of being identified as members of a minority group after an assembly on German Americans (Montalto, 1982). Whereas the Bureau's informal information did not convince their critics of the value of assembly programs, it inspired their supporters and became part of the folklore that increased the Bureau's influence in schools (Montalto, 1982).

In June, 1939, the General Education Board (GEB) of the New York City schools budgeted $8,000 for an evaluation of the Bureau's programs (DuBois & Okorodudu, 1984). The evaluation focused on the practices of teachers who were using the Bureau's materials and were consulting with Bureau staff. A special advisory committee composed of distinguished social scientists including Otto Klineberg, Harry Stack Sullivan, Donald Young and E. Franklin Frazier was created to help organize the evaluation. The committee asked Genevieve Chase to direct the evaluation. Chase was the Director of Research for the District. Chase and her staff interviewed teachers, administrators, and students, observed Intercultural Education programs in progress, attended in-service courses, surveyed educators who used the Bureau's materials and conducted the day-to-day work required for the evaluation. The evaluation report was completed in January 1941. The report challenged the Bureau's assumption that school programs based on the cultural contributions of ethnic and racial groups could reduce prejudice and increase cultural understanding. DuBois wrote a seven page single-spaced response to the findings in the report. She challenged the objectivity and thoroughness of the evaluation process and the accuracy of the evaluation findings. She did not receive a reply to her response and the

evaluation report stood essentially unchallenged as a serious indictment of the Bureau's effectiveness (DuBois & Okorodudu, 1984).

In order to promote her ideas and play a larger role in decision making, DuBois left the Bureau in 1941. Later that year, she founded the Intercultural Education Workshop, which was also known as the Workshop for Cultural Democracy. A goal of the Workshop was to promote the idea that cultural differences are strengths. DuBois worked with a number of notable individuals at the Workshop for Cultural Democracy including Shirley Chisholm, the first Black Congresswoman, and Lillian Smith, the social activist and author of *Killers of the Dream*.

After DuBois' departure from the Bureau, other notables in the Intercultural Education movement including William VanTil, who was Director of Learning Materials for the Bureau and Helen Trager, who was Director of the Bureau's program on Age-Level Studies, helped move the Bureau beyond its earlier focus on cultural contributions (Kilpatrick & VanTil, 1947). Under the leadership of H. Harry Giles and other intercultural leaders the Bureau refocused its efforts on prejudice reduction. The Bureau also worked to reassert its academic creditability through publications like the John Dewey Society's ninth yearbook, which was on Intercultural Education. The Bureau provided staff support for the publication of the yearbook (Kilpatrick & VanTil, 1947).

The Service Bureau is an example of an organization that was influenced by both internal and external forces. The strong resolve and leadership of Rachel Davis DuBois exemplified an internal force that helped shape the goals and direction of the Bureau. Funding sources illustrate the power external forces influenced over the direction of the Bureau (Davis, 1999). Most importantly, the ebb and flow of support for the Bureau paralleled the assimilation of White ethnics into mainstream society. The waning saliency of the Bureau and its programs were a harbinger of the eventual demise of the Intercultural Education movement. By the 1960s when civil unrest threatened to paralyze a number of U.S. cities, the intergroup education movement was only a dim memory (Banks, 1996). The grandchildren of immigrants who had come to the United States at the turn of the 20th century had settled conformably into the suburbs and were now part of mainstream America. The story of their parents and grandparents' early experiences in the United States with adversity and struggle had been rewritten as a narrative about the attainment of the American Dream.

THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN

The Springfield Plan was a community-based strategy designed by the citizens of Springfield, Massachusetts, to combat intergroup tensions through education. Leaders in Springfield were concerned about intergroup tensions because they recognized that limiting the ability of some citizens to fully

participate in society could ultimately undermine democracy and limit everyone's freedom (Chatto, 1944). Reflecting prevalent progressive education sentiments of the day, the designers of the Springfield Plan saw the school as a place where students should not only learn about democracy, they should also experience it. That perspective was captured in a motto, which was said to have been written by an elementary student and displayed in one of the city's elementary schools. The motto read, "This is our school. It does not belong to the principal, to the teachers, to the pupils or to the city. It belongs to all of us together" (Clinchy, 1942, p. 66). The discussion of the motto in publicity materials on the Springfield Plan points to the importance that people promoting the Plan placed on students exercising democracy.

The Springfield Plan was developed in 1939 and included community and school components. It was designed to help young people and adults acquire the skills, attitudes and behaviors needed to understand and embrace the principles of democracy in a culturally diverse society (Alland & Wise, 1945; Chatto, 1944; Chatto & Halligan, 1945).

The idea for the Springfield Plan came out of a suggestion made by Professor Clyde R. Miller of Teachers College, Columbia University, to the leadership of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He suggested that the organization try to identify a city that could serve as a laboratory to determine if it was possible for people to be accepted regardless of their ethnic, racial, religious or social-class background. Miller had spent time in war-torn Germany and understood the dangers of unchecked prejudice. In August 1939, the National Conference of Christians and Jews completed a survey that indicated that counter propaganda was not effective in reducing prejudice. The Conference decided to take Miller's suggestion and look for a community where the school system could work with the community to implement democratic practices and reduce prejudice. Miller and officials of the National Conference of Christians and Jews met with John Granrud, the Superintendent of Schools, to discuss implementing an Intercultural Education program in Springfield. Granrud enthusiastically supported the idea.

Springfield was selected as the site for the program because it had many of the characteristics of middle-sized American communities whose demographic profiles had changed as a result of immigration and migration. Of the 130,000 people in Springfield in 1939, about 30% to 40% were considered "old" immigrants. Their descendents had come to the United States in the 1600s and 1700s (Green, 1886). The rest of the population was considered to be "new" immigrants. New immigrants included individuals who were Jewish, Irish, Italian, Polish and Greek. The Springfield population also included Chinese and Filipino immigrants as well as Mexican Americans and African Americans. Springfield was also religiously diverse with Catholics comprising approximately 60% of the population. The remaining 40% included Jews, Orthodox Greeks and Protestants (Alland

& Wise, 1945; Douglass, 1926). Although segregated housing and people with anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic feelings were present in Springfield, prejudice and discrimination weren't rampant. They were at a level that was typical for most northern communities of the day. The city also had several positive characteristics. Miller (1944) cited Springfield's high rating in Edward L. Thorndike's study of cities as one of the reasons Springfield was selected. In his study, Thorndike (1939) gave Springfield a high rating on his "goodness index" for its civic spirit, good newspapers, and strong school system. Ironically, a high percentage of Black families in a city was considered a negative factor on Thorndike's scale.

The first step Granrud took in initiating the Plan was to convene a Committee on Education for Democracy. The committee conducted surveys to determine the extent of prejudice and discrimination in Springfield and then developed an action plan to improve intergroup relations. Three key insights guided the committee's recommendations. The committee concluded that prejudice among students could not be addressed effectively by focusing exclusively on students. An effective program to reduce prejudice had to include the entire community. The committee also concluded that efforts to reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations needed to be grounded in democratic principles with multiple opportunities for students to experience democracy both in the school and the community. Lastly, the committee recognized that teachers would need additional training to design and implement the kinds of curricular changes necessary to support the Committee's recommendations (Alland & Wise, 1945). With this in mind, the Committee recommended that provisions for teacher training be included in the Plan.

After the committee issued its report, the Council on Adult Education and the Council of Social Agencies were formed. These groups, which included clergy of different faiths and members of business organizations, unions and civic and social agencies, were responsible for the actual development of the Plan (Alland & Wise, 1945). In addition to an extensive educational program for students and inservice training for teachers, the Springfield Plan included adult evening classes on subjects ranging from the duties and privileges of citizenship to ethnic cooking. It also provided opportunities for members of the community to attend musical concerts and forums on local and national civic problems. Perhaps most importantly, the Plan provided an opportunity for people from diverse racial, ethnic and religious groups to identify common goals and work together to achieve them. The Springfield Plan exemplified the idea that tolerance could be taught (Alland & Wise, 1945).

Almost immediately after it was implemented the Springfield Plan won national acclaim as a prime example of the way to reduce intolerance. The League for Fair Play, an organization based in New York City, was largely responsible for publicizing the Plan. The league, working with its educational consultant, Dr. Clyde R. Miller, provided speakers, printed materials and information on the Plan's organizational procedures. Miller also personally

conducted round table discussions about the Plan for educators and members of civic groups. Articles about the Plan were published in popular magazines such as *Parents* magazine and *Vogue*, as well as in professional periodicals such as *The Journal of Education* and the *National Elementary Principal*. The Plan was also discussed in newspaper articles throughout the United States and was the subject of a Warner Brothers film.

The Springfield Plan was considered a model for other cities to emulate. School officials from Pittsburgh and other U.S. cities sent representatives to Springfield to study the Plan with the intent of implementing their own version of it. During the 1940s, community-based intercultural programs were implemented in Albany, New York; Gloversville, New York; Gary, Indiana; Detroit, Michigan; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Plans were not a mirror image of each other or the Springfield Plan. They reflected the unique characteristics of each city and consequently differed in focus, organization and sponsors. Some of the designs, such as the Philadelphia Program, began in the schools and then moved into the community. Others such as the one in Gary, Indiana, were initiated by community organizations that worked with schools. School personnel initiated others. In describing the range of community-based programs, Mildred Biddick (1945), an administrative consultant for the Bureau for Intercultural Education, reported that the most important commonalties among the programs were that from the initial planning stages each of the programs provided:

1. As wide community participation as possible in planning;
2. Careful analysis of the community climate;
3. Formulation of step-by-step procedures;
4. Willingness to take the time required for the idea to mature, for people to develop a sense of personal investment in it and for a readiness for action to develop (p. 6).

The Adult Council in Springfield evaluated the Plan 5 years after it was implemented and concluded that the Plan had a positive impact because adults and children in Springfield better understood the necessity for mutual respect. Citizens were more willing to accept the obligations of freedom in a democracy, which included living and working with people from diverse ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds. The council also believed that Springfield citizens had a greater recognition of and appreciation for the contributions that all U.S. citizens had made in building a unified nation. Whereas many people in Springfield did not know the details of the Plan, most recognized that it promoted team play in its broadest sense (Chatto & Halligan, 1945). Overall, the members of the Adult Council based their understanding of the Plan's success on its role in creating a subtle change in the city's human climate.

The Springfield Plan began to come under more critical evaluation during the mid 1940s. Prior to that time, most accounts of the Plan directly or

indirectly promoted it. An early critique of the Plan noted that describing it as a "Plan" was inaccurate (Payne, 1946). The term "Springfield Plan" was a media invention. The term became popular after it was used in a *New York Times* article. Bresnahan (1971) notes that the Springfield Plan included several independent components, such as the authorization of a single salary schedule for teachers, the use of newsletters, an adult education program designed to foster stronger school–community ties, and the use of an examining board made up of administrators and members of the three major religions to select teachers.

In the early 1950s, rumors undermined the last vestiges of the Plan by connecting it to subversive activities. Bresnanhan (1971) reports that "A witness before the Senate's internal security subcommittee revealed that in a 1947 course for New York teachers she was told that the Plan was introduced as 'a softening up process' done so carefully that to oppose [it] would have seemed sinful" (p. 157). Granrud resigned under pressure in the fall of 1945 amid an earlier controversy involving the Plan. In the summer of 1946, Alden H. Blankenship was hired to replace Granrud. With Granrud's departure, the Plan was left without a local or national-level champion. It did, however, have critics in the Catholic community who were vying for more control of the schools and were interested in recruiting students into parochial schools. In a series of articles in Catholic publications such as *The Catholic Viewpoint* and the *Catholic Mirror*, Catholic leaders condemned public school education and promoted parochial education. Also, by the 1950s most White ethnics in Springfield were assimilating into the mainstream. Safe and secure in mainstream American society, they did not want to be reminded of their former second-class status or be associated with the ethnic and racial differences that were highlighted in the Plan.

By the 1960s some elements of the Plan, such as the policies on staff selection and the single salary schedule, had been incorporated into standard practice in the school district. Other aspects of the Plan, such as its Intercultural Education program, had faded. Its focus on a citywide response to prejudice and discrimination had also disappeared. In December, 1966 the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee reported that there was deep-rooted prejudice in the housing market in Springfield. It also noted that there was discrimination against certain religious groups in employment, education and recreational facilities and clubs. It is ironic, that only two decades before, the Springfield Plan had been widely recognized for creating a climate that was antithetical to prejudice and discrimination.

During the 1960s, there were efforts to resurrect the term "Springfield Plan" to address intergroup tensions related to African Americans and old and new immigrants, who were now both seen as Whites. However, those efforts failed to revive the Plan. The intellectual and monetary support that was at the center of the creation of the Springfield Plan had moved on to other issues. The individuals who were trying to revive the Plan did not have the social network necessary to finance, promote, and legitimize its resurrection.

The demise of the Springfield Plan suggests that the initiation, maintenance and expansion of educational innovations are highly dependent on continued commitment by local political, business, civic, community and educational leaders. They also require highly skilled individuals who can assist the school district in designing and implementing the innovation. Lastly, the personal hands-on involvement of high-level administrators can be very helpful in getting innovations to take hold in a school district. These factors are especially important in mounting effective programs in the area of intergroup education because such programs are frequently initiated in a social context marked by intergroup tension. Educational leaders who are in charge of intergroup education programs need to have the authority to hire and supervise the people who work closely with them as they implement the programs, the charisma and organizational skill to foster changes in staff attitudes, and the political acumen necessary to involve a multitude of diverse groups in a common effort. Developments associated with the demise of the Springfield Plan also suggest that educational leaders like John Granrud face many serious challenges in their personal as well as professional life. Therefore, they must possess unusual courage and skill as they work to keep the educational ship on an even keel while navigating with, across and often against pressures in the pursuit of their vision.

CENTER FOR INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Hilda Taba founded the Center for Intergroup Education at the University of Chicago in 1948 where it continued until 1951. Taba entered Intercultural Education when the focus in the movement was shifting from White ethnics to racial minorities. Racial unrest and the ongoing assimilation of White ethnics into the mainstream precipitated that shift. Foundations and educational institutions stepped forward to respond to the widespread prejudice and discrimination that were highlighted by riots in Detroit and other U.S. cities. Taba found support for the intellectual rigor that she brought to what was considered a national problem.

Taba (1945) approached her work in intergroup education as a curriculum theorist and scholar. She argued that intercultural issues were complex and that teachers needed to bring "the sharp tools of logic and intellectual analysis" to their work (Taba, 1945, p. 126). She feared that without a firm grasp of social science knowledge, teachers would turn to "superficial sentimentalism and the musical comedy variety of pageantry in place of a fundamental, systematic education" (p. 126).

Staff members at the Center for Intergroup Education were especially interested in experimental programs in schools and communities that could help teachers diagnose the human relations needs of their students. Center programs were based on the belief that "only by studying what children know, understand, feel, and can do, can teachers decide what they need to learn next" (Taba, Brady, Robinson, & Vickery, 1951, p. 1). Center staff

conducted research and reported their findings on effective ways to learn about the cultural backgrounds of students and the communities in which they lived. Taba also wrote about ways to evaluate methods used to reduce prejudice. One of her most important contributions was a series of books called "Studies in Intergroup Education," in which *Diagnosing Human Relations Needs* was the first volume.

Taba implemented her ideas on intergroup education and continued to research them through a series of leadership training workshops, which were held at the University of Chicago from 1945 to 1950. Beginning in 1946, workshops were also held at Mills College in California and at Syracuse University in New York (Taba, 1953). Eighteen school districts participated in the leadership training workshops.

The workshops reflected Taba's appreciation for interdisciplinary approaches in Intercultural Education. Key concepts and ideas from anthropology, sociology, psychology and other social sciences where brought to bear on the educational challenge of reducing intergroup tensions. Her workshops varied from those that focused on theoretical perspectives and content to those that emphasized practice and application. All of the workshops, however, had several common characteristics. They focused on teacher concerns and were organized around issues that grew out of classroom experiences. When working with teachers, Taba made sure that they had direct access to project staff, subject matter specialists and the information they needed to refine their questions. The teachers didn't have to go through an intermediary. Additionally, they were encouraged to expand their understanding of human values by participating in community-based activities in which they could interact with people who held different values and perspectives on issues. Lastly, the workshop experiences were designed to promote cooperation among the teachers in planning and implementing projects (Taba, 1945).

In her evaluation of 3 years of intercultural workshops, Taba found that teachers needed to be actively involved with intercultural information. Knowledge alone was insufficient for reducing prejudice and creating an environment of understanding. It was important for teachers to experience what they were studying through role-playing, simulations or some other experiential avenue in which they would have an opportunity to take on the perspectives of people who were different from them and "feel" what others were experiencing. Taba (1945) noted that the intergroup workshops could be markedly improved if teachers had "an opportunity to first plan, secondly to practice [the planned activities] under supervision, and thirdly to re-plan in terms of practical experience" (p. 128). She also believed that provisions should be made for some component of the workshop to be conducted in a community setting where members of the community would be able to work with teachers to develop and refine the plan. Taba's carefully researched approach toward intergroup education supported the efforts of intercultural educators such as Leonard Covello and John Granrud who linked their schools to the communities in which they were located.

The Project in Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools was also implemented at the University of Chicago. Taba served as the director of the Project from the time that it began in January 1945 until it ended in September 1948. The Project in Intergroup Education was one of the best-known programs developed by intergroup educators. During its height, it involved more than 250 local projects in 72 schools and 2,500 teachers, school administrators, and community members (Brady, 1992). The American Council on Education sponsored the project with financial support from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Project staff worked cooperatively with classroom teachers to develop materials, approaches, and techniques to reduce prejudice and identify ways to mobilize school and community resources to improve human relations and promote intergroup understanding (Taba, Brady, Jennings, Robinson, & Dolton, 1949).

Hilda Taba was an influential leader and decisive voice in the intergroup education movement (Brady, 1992). Her biographical journey in many ways marked her as what Collins (1990) refers to as an outsider within. Taba was a woman in a man's world, an intellectual in a field characterized by social action, and an immigrant who by many standards succeeded in mainstream America. As an outsider within she, like other intercultural educators who were immigrants or members of the second generation, had first-hand experiences with prejudice and discrimination. She was also aware of gender discrimination. Yet there is little evidence in her writing that Taba saw herself as a feminist or believed that education could be a force for social change for women (Bernard-Powers, 1999).

LESSONS LEARNED FROM INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION INITIATIVES

The Intercultural Education initiatives discussed in this chapter were initially praised and championed for their libratory and forward looking qualities, but as times changed their ideas were challenged. By the 1950s, all of them had ceased operation. At that time many, although not all, of their goals had been accomplished. One goal that had been accomplished as a result of labor, political and social factors, as well as the efforts of intercultural educators, was a broadening of American society to include European immigrants. By the time the Intercultural Education movement had faded, most European immigrants had moved from the margins of U.S. society to the mainstream.

The margins of U.S. society, however, remained heavily populated with numerous groups including people of color, women and special populations. Whereas these groups were not the primary focus of intercultural educators, they were involved in intercultural programs. Intergroup educators, however, did not directly confront issues such as segregation and discrimination. These kinds of issues were of primary concern to them because

they limited their life chances and prevented them from fully participating in U.S. society. The strategies used by intercultural educators to reduce prejudice, instill group pride and promote democratic values were directed toward individuals not institutions. Consequently, they did not remove the deep structural barriers to inclusion that people of color, women, special populations and other such groups faced. Those barriers remained in place after Intercultural Education ended. Efforts to remove them were taken up by multicultural educators in the 1970s and continue to the present.

As we look back on the work of intercultural educators, as discussed in this chapter, there are important lessons that educators can draw from their efforts. The Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations, the Springfield Plan and the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools Project illustrate the extent to which issues of diversity are not new. Educators have grappled with them for many years. Being aware of the work of intercultural educators allows readers to locate contemporary discussions about diversity in schools within a historical context. When informed by a historical context such discussions can help reduce intergroup tensions and lead to insights that can help address contemporary problems related to diversity.

Rachael Davis DuBois, Hilda Taba and John Granrud created innovative programs that contemporary educators and community leaders can turn to for an understanding of how schools can be linked to their communities, what students can learn when they are engaged as respected knowers, and what teaching can become when teachers have the skills and knowledge to work effectively with a diverse population of students. We have much to learn from these leaders about the role that values, beliefs and a dedicated purpose can play when addressing issues of diversity. Their work provides an important departure point for educators today as they work to reduce intergroup tensions, reform school curricula and help students explore democratic values.

NOTES

1. This chapter has been adapted and includes excerpts from *Improving Multicutural Education: Lessons from the Intergroup Education Movement* by Cherry A. McGee Banks, 2004, New York: Teachers College Press.

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10 Philosophical and Historical Foundations of Intercultural Education in Mexico

Fernanda Pineda and Hilary Landorf

"*Nunca más un México sin nosotros*" ("*Never again a Mexico without us*"), was the Zapatista movement's declaration issued in 1996. This statement crystallizes the centuries-long struggle of indigenous people to gain recognition, respect and justice, but the road is still a long one. Although the Zapatista declaration did not include a specific education-related demand, it does mention that education is a fundamental right of all Mexican people (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006), pointing toward universal concepts of human rights. This chapter focuses on the philosophical and historical foundations of Intercultural Education in Mexico, providing a general overview of the movements and phenomena that resulted in the current definition(s) and model(s) of Intercultural Education (IE), anchoring them in the human rights arena. The IE concept(s), policies and model(s) discussed herein are those taken from official policy documents from the Ministry of Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública, SEP).

This chapter is organized in four main sections. In the first section we provide contemporary definitions of Intercultural Education. Section two discusses the historical development of universal human rights. In section three first we delineate the historical stages[1] of IE in Mexico, and then we draw parallels between the history of IE and that of universal human rights; we end with reflections about the road forward for IE in Mexico.

CONTEMPORARY DEFINITIONS OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN MEXICO

The current definition of "Intercultural Education" at the policy level in Mexico is provided in the Ministry of Education's publication titled "Policies and Foundations of Intercultural Bilingual Education in Mexico" ("Políticas y Fundamentos de la Educación Intercultural Bilíngüe"). In this document, the concept of "interculturalidad" ("interculturalism") is first defined, and then "intercultural bilingual education" (IBE) is defined, a binomial that policy makers have decided to keep together, *in lieu* of IE only. One of the historical reasons for including both Intercultural Education and

bilingual education together is that learning Spanish and maintaining and strengthening one's mother tongue "integrates" the country and is an obvious resource for communication and functioning because it is the language spoken by the largest population in Mexico. This approach to bilingualism goes back to the times of Moisés Saenz (1920s), who considered that "reading and writing is to communicate, but to speak the official language[2] is to integrate the country" (Aguirre Beltrán, 1990, in Bertely Busquets, 1998).

"Interculturalidad" ("interculturalism") is defined in the Ministry of Education publication as "a wide social project, a philosophical stance and a daily-life functioning; it constitutes an alternative that leads to the rethinking and reorganizing of social order, since it highlights fair communication among cultures" (Ahuja, et al., 2004, p. 40). This definition in action has important implications for minority and non-minority members, because it calls for a holistic and long term engagement for social change. Education, with its long tradition of potential for social change, to transfer what is valued (Aguirre Beltrán, 1954) and to advance as a nation (Morales Garza, 1998), is one of the main vehicles for carrying out social projects, such as Intercultural Education.

"Intercultural Education" (IE) is defined as "the collection of purposeful pedagogical processes oriented toward the formation of individuals able to comprehend reality from different cultural lenses and to intervene in processes of transformation that respect and benefit from cultural diversity" (Ahuja et al., 2004, p. 49). Furthermore, IE is considered as "one of the main pillars . . . to establish ideal conditions so that . . . [the whole national education system] and the Mexican society fight structural and systematic exclusion, as well as social injustice" (Ahuja et al., 2004, p. 29).

From these two aspects of the processes of transformation mentioned previously—respect and benefit from cultural diversity—stem two main objectives the educational system seeks to achieve. The first one is a keener and sharper attention to the educational needs of the indigenous populations through pedagogical models of intercultural bilingual education and the second, Intercultural Education for all (Ahuja et al., 2004, p. 25). The second objective of the Ministry of Education points toward interculturalism, that a multicultural nation like Mexico[3] should have as foundation, toward unity within diversity, that which Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1995) calls *the great utopia*.

Unity within diversity through interculturalism is clearly not a simple task. An open dialogue, as well as numerous transformations—individual and collective—is necessary, and carefully articulated policies of intercultural bilingual education pave the way (Ahuja et al., 2004). Working with diversity in education is indeed a complex and delicate endeavor (Cushner, 1998), and conflict will invariably arise in cross-cultural encounters in education and the Mexican context. However, "this dialogue can become a space for a productive encounter in as much as it opens the possibility of re-elaborating the logic of one's culture" (Ahuja et al., 2004, p. 49).

Moreover, these definitions have implications for how we conceptualize *the other.* For decades, educational policies in Mexico treated the other as distant (in time and space) and different, whereas the present intercultural focus "recognizes the other as different. It does not erase him/her, but it seeks to understand, dialogue with, and respect him/her" (Ahuja et al., 2004, p. 41). The historical notion of the other in this context and in policy has been those of indigenous and ethnic minorities. Mexican history, as will be discussed in section three, is full of examples of educational practices clearly tailored toward *the other* (to reach out to *them*, to teach *them*, to ensure literacy for *them,* to make *them* more like *us*). By this, however, it should not be assumed that indigenous people have not *othered* mainstream cultural members, but the increased awareness—at least in educational policy and practice—of the "us versus them" ways of perceiving has been strongly challenged, especially since the 1990s.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS[4]

Fundamental concepts of human rights are embedded in the Intercultural Education policies in Mexico. From the first attempts to offer indigenous peoples participation in the educational system by designing policies of assimilation, to the current recognition of their important role in Mexican education, human rights concepts have been the glue that holds together IE policies. In order to fully appreciate and understand the dynamic between human rights and Intercultural Education in Mexico, we must first examine human rights—what they mean, their growth, and the values they bring to the philosophical underpinnings of Intercultural Education.

By definition, human rights usually refer to a body of rights based on public moral behavioral norms and attitudes held by all people in all countries. Today in most discussions of human rights, the common ground is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 and the subsequent expansion of those rights through various international documents, covenants and treaties. The UDHR is based on the "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" (UDHR, 1948). The document consists of a Preamble and 30 articles which identify specific human rights that countries should respect and protect. These rights are divided into two classes: (1) civil and political rights articulated in Articles 3–21; and (2) cultural, social and economic rights articulated in Articles 22–27. The last three articles of the declaration, Articles 28–30, place the enumerated rights in the context of limits, duties and the social and political order in which they are to be realized.

"The importance of the UDHR cannot be overstated" (Landorf, 2009, p. 51). In this document, for the first time in history, the standards of basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights to which all human beings are entitled are codified by an international body, along with the intent to promote and protect those rights for individuals. Although there are still philosophical discussions of rights without specific reference to this declaration, these still find an anchor in the UDHR.

THE THREE GENERATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The evolution of human rights because the UDHR is often couched in terms of three[5] accumulating "generations" of rights, as initially proposed by Karel Vasak (1977), and corresponding to the themes of the French Revolution: *liberté, egalité* and *fraternité*.

Liberté

First generation rights (*liberté*) consist of the first rights in the UDHR, the group of *civil and political rights* which promote classical freedoms and ensure security, property and political participation. The common denominator in these rights is the liberty and protection of the individual against the abuse of authority by government. They also include the fundamental freedoms associated with democracy, such as freedom of expression, association, assembly, opinion, belief and religion and movement. The *liberté* rights dominated the discussions and policies especially after WWII up until the 1970s. These first generation rights are associated with the post-colonial era of national liberation, culminating in the triumph of the South African anti-apartheid movement. Presently, most of the constitutions of the world include these rights, although there are still many countries which do not respect or protect them.

Egalité

Second generation rights (*egalité*) are geared toward achieving social equality. These are also known as *social, economic and cultural rights*. Although they began to be recognized in the early part of the 20th century they are usually associated with articles 23–29 in the UDHR and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). These rights ensure for example the right to work, education, housing, health care and social security. In contrast to first-generation rights which focus on individual entitlements, these rights are often referred to as *group rights* or *collective rights*. They refer to the wellbeing of whole societies and are rights which are held and exercised by all the people collectively or by specific

subsets of people (Landorf, 2009). In contrast to first generation rights, second-generation rights require governments' involvement in affirmative action for their realization.

Fraternité

Third generation rights (*fraternité*) are still evolving and comprise a broad spectrum of rights, known as *solidarity rights*. Gaining salience in the 1990s, these have particular importance in present human rights discussions. "Solidarity" refers to the mutual support and cohesiveness within a group especially among individuals with strong common interests, sympathies or goals. These rights include the right to self determination, the right to peace, the right to a clean environment, the right to participate in and benefit from the Earth and the right to development. *Fraternité* rights are quite complex and interdependent on other rights, making recognition, justification or enforcement very difficult (Weston, 2006, p. 22).

Three of the *fraternité* rights reflect the rising expectations of developing countries in terms of global redistribution of power, wealth and other important values or capabilities. These are self determination, development and the right to participate in and benefit from the Earth, something that is a tangible benefit for indigenous people that survive from these resources directly. These rights are associated with different approaches to thinking about human rights such as the human capability approach of Amartya Sen (1999) and philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2000).

"Human rights doctrine forms the basis of a robust and important international human rights movement outside of national governments" (Landorf, 2009, p. 54). More than ever, most social, economic and political issues are framed as human rights issues, highlighting their relevance. The drive for social justice in a tolerant and inclusive world is usually described in human rights terms. Any group who wants to make their voice heard, for example indigenous groups in Mexico and intercultural educators, should find common ground in universal human rights arena with the attached protection and enforcement of national and international bodies.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION POLICY HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

In this section, we will show how human rights are not only the anchor that holds together the Intercultural Education in Mexico (Ahuja et al., 2004), but that the history of Mexican Intercultural Education policies mirrors that of the evolution of human rights concepts themselves. In the literature of Intercultural Education in Mexico, we read that human rights are understood as a "historic-cultural construction that maybe was once

utilized as imperial instrumentalism by Western governments and states, but potentiallized because of their ethical dimension in the battle to achieve the rights of man" (p. 41). Ahuja, et al. go on to link Human rights directly to IE when they say, "Therefore, *interculturalism* is a vision that seeks to build those [human] rights as a common legacy for all humanity" (Ahuja et al., 2004, p. 41). The road to achieve and implement human rights worldwide is still long and there are many pending promises of implementation, as the Zapatistas reminded us in 1994. However, keeping human rights as the glue that holds together IE policies should connect us all, indigenous and non-indigenous, Mexican or not.

The commonly agreed upon conceptualization of IE, as discussed earlier, is understood as "one of the main pillars . . . to establish ideal conditions so that . . . [the whole national education system] and the Mexican society fight structural and systematic exclusion, as well as social injustice" (Ahuja et al., 2004, p. 29). If we adhere to this definition, then a historical review of Intercultural Education, strictly speaking, would focus on the national education changes regarding *the intercultural* both ways: mainstream and ethnic minorities (from indigenous people to Afro-Mexican populations and other ethnic minorities in the country like the population of Lebanese descendent, for example). In this case, we would analyze educational policies mainly from the '90s onwards. However, historically the Mexican context has us first conceive difference in education in a dichotomized way, *us versus them*, with all the power struggles common to this view.

The tradition of outlining stages of diversity in education in Mexico begins with historical accounts of early indigenous education (*educación indígena*) and later conceives of different ways of perceiving differences that eventually lead to IE policies. "Indigenous education" has usually been understood as what the indigenous people should learn, not what they have been taught or teach (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006). This historical development (from *educación indígena* to Intercultural Education) is suggested as an unprecedented critical route toward addressing the demands of international indigenous movements, and opening new spaces for dialogue (including strong criticisms of the limitations of *indigenista* policies; Bertely Busquets, 1998). "Far from articulating a coherent discourse, educational policies for indigenous people," as Bertely Busquets (1998) points out, during the 20th Century, these policies "are full of cracks and contrasts" (p. 75). Nonetheless, the evolution of an intercultural policy in education in Mexico carries with it a long history of resistance, numerous challenges and still undefeated hopes. This is a clear reminder that the struggle for the recognition of diversity in education is more political than pedagogical (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006). What follows is a summary of and discussion about some highlights of the Mexican educational and sociopolitical journey in stages,[6] focusing from the period of the creation of the Ministry of Education (1921) onwards.[7]

HISPANIZING INDIGENOUS PEOPLE: COLONIAL PRACTICES

The early practices of "diversity in education" in the Colony showed no concern for the indigenous population's *liberté*'s rights. They had no freedom of assembly, expression, religion, and in general, no guarantees before the state.

In the first stage of "Intercultural Education" (or the early attempts to address diversity in education, because the term *per se* was not used) in Mexico, indigenous groups were seen as different, meaning inferior (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006), and attempts were made to assimilate "them" through schooling, suggesting very marked dichotomies of *us* (mainstream society) *versus them* (indigenous groups). Indigenous people *(the others*) were always subordinated (Aguirre Beltrán, 1954). This was a common stance throughout Latin America, as many considered since colonial times, that the slow "progress" or "development" was due to "the Indian problem" (Frank, 1969).

This "Indian problem" stance had salience during the colonial period when religious groups sought to "castellanizar" (to "Hispanicize") the indigenous populations and convert them to Catholicism (Bertely Busquets, 1998; Morales Garza, 1998). These practices were the first "educational" attempt of the conquistadores (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006). Indigenous people, not surprisingly, were denied their rights to exercise their culture and religion, and it was forbidden for them to speak their languages (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006).

EARLY POST-COLONIAL AND POST-REVOLUTION PRACTICES AND POLICIES

In this stage of the IE policy in Mexico, indigenous people's *liberté*'s rights were slowly emerging. The state started granting them access to a special kind of *public* education, although their right to express differences was still not visible.

In terms of official educational policy, documentation from as far back as 1911 reveal that indigenous populations had been considered as recipients to be mainstreamed into the dominant culture (Mayer, 2007; Bertely Busquets, 1998; Morales Garza, 1998). It was in 1911 when the government issued a law ("Ley de Instrucción Rudimentaria," or "Law of Rudimentary Instruction") to create schools for indigenous people (Morales Garza, 1998, p. 144). With an assimilationist view, the educational system at that time did not provide education that would address the cultural, ethnical and linguistic differences in the population. Helping indigenous people leave their barbaric ways behind (Bertely Busquets, 1998) was the goal and what was needed to achieve national unity, meaning bringing *them* into *our* ways of living. "Marginal" and "complementary" educational systems

(Morales Garza, 1998) were considered as the vehicle to achieving national unity, a unity conceived from a homogeneous lens. Several decades later, there emerged schools at different educational levels that offered bilingual education for indigenous students (Morales Garza, 1998). However, the *indigenismo* concept that guided practice in those early years was understood as part of "development anthropology seeking to integrate indigenous people into national life" (UNAM, n.d.).[8] *Indigenismo*, nonetheless, is a concept that has undergone several changes depending on the philosophy behind it at various periods in history.

In the first third of the 1900s, the approach of the educational policies for indigenous people was still not of a intercultural nature, mainly because of the social pragmatic paradigm (Bertely Busquets, 1998) under which anthropologists (like Manuel Gamio and Moisés Saenz) operated at the time. When anthropology began to be applied to society as a strategy for social action in the 1920s, *indigenista* educational policies sought to position indigenous people as an integral part of the nation, highlighting the non-exclusiveness of mainstream Mexico and Indigenous Mexico (Bertely Busquets, 1998). Nevertheless, there was still a strong national tendency of a populist *indigenismo*, which "relegate[d] ethnic heterogeneity in favor of *agrarismo* [agrarian reforms in the form of massive land redistribution] and the promoting of progress" (p. 78). The approach then was to subsume culture and language to "the concept of social class," worrying less about culture and more about democracy (Bertely Busquets, 1998). This positioned indigenous people as "citizens with the same rights when it comes to national interests" (quoting Aguirre Beltrán, 1990, in Bertely Busquets, 1998, p. 79).

THE SOCIALIST SCHOOL, 1934–1943[9]

With *liberté* rights still under construction, some *egalité* rights emerged. Indigenous people had increased access to education with some bilingual programs, and participation in the political life of the country. Many community-based services developed in this era brought their *egalité* rights to life.

During this time, the *indigenismo oficial cardenista (Cárdenas' official Indigenism)* flourished. The Socialist educational policies challenged many colonial traces of oppression toward indigenous people, but still had the need to "Mexicanize" them (Bertely Busquets, 1998). This "nationalist goal" was to be achieved through agrarian reforms and with a philosophical stance that indigenous people had to become players and partners in development. Their language and culture, however, were subordinated to the still inclusive Socialist nation-building plans (Bertely Busquets, 1998) and the "differences" had to do more with social class. The Socialist approach was to "lump" peasants with indigenous people under the

umbrella of 'proletariat.' Nonetheless, during this period, early attempts to articulate and implement bilingual indigenous education were made. Although their duration was very short, they left a trace for future possibilities of bilingual education (López Mar, 1996, in Morales Garza, 1998; Cerda García, 2007).

In spite of much criticism, such as ideological control of teachers and principals, Mexico had an invaluable legacy of the *indigenismo oficial cardenista* in regards to the recognition of indigenous people in relation to the state (Bertely Busquets, 1998). Many educational initiatives fostered community development, strengthening indigenous groups. Political empowerment of indigenous groups took place at an exponential rate, and these groups were in turn able to influence policy making. Bilingual teachers became key players or even "spokespersons." For example, the *tarahumara* bilingual teachers (an indigenous group from Northern Mexico) organized in 1940 the first Indigenist Interamerican Convention ("Congreso Indigenista Interamericano"; Bertely Busquets, 1998) in the state of Michoacán. This convention provided the conditions to revise the relationship between indigenous communities and the state. The use of indigenous language textbooks in schools—created in participation with bilingual teachers—was accepted (Morales Garza, 1998) and implemented. More than ever in Mexican history, indigenous bilingual education was given more attention, and mother tongues were valued. Morales Garza (1998) argues that the Socialist period was a key in the consolidation of indigenous education, with this renewed vision toward linguistic and cultural differences. The growing awareness of the needs of indigenous people for which they tirelessly advocated gradually became policy realities, in spite of the gigantic challenges ahead.

PERIOD OF NATIONAL UNITY, 1943–1958 AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION, 1958–1970

In a non-linear development, some (*liberté* and *egalité*) human rights had been put into policies in Mexico. Participation of indigenous people in government increased. Their group and collective rights gained some attention, especially as the nation embarked on a progressive mission.

Toward the end of the Socialist era (late '30s) there was a heavy focus on industrialization and urbanization, in Mexico and throughout all Latin America (Keen & Haynes, 2000). The focus became nationalism, democracy and individual development of citizens (Morales Garza, 1998), especially from 1943 to 1958. The numerous projects and the progress toward an educational policy that would *organically* address indigenous people slowed down. This does not mean that indigenous education ceased, but the processes became more institutionalized and the programs again had an assistance (*asistencialista*) approach.

The governmental processes addressing indigenous populations during this time began to be more "official" and "institutional." This crystallized

as national institutions such as the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, INI, were created in 1948. The INI was an important institution regarding *indigenismo* in Mexico. It provided numerous services geared toward the development and integration of indigenous communities to national life (Morales Garza, 1998). In terms of education, the INI one was instrumental in outreach to indigenous communities. After 20 years of institutionalized *indigenismo* in education, there was strong criticism for this framework, paving the way for an early model of bilingual bicultural education (Bertely Busquets, 1998) toward the 1960s.

There were numerous economic and social needs in the country and education started to have an increased role in "preparing citizens for democracy" and for "stimulating social mobility" (Morales Garza, 1998), mainly throughout the '60s. Education was considered the main vehicle for the advancement of democracy in order to assure all Mexicans equality of rights. This period was characterized by increased assistance for indigenous students in the form of scholarships (Morales Garza, 1998). Because the improvement of education was crucial for nation-building, indigenous education (in the form of bilingual and culturally sensitive education) was gaining attention.

TOWARD AN OPENLY INTERCULTURAL MEXICO, 1970–1988

It is during these times that *egalité* rights begin to be more visible in policy, as seen in the bilingualism policies created. The educational policies to address difference in education were still for and toward the indigenous people, but the way "differences" were conceptualized changed, with an impact on the creation and arrangements of institutions. To "Hispanicize" the indigenous people was no longer the objective.[10] Models for indigenous education that did not seek to Hispanicize indigenous people were institutionalized, as the National Office of Indigenous Education (*Dirección General de Educación Indígena*, or DGEI) was created (Cerda García, 2007) during the late 1970s. The DGEI implemented educational policies based on a paradigm which fostered bilingualism (Cerda García, 2007), and many other policies were revised, especially in language instruction. With this came a revitalization of social, cultural and ethnic integration (Bertely Busquets, 1998). National unity appeared to be conceived from a diversity lens, sowing important seeds of the *great utopia*, unity within diversity. Historically, this approach had no precedent, although there were still numerous problems and contradictions in policy and practice (Bertely Busquets, 1998).

THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL MERGE: INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION POLICIES, 1989–2009

Egalité rights gained salience in this period, paving the way for *fraternité* rights, for which we are still fighting today. In this era, there were numerous

policies protecting collective rights (*egalité*) of indigenous peoples through institutions; at the same time, fundamental rights (*liberté*) for indigenous peoples were stipulated in the Constitution. *Fraternité* rights are gaining terrain as advocates (indigenous and non-indigenous) seek *solidarity* with others. It is during this time that the notion of Intercultural Education for all became part of the political, cultural and social landscape, as many initiatives for self-determination have taken place.

So far, the historical development of policies addressing diversity in Mexico has evolved from *castellanización,* to indigenous peoples as recipients of aid, to partners in development. The (nonlinear) road has been long and full of challenges, but voices that were silenced for too long were finally heard, and those advocating for an intercultural Mexico gained room.

There are numerous aspects that should be discussed in this section as key in the development of the present Intercultural Education policy in Mexico, but we provide a summary of some highlights herein. Especially since the 1990s, the Mexican public education system has undergone important and deep transformations, influenced by the local and the global, to address a multicultural Mexico. An example of a global influence for change in the education system was the revision to the International Labour Organization's international treaty #169 in 1990. This treaty changed to highlight that indigenous citizens have the right to access to (not bicultural, but intercultural) education (Cerda García, 2007), to create their own institutions and receive adequate funding, even more so because of the Constitutional Amendment of 1994. These transformations were taking place throughout the whole Latin American continent, as indigenous groups continued to seek contact and solidarity in the international arena. In this same year, 1994, the Zapatistas declared war on the Mexican state. The Zapatistas were a large group of indigenous people (and other non-indigenous people; peasants) from the southern state of Mexico (Collier & Quaratiello, 2005), and their movement drew unprecedented attention to indigenous protests and demands that called for immediate action. The Zapatistas issued their declarations in 1994 and 1996. The Treaties of San Andrés, issued in 1996, were the result of negotiations with the Federal government (Cerda García, 2007). These treaties, in terms of education, demanded access and adequate instruction, as well as the value for indigenous knowledge. This was (and still is) a great challenge for the State to articulate/implement, in spite the urgency and the centuries-long debt.

It was not until the Vicente Fox's administration (2000–2006) that an "Intercultural Education" policy was articulated with institutional support. During his administration, the position taken toward indigenous education clearly became an intercultural matter. There had been, however, some earlier initiatives to conceptualize the current "bilingual bicultural models" of schools for indigenous children to "intercultural bilingual education" in 1997 (CGEIB, n.d.). Fox highlighted the urgency given the size of the

marginal situation regarding indigenous education, asked for the necessary institutional changes to be made, and a cohesive proposal to achieve "interculturalidad" (García Cerda, 2007). It was then that in 2001, the National Office for Intercultural Bilingual Education (Coordinación General de Educación Intercultural Bilíngüe [CGEIB]) was created, and Sylvia Schmelkes del Valle was the first Director. CGEIB is a branch of the Ministry of Education that promotes, evaluates and coordinates numerous IE projects in the country (note that the DGEI still exists and is very much an active branch of the Ministry of Education). One of those projects is the intercultural universities. This young project (the first university was established in 2003) seeks to address a multicultural nation at the higher education level, acknowledging the diverse voices of Mexico, fostering among students, especially ethnic minorities a deeper understanding of their culture and those of others (CNDPI, 2006). The mission of the institutions is:

> to promote the formation of professionals committed with the economic, social and cultural development of the indigenous groups of the country, revaluating the ways of knowing (saberes) of the indigenous people and propitiating a process of synthesis with the advances of scientific knowledge; fostering the dissemination of the communities' own values, as well as opening spaces to promote the revitalization, development, and consolidation of original languages and cultures to stimulate a pertinent communication [dialogue] between the university and its tasks, and the communities surrounding this new institution. (Casillas Muñoz & Santini Villar, 2006, p. 145)

Institutions like the intercultural universities are the result of decades of work, effort, tensions, conflict, controversy, mistrust, and even protest of those demanding policies that address diversity. It should be noted that the struggles and battles did not end here, and the Fox administration did not provide the final solution to decades of inequalities. The timing was ripe for years of struggle (from indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives) to yield fruit: a national Intercultural Education policy. At this moment we are experiencing the embodiment of an important and very necessary transformation in policy and ways of conceiving diversity. These transformed ways of conceiving forms of knowledge and expression allow us all to recognize that "illiteracy" does not necessarily mean "backwardness," and that "literacy" is not synonymous with culture (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006). These transformations also point to the epistemological quests in a diverse context. In the policy book of the Ministry of Education, it is acknowledged that no longer do we conceive universal truths, or cultures, or ways of knowing or conceiving the world (Ahuja et al., 2004). We are encountering the "flourishing of diversity" (Ahuja et al., 2004), where the other is no longer a threat, but a part of a unity: a unity within diversity.

CURRENT HOPES AND CHALLENGES FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN MEXICO

There are many reasons to be optimistic about the future of Intercultural Education in Mexico. First, because IE is firmed rooted in human rights theory, language and practice, it has become a movement of equality for all, moving beyond the recognition of ethnic and cultural diversity. As universal human rights, codified in the UDHR, have become the basis of a major area of international law, and a cornerstone of world political dialogue, Intercultural Education in Mexico has also become the legal standard rather than an anomaly. Couched within universal standards of human rights, Intercultural Education initiatives such as the Intercultural Universities are much more likely to gain support from the international community. Right now, for example, the Ford Foundation provides funding for Intercultural Education and human rights projects such as Lumaltik Nopteswanej.[11] Even if monetary resources are scarce, the affirmation of Intercultural Education in Mexico as a pillar of human rights will solidify present and future intercultural initiatives.

On the local level, successful cases of empowerment deriving from Intercultural Education initiatives serve as models for further success, and open doors of opportunity for community development. Some graduates from the Intercultural University in Veracruz have been able to participate in their community's decision making and project designs and implementation, passing barriers of gender and age (Dietz, 2009).

Along with the hopes that Intercultural Education will become part of the landscape of Mexico, IE projects face many challenges. Among these challenges, the toll of centuries of unequal education on indigenous Mexicans cannot be ignored. The education participation rate of indigenous Mexicans today falls far short of participation rates for the majority population. For example, while indigenous people account for 10% (Schmelkes, 2009) of the country's 100 million people, so few make it to college that the government does not keep official track of their enrollment (Lloyd, 2004). Another challenge for IE projects is financial. In the present worldwide economic crisis, funding for projects in Mexico such as the intercultural universities is at risk. This is a reality for intercultural universities like the one in Veracruz, for example. Funding availability is sometimes unpredictable (Dietz, 2008). There are limited funds for higher education in Mexico, and without much help from outside sources, many think that IE projects such as the intercultural universities may have a short shelf life. Others worry that the government's plans for IE in Mexico are too ambitious or that there needs to be more research done about such institutions (Lloyd, 2004).

Finally, there is a certain amount of social resistance to the new approach of IE, both from indigenous and non-indigenous people in Mexico (for a detailed list of challenges of the intercultural universities, see Schmelkes,

2009). In a pilot study of high school students in the state of Guerrero in 2007, many of those who would like to attend the new Intercultural University (IU) of Guerrero said that even if they attended, the indigenous knowledge and language(s) acquired there might not better their chances of getting a job (Pineda, 2007). Finally, there is the big challenge of making sure that Intercultural Education is indeed intercultural, and that all voices are included. If the problem in the past has been that "indigenous education" has never been owned or planned by indigenous people, or "autonomously exercised" (Ramírez Castañeda, 2006) by them, then a challenge is to genuinely include or follow the input of indigenous people.

NOTES

1. These stages, although not labeled as "the stages of Intercultural Education" *per se*, are based on the review of indigenous education in Mexico by María Bertely Busquets and Sofialeticia Morales Garza (in Latapí Sarre, 1998), as well as the writings of Alejandro Cerda García (2007), and the official SEP publications regarding intercultural bilingual education. We thank Sylvia Schmelkes for pointing us to Bertely's work, seminal to the present article.
2. Mexico does not have an official language in its Constitution, but it is stipulated as such in the federal civil code. Spanish is the language most widely spoken in the country.
3. In 1992, the Mexican Constitution (Article 4) was revised, granting recognition for indigenous cultures and their rights. It also states that Mexico is a pluricultural nation and the indigenous cultures are the original foundation of this. During the late '80s and the '90s, constitutional changes and other law addenda took place throughout Latin America. For a summarized chronology of these events, see: Díaz-Couder, E. (1998)., *Diversidad Cultural y Educación en Iberoamérica*. Revista Iberoamericana de Educación, No. 17 (http://www.rieoei.org/oeivirt/rie17a01.htm; retreved 07/03/09).
4. This section was adapted from: Landorf, H. (2009). Toward a Philosophy of Global Education. In T. F. Kirkwood-Tucker (Ed.), *Visions in global education*. (47–67) New York: Peter Lang.
5. Some writers have suggested a fourth generation of human rights that include for example women's rights, rights for future generations, rights of access to information and rights to communication.
6. Adapted from Morales Garza's seven stages of "Indigenous, Special and Initial Education" (in Latapí Sarre, 1998) and Alejandro Cerda García (2007).
7. For the purposes of this chapter, we focus mainly on the period of time after the Ministry of Education was created (1921), because the Intercultural Education policies discussed herein are articulated and carried out by them. Some detailed historical reviews of indigenous education (the precedent of present intercultural bilingual education) are those by G. Aguirre Beltrán, E. Ramírez Castañeda and M. Bertely Busquets, for example.
8. For detailed writings on *indigenismo*, see Warman, 1970.
9. The next two subheadings were adapted from Morales Garza (1998).
10. This new focus had critical anthropology (Warman et al., 1970) and the ethnicist paradigm (the opposite of the Hispanization model) (Bonfil Batalla, 1983, 1987) as frameworks (Bertely Busquets, 1998).
11. http://eib.sep.gob.mx/files/experiencias_innovadoras_2.pdf.

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Part III
Multicultural Education

11 The Development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan

Overview and Reflection

Meihui Liu and Tzu-Bin Lin

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide a sociohistorical context for the development of Multicultural Education and explore the achievements and challenges of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The case of Taiwan is worth studying because it is genuinely a multicultural society in terms of ethnicity, culture and politics. In its 400-year history, Taiwan has witnessed various cultural and political clashes between different ethnic groups and experienced monarchy, colonial government, dictatorship and finally, democracy. The entangled history and the recent waves of immigrants from South Asia make Taiwan a special case in East Asia.

The chapter starts with an introductory overview to the development of multiculturalism and multicultural education in the 1990s. Then, a critical reflection follows. The authors, each with a different experience and position in the practical field of Multicultural Education, are able to present various stances on multicultural education in Taiwan.

Extensive data are drawn from various sources and perspectives in order to offer balanced descriptions, evaluations, relevant arguments and critiques of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. However, it is necessary to recognize that, as with many other similar attempts at providing a case study in one chapter, we need to be selective with the materials we use.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

The development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan has been influenced by the wider political and social context, as well as by the promotion of academics and educational researchers. These two forces have merged together to create a blossoming field of Multicultural Education.

Cultural Pluralism, Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

Before discussing the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, there are some points worth exploring. As with many concepts, "cultural

pluralism," "multiculturalism" and "Multicultural Education" are all borrowed from the Western world and have experienced a process of "localization" in Taiwan. One explicit example is in the translation and use of these terminologies. It is crucial to point out that the term "cultural pluralism" is translated into Mandarin as "wenhuaduoyuanzhuyi," and "multiculturalism" as "duoyuanwenhuazhuyi." The former term was introduced by academics earlier than the latter in Taiwan. However, the latter term is more often used than the former. We would argue that, in academic usage, the meaning of "multiculturalism" is broader and more popular than "cultural pluralism."

To some extent, "cultural pluralism" is considered to be a preliminary stage of multiculturalism (Tan, Liu, & You, 2008). Multicultural Education refers to educational practices that are influenced by the concept of multiculturalism. Although there used to be some confusion between the two terms "cultural pluralism" and "multiculturalism," in academic discussion and governmental documents in the early development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, the trend is to use "multiculturalism" instead of "cultural pluralism."

These terminologies imply that the influential source on Multicultural Education in Taiwan comes mainly from the United States. In Europe, although multiculturalism exists, Multicultural Education is not a popular term for educational practitioners. As Gundara (2000) suggests, a more dynamic term, "Intercultural Education," is adopted and sometimes linked to the notion of citizenship/global citizen. However, it is rare to see "Intercultural Education" appearing in relevant discourse in Taiwan.

Additionally, "multiculturalism" and "Multicultural Education" have the term "culture" embedded in them. Therefore, they have become an "umbrella" that covers issues relevant to culture. "Multicultural education" first appeared in Taiwan in

1990s. In less than two decades, Multicultural Education experienced a flourishing period in terms of educational policymaking, setting up new academic institutes, the development of relevant discourses and curriculum designs. Lots of substantial work has been accomplished. However, in the promotion of Multicultural Education, there are not many debates and interrogations. Ideas of Multicultural Education are taken for granted by Taiwanese academics. We argue the risk of ignoring some theoretical and foundational debates later in this chapter.

The Context of the Development of Multicultural Education

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwanese society experienced dramatic changes everywhere. One consequence of the post-1987 phenomenon was the proliferation of mass media which provided a better public space to discuss issues.

Freedom of speech was finally guaranteed and many forbidden issues can now be discussed both in public and private space. Oppositional parties, like the Democratic

Progress Party (DPP), were formed and functioned with official recognition of the Kuomingtang (KMT) government. These developments influenced and encouraged the various social movements that mushroomed in the 1990s.

The other consequence was a call for education reform. This changed the role of the education system from an ideological apparatus to one with a more liberal approach. New agendas were proposed by stakeholders from different perspectives with various visions of the future of education. Education reform, as Chou (2003) describes, is a "Great Experiment" in terms of the time scale, the influence and the amount of initiatives.

The Sociopolitical Context

At the constitutional amendment meeting that took place in July 1997, participants of the Indigenous movement asked to amend the articles relevant to Indigenous peoples. As a result, Article 10 of Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China uses the term "cultural pluralism." It indicates: "The State affirms cultural pluralism and shall actively preserve and foster the development of aboriginal languages and cultures." M. K. Chang (2002) points out two significance points of this amendment:

1. The term "Indigenous" has been used to represent an ethnic group: This admits that Taiwan is a multiple-ethnic nation in the constitution;
2. The appearance of the concept of "cultural pluralism" / "multiculturalism." Although the concept refers mainly to the status of Indigenous peoples, it shows the direction that defines Taiwan as a multicultural society.

This is a significant shift from the ethnocentrism of the Han People to recognition of the truth that Taiwan is a multiethnic nation. This change in the political ideology of the KMT government is a historical milestone and provides a rational for the development of Multicultural Education.

After the presidential election in 2004, the DPP government proposed a resolution titled "Ethnic Diversity and National Unity" as a response to the collective appeal of ethnic equality from various ethnic groups. Multiculturalism has been signaled out in its introduction as the principle for dealing with national identity and racial relations:

> We are willing to make a commitment that the DPP will understand and respond to the collective appeals from various ethnic groups. DPP has been the leading party devoting itself in promoting local culture

> and mother tongue teaching as well as establishing the subjectivity of Indigenous and invigorating the Hakka culture. One of our deepest beliefs is that, without diversity, there will be no localized policy. In order to consolidate democracy, to increase cultural content and to make each ethnic group jointly prosperity, DPP should widen its notion of multiculturalism in its guideline so that a civil society with the participation of all ethnic groups can be established. Therefore, the second wave of socio-cultural reform task can be accomplished after the process of political democratized. (The Resolution on Ethnic Diversity and National Unity, 2004)

This resolution centers on discarding oppressive assimilation and a one-dimensional integration policy. It proposes to respect differences and pursue a mutually beneficial multicultural policy. Moreover, it points out that the government should continue to support the transmission and development of each ethnic group's culture and constructively build a public space for cultural exchanges between various ethnic groups. The ultimate goal is to enrich citizens' multicultural competence, foster harmonious relations between ethnic groups and make Taiwan a paradigm of multicultural nation globally.

Meanwhile, feminist discourse (which awoke gender consciousness) and the trend of multiculturalism mutually reinforced each other to initiate a gender-related policy, as well as the development of Multicultural Education. In 1997, the Ministry of Education set up a "Gender Equality Education Board" responsible for drafting national regulations and policies and promoting curriculum and pedagogy in relation to gender equality education. "Enforcement Rules for the Gender Equity Education Act" was issued in 2005 to emphasize that individuals will not suffer discrimination due to one's gender, sexual orientation or gender identity. The Commission on Women's Rights Promotion under the Executive Yuan passed "the Guideline of Women's Policy," which became the principle followed by Ministries in legislating relevant policies including "substantiate gender equality awareness and respect multicultural education policy."

Influenced by, at least, the two social movements discussed previously, the discourse of multiculturalism has emerged, although in a somewhat vague sense. M. K. Chang (2002) provides an insightful observation on the process of "loose discursive formation" and "how" Taiwan has become a "multicultural" nation. He considers that it has happened through the early Multi-/Multiple discourse (1980s and aftermath), Mother Tongue and Local Studies Movement (1987–1990), Community Infrastructure Establishment (1994 and aftermath), Indigenous Movement, Education Reform (1994 and aftermath) and the Constitution Movement of Republic of Taiwan (1989–1994). These discursive formations loosely formed a coalition, together with the political and cultural experiences learned from North America and Australia that are constructed as a "successful" ideology with political correctness. Once this discourse is constructed, it interacts with

the discourse of feminism to form a nostalgia of a multicultural nation with a main theme on "four main ethnic groups," complemented by "gender equality" with flavors of "local studies" and "mother tongue."

Under the 8 years of DPP Government (2000–2008), one of the political ideologies defined the "subjectivity" of Taiwan. This unavoidably influenced the education system.[1] The four main themes of education policy of the Ministry of Education (MOE) during 2005 to 2008 are: "cultivating modern citizens," "establishing the subjectivity of Taiwan," "widening the global vision" and"reinforcing social care." Among them, "establishing the subjectivity of Taiwan" adopts "respecting multicultural phenomenon" as a key strategy, and the action plans call for expanding individually ethnic cultures and developing the culture of new migrants. As to the "reinforcing social care," the key strategy is to help disadvantaged groups and narrow the gap between different regions in terms of economics, while the action plan targets students from minority groups and facilitates their learning in a friendly environment.

In recent years, increases in female married migrants have changed the structure of Taiwanese society. The female married migrants have become the fifth ethnic group and make the multicultural content richer. Accompanying these changes, the government continually revises and initiates policies about female married migrants including population policy, new migrant culture, language and cultural courses for female married migrants, consultations on children's education and the lifelong learning service. These policies make Multicultural Education achieve another goal.

For example, the MOE included education for foreign spouses and their children as "enhancing the education for foreign spouses and their children to narrow the cultural and learning gaps" as part of the core issue: "improving the education opportunities for disadvantaged groups and securing social justice" (MOE, 2003).

The Executive Yuan amended the guideline of its population policy with a focus on the multiple values in terms of marriage, family and child-raising. It aims at creating a friendly and Multicultural Education environment that respects each ethnic group's language and culture and generates a suitable educational and working milieu. Therefore, as in the ROC Population Policy Guidelines, the goal of racial equality can be achieved. These policies attempt to provide proper care for female marriage migrants so that they can understand Taiwanese culture while developing their migrant culture. Consequently, mutual respect between ethnic groups can be achieved and the dual identity of New Taiwanese Children can be maintained.

Some key themes in the discourse of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Taiwan can be traced from the above discussion; they are issues about ethnicity, ethnic cultures, gender equality, social class and disadvantaged students, and the identity of female married migrants and new migrants. However, there are other themes that have been incorporated under the umbrella of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The role

of popular culture/sub culture of different age groups and media literacy are also connected to Multicultural Education (Lin, 2004). However, these issues are not as prominent as the traditional triangle—ethnicity, gender and class—and the recent emergence of new migrants.

The Efforts of Academics and Educational Researchers

The above section is about the use of terminology and the political and social context in the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. It is an analysis of the wider context with foci on how various issues such as ethnic, gender and disadvantaged groups shape Multicultural Education in Taiwan. The following section will concentrate on the substantial efforts made by academics and educational researchers.

The first attempt at promoting Multicultural Education was in 1993. The China Education Society published an edited book called *Multicultural Education*, written by Taiwanese academics to explore the theories and practices of Multicultural Education. It is the first book devoted to Multicultural Education in Taiwan. Then, in 1996, the National Hualien Teachers College (NHLTC)[2] established the first and only Graduate Institute of Multicultural Education (GIME) in Taiwan. GIME is the first research-based institute in Multicultural Education. After the establishment of GIME and the increasing popularity of Multicultural Education, other institutes or graduate schools relevant to Multicultural Education were set up. However, none of them apply the term "Multicultural Education" in their titles.

The first International Conference on the Theories and Practices of Multicultural Education was held by the National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei. Themes of the conference were: Indigenous Education, Racial Relations and Education, Gender Equality and Education, Policy of Multicultural Education, Models of Multicultural Education and Multicultural Curriculum and Instructions. Here, the key themes of Multicultural Education reflect the issues that are raised in the society: ethnicity and gender.

From 1997 onwards, there were regular and frequent conferences on Multicultural Education. As a result, Multicultural Education became a key sub-field of education studies, and more and more academics from different disciplines devote themselves to Multicultural Education research. This increase in research enriches the content of Multicultural Education. As we have demonstrated in the previous section, issues of minority and disadvantaged groups and new migrants are comparatively new, emerging from the interaction between social changes and the research interests of academics. Moreover, Multicultural Education has become a popular course in the teacher education programs in universities.

Before multiculturalism was inscribed into the national policy, the Council on Education Reform (CER) in the Executive Yuan had made it a key agenda in the Chief Consult Report of Educational Reform. Here are suggestions from the Council on Education Reform (1996):

> The idea of multicultural education is the recognition of individual values and the development of individual's potentials so that individuals are able to cherish their own ethnic culture as well as to appreciate the cultures of other ethnic groups worldwide. Under the basic rule of pursuing social justice, it is necessary to consider various education needs in terms of gender, minority groups and disables and to assist the development of individual with special needs. Here, we specially propose the two themes of contemporary multicultural education: one is Indigenous education; the other is gender equality education.

This is the earliest record of Multicultural Education in Taiwan's education policy.

Again, it focuses on ethnic and gender issues only. Also, Section III Article 18 in the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples by the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1998, states: "The curriculum and textbooks taught in each class level and school should have a multicultural perspective and include indigenous people ethnic historical culture and sense of values to foster intertribal understanding and respect."

These are two examples of incorporating Multicultural Education in the national policy in relation to education. To some extent, they provide a legal basis for the promotion of Multicultural Education and show the importance of multicultural education in the Taiwanese education agenda.

The General Guidelines of Grade 1–9 Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education, published by the MOE (1998), reflects the idea of multicultural education. Respecting and valuing different cultures is a key dimension in this curriculum guideline. Also, one of the 10 core competencies is:

> Cultural learning and international understanding, which involves appreciating and respecting different groups and cultures, understanding the history and culture of one's own country as well as others', recognizing the trend of the globalization in which countries all over the world are integrated into a global village, and developing a global perspective with mutual interdependence, trust and cooperation.

The essence of the Grade 1–9 curriculum is to decentralize, to understand the authoritarian and anti-cultural hegemony. These can be considered as a claim of critical multiculturalism. With the efforts of academics and the legal basis of the education policy, most textbooks are complying in accordance with multicultural perspectives. Relevant research on the multicultural curriculum has been increasingly conducted by academics.

Besides collective projects, individual researchers are enthusiastically devoting their energy to developing a multicultural curriculum. Liu (2000), for example, has designed a curriculum program, *The Beauty of Multicultural Society: A Multicultural Curriculum Program for Social Studies*.

This curriculum program is divided into four sections: diversity in social culture aiming at teaching students about cultural diversity; gender issues focusing on gender equality; ethnic issues introducing indigenous people and exploring their contributions and cultures; and ethnic assimilation emphasizing the concept of the "New Taiwanese (xintaiwanren)" and the cultivation of a global perspective. This curriculum program abandons the traditional curriculum design of social studies and adopts inquisitive and reflective learning activities instead of the usual model of plain and descriptive text content.

Chen (2000) developed a "Program for Improving the Relation between Indigenous and Han People," and its key concepts include: culture, ethnicity, cultural communication, cultivation, ethnocentrism, ethnic prejudice, cultural relativism, multiethnic society and democracy. There are eight lessons in this program, namely: the forming and influence of stereotype, ethnic prejudice and discrimination, the beauty of multicultural society, the contribution of indigenous people, the assimilation of ethnic groups, democracy, human rights and the responsibility of nation and society, and, finally, what a primary school student can do. This program aims at providing students with opportunities to discuss and reflect. The pedagogic strategies are role-playing and collaborative learning.

Non-Governmental Organizations and Multicultural Education

Besides the government, academics and educational researchers, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also show interest in Multicultural Education with a special focus on new migrants. As mentioned in the previous section, new migrants and the second generation of interracial marriages have an impact on the social structure of Taiwanese society.

In 2006, the Public Trust for Ethnic Harmony and the PEACETIME Foundation of Taiwan held a competition, "Multicultural Education: Understanding New Migrants," calling for teaching materials and plans in relation to the issue of new migrants. The aim of this competition was to encourage in-service teachers to integrate multicultural issues in their daily practices and foster students' multicultural perspectives. Moreover, the Pearl S. Buck Foundation Taiwan held workshops to produce multicultural teaching programs that focus on the issue of foreign spouses. The participants are in-service teachers as well. These NGOs all wish to promote mutual respect between different ethnic groups and reduce ethnic prejudice.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND REFLECTIONS

As we have discussed in previous sections, it is fair to say that multicultural education is a widely-recognized field of research and of teaching practice. It is not only gaining a place in the formal education agenda but also acquired a legal basis on the national level within the first decade

after the concept of multiculturalism was first introduced in Taiwan. During the education reform movement in Taiwan, it was very difficult for a new educational initiative like Multicultural Education to stand out and to be given priority. Based on experiences in the second decade and looking forward to the third decade of Multicultural Education, this section is going to summarize achievements and provide reflections on Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

The Achievements of Multicultural Education

A Social Movement

Multiculturalism was introduced to the Taiwanese in an era of radical social change. Various social movements with different visions of society were looking for inspiration from abroad, most notably from countries that have experienced similar phenomena. The American human rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s provided a rich source for ethnic activists in Taiwan in the late 1980s and the 1990s.

With support from intellectuals, the central government, indigenous rights activists and educators, the multicultural movement has been acknowledged in a very short time and has obtained a legal status. It is argued that the reason for this phenomenon is that Multicultural Education has a "political correctness" agenda—that is, a movement pursuing equality and maintaining social justice. There are not many opponents to Multicultural Education. Following the first success, multiculturalism became a core value of the new democratic Taiwan. The Taiwanese public takes it for granted and, therefore, multiculturalism and multicultural education are supported in the public sphere. We would call it a "rush for multiculturalism/multicultural education."

Moving from Borrowing Discourse to Creating Local Discourse

Because the concept of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education is borrowed from the United States, there was no local discourse in the first decade. As a result, academics hungrily imported discourses from academics in North America such as James A. Banks, Geneva Gay, Carl Grant, Christine Sleeter and Sonia Nieto.[3] Without considering the different social and cultural context between Taiwan and the United States, the content of Multicultural Education has been narrowed down to the three aspects—ethnic, gender and class—in its early stage in Taiwan. This three-aspect model of Multicultural Education may lead to the pitfall of making binary oppositions; for example, Han people vs. indigenous people, global vs. local, male vs. female, and heterosexual vs. homosexual.

In recent years, a group of academics have started to reflect on the American discourse on Multicultural Education in terms of theory and pedagogic practices (C. C. Chang, 2007; M. K. Chang, 2002; Tan, Liu,

& You, 2008). Also, some academics have started to examine the difference or similarity between Multicultural Education and other dimensions of education. There is, for example, research on comparing the education movement for education equality and the movement for Multicultural Education (Chuang, 2007), as well as combining Multicultural Education and feminist pedagogy (You, 2004). However, we recognize that shaping the local discourse of Multicultural Education is still in process. There has not yet been a clear local discourse, although it can be argued that we are heading toward one.

Developing Local Practices

In the previous section, we described some multicultural curriculum programs developed by Taiwanese researchers. It is a positive sign of the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. These curriculum programs are usually part of funded research and come with some research findings and feedback. These findings provide a basis for developing a local discourse of Multicultural Education. Meanwhile, researchers are moving beyond the importing ideas from abroad and seeking proper pedagogic strategies to teach the multicultural curriculum (Liu, 2000).

Compared to many other educational initiatives such as human rights education, creativity education and media literacy education during the education reform movement in Taiwan, the agenda for Multicultural Education is one of the most successful initiatives. One piece of evidence is that Multicultural Education is a new subject to be incorporated into teacher education programs. Multicultural Education has become a compulsory element in most colleges of education. Having a local curriculum and being offered as a subject in teacher education programs gives Multicultural Education a solid basis to keep growing.

Responding to Local Issues

In recent years, issues of "New Taiwanese Children," foreign spouses and new migrants have pushed Multicultural Education to its peak. These emerging issues bring a new challenge as well as a great opportunity to the practice of Multicultural Education. Within the specific social and cultural context, it is no longer possible to seek solutions from abroad. The task of how to respond to these issues is tough. At the same time, they present an opportunity for local academics to face the reality that local theories or discourses are required. Although there are some local curricula, they are too fragmented and isolated. However, findings from the research projects we mentioned above are able to provide more insights for developing local discourses or theories. It is a pity that substantial ones have not emerged, although we take a positive attitude and expect that a local theory or discourse will come into view soon.

REFLECTIONS ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural education brings changes to Taiwanese society but there are some challenges waiting to be overcome. We do not attempt to pretend that multicultural education is perfect in Taiwan. As we have pointed out elsewhere in this chapter, many issues still await to be addressed in different social divisions and by different social agents.

The Challenge of Building Theoretical Foundations

The first reflection is a response to the theoretical foundations of Multicultural Education. As mentioned previously, there has been some reflection on the lack of a proper theoretical basis for the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan, especially regarding local theory.

M. K. Chang (2002) expresses his worries about the rush to embrace Multicultural Education. He points out that there are not enough discussions about philosophy and policy in relation to multiculturalism. C. C. Chang (2007) directly indicates that people do not confront the idea of multiculturalism even though they may have different ideas. To embrace multiculturalism is considered as "political correctness," without reflection. Although there are some voices appearing, the "New Taiwanese Children" refers to a new generation of Taiwanese who have a foreign parent. Mainly, it is mothers who are from Southeast Asian countries or mainland China. Apart from the academic field, there is no such reflection within the public or political parties. Multicultural Education and multiculturalism are often empty rhetoric and simply lip service.

We recognize that building local theory is a time-consuming process, and we are not going to criticize this phenomenon. What we would like to point out is that this process should not only be the responsibility of academics but also the whole society, including the participation of various political parties. Multicultural Education and multiculturalism essentially comprise a social movement calling for a more equal society. Therefore, to define and construct its content is a task for all Taiwanese, not one relying on a group of academics. In next section, we are going to point out another challenge that Multicultural Education is facing; this also connects to the point we made in this section.

Political Ideology Influences Educational Practices

Taiwan as a new democratic nation still has a lot to learn in practicing this political system. Under rule of the previous KMT dictatorship, there was no doubt that the school curriculum and text books contained a high level of political correctness and worked as ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 1977). However, the democratic government, the DPP, played the same trick. One explicit example is the language education policy

in relation to learning the mother tongue. The local studies movement, including mother tongue learning, is viewed as part of the movement of Multicultural Education.

The policy of teaching one's mother tongue under the DPP government is criticized as "ethnocentrism," which mainly focuses on the Minanese. It has been resisted and protested by other ethnic groups, such as the Hakka and the indigenous people (Chung, 2002; Wang, 2003). It has been argued that the DPP government has done what the previous KMT government did, but with a different focus. The KMT focused on Mandarin and constructed a Chinese identity, whereas the DPP valued Minanese and promoted a Minanren identity. Both parties tried to use language to serve a particular political purpose and establish a specific, preferred identity.

Using one ethnocentrism to replace another damaged the claim of supporting multiculturalism made by the DPP government. While embracing multiculturalism, the DPP government promoted an ethnocentric identity instead of a Taiwanese identity. The argument is that a Minanren identity does not represent the Taiwanese identity because there are other ethnic groups. This kind of policy undermines the legitimacy of Multicultural Education, we would argue. Therefore, what the new KMT government will do about Multicultural Education and relevant education policy will be a variant in the future of Multicultural Education.

Again, we try to point out that the development of Multicultural Education in Taiwan is a collective piece of work and achievement. Any unthinking move made by stakeholders may have negative influences on the development of multicultural education. However, another challenge is the lack of dialogue between stakeholders.

Problems of Current Practices

The first problem with current practices in Multicultural Education is the lack of dialogue between stakeholders. A lack of dialogue causes an uneasy situation; that is, one term, "Multicultural Education," with multiple interpretations. For example, some advocates rely on it to construct a Taiwanese local culture and communal identity heading in the direction of a "Nostalgic Localization," whereas others take it to explain Taiwan's internationalization or globalization focusing on the "global village" and the vision of "global citizens" (Chuang, 2001). However, there are more people who misinterpret this concept. They take all "multi-/multiple (duoyuan)" terms like "multiple intelligences," "multiple pedagogy," "multiple assessment" and "multiple entrance exam" as parts of Multicultural Education. In this regard, Multicultural Education covers everything.

In contrast to the indefinite view of Multicultural Education, some people focus on a certain dimension of Multicultural Education. For example, some view Multicultural Education as indigenous education; others emphasize cultural diversity in a multicultural society in order to incorporate all

the minority groups. The former is narrowing the content of Multicultural Education; the latter is obscuring the definition of "culture."

Besides the heteroglossia within academics, there is not a dialogical mechanism between various stakeholders such as political parties, social activists and academics. Again, these different social agents interpret multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in terms of their own interests. Therefore, lots of patchy versions appear. Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education keep expanding and contain a wide range of possibilities.

A second problem is that the, Multicultural Education Movement is a fragile coalition. In the first decade when Multicultural Education gained visibility within Taiwanese society, there were waves of criticism aimed at deconstructing and reflecting on the discourse of Multicultural Education/multiculturalism in other countries, especially in the United States. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997, p. 1) provide an insightful expression on the over-hyperplasia of multiculturalism:

> Multiculturalism means everything and at the same time nothing. It has been used and misused so often and for so many conflicting reasons and agendas that no one at the end of the twentieth century can speak of multiculturalism or multicultural education without specifically delineating what he or she means or does not mean.

Kincheloe and Steinberg are useful in describing the status quo of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Taiwan. Therefore, it is crucial for Taiwanese who are enthusiastically embracing Multicultural Education to calmly reconsider the fundamental question:—"What is Multicultural Education?"—and review the transformation of meanings for Multicultural Education.

Alternatively, Multicultural Education can still be viewed as a big umbrella, but it is necessary for the user to define it in the first place. Grant and Sleeter (2007) clearly define what Multicultural Education and multicultural curricula are in terms of how to enhance student achievement and promote equality. With a clear focus, definitions and goals to accomplish, their work provides a user-friendly guideline for teachers and educators. Like many other terminologies in social science with various possible interpretations, we would suggest that the best way is to make the definition and goals clear while adopting the terminology of Multicultural Education.

The reality that academics face in Taiwan is that it is difficult to have an all-in-one definition. By contrast, definitions can be revised in accordance with the context and the need of user, although we would argue that some basic ingredients, such as critical reflection, empowerment and liberation, as well as essential ideas like the pursuit of social equality and anti-oppression, should be the basis of different definition.

Another challenge emerging from the previous discussion is that having various and loose definitions make Multicultural Education popular

among different stakeholders. However, it then runs the risk of being a fragile coalition with blurry boundaries. Advocates of indigenous and gender equality education are two examples. They can be incorporated into Multicultural Education if they like, but it is also possible to take a separate approach. Such a fragile coalition has its advantages and shortcomings. Here, we are not arguing that a clear-cut approach is necessary but are simply pointing out the fragile essence of the coalition of Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

The third problem of Multicultural Education is ignorance of the "dynamic" essence. The overall trend of Multicultural Education in Taiwan tends to recognize difference and reduce stereotypes. The curriculum programs mentioned earlier are examples. Although the recognition of difference is the foundation of multicultural education, it is also possible for people to view others as a collective entity different from themselves. A binary opposition might occur, and this is not the outcome that Multicultural Education wants to achieve.

Meanwhile, reducing stereotypes is a useful strategy, but it is not a positive approach toward increasing the mutual understanding of different cultures. It can function well in the beginning when cultures are introduced, but more efforts need to be made to move beyond the recognition of difference and reducing stereotypes.

As mentioned above, Multicultural Education embeds the concept of culture, which is always changing and being redefined in different sociocultural contexts whenever cultures encounter each other. Multicultural Education should become more constructive, with a focus on interaction and the complicated relations that take place when two individuals or groups with different cultural backgrounds meet.

CONCLUSION: THE ROAD AHEAD

In addition to the cultural diversity caused by history, new issues are emerging and having an impact on Taiwanese society: homosexuality, New Taiwanese Identity, foreign spouses and new migrants. A riot of foreign laborers in Kaohsiung, the second biggest city in Taiwan, revealed a surprising and embarrassing reality that Taiwanese people still look down upon the foreign laborers from Southeast Asia. How do teachers teach students to interpret and understand these social events? Confusion and questions are appearing. They not only influence teaching practices and curricula but also test belief in the Multicultural Education of in-service teachers. As we have pointed out, there have been substantial improvements in the following dimensions: reflection and query of theories, development of academic discourse, analysis of relevant policy, design of textbooks and curricula, and progress of a teaching strategy. In the second decade of Multicultural Education, more voices have asked for reflection on practices in the first

decade, but these were from academics only. More reflections from other stakeholders are necessary.

At the end of this chapter, we are going to propose some possible directions for Multicultural Education in Taiwan, based on our observations and experiences. Also, we will provide suggestions for further research to clarify Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

Escaping from the Binary Opposition Pitfall

A binary opposition usually occurs in the early stage of Multicultural Education. Although Multicultural Education takes ethnicity, gender and class as basic entrance points in its pursuit of social equality and justice, its real concerns are the hierarchy of power caused by difference. Therefore, difference is not just difference but a reason for excluding others and, maybe, for oppressing others. The dominant group in a society may adopt the notion of difference to facilitate control over other groups and maintain its own interests. The ultimate goal of multicultural education is to reveal and change this subtle mechanism in society. Enabling disadvantaged people to have better and more equal opportunity for being educated will help fulfill the goals of self-liberation and empowerment. This kind of understanding is close to the "Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist" approach (Sleeter and Grant, 1988). Therefore, we argue that Multicultural Education should not be a system of categorization but an approach to critical analysis that aims to expose various forms of oppression. Multicultural education is a border-crossing social action.

As we mentioned, binary opposition still happens in the practice of Multicultural Education in Taiwan. However, with onset of reflection by academics, the day of escaping the binary opposition pitfall is approaching. However, the political rhetoric of multiculturalism and Multicultural Education may still be caught in this pitfall for a while, especially under the current political circumstance. There is too much empty political rhetoric adopted by politicians in the two major parties. Statements causing tension between different ethnic groups still keep appearing. We consider this phenomenon as a temporary and necessary process in any new democratic nation.

Constructing Local Discourse or Theory

In the first decade of Multicultural Education, the lack of data relevant to local practice has been a big issue. This situation has been improved in recent years but more data is needed to generate a local discourse. The biggest problem is that there is no single focus of academic debate and exploration. There are too many ways of understanding Multicultural Education; some academics focus on ethnicity, some focus on gender, some prefer cultural identity, and some are interested in liberation and empowerment.

Multiple perspectives are good, but the result means that it is sometimes difficult to find a common ground. Encouraging more interdisciplinary dialogue may be a good solution.

It is a priority of academics in Taiwan to generate local discourse or theories from the experience of the last two decades. The urgency comes from a basic belief at the core of Multicultural Education. If we keep receiving academic theories and discourse from Western countries, it becomes a kind of academic colonialism; that is, we just copy Western viewpoints and are under the academic hegemony of the Western world. Hegemony is the first enemy target of Multicultural Education. If we are continually subject to Western hegemony, it is impossible to discuss multicultural education.

This decade, we have witnessed a series of attempts to move beyond borrowing to creating, at least in the following dimensions:

1. Foundation research in exploring the learning styles of indigenous students and ethnic identity (Chi, 1988; Chen, 2001; Chen & Liu, 1999; Tan, 2002; Liu, 2002);
2. In the process of responding to local issues, the content of multicultural education has been redefined (C. C. Chang, 2000; Chuang, 2007);
3. Exploring the multicultural awareness and subjectivity of teachers by applying narrative inquiry (Yang, 2003; Hsiao, 2003).

However, the quantity of research is not enough to construct a local discourse. Meanwhile, academics are thinking more and more about how to get rid of the influence of previous borrowing and move on. Considering the local context is one way, but it needs to be explored more deeply in the construction of Taiwanese culture. To achieve this attempt, researchers of Multicultural Education need to take a broader view and look beyond the field of education. There are other sources, such as sociology, anthropology, history and cultural studies, that are providing various insights. While developing a local discourse, interdisciplinary collaboration is required.

More Contributions from In-Service Teachers

It is widely acknowledged that an educational practice cannot be successful without the input and consent of teachers. As we mentioned earlier, there are more courses of Multicultural Education in teacher training programs, and the number of teachers versed in Multicultural Education in schools is increasing in the second decade of Multicultural Education.

Meanwhile, the government encourages in-service teachers to enroll in advanced courses to improve their professional practice. We predict that there will be more collaborative research between educational researchers and teachers, and more action research done by teachers. Through input from in-service teachers, this will provide a valuable database for

researchers and policy makers. However, these data need to be systematically categorized and analyzed.

The current practice of Multicultural Education tends to fall into the three categories listed below:

1. The Educational Priority Area (EPA) that aims at compensating the disadvantaged groups;
2. The multicultural curriculum that focuses on reducing prejudice in primary and secondary schools;
3. The incorporation of indigenous research in higher education.

These three correspond to the first three approaches that Sleeter and Grant (1988) have described: teaching the exceptional and the culturally different, human relations and single-group studies. In other words, this is fragmented multicultural information that is integrated into the mainstream curriculum. The effects are limited because there is not a holistic view of different cultures. However, with more teachers participating in this movement, it might gradually change.

The task for next decade is to transform the identity of teachers; teachers are transformative intellectuals who are capable of crossing borders (Giroux, 1988, 1991). Teachers should understand the political essence of education and the cultural politics embedded in the curriculum. Moreover, they need to be reflective on their teaching practices and be critical of taken-for-granted ideologies. Teachers are not just robots teaching the content of textbooks. Multicultural Education expects that teachers and students should learn from each other together and cross borders: teacher/student, mainstream/margin and theory/practice.

Therefore, courses in Multicultural Education should be able to prepare teachers with this kind of multicultural competence. It is necessary to review the current courses in various teacher training programs to see if they can fulfill the need of training transformative intellectuals.

Learning from History

With nearly two decades of experience, when we look forward to the next decade, it is time for us to look back as well. There are lessons that we might learn from previous practices in Multicultural Education. Grant and Chapman (2008) edited a 6-volume *History of Multicultural Education*, based on experience in the United States. They divide the practice of Multicultural Education as follow: conceptual frameworks and curricular issues, foundations and stratifications, instruction and assessment, policy and policy initiatives, students and student learning and teachers and teacher education. This is a possible framework to be applied to anycountry that is planning to review the practice of Multicultural Education.

Besides the classification of Grant and Chapman, we will provide possible research directions as follows:

1. Reflection on the development of multicultural discourse in Taiwan, its content and meanings, and relevant debates;
2. The relation between culture, knowledge and power;
3. The influence of cultural difference on student learning;
4. The feedback from practice.

There is research being done in each category, although not in great amount. However, we can learn from these experiences if we pay attention to them. What we learn might provide a positive contribution to the future direction of multicultural education in Taiwan.

A Multicultural Taiwan

As discussed, there have been certain achievements in Multicultural Education in Taiwan. It is also important to recognize that Multicultural Education sometimes becomes empty rhetoric. It can be argued that Multicultural Education as rhetoric still has power, the power to recognize difference, although this is not enough to accomplish the ultimate vision of Multicultural Education. In other words, this kind of rhetorical Multicultural Education does not provide a good solution for maintaining the ideals of social justice. M. K. Chang (2002, p. 205) provides a description of this kind of situation:

> 'Multiculture' has to be in a 'mutually' equal system so that it can function well. An innocent'cultural relativity' and 'respecting the difference' can not reveal the various form of oppression in social class, gender and ethnic groups. . . . The 'multicultural' discourse in Taiwan, in many aspects, just one-dimensionally focuses on the protection of culture and language. For example, there is a rich sense of nostalgia in local studies. Besides that, there is not discussion of social justice.

At the end of the second decade, we expect a fruitful, critical and reflective Multicultural Education that is going to grow stronger by the various contributions of stakeholders. There is no doubt that we still need to overcome challenges. However, with a good start, we are confident of the bright future of Multicultural Education in Taiwan.

NOTES

1. The DPP Government, like the previous KMT Government, explicitly kept injecting preferred ideology into the formal education system by revising the curriculum guidelines. It is an ongoing debate in Taiwan about this issue. We

are not going to discuss it in depth but think that it is necessary to point out this issue.

2. This Teachers College has merged with National Dong Hua University under the title National Dong Hua University (NDHU) in 2008. The Graduate Institute of Multicultural Education is part of the College of Education, NDHU.
3. This phenomenon has its own sociohistorical background. The majority of academics in Taiwan get their postgraduate degrees in the United States. Therefore, a cultural intimacy toward the American culture and academic discourse is predictable.

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12 Ethnicity and the State of Multiculturalism in the Malaysian Education System

Hazri Jamil and Hairul Nizam Ismail

The emergence of multiethnic society invented by British colonial policy has resulted in the Malaysian population today being comprised of three major ethnic groups, which are Malay, Chinese and Indian, with a number of other ethnic groups that form a small population apart of these three major groups. Also, there has been massive recent immigration that has moulded a diverse culture and ethnic background of Malaysian society. According to the Census 2000, the population of Malaysia is nearly 23 million, of which 21.89 million (95%) are Malaysian citizens.

Of the total Malaysian citizens, Malays and several smaller indigenous groups in Peninsula Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak (who are collectively termed the 'Bumiputera,' which literally means 'son of the soil') comprise over 66.1% (Malaysia, 2002). On the other hand, Chinese and Indians, who make up 25.3% and 7.4% of the Malaysian population, are descendents of immigrants from China and India (Hircshman, 1987). All three of these major ethnic groups (Malays, Chinese and Indians) have their heritage from the great civilizations of Asia, and as a result, ethnic differences are underscored.

These different ethnic identities constitute a multiethnic Malaysian society. In this Malaysian multiethnic landscape, people speak different languages, follow different cultures and traditions and commonly profess different religions such as Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Confucianism, Taoism and other Chinese religions.

Because these different identities are affiliated with various sections of the population in Malaysia, the society is divided into major ethnic groups, each with its respective identity (Haque, 2003) and with a notion of difference from others in terms of language, religion and cultural differences. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to discuss the construction of ethnicity in Malaysian multiethnic society and examine how ethnicity influences the state of multiculturalism in the Malaysian education system.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNICITY

Eriksen (1993) and Hale (2004) argue that ethnicity is among the most important phenomena in politics and has acquired an important place in

the contemporary social and political agenda, in relation to nation building, the creation of political cohesion and national identity. It becomes an important focal point for the formulation of public policy and is a major new focus for the mobilization of political interest (Rivzi, 1991; Thompson & Rudolph, 1986).

Likewise, in Malaysian society, ethnicity can be regarded as a key to understanding the whole picture of the society. This concept determines the pattern of social arrangements, politics, and the economy, helps to shape the Constitution, and influences both the democratic process and policy production. In fact, the social, political and economic aspects of Malaysian plural society, to some extent, are dominated by considerations of 'ethnic arithmetic' (Jamil, 2007). This appearance of the Malaysian multiethnic society has also been implicated in developing education issues that are being structured and debated around ethnicity dimensions.

Malaysians are cognisant of their ethnic identities background. For example, a Malay is born locally, habitually speaks Malay, follows Malay customs and professes Islam (Hashim, 1976). Based on these Malaysian attributes, religion is highly correlated with ethnicity and ethnic identity is reinforced by Islamic attitudes (Means, 1986). In fact, Malays are constantly reminded of these facts in all social, religious, economic and political transactions in which they are involved. Consequently, Malaysian multiethnic society has gone through various experiences of ethnic tension and conflict in relation to ethnicity issues, which have emerged since the end of British colonial administration and have become a continuing problem in reconciling a heterogeneous population for the government.

For instance, the May, 13, 1969, ethnic riots that broke out mainly in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur represented a milestone in the history of the young nation-state's ethnic relations (Pan, 1998). The eruption of violence on May 13th resulted from the interplay of forces. These include a generation gap and differences in interpretation of the constitutional structure by different races in the country. On its formation in 1963, Malaysia suffered a sharp division of wealth between the Chinese, who were perceived to control a large portion of the Malaysian economy, and the Malays, who were perceived to be more poor and rural. Thus, tensions have gradually developed between the politically powerful Malays and the economically successful Chinese. Officially, 196 people were killed in the riots, although some reports have stated much higher figures (Mee, 1998).

Ethnic divisions in Malaysia were constructed for political and economic purposes during British colonial rule. This has created different ethnic groups in the society which have evolved since Malaysia's independence in 1957 (Watson, 1980). Fundamentally, the motive of British domination in Malaysia—economic imperialism—governed British policy toward the education system. Implementation of educational policy by British colonials indicated their intention to compartmentalize various ethnic groups

and ensure socialization into the respective ethnic groups. The result of these educational policy practices was a vernacular system of schooling that strengthened segregation between the three major ethnic groups. Differences in the media of instruction, curriculum and the school system have kept the younger generation of the three major Malaysian ethnic groups apart, and this has led to deepening divisions between the groups. This scenario has made each ethnic group mutually exclusive of the other. Continuously, the creation of communal political parties tended to strengthen the 'sense of ethnicity,' which also created an exercise of power more focused on the interest of 'us' rather than 'them.'

The residue of this British colonial practice in the education policy of Malaysian multicultural society is played out today in postcolonial Malaysia. This is what Gregory (2004) has referred to as 'the colonial present,' despite postcolonial political aspirations that influence the policy and public discourse of multiculturalism in Malaysian multiethnic society. For present Malaysians, the meaning of ethnicity follows everyday usage as well as official definition. The Malaysian categorization of ethnicity as Malays, Chinese and Indian emerged from relatively recent history and is well internalized. Terms of ethnic classification are interchangeable because ambiguous words are used to differentiate or classify people in Malaysian multiethnic society (Hirschman, 1987). The way in which ethnic populations are defined and structured depends on the degree of difference among the populations, the nature of their contacts and their relative positions in the political, social and economic order. Furthermore, these distinct groups are culturally and identically heterogeneous among themselves.

In terms of relations between ethnic groups, to some extent, culture and religion become boundaries between them. This is related to the idea of 'emic' and 'etic' constructions, with each group defining itself and being defined by outsiders, according to the notion of 'othering' (Hale, 2004; Jenkins, 1986, 1997; Wallman, 1979). Such inter-ethnic relations within this context of 'othering' have produced competition and bargaining between ethnic groups in social, economic and political matters. In Malaysia, issues of multiethnic society are about equality and opportunity in relation to economic and social needs. For instance, while Malaysian society is multiethnic and culturally pluralistic, Malays have been identified as a disadvantaged group that has been left behind economically, especially compared with the Chinese, who control the business and most of the professional sectors of the economy (Balasubramaniam, 2006; Guan, 2000; Ho, 1997; Lee, 1997). This has been seen as an economic cleavage among ethnic groups, namely, ethnic competition for scarce resources has affected the state's process of policy production, including in education.

Notions of ethnicity and ethnic identity in Malaysian multicultural society are vital for galvanizing ethnic individuals to preserve, protect and promote their cultures, languages and religions, including their economic

objectives. Balasubramaniam (2006) observes that ethnic identity in Malaysian multicultural society is strengthened further by the role of the middle class. This is related to the role of the middle class in promoting its ethnic community's interests through ethnic-based organizations. Furthermore, Guan (2000) argues that because ethnicity in Malaysian society has combined social, political and economic interests with an ethnic group identity, ethnic groups are effective and successful in mobilizing their members in pursuit of collective ends. In this sense, ethnic attachments are variously seen as a way to preserve a precious cultural heritage, to protect or to win economic and political advantages and retard the shift of power to the state (Yinger, 1985). Furthermore, the notion of ethnicity within the Malaysian context is situationally constructed and discursively produced, involving economic, social and political issues (Joseph, 2006). The border between ethnic groups is thick or thin based on the perception and feeling of the groups regarding some issues regarding their ethnic communities' rights and interests.

In terms of policy and general perceptions among the population, ranges of distinction between the ethnic groups are offered. Social, economic and political scenarios at certain levels have influenced development of ethnic feelings and intense identifications. For example, the majority–minority dichotomy took on an indigenous–non-indigenous grouping. The Malays and the other native groups are the 'bumiputera,' and the non-Malay, Chinese, Indians and others are 'non-bumiputera.' This majority–minority ratio in the Malaysian context creates feelings of 'othering' between groups recognized as 'bumiputera' and 'non-bumiputera.' The Malay position was entrenched further as the majority group through government efforts to serve interests of the Malays and maintain their position as the majority ethnic group in Malaysia through various policies, rights and privileges, some of which are constitutionally stated (Hashim, 1976). In this sense, the feeling of ethnicity waxes and wanes, depending on the extent of political manipulation of social and economic means for majority and minority groups, the Malay and the non-Malay (Jamil, 2007). Joseph's (2006) research on the construction of ethnicity among Malaysian schoolgirls indicates that the policy has influenced how Malaysian children negotiate the discourse of ethnicity. She shows how policy was involved in framing the construction of the different ethnicities among schoolgirls from different ethnic backgrounds. The feeling of ethnicity has been manipulated by political means to serve political interests and power. Sometimes, politicians speak about differences and at other times, they speak across these differences. The sense of ethnicity is always being utilized politically, together with issues of language, religion and economy in Malaysian multicultural society. This is among the nation's challenges in developing an image of multicultural society that is harmonious and united. The construction of ethnicity in Malaysia can be illustrated by the framework in Figure 12.1.

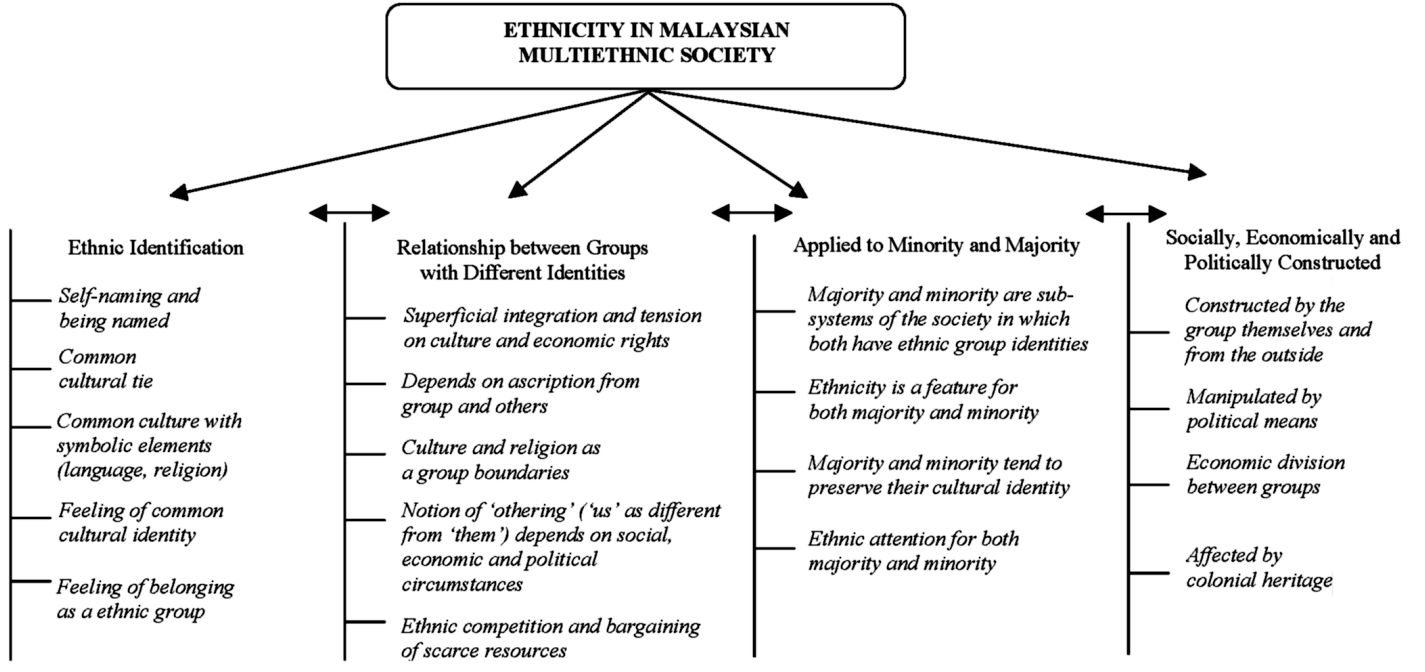

Figure 12.1 The construction of ethnicity in Malaysian multiethnic society.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE STATE OF MULTICULTURALISM

As discussed earlier, in Malaysian multiethnic society, the place of ethnicity is related to social, economic and political circumstances of different groups. The linkages between ethnicity in these dimensions have created complicated issues for the state to manage in order to ensure unity and harmony in the nation. These aspects have made Multicultural Education relevant in order to manage and mediate different cultural communities of Malaysian society. The overall intent of Malaysia's current educational policy is to achieve national unity in a multiethnic society. In other words, efforts toward national unity and social cohesion remain a major agenda of the national education policy. The objective of national unity is acknowledged as the top priority for becoming a developed country by 2020 (Mohamad, 1991).

However, not all these efforts have been implemented easily; rather, contestation and ethnic bargaining have developed. The Malaysian community is dominated by three major ethnic groups (Malay, Chinese and Indian) which underscores the polarity of ethnic groups and continues to have a decisive influence on macro-level policy and micro-level practice. This scenario, according to Boulanger (1996), is due to a 'tri-ethnic schema' of Malay-Chinese-Indian, along with other sub-groups that also deserve attention. Therefore, educational policy processes aimed at developing multicultural ideology always need to consider ethnicity issues. In this sense, attention to ethnic interests and demands remains central to the production and implementation of multiculturalism in Malaysian educational policy. In other words, how the government attempts to satisfy the demands and needs of the respective ethnic groups is a delicate business that touches on ethnic sensitivities and interests.

THE STATE-OF-PRACTICE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN THE MALAYSIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

Cultural diversity within a nation has been one significant source of heterogeneous and competing demands on education and schools (James, 1996). In the case of Malaysia, the government accommodated the demands of a multicultural society by allowing the continuous division of primary schools (national primary and national-type primary schools), using a common curriculum and examination but a different method of instruction (Malay, Chinese or Tamil language). According to United Chinese School Committee Association of Malaysia (UCSCAM), 90% of Malaysian Chinese enroll their children in Chinese primary schools (Soong, 2000). In Tamil primary schools, about 90,000 pupils were enrolled during the year 2000 (Majlis Bertindak Kebangsaan Bagi Sekolah Tamil, 2000).

Development of language diversity in the Malaysian education system indicates that the provision for children to learn the majority language while maintaining their first language remains supported and encouraged by the government. This has produced a vernacular school system in education, maintaining the spirit of Malaysian education policy to manage multiculturalism, in order to integrate the multiethnic society in Malaysia through education without abolishing ethnic rights in language. However, the cluster of different ethnic children in different schools is contrary to the national aspiration of integration with the national language as the main medium of instruction.

The school structure has been a main stream of discourse about ethnic disintegration in the Malaysian education system. In response to the contested discourse between the interests of ethnicity in the school system and achieving national unity, the government has introduced programs, policies, practices and curricula that are not only culturally inclusive but consciously work to recognize and take action against bias, combat racism and reject stereotyping. Among the projects for enhancing ethnic and cultural relationships within the Malaysian school system is a program that could eliminate ethnic boundaries and enhance social interaction among children from different ethnic backgrounds (Jamil et al., 2004): the so-called Integration School Programme (ISP). When it was begun, this initiative was aimed at eradicating constraints on integrating children caused by the different types of primary schools. It sought to bring together all children from different types of school and increase ethnic interactions among them. The programme consisted of two models: The first combines the three types of schools (National, National Type [Chinese] and National Type [Tamil] schools) in one complex; the second sought to establish joint activities between different types of schools that were located close together. The purpose of this programme was to bring together Malay, Chinese and Indian children from all these schools through joint co-curricular activities, sharing school facilities and developing collaboration between the schools' Parents and Teachers Associations (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 1985).

Discourse about eliminating obstacles to social interaction among children from different ethnic backgrounds has also initiated an idea for the Vision School (henceforth, VS), to develop effective ethnic relations among school children. For example, this goal appeared in the Ministry of Education proposal of the VS concept, which confessed that the Malaysian primary schools system produces ethnic segregation by placing children in their own ethnic group (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 1995).

> Until today, the primary education system still practiced their different streams, which is Malay language stream in national school, Chinese language in National Type Primary School (Chinese) and Tamil in National Type Primary School (Indian). Each school existed separately

> and clustered within their community. (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 1995, p.8)

The VS idea, introduced in 1995, was inclined to remove the barriers of ethnic-based schools in order to promote better interactions among younger Malaysians. In promoting this idea of integration through education, the government believes that integration can be achieved through more interaction between children of different ethnic groups who have been divided by the ethnically-based school system in Malaysian education. This strategy sought to accommodate the state's agenda of national integration while maintaining the ethnic interests of the various groups and their school identity.

Inspired by a commitment to providing an environment for sharing school facilities and encouraging social interactions among the children, the state believes that the spirit of understanding and tolerance, as well as the values of a multiethnic society to the children of different ethnic streams, would be enhanced (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 1995). The VS concept encourages school children to carry out their activities in mixed (ethnic/cultural) groupings. The premise of multicultural ideology is to provide a physical environment and social contact as a means to achieve national unity (Abdullah, 2003). In this sense, advocates believe that ethnic harmony, tolerance and integration can be achieved if different ethnic groups mix and interact frequently.

As it aimed at dismantling segregation and increasing ethnic interaction among students from different backgrounds, the VS project has been accepted by the government as a strategy of integration. As the Ministry of Education declared:

> Vision school is based on the concept of learning together under one roof or in one compound for all ethnic groups. This concept means that two or three different types of schools and administrations are placed in a same building or area. This situation will provide attempts to entrench the values of plural society, and develop understanding and tolerance spirit between ethnic groups, specifically amongst pupils since primary education level. Ministry of Education Malaysia (1995, p.9)

This program reflects cultural diversity and extends children's knowledge both of their own culture and cultures other than their own by enhancing social contact among children from different ethnic backgrounds.

However, there are conflicting discourses on multiculturalism between the Malay's hegemonic paradigm on integration (which ethnic minorities have interpreted as assimilationist) and the idea of multiculturalism, which is linked to fair and democratic ideals for the Malaysian nation. Malays are keen to practice discreet multiculturalism, which recognizes cultural diversity in Malaysian society but sets it against core Malay values that

are regarded as central to the identity of the nation. In contrast, Chinese and Indians want 'full' multiculturalism, which recognizes equal rights for all Malaysians in respect to social, economic and political opportunities (Ho, 1997; Jamil, 2007; Lee, 1997). This discourse about multiculturalism among Malaysia society has been influenced by social, economic and political positions, in which ethnicity plays a role. The different ethnic groups' aspirations have produced different ethnic challenges, which are in turn related to Malay and non-Malay's different ideologies concerning multiculturalism and integration through education.

The Malays hold such aspirations in their ideological perspectives about multiculturalism: that Malay language, culture and values are the foundation for constructing national identity (Jamil, 2007). This suggests that Malays are interested in an assimilationist ideology to develop national integration. In contrast, discourses about 'the mother tongue' have influenced and constructed ethnic consciousness among the Chinese and Indians. The universal ideology of human rights in relation to culture and language has also been an influence, producing challenges to main stream discourse about the need for language homogeneity, embodied in the ideology of 'one language, one nation.' In modern Malaysian society, human rights and equal opportunities in education have become major values influencing discourses about education and multiculturalism. Thus, competing discourses have influenced the policy process by accommodating multiple aspirations about ethnicity regarding rights in social and economic circumstances.

GLOBALIZATION AND THE INFLUENCE OF MULTICULTURAL IDEOLOGY IN THE MALAYSIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

Due, in part, to the way the term 'multiculturalism' is applied in Malaysia, the concept is not limited only to ethnic groups. Although the concept of multiculturalism is important and has been adopted in the Malaysian social reality, Malaysian heterogeneous ethnic groups bring different imaginations, views and ideas about how multiculturalism should relate to society (Anderson, 1991). In this sense, it is important to give attention to the globalization of cultural and ethnic diversity in the context of social reality in Malaysian multiethnic society. The phenomenon of transmigration, as well as more tragic, spectacular events like 9/11 and the ominous threat from the 'clash of the civilizations' (Huntington, 1996), have become significant elements that make the issue of multiculturalism and its place in education in Malaysia even more important.

The problem of global pressure on the nation, culturally, socially, economically or politically, has been regarded as a crucial external influence on the multiculturalism process in Malaysia. Both local and global pressure creates a mechanism that produces fragmentation and difference within the nation (Henry, Lingard, Rizvi, & Taylor, 2001). Accordingly, the state

is always trying to intervene in both local and global matters. Whilst the state continues to mediate national and domestic issues in education, the significant impact of globalization on the nation forces the government to respond to this challenge. As Appadurai (1996) noted, the relation between local and global influences is not simply a spatial matter, but the most important issue for how the government should deal with tensions between the local and the global.

The 1990s show that Malaysia has been involved in an economic and social transformation that has been affected by globalization. Intense competition in business and trade, as well as the need for scientific and technological advancement, have brought new challenges to the notion of multiculturalism in the Malaysian education system. This situation has required the state to alter national educational policies. With the desire for progress toward becoming a competitive nation in the global sphere, this age will see that pragmatic concerns are addressed together with those of nationalism (Gill, 2002).

State emphasis on policy, while to some degree influenced by discourses of ethnicity, is also inspired by regional and international factors. For instance, continued discourse among Malaysian leaders about standards declining in terms of English language proficiency, even compared to other countries in Southeast Asia (Omar, 2000), has influenced state action to enhance the standard of English among Malaysia.

Given the complexity of the ethnicity landscape, and the landscape of economic and political interests, policy development and implementation have been influenced, to some degree, by political and economic contingencies. For pragmatic reasons, there is a growing recognition by the state of the multiethnic character of the Malaysian education system as an attractive advantage and asset in an increasingly globalized world. For now, indications show that the state generally has recognized the value of preserving Chinese education in the country. Perhaps an important factor is the pragmatic belief that Chinese-educated Malaysian Chinese and Malaysia in general, would be a valuable human resource in developing and strengthening commercial links between China and Malaysia, because China will be a major economic force in the 21st century (Guan, 2000). This can be seen in policies allowing instruction of other than the national language in some educational institutions.

The recent issue of school choice among multiethnic parents in Malaysian society is of great concern to the politics of reason. These parents are seeking material or economic advantage for their children and are less concerned with the maintenance of ethnic boundaries. For example, there are now some 60,000 Malay pupils studying in Chinese-medium schools, not necessarily because their parents want them to learn the Chinese language, but because they believe that the teachers there are more committed (Lin-Sheng, 2003). Thus, discourse on multiculturalism in the school system means that both the state and society are beginning to recognize different types in the school system.

Emergence of a new generation of Malaysians from all communities who are willing to question ethnic-based politics reflects, to some degree, the government's successful efforts to inculcate a greater sense of being Malaysian through the educational system. Younger Malaysians seeking to play a meaningful part in society now tend to reject ethnic approaches and are instead inspired by new and more universalistic ideals. Issues of human rights, justice, democracy and freedom have become new rallying calls (Hing, 2003).

CONCLUSION

In Malaysian educational policy for promoting multiculturalism, the need for commonality, along with the need for cultural and language identities, often pull the multiethnic society and the state in opposite directions. The effort to develop a multiculturalist ideology among Malaysia's numerous ethnic communities remains challenging, in part due to the continuation of communal political parties and the fact that constitutional and policy practices emphasize a Malay/non-Malay dichotomy on all economic, social and political dimensions (de Micheaux, 1997; Lin-Sheng, 2003; Kheng, 2003a; Kheng, 2003b; Haque, 2003; Singh & Mukherjee, 1993).

Means (1986) argues that in most developing countries, a dominant ethnic group usually tends to be at the core of cultural, political and national identities. In this sense, Malaysia remains qualified to present a striking example. In spite of the fact that other ethnic cultures and identities continue to thrive in Malaysia, the majority group dominates the development of the national policy, including that which affects education. For instance, Malay Language is a national language. In addition, Islamic values have been usually viewed as the foundation of National Culture Policy. With regard to economics, some policies provide ethnic preferences, particularly for the Malays, who have been officially recognized as indigenous people (Means, 1986; Thompson & Rudolph, 1986). In this sense, there is an accumulated ethnic division that creates ethnic policy differences for both Malay and non-Malay. The policy in practice is constructing ethnic boundaries within the binary of Malay and non-Malay in the policy processes for achieving the ideology of multiculturalism.

The problem with Malaysian educational policy for enhancing Multicultural Education is distribution of educational resources and negotiating different interests and rights in relation to ethnicity. Considering the imagination of the nation (Anderson, 1991), the Malaysian scenario demonstrates that the image of multiculturalism is continuously developed and created by the state through symbolic national elements and both specific and general state policy. In conjunction, members of a nation also have an image of what multiculturalism is. In Malaysia, with its diverse ethnic

groups and their heterogeneous cultures, the important image of multiculturalism that leaders try to present is one of a plural society, united in harmony and sharing a common national identity. The image and ideas about multiculturalism also depend on the nature and structure of society, including the political objectives of the state. The process of policy production in the Malaysian education system demonstrates an attempt to keep faith with accommodation, tolerance and consensus, while managing issues of ethnicity and multiculturalism in the context of globalization. The state's role is to be a conscientious keeper of the balance and promote a united, developed Malaysian nation.

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13 Multicultural Education in a Color-Blind Society

Carl E. James

In this chapter, I explore the role that official multiculturalism in Canada plays in both national and local reactions to a recommendation to establish an educational program designed to address the persistent failure of Black students in Canadian schools.[1] Because education is a provincial matter, there are variations across provinces, nevertheless, research on the educational situation of Black students in Edmonton (Codjoe, 2001; Kelly 1998), Halifax (BLAC, 1994), Montreal (Beauger, Dorsaint, & Turenne, 1994; Richardson, 1994), and Toronto (Dei, 2006; James, 2005) indicates that their educational performance and achievements continue to be significantly below those of their peers, including other racial and immigrant peers (except Aboriginals). My reference primarily will be to the situation of Black students in the Toronto District School Board (public)[2] and the recent decision of the board to establish an education program specifically designed—and requested by parents, teachers, students and community members (mostly Black)—to meet the concerns, needs, interests and expectations of Black students who, as the board's records show, have a 40% drop-out rate, compared to a 23% drop-out rate for all students (Brown, 2006, p. 14; see also Toronto District School Board [TDSB], 2008).

In accordance with their system of alternative schools (which are designed for students who are not performing well or whose academic and/or non-academic needs are not being met in their current schooling situation), parents, community members and others, mostly Black, called for and received commitment from the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) to implement programs of study for such students.[3] It was expected that the program would integrate "the histories, cultures, experiences and contributions of people of African decent and other racialized groups into the curriculum, teaching methodologies and social environment of the schools" (Toronto District School Board, Report, 2008). The recommended programs, under the theme, "Improving the success of Black students," were also part of a motion passed by the Board of Trustees in January, and reaffirmed in June 2008. The motion called for the establishment of an "Africentric Alternative School" by September 2009.

Reaction to the recommendations by the vast majority of Canadians—including the Premier of the Province, the Minister of Education, school administrators, educators and African-Canadians—was disappointment with the trustees, and sentiments expressed by the politicians reflected those of Canadians as a whole. The premier encouraged Torontonians, if "they really feel strongly about this" to "speak to their duly elected representatives and tell them how strongly they are opposed to this proposal." The opposition leader also condemned the recommendation, as did the Minister of Education, who said: "We don't want to see kids separated from each other. We don't think the board should be moving in this direction or the school" (Benzie, 2008, p. A1).

An explanation of the negative reactions by Torontonians and Canadians generally to the initiative (see Alphonso & Bradshaw, 2008) might be that such "segregated" schooling goes against Ontario's 1977 commitment to a program of Multicultural Education that would foster integration[4] of immigrant, racial and ethnic minority students, accommodate all their differences, educate them in ways that affirm their culture, and maintain the notion that the school system is culturally-neutral, thereby providing equal opportunity for all students. To support this initiative would be to call into question the commitment of governments and educators to Multicultural Education and the belief that the failure of students is more a product of their individual efforts, choices and cultural values, rather than the system of education. Such belief is informed by a multicultural discourse whose efficacy, in the current context, is being questioned in terms of its capacity to reduce dissension among its minority citizens.

Using Critical Race Theory, I discuss how the multicultural discourse masks the injurious effects of race on those without race privilege (minorities), hence the lack of support for educational programs that make race explicit in addressing their educational outcomes. Futher, I attempt to show that, for the most part, education in Canada is mired in a color-blind and monocultural discourse in terms of vision, content and style that the promise of democracy, inclusivity and equity continue to elude minority students. Henry and Tator's (2006) assertion about the tendency in Canada to ignore the historical effects of race and racism on members of minoritiy communities is instructive to our discussion (see also Aylward, 1999; Tanovich, 2006). As Aylward (1999) suggests:

> In the United States, most observers would [at least] acknowledge that racism exists, the controversy is over the role that the law plays in its maintenance and perpetruation. In Canada, it is hard even to reach this issue because of the pervasive denial of the very existance of racism in Canadian society. (p. 49)

As these scholars indicate, in Canada, as elsewhere, the claim of color-blindness[5] does not make sense, because race and racism have historically

operated to determine the restrictive policies pertaining to Black immigration and the resulting subordinating conditions under which they have lived. Critical Race Theory (CRT) foregrounds the histories and lived experiences of marginalized and racialized people and, as such, serves as a useful reference for our examination of the issues underlying Canadian responses to the schooling initiative that is intended to address the educational situation of Black students in Toronto schools.

Critical Race Theory exposes how the taken-for-granted laws and policies of color-blindness, race-neutrality, formal eqality measures, merit, integration and cultural democracy reflect, create and perpetuate institutional inequities and racism (Aylward, 1999; Goldberg, 2007; Roithmayr, 1999; Stanley, 2006; Yosso, 2005). In fact, the myth of meritocracy and color-blindness have allowed the subordination and exclusion of minority people while the society advocates race-neutrality. In other words, as Taylor (1998, p. 123) suggests, the normalization of race-based practices in education, and society generally, "makes the racism that fuels it look ordinary and natural." This is contrary to the reality that racist acts are not isolated instances of bigotry. Rather, they reflect larger structural and institutional patterns of White domination. Indeed, Essed (2002) argues that race is:

> an ideological construction, and not just a social construction, because the idea of 'race' has never existed outside of a framework of group interest. . . . Racism is a structure because racial and ethnic domination exists in and is reproduced by the system through the formulation and application of rules, laws, and regulations and through access to and the allocation of reseources. Finally, racism is a process because structures and ideologies do not exist outside the everyday practices through which they are created and confirmed. (p. 185)

Theorists suggest that the ideology of racism and the social structures that support it overlap, intersect and interact with other demographic factors such as class, ethnicity, gender, dis/ability and sexuality. Accordingly, the various ways in which the social construction and structural locations of race, ethnicity, class and gender, etc., interact with and influence one another, help to shape both individual and group experiences and identities (Ferber, 2007; Howard, 2008). As such, individuals are discriminated against in different ways as a consequence of the combination of their individual characteristics. The cultural and educational experiences of Black students, therefore, will be related to their constucted difference pertaining not only to their race but also to their gender and class. For these reasons, the schooling and educational experiences of Black males (given their constructions and stereotypes) will be different from that of their female peers. In fact, the TDSB research shows that the 40% dropout rate applies more to male second generation Caribbean students than their female peers (Brown & Sinay, 2008; TDSB, 2008).

In the section that follows, I discuss Canada's policy of multiculturalism, the discourse it has spawned and the challenges that are raised given the calls for and agitation over social justice in recent times, particularly in Europe and Australia. I then go on to discuss the genesis and expectations of Afrocentric schooling (Africentric or Black Focused School are interchangeably used). I conclude by suggesting that limitations notwithstanding (see Ginwright, 2000), any implementation of Africentric schooling will require a rethinking of Multicultural Education in Canada that affords recognition of the effects of race and racism on individuals' experiences, and reform of the education system to make possible equal opportunity, taking into account the diverse interests, needs, aspirations and learning styles of students through teacher/student relationships, resources, curriculum and pedagogy (see Grant & Sleeter, 1997).

MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA IN A CONTEXT OF GROWING 'INDIFFERENCE'

Introduced in 1971, Canada's Multicultural Policy (changed to the *Multiculturalism Act* in 1988) has evolved a discourse of cultural democracy which suggests that Canadians of any cultural group are free to maintain, practice and enhance their culture. Indeed, the *Multiculturalism Act* (1988) states:

> The Constitution of Canada . . . recognizes the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians . . . ; [and] the government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. (July, 1988)

That "cultural groups"[6] are able to preserve, practice and enhance their culture is reflective of the deeply held belief among most Canadians that the society is 'culturally neutral' (unlike the United States—the country to which Canada compares itself—with its assimilationist or melting pot paradigm).[7] In fact, in setting out the Multicultural Policy in 1971, then Prime Minister Trudeau stated, "although there are two official languages [English and French] there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other," hence all cultural groups are free to fully participate in the society regardless of their culture (James, 2003; p. 208; see also Palmer, 1975).

This idea of cultural neutrality and freedom of "cultural group" (that is: ethnic or racial minority and immigrant group) members to maintain their culture points to a fixed conception of culture and unacknowledged culture of privilege and dominance. No society or group is culturally neutral, because culture is the way in which the members of any given society or group organize and conduct themselves by using a set of values, beliefs, norms, patterns of thinking, styles of communication, ways of interacting and interpreting the world around them to ensure their survival in any geographic and social environment (Benhabib, 2002; James, 2003; Kallen, 2003; Rosaldo, 1993; Yosso, 2005). Moreover, as Jackson and Meadows (1991, p. 70) explain, culture cannot be treated "as a heap of anthropological curiosities" or seen merely as artifacts such as languages, symbols, customs and rituals. It is not simply about observable symbols, behaviors and material things, but is a multifaceted, variable, interconnected set of elements that involve the physical, emotional and spiritual as well as the racial, ethnic, national, religious identities of individuals.

Critical observers of Canadian multiculturalism contend that it promotes a discourse of "difference," ascribed to individuals considered "foreign" as represented by their "visibility," foreign languages (i.e., non-English and/or non-French) and accents (James, 2001; Bannerji, 1997; Walcott, 2003). As Walcott (2003) puts it, the popularly held notion of Canadians is that they are "phenotypically white." These visible attributes of individuals, signaled by such things as color (or race), language, behaviors and customs, mark them as "culturally different"—a culture based on their "foreign heritage" unrelated to their Canadian existence. So, it is typical for "visible minorities" (racial and ethnic minorities, except Aboriginals, are officially referred to here) whose heritage in Canada goes back generations, to be considered as having culture that is from elsewhere. In this case, Blacks would be considered as having cultural values, beliefs and practices that are based on their Caribbean and/or African heritages. Consequently, it would be considered imprudent for the state to encourage these minorities, especially second-plus generation, to maintain their "foreign" cultural values, beliefs and practices that are antithetical to those of "Canadians." In this regard, today as in earlier years, the multicultural discourse of integration is, in fact, a form for minorities and immigrants to be assimilated into the dominant English culture so that the state's national identity project is not undermined.

Canada is not alone in conceiving of the virtues of state multiculturalism. Indeed, in the post-World War II period, immigration of non-White people (because of the need for their labor) prompted governments to introduce multicultural policies as a means of accommodating their new and economically-valuable immigrants/citizens. For instance, in Britain as in Canada, multicultural policies had the goal of integrating large numbers of post-war African, Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani immigrants by

promoting cultural tolerance and respect (Vertovec, 2007). Abbas (2007) states that since the 1960s, British governments have introduced various legislation and policies pertaining to ethnic minority groups that, on the one hand, were designed to address anti-immigration and anti-discrimination sentiments, and on the other, promote assimilation, integration, and most recently, multiculturalism. He goes on to say that "All attempts to make multiculturalism work in the British case have been fraught with ambiguities, inconsistencies, challenges and political leanings, all impacted by present politics and collective memory. . . . However, as a result of 9/11 and the Northern 'riots', public policy focus has been on domestic security, the war against international terrorism and improving community cohesion" (p. 290).

In the case of Australia, Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2008) write that the country prides itself on moving from White monoculturalism to a multicultural policy that accepts immigrants from all over the world. Since the late 1990s, a large number of African refugees have settled in Australia. However, more recently, suspicion and antipathy toward multiculturalism has increased due in part to the perceived terrorist threat that has resulted in "a retreat from multiculturalism both as a policy and an ethical ideal" (Colic-Peisker, & Tilbury, 2008, p. 42). It has not helped that racial minority immigrants are perceived as living largely off government resources and causing a crisis in national unity. Colic-Peisker and Tilbury note that whereas most of the hostility has been directed toward Muslims (see also Jakubowicz, 2007), anti-African sentiments are also present, as evidenced by the public debate when a Sydney academic warned that increasing Black immigration would lead to increases in crime, violence and other social problems. Arber (1999) argues that unlike the United States[8] and the United Kingdom, multicultural policy was never informed by anti-racist thought, and this prevented the development of a more critical understanding of multiculturalism and its goals. So when talk of race and ideas about Australianness, "became a national obsession," the discourse and understanding of multiculturalism was inadequate to overcome the conception of "real Australians" and "The Other" (p. 313).

Writing from his vantage point in Canada with reference to the July 2005 bombing in the British underground by young British Muslims, the riots in a Paris suburb with Arab and African youth in the same year, and 6 weeks later, the insurrection between White Europeans and people of Middle Eastern origin on the beaches in Sydney, Australia, Gregg (2006), s Canadian researcher, commented that in the 21st century, multiculturalism has become a source of new anxieties. In his article, "Identity Crisis: Multiculturalism: A twentieth-century dream becomes a twenty-first-century conundrum," Gregg suggests that Canadians understand that they are not immune from similar events happening here, hence their anxieties over immigration. Gregg goes on to point out that whereas 80% of Canadians think that European immigrants make a positive contribution, only 59%

think the same of Asians. Furthermore, only 45% and 33% of Canadians think that East Indians and Caribbeans respectively, bring a positive influence to Canada. Additionally, 69% of Canadians "say immigrants should 'integrate and become part of the Canadian culture,' rather than 'maintain their [own] identity'" (p. 40). According to Gregg, "to some extent, it seems that Canadians, like their brethren in Europe, Australia, and elsewhere, have had their fill of multiculturalism and hyphenated citizenship" (p. 40). In this regard, he predicts that in years to come, Canada's ability to accommodate diversity will become "a central issue," for like "England, France, and other advanced liberal democracies, national unity in Canada is threatened by the growing atomization of our society along ethnic lines" (p. 41).

Gregg also makes the case that, as in Britain and France, it is second-generation racial minority Canadians[9] from whom problems will come since, referencing sociologist Jeffrey Reitz, they are less upwardly mobile, enjoy less life satisfaction and display a sense of alienation compared to previous second-generations of White Canadians. In fact, Reitz (2006) showed that life-satisfaction for today's second-generation Canadians, most of whom are racial minority, decreases whereas for earlier White second-generation Canadians it increased. Gregg concludes by suggesting that to avoid problems, immigrants must be better accepted by "native-born" Canadians, and immigrants must "demonstrate a willingness to join mainstream society by adopting the fundamental mores and values of the prevailing culture. There must also be cross-fertilization between ethnic groups and civic nationalism has to be clearly defined" (p. 46).

It is within this local and global context of growing indifference to multiculturalism that the Toronto District School Board proposes to introduce an Africentric Alternative School. It is a context in which multiculturalism, as Arber (1999) said of its policies and practices in Australia, "remains something variously understood, negotiated and renegotiated, supported and denied; [and] . . . hides a set of silences . . . ; excludes, even as it includes; so that the inequalities that multiculturalism seeks to annul seems non-existent" (p. 310). In Canada, it seems that Multicultural Education programs that were established in the 1970s to build students' confidence in "their culture," expose them to the cultures and perspectives of others and address the alienation and related poor educational performance of immigrant and minority students (James, 2001) seem to be giving way to a national cultural identity project that calls for the assimilation of minority students into the existing academic culture of the school, informed predominantly by, in English Canada, White middle class Anglo-European values. Indeed, as Gregg (2006) contends, "Canadians" (to whom he attributes dissatisfaction with multiculturalism as a state policy) are now concerned with how that policy is contributing to a fracturing of the state. Hence, these said "Canadians" are unlikely to support having an Africentric Alternative School because doing so would be making color visible (something that is "un-Canadian"), and as stated earlier, contribute to "atomization,"

"balkanization" and "segregation" of students when the aim of schooling should be about "cross-fertilization" and socializing students into the ways, morals and values of the state.

AFROCENTRIC/BLACK-FOCUSED SCHOOL: A SCHOOLING OPTION IN A MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT?

The call for a Black-focused school has been voiced for decades in Toronto and Halifax, Nova Scotia. In fact, it was in 1992 shortly after the Rodney King verdict and related riots in Los Angeles that Black Torontonians demonstrated in solidarity with their U.S. counterparts and against, what by then had been, a series of police shooting of Black youth in Toronto.[10] Following the riots on Yonge Street on May 4th, the then-Premier condemned the rioting and claimed that the riot was not about racism but rather a reflection of "hooliganism." However, from the investigations that followed came reports suggesting that racism, as evident in police–community relations and poor educational achievement of Black youth, was partly at the root of the riots. In their report, the Four-Level Government/African Canadian Community Working Group reiterated points made in earlier reports: That the experiences and problems of Black youth were rooted in the economic, political and educational system, as opposed to individuals' inadequacy or that of the community. The report states:

> A review of the number of reports and presentations before the Working Group makes it clear that, for at least a generation, the African-Canadian community has been crying out in anguish over the poor performance of its youth in the Ontario school system. The dropout rate, the truancy rate, the failure rate, the basic-streaming rate: all these pointed inexorably to the fact that, where Black kids are concerned, something is terribly wrong. (Working Group, 1992, p. 77)

In its recommendations, the Group called for the establishment of a Black focused-school that would address these educational concerns.

Reactions to this recommendation came from various media sources throughout the country. For instance, the *Winnipeg Free Press* talked of the fear that such a school would generate by drawing comparisons to U.S. "southern style segregation." The *Vancouver Sun* also raised the specter of "segregation," quoting York University professor Wilson Head's opposition to the idea and went on to mention that Head grew up in segregated Atlanta. Similar articles appeared in both the *Edmonton Journal* (December, 1992) and *Ottawa Citizen* (December, 1992), in which the idea of Black-focused schools was cast as segregationist.

In 1993, the Royal Commission on Learning (RCOL) was established by the Ontario government to study the educational needs of students, with

the aim to present "a vision and action plan" to guide educational reform that would ensure that students "are well-prepared for the challenges of the 21st century." The Commission reported that:

> Black students, parents and community leaders came to the Commission and expressed serious concerns about the achievement levels of their young people. They expressed frustration over lack of improvement over the years, during which time they have voiced their concerns to school boards and to the Ministry. They are concerned about the future of young Blacks who, without a secondary school diploma (let alone a college diploma or university degree), face limited job prospects, social marginalization, and personal defeat. These presenters argued forcefully that the educational system is failing Black students, and that there is an educational crisis in their community (RCOL, 1994, p. 92).

The commission recommended that in areas with large numbers of Black students, "innovative strategies" be used and "special programmes" be established that would address the need to substantially improve the academic performance of Black students. The commission signaled that "based on success stories elsewhere" (i.e., the United States), it was worth experimenting with "African-centered education" (RCOL, 1994, p. 44).

Months later (December 1994) in Nova Scotia, the Black Learners Advisory Committee (BLAC) released its report on education which similarly established that African Nova Scotian students were experiencing, in the words of the committee chair, Castor Williams, "a discordant education system that is devoid of any effective policies essential and sympathetic to their needs." In introducing the report, he writes:

> Clear deficiencies that exist include the shortage of policies affecting race relations at the Board and school levels; the need for school curriculum and policies to accommodate cultural diversity; the need to realign the relationship between the home and the school; the lack of any development of creative and resourceful programs for teachers' professional training, maturation and growth in a multicultural and multiracial society; scarcity of Black role models in the systems; methods to respond to racial harassment and the assessment of students for placement; the lack of an effective process to evaluate textbooks for bias; and the absence of materials to engender more positive attitudes in the African Nova Scotian student. Programs to ensure early childhood education and access to post-secondary education are also in short supply. (BLAC Report, 1994, p. 13)

In February 2005, at a community forum in downtown Toronto on the topic, "Making the grade: Are we failing our Black youth?," the prevailing sentiment among the largely Black audience and panelists was that Toronto

schools are failing Black youth as evidenced by their poor academic performance, and high suspensions and dropout rates. In response to this situation, one panel member, Prof. George Dei of the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto, recommended an alternative school for Black students. *The Toronto Star* (February, 2005) newspaper at the time reported that Prof. Dei "drew loud applause at the town-hall meeting by suggesting alternative schools for black students were the only way to prevent them from being pushed out of the system" (p. A15).

The debate continued for weeks, as school board officials and government members considered what needed to be done to address the situation of Black students. The same newspaper article, under the front page headline, "Province rules out black-only schools," reported that, "Amid the growing local controversy, the Ontario government says racially segregated schools aren't in the cards." Nevertheless, the "controversy" was reignited in the fall of the same year, when the newly appointed (and first) Executive Officer for Equity of the Toronto District School Board was quoted in the newspaper as saying that it would be worth exploring the idea of a Black-focus school for students who are not doing well in the system. The school board distanced itself from the statement saying that they had no plans to establish such a school.

As if to prove the limitations of a Black-focused school, in 2005 *The Globe and Mail* newspaper carried an article by reporter Jill Mahony that profiled what was considered to be Canada's only Black public school, Nelson Whynder Elementary School in North Preston (just outside of Halifax), Nova Scotia. The article notes that "In this isolated community, Nelson Whynder is anything but contentious. In Toronto, however, a recent push to create a trial black-focused school has been deeply divisive" (p. A4). While pointing out that fewer than half of the teachers at the school were Black, the article went on to say that in the early 1990s, North Preston residents and the school officials originally wanted to integrate students with others from neighboring mainly-White schools. However, opposition from members of the neighbouring community left Nelson Whynder de facto segregated.

By 2006, African Nova Scotian educators were also explicitly naming a Black-focused school as a means of addressing the deficiencies that were earlier identified as existing in the Nova Scotian school system (a report that continues to serve as a reference until today; BLAC, 1994, p. 13). There, Wade Smith, a Black educator, said that such a school would be "trying to enhance and raise youth's self esteem and make them feel good about themselves as they move into the world with confidence" (*Daily News*, April, 2006, p. 3). As in Ontario, however, education officials in Nova Scotia rejected the idea on the basis that it was a form of "racial segregation." The chairperson of the Halifax School Board said that their preference was to encourage diversity in schools. "We just think it's an enrichment," he said. "We have schools that have many different languages represented

and ethnic backgrounds, and that's where our focus is" (*Daily News*, April, 2006, p. 3).

In both the Toronto and Halifax educational contexts (and other predominantly Black communities in Nova Scotia), the school curriculum was consistently identified as a barrier to Black students' success. Certainly, the curriculum can open up or limit learning opportunities and possibilities for students, as well as assist teachers in addressing needs and building on the knowledge of their students (Grant & Sleeter, 1997). For Black students, although, as scholars have long maintained, the lessons taught in schools do not enable students to make sense of their "blackness in positive, affirming ways" (Henry, 1994). So, even after years of "celebrating" Black/African History Month through special programs in schools and community, the curriculum and educational programs generally are still failing to provide students with knowledge about themselves and their communities that would keep them engaged in their schooling process.

Consistently, Black-focused schools are perceived by many educators, community members and government officials, including Black students and parents, as a form of "segregated schooling." For some older generation African Canadians, such schooling serves as a reminder of their historical experiences with segregated schooling, and for other members of the society, it is perceived to be "un-Canadian" and something which is primarily found in the United States, where race is named and used as an identifier. In other words, in Canada such schooling is contrary to Canada's multicultural ideal in which all Canadians purportedly are able to participate fully and successfully in the society and in the educational system, irrespective of their racial, ethnic, immigrant, language and religious backgrounds (James, 2001). Hence, as the Halifax *Daily News* editorial contends, "black-only schools" are "a step back" and are "no way to enhance their [students'] self-esteem, or prepare them to thrive in a diverse society" (May, 2006, p. 11).

In Toronto, the call for, and the establishment of, a school with a program geared to meet the educational needs and interests of a particular group of students is not without precedence. There are public or government-funded religious schools (Catholic schools) and same-sex schools (for girls); and the Toronto District School Board has nearly 40 alternative schools, including a gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) school, as well as six "Specialized Schools," four Arts Focus (for visual and performing arts), one Entrepreneurship and one Integrated Technology. There are also schools with specialized programs such as Gifted, High Performing Athletes, Cyber Arts, Media Arts, Math, Science and Technology, International Languages and International Baccalaureate. The existence of such schools and programs indicates recognition that things such as religion, gender, sexuality, and students' interests in arts, drama, technology or athletics play a role in their lived experiences, as well as schooling needs, interests and aspirations. On the basis of similar principles related to the cultural

values and needs of students who choose to attend existing focused-school and alternative schools, African-Canadians are appealing for an Africentric schooling program.

A possible explanation for the failure to grant that an Africentric schooling program would serve African-Canadians and others who choose to attend, in the same way that religious (Catholic) and alternative schools and specialized school programs serve students, might be reluctance to admit that race matters in Canada and, therefore, plays a role in the experiences of Black students. Such admission would mean acknowledging that racism operates as a barrier—both in the school system and the society generally—to students' participation in education and to their achievements. But this idea is something which Canadians have for years rejected (See Clarke footnote 5). This is evident in *The Globe and Mail* newspaper 1992 editorial comments in response to the early public call for a Black focused-school:

> Canada is not a deeply racist society. Nor are our institutions riddled with racism. That many black youths do poorly in school cannot be blamed . . . , on the shortage of black history courses, or white guidance counsellors' ignorance of black culture. If racism in the schools is the problem, how is it possible to explain the scholastic success of other visible minorities such as Chinese—and South Asian-Canadians? Similarly, the disproportionate number of blacks in some Toronto jails cannot be attributed principally to discriminatory treatment by police or the courts. And the high unemployment rate among young blacks is not mainly the result of bigotry, or even systemic discrimination, on the part of employers. (1992, p. A16)

Maintaining the same line of argument, the same *Globe and Mail* newspaper in 2007, under the editorial title "School by skin colour," claimed that "Offering black pupils 'Afrocentric' public schools (a much politer term than segregated) as a way of closing achievement gaps with white children is one of those ideas that look terrible at first glance and on closer examination get worse" (p. A20). The editorial went on to say that Black teachers are not necessarily an advantage and ask, "Is a mediocre teacher of a child's race better for that child than a good teacher of another race? Who says black teachers and administrators are more likely than white teachers or Asian-Canadian administrators to insist on high expectations for poor black students who don't do their homework?" (p. A20). The paper insisted that it would be better to focus on the "real causes" of the poor achievement of Black students while noting that schools should provide extra support and opportunity to repair reading and skill deficiencies among Black students. The call to reject "school by skin colour" is rooted in a multicultural discourse which advocates color-blindness, promotes integration of "cultural groups," and understands "difference"—in terms of identity

and/or culture—to be reflective of "foreignness," which is seen as something schools should not validate, for to do so would be to undermine the national cultural integration project. As socializing institutions, schools, as they exist, are thought to be well able to accommodate the differences among their racially and ethnically diverse student population, and in so doing facilitate exchanges among them in order for them live and contribute to Canadian society.

But the reality is that Canadian communities and schools are not as integrated as might be expected. There are communities that are largely populated by South Asians, Italians, Asians and other ethnic groups; and as such, individuals from these ethnoracial groups make up a significant proportion of the student population in the area schools. So too there are schools, many of them in immigrant working class communities, where Black students make up as much 40 to 80% of the student population.[11] Furthermore, there are schools in Toronto and elsewhere in which Black students are overrepresented on their basketball and track teams, as well as in behavioral and special education classes. Black students have repeatedly told stories of teachers and coaches inviting them to be part of the school's basketball team by merely seeing them in the school and having no prior information about their interests or skills in sports (James, 2005). As Gordon Pon (2000), who is of Chinese origin related, his middle school teacher operated with the assumption that Asian students were more likely to excel at math and sciences. As a consequence, Pon's well-written essays generated suspicion by his teacher who believed that he was unlikely to be the author. More recently (2008), in interviews with a group of undergraduate university students on the topic of racism, one participant recalled that at the "WASPY" high school she attended, the South Asian and Asian students "were always segregated to be the smart ones in the class, even by the teachers." She went on to say: "I remember once in my calculus class my friend. . was singled out straight-a-way, when . . . the class was asked: 'How do you guys feel about calculus?' And she raised her hand and the teacher said to her, 'Well, of course, you would feel good about calculus,' because she was Asian. I remember thinking: 'Wow! That's so inappropriate.'"

The ways in which Black-focused schools are taken up by the media, politicians and others, that is, as a school for Black students, misses the point. Whereas it is expected that the school will address the educational situation of Black students, it is simplistic to think that such a school is just about housing Black bodies. Why would parents, students and educators advocate for a school that, in a racist society, would call into question the education that the students receive, thus setting up yet another barrier to their achievements? After all, Black parents, like all other parents, especially immigrants, are quite keen about their children's upward social mobility (James & Taylor, 2008). In this regard, an Africentric school should not be considered as merely addressing the cultural deficiencies of Black students—deficiencies assumed to result from students' lack of the necessary

cultural knowledge and skills, as well as lack of parental support for their education (see Yosso, 2005). Instead, as a means of building on the diverse heritages and experiences of Black students, having as part of its core, recognition of what Yosso (2005) refers to as "community cultural wealth" that is made up of various forms of capital—cultural, familial, aspirational, linguistic, navigational, resistant and social—that students bring to school. These forms of capital are dynamic and interrelated, and contribute altogether to the ways in which students will engage with school. Race, therefore, is not coded as "cultural difference"[12] but that which inspires such thing as the "aspirational capital" of students which, according to Yosso, "is the ability to hold onto hope in the face of structured inequality and often without the means to make such dream a reality" (p. 77). Along the same line, Debassige (2008), Aboriginal scholar, proffers that school programs are usually about the "three 'Rs', but for Aboriginal students there are five—reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic, racism and resistance." These tenets would not only help Black students, but all students because they all must grow, learn, live, participate and achieve in the same society where racism affects everyone's learning. Hence, race and related experiences cannot be eschewed, but must be engaged in the approaches and relationships that educators establish with their students.

CONCLUSION: RETHINKING MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

That the narrowly approved motion to establish an Africentric Alternative School in Toronto became a national concern and, as in earlier years, generated contentious debates and widespread opposition is related to a perception that such "segregated" schooling is contrary to the "multicultural mosaic" and integration narrative of which Canada boasts. Opposition to the school is also in keeping with the deeply held multicultural belief that Canadian society, and by extension, schools, are "culturally neutral" and "color-blind"; hence, color is seen to have no effect on individuals' educational, social and economic circumstances and opportunities. However, logic would dictate that in a culturally diverse, racially stratified society the opposite is true: Race, intersecting with other characteristics, operates in a variety of ways to privilege and/or limit individuals' integration into the society, as well as their access to opportunities and equality of outcomes (see Sleeter & Grant, 2005).

Therefore, if Multicultural Education and anti-racism education[13] are to deliver on their promise of recognizing cultural diversity, equalizing access to schooling opportunities, confronting racism, and providing educational remediation, then structures must be in place to address and/or remove the barriers to equitable education for minority students. Such structures must provide opportunities for student-centered programs with curriculum and pedagogy that critically engage students in teaching/learning processes

and interrogate the hegemony of the middle-class Eurocentric schooling system that tends to alienate minority students. Also, it might be that it takes a focused-schooling structure to effectively respond to the needs, interests and aspirations of some students. Concomitantly, the existence of a focused-school can further the development and implementation of an inclusive curriculum that would benefit all students and teachers. In this way, focused-schools can be regarded as a means by which Multicultural Education, premised on principles of equity and inclusivity, is operationalized. The idea is that with time, once the needs of *all* students are genuinely met in 'mainstream' culturally diverse classrooms, the focus of such a school would shift.

Obviously, we wish that Black students would be able to learn and succeed academically in the current schooling system. That is not happening, however; hence, there is a need to seek alternative strategies to make it possible. So if it takes having them in an environment with students who share similar experiences, needs, interests, values and aspirations, then having an Africentric Alternative School is worth a try. It is in such a context that educators might be able to talk directly to students about issues they consider "for insiders only," and students can learn from each other and build the necessary confidence to become the academic students that we want them to be.

It is true that, whereas students will gain from being in a learning environment with students "like them," they will be missing a number of educational opportunities, such as: cross-cultural exchanges; engaging and learning with more of their non-Black peers about African people's contributions to Canada, North America and the world; and being able to challenge and problematize the stereotypes and myths about African peoples held by others. There is no doubt that all students need to experience diversity and learn through an inclusive curriculum that provides them information about themselves and others. However, the reality is that all schools are not diverse, due to reasons related to structures, choices and preferences. So, a Black-focused school would not be unusual because, as indicated earlier, gifted students are placed in classes with other gifted students, and athletes attend schools with other athletes, so too, middle class and working class students attend schools in their respective communities that are populated largely by students of similar middle-class or working-class backgrounds; and in many cases, these schools and programs are populated by students of the same race and/or ethnicity. Nevertheless, we do not worry that about the "segregation" of these schools; we seem to think that somewhere in these young people's socialization or journeying through our diverse society they will mix with others. Evidently, the same could be said about Black and other students who choose to attend a Black-focused school.

The proposed Africentric Alternative School should be regarded as one strategy among others that seeks to address the educational situation of Black and other youth who feel alienated in the current educational system

(see also Dei, 2006). I say other youth, for I do not think that it is only Black youth who will or can benefit from a school that critically engages students in an education that explores the colonial history of the country and the place of Aboriginal peoples therein, plurality in settlement history, race privilege and the variations, complexities, contradictions and tensions in ethnoracial identities. It cannot be expected that all students or educators will be of the same racial group; for it is not biology that determines educational aptitude, interests or aspirations but rather the possibilities afforded through interactions with structures in which young people live, learn and play. Therefore, even within a Black-focused school, differences and diversity must be recognized if it is to be inclusive—that is, differences in learning styles, and in the social and cultural capital that each student brings to the educational and schooling process. Indeed, all students can benefit from any curriculum in which social justice is centered. Ultimately, if Black and other students who will attend the Africentric Alternative School are to realize the desired outcomes, then the school will need the support and commitment of financial and other resources from government, policy makers, administrators and educators. Lacking such resources and support, as the current debate over the proposed school demonstrates, leaves in doubt the possible successes that such school might provide.

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NOTES

1. The issues even gained international attention. BBC news online carried the news under the heading "Canada Afrocentric school sparks debate: A decision to create the first Afrocentric, or black focused school funded by taxpayers in Canada's biggest city sparked a heated debate" (Carter, January 30, 2008). Retrieved July 14, 2008, from http://news.bbc.uk/2/hi/americas/7217212.stm.
2. There are also government funded Catholic schools in Toronto (and the province) administered by the Toronto District Catholic School Board; and whereas there are no similar research reports of the performance of Black students in that school system, anecdote evidence indicates that the situation in those schools—as well as schools in other districts in the Greater Toronto area—is no different.
3. The school board policy allows for the establishment of alternative schools upon the request of parents who perceive a need for a particular education program (e.g., social justice) that would meet the needs and interests of students. Such requests are reviewed by the school boards and decision made after a number of community meetings in which support is solicited and attained.

4. According to the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism (1987), integration is "a process, clearly distinct from assimilation, by which groups and/or individuals become able to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country" (p. 87).
5. Some critical race scholars (Collins, 2005; Ferber, 2007) refer to such claims as new racism. Ferber (2007) writes that "this new color-blind racism is less overt and less biologically based than the racism and legally enshrined inequality and segregation of the past. Nevertheless, the new racism shares much in common with the old" (p. 14).
6. The term is used in the Multicultural Policy (1971) to refer to ethnic and racial minority groups. Although, sociologically French and Aboriginal people might be considered minority groups they are not designated "cultural groups." In fact, French Canadians rights are protected in the Constitution and they enjoy majority group privilege in Quebec.
7. George Elliot Clarke (1998), in his essay "White like Canada," writes: "Canadians identity such as it is, defines itself primarily in opposition to the United States. Canadians are nice; Americans are trigger happy. Canadians also claim to be uniquely sensitive to multiculturalism, whereas the American paradigm for assimilation is the 'melting pot.' Canada celebrates a gorgeous 'mosaic' of peoples permitted to maintain their ethnic pluralisms. The most significant difference between Canada and the U.S. is finally, that America has a race problem. In Canada, the party line goes there are no racist save those who watch too many American television" (p. 100–101).
8. King (2005) argues that the United States version of multiculturalism is quite modest. Rather than a recognition or celebration of diversity, Americans have tended to emphasize a notion of "one nation" and policies surrounding diversity have been more clearly focused on the issues of class and race in an effort to ensure "the basic criteria of democracy" (p. 117).
9. As research associate, Selom Chapman-Nyaho observed, Gregg uses the term second-generation "immigrants" and refers to Canada as their "adopted home." Such terminology reflects the prevalence of the foreign construction of minority members of society as conveyed in the multicultural discourse.
10. As in Los Angeles, the Toronto police officers were acquitted.
11. And as already noted, in Nova Scotia there are schools and communities that are exclusively Black.
12. Yosso (2005) reminds us that "race is often coded as 'cultural difference' in schools" and this influences the development and implementation of school curriculum and pedagogical approach (p. 75).
13. Anti-racism education was introduced as a policy in Ontario in 1993, but as I have argued elsewhere, the pervasiveness of the color-blind multicultural discourse stifled efforts to implement an educational program that addresses race and racism. So what was considered anti-racism education was in fact a form of multicultural education in which racial minority students were identified and treated as having culture "from away" (James, 2001).

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14 Multiculturalism in South Africa
In the Shadow of the Rainbow

Dennis Francis and Crispin Hemson

To understand how issues of diversity have been handled in South African education, it is necessary to explore the prevailing educational approaches in recent years and the ways they have been contested. This chapter will explore limitations of a multiculturalist approach in what is seen, in oversimplified terms, as the 'Rainbow Nation,'[1] and will argue for an approach to diversity that is designed to meet the challenges of continuing inequalities. Our contention is that South African education has always recognized diversity, but the ways in which it has done so have mainly reflected oppressive attitudes and structures.

We write from within a tradition of critical pedagogy, a tradition that in particular brings into scrutiny forms of exclusion and the relationship among such forms of exclusion. This requires that we give particular attention to the ways in which specific forms of inequality emerge or are intensified.

South Africa is a society diverse in terms of racial and ethnic divisions, with many languages. It has a history of violent conflict between groups since colonization, both in the suppression of Black groups by White colonizers, in the war between Britain and the Boers, in the continued suppression of Black people in the 20th century, and in armed opposition to apartheid. It is also a very unequal society in economic terms, with a Gini coefficient that rose from 0.68 to 0.77 from 1996 to 2001 (Schwabe, 2004). Whereas diversity has not always been foregrounded as a central educational problem, understandings about how it should be handled have always informed policy.

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

The apartheid system had its own approach to education, Christian National Education. Within this framework the dominant educational philosophy was known as Fundamental Pedagogics. This emphasized the role of 'cultural groups' in terms that were closely aligned with the distinctions of apartheid: 'A nation . . . is a group of people bound together by certain

essential, common ties, interests and sentiments to form a self-aware, spiritual unity' (Du Plooy, Griessel & Oberhulzer, 1982, p. 152). The 'South African' nation 'is historically connected with Western civilization' but includes both Afrikaans and English South Africans in 'national co-existence.' The implication was that all Black groups (in the South African formulation, African, Colored and Indian) were simply outside the nation.

This formulation was completely consistent with the political structures of apartheid, by which all White people were brought into one political entity, whereas African groups were split between nominally independent 'homelands,' in the language of 'pluralism.' The approach essentialized culture; although all Whites were accommodated within one entity, all Black groups were split both conceptually and administratively into separate education departments. Unlike approaches that fail to acknowledge diversity, Fundamental Pedagogics strongly emphasized diversity in terms of race and ethnicity, within an unquestioned Christian commitment, while ignoring such issues as class.

A second element was an emphasis on the authority of the educator over the child. This authority was presented as inherently good, with little acknowledgement of its limits (for example, see Du Plooy, Griessel & Oberhulzer, 1982). In turn, that authority came from God. The teacher is described consistently as 'he' and is endowed with masculine values: 'He reveals a certain firmness of character and constancy in his life. His ties to a community as a cultural and religious community give him a reserved power and tranquillity' (Du Plooy, p. 144). Thus, there is a hierarchy that reached from God down to the learner, with the educator as the key transmitter of norms.

This relationship of authority was reflected also in the relationship between races, in the Afrikaner Nationalist belief that the 'White man' in Africa had the role of leading unenlightened Black people to a better life. An educator raised with these beliefs expressed it thus: 'Our pious mission was to save Africa from destroying itself. The only way to accomplish this God-given task was to civilise Africa for the Africans. They needed us. We were therefore the superior and they the inferior—we, the masters and they the slaves, we the assertive and they the subservient' (Delport, 2005, p. 211).

With the exception of the more liberal, English-speaking White universities of the time, which were more in contact with international trends, Fundamental Pedagogics permeated all teacher education in South Africa. White Afrikaner graduates who were taught in this philosophy staffed education faculties and teaching training colleges for Black students. The sense of hierarchy and authority was pervasive, even extreme. In teacher training colleges for African students, corporal punishment was still practiced in the 1980s (Morrow, Maaba, & Pulumani, 2002).

FREIRE AND PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

In radical opposition, leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle reached for an educational philosophy that was consistent with its liberatory commitment.

Freire provided both the philosophy and the means. The sharp divide in his early work between 'oppressor' and 'oppressed' echoed the division in society between White and Black. One area of its influence was the Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Bantu Biko. The Movement asserted Black identity, in the sense of all groups racially oppressed, within a broadly socialist approach. In his trial in 1976 on charges of terrorism, Biko spoke about his involvement in Freirean literacy work and the relevance of conscientization to the Movement (Biko, 1988). Black Consciousness did not emphasize cultural differences among African, Colored or Indian people in South Africa but asserted common features of the culture and consciousness of the oppressed, and defined as a key problem to be overcome not cultural difference, but the common internalized consciousness of submission. Diversity was taken for granted; the problem being addressed was not difference, but oppression. White people who committed themselves to the struggle were welcome.

Freirean influence also extended into the educational movement known as People's Education. This approach was adopted by the United Democratic Front, the ANC-aligned popular movement in late apartheid years. In this movement, the 'People' were seen as 'all sections of the oppressed community and all who detest apartheid' (Zwelakhe Sisulu, in Mashamba, 1990, p. 4). This formulation recognized that there were various groups divided by race and class, all of whom could be brought together in the movement against apartheid, under the leadership of the Black working class.

The focus of People's Education was oppositional and emphasized national liberation and process (Soobrayan, 1990), at the expense of issues of content, pedagogy and management of education (Wolpe, 1991). There was little exploration of such issues as developing skills for a more open economy, and People's Education can be criticized for oversimplifying complex educational issues and setting in place a polarization that has continued in the approach to the school curriculum after apartheid (Young, 2009). Despite the polarization, the one common feature with Christian National Education was that both were uniquely South African formulations.

BIRTH OF THE RAINBOW NATION

The overarching legacy of the anti-apartheid struggle is the South African Constitution. It is highly progressive and forbids discrimination against people based on race, gender, sexual orientation, language and physical ability, as well as other identifiers. Among the guiding principles of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (Department of Education, 2004) are Social Justice, a Healthy Environment, Human Rights and Inclusivity. These principles have obvious implications for the ways in which diversity is handled, although in themselves they do not commit the education system to a particular formulation.

At the same time, the rapidly shifting context also involved the opening of South African society in the 1990s to international influences. Formulations such as multiculturalism entered educational discourse with a strong emphasis on the ways of bringing together different people into one common democratic political entity (Cross, Mkwanazi-Twala, & Klein, 1998). There was contestation from the outset at the ways in which culture would be understood and different traditions accommodated (Soudien & Nekhwevha, 2002). At issue was whether the 'rainbow' is made up of the essentialized identities imposed by apartheid, or is simply an unlimited expression of openness to diversity. However, this was not the only international influence. The prevailing neoliberal emphasis on cost-effectiveness and accountability had strong effects on the ways that schools in fact addressed issues of diversity, with constraints such as school fees intensifying economic inequalities. In higher education, Ntshoe (2004, pp. 111–112) refers to the 'contradictory imperatives of social justice . . . and the requirements of neoliberalism.' Chisholm (2001, p. 65) similarly describes the 'linkage of redistributive strategies with policies designed for a context of financial stringency; of an association of desegregation with deregulation.' The inheritors of the anti-apartheid struggle now faced economic challenges that established the terrain on which issues of cultural diversity were negotiated.

RESEARCH INTO CURRENT APPROACHES TO DIVERSITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

A study conducted for the Human Sciences Research Council (Hemson, 2006) assessed the prevailing frameworks for addressing diversity in operation at three very different campuses of teacher education. The two most commonly identified by staff were *multiculturalism* and *inclusivity*, although the study found that a third, *critical multiculturalism*, also informs teaching and research in this area. We turn now to an exploration of these three approaches.

Multiculturalism

How multiculturalism has been interpreted within South African teacher education can be judged from this comment by a lecturer in a Faculty of Education at a university originally set up specifically for African students:

> Encouraging them to have pride in their own different cultures, and to participate actively in their culture. When they integrate cultural values in their lessons, and during September Heritage day they used to wear the traditional attire in class. (Hemson, 2006, p. 18)

Typically, multiculturalism is being used in terms mainly of an essentialized understanding. Such events never acknowledge the cultural roots of White English-speakers, suggesting that 'heritage' is understood to mean the occasional genuflection to those traditional cultures that are now marginalized. A popular article by Leclerc-Madlala (2004) satirizes the way that schools use 'multiculturalism' as the opportunity for a rehearsal of racially-based cultural stereotypes that have little resonance with the lived reality of young South Africans. Quin (2002) also indicates how students in teaching practice fail to address 'diversity' in just ways, this failure drawing on the lack of critical engagement with the term.

Research on issues of diversity has focused in particular on the rapid desegregation of schools that were previously White, Colored or Indian (Vally & Dalamba, 1999; Zafar, 1999; Moletsane, 1999; Dolby, 2001). Such research has largely demonstrated that in the name of multiculturalism, incoming African learners are subject to various forms of exclusion.

This evidence led to criticism of the multiculturalist approach, which was seen as drawing on the idea of racial and cultural essentialism of apartheid, instead of the liberatory commitments of its opponents. Within educational circles outside South Africa, the term 'critical multiculturalism' was coined as a way of signifying a concern with power relations and the dynamic complexity of difference. As McLaren (1995, p. 43) puts it, critical multiculturalism, among other things:

> does not see diversity itself as a goal but rather argues that diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice. . . . Critical multiculturalism interrogates the construction of difference and identity in relation to a radical politics.

Similarly, in South Africa a paper by Carrim and Soudien (1999) argued for a framework of *critical antiracism*, an approach that would capture the strong focus on race in South Africa, while interrogating its links to issues of gender, class and other social identities. Their criticism echoed that of theorists elsewhere who have argued for *critical multiculturalism* as a corrective to the essentialized reading of culture:

> a 'critical antiracism' may be described as a form of antiracism that is explicitly alert and sensitive to the multiple expressions of 'difference' in identity. (Carrim and Soudien, 1999, p. 153)

Crucially, what is missing in multiculturalism is an exploration of power and conflict in society. In this context, the rhetoric of the Rainbow Nation has fostered 'multiculturalism' in the sense of celebrating the differences outside an assumed norm. It does not connect with the history of struggle, and fails to challenge the idea of culture as static tradition. Thus Gqola

attacks what she perceives as 'rainbowism' (Gqola, 2001) as an approach that affirms difference without scrutinizing differences in power relations, and that avoids dealing with conflicts around the differences in power.

A particular limitation of the assumptions underlying such a multicultural approach has been the strong emphasis on race and ethnicity, and on researching schools that have been through a process of desegregation. The great majority of schools nationally were and remain entirely African in learner and staff composition, and are frequently referred to as 'not diverse.' One implication is that the ways in which racism affects all-African schools have not been explored (Hemson, 2006, p. 56). Further, other social differences, such as gender, disability, class and sexual orientation have been underresearched, distorting the understanding of ways in which diversity is caught up in issues of power relations, and limiting the potential for research to contribute to addressing the many problems in such schools (Francis & Muthukrishna, 2004).

Inclusive Education

In contrast, the language of Inclusive Education has been extended in the South African scene from an initial focus on disability to a broader focus on the barriers to full inclusion, including racism and poverty. This is reflected in official policy (Department of Education, 2001) that located disability within a broader focus on possible exclusionary factors. Within teacher education, however, the term is still being used primarily in terms of the ways in which children with disabilities are 'mainstreamed' and with a strongly individual emphasis that does not address the broader issues of social relations, as a lecturer on one campus commented:

> We do use 'inclusive education'. This is about differences especially in terms of abilities, accommodating each and every learner in spite of their abilities. The whole range of abilities. (Hemson, 2006, p. 17)

Similarly, Francis and Muthukrishna (2004) identify how the term is used in ways that limit its applicability to areas of power imbalances.

There is also, though, work that raises broader questions of social inclusion, and that brings to the term a critical perspective similar to the next approach (Porteous, 2003; Soudien, Carrim, & Sayed, 2004).

Critical Multiculturalism

Whereas the term *critical anti-racism* has not in fact entered South African educational discourse, approaches consistent with it are influencing teacher education, in particular in giving the whole curriculum, rather than a specific section, a critical edge. Thus, lecturers in technology education at a campus that was a leading site in the past for Fundamental Pedagogics,

spoke of ways in which they confront their students, most of whom are White and middle class, with some of the technological problems facing poor people in African townships (Hemson, 2006). At another campus, the curriculum in such areas as language, history and mathematics, opens up fundamental questions that challenge the assumption of White middle class norms (Hemson, 2006). This approach often works with an understanding of 'oppression,' although not in the sense of one single form, rather through various forms that connect with each other in complex ways (Young, 2000).

It is helpful to clarify the distinctive assumptions of such an approach:

1) Like multiculturalism, it recognizes the significance of social identities. It differs in seeing the significance of such social identities as sexual orientation, class and physical ability, in which the term 'culture' is seen as less central;
2) It differs from multiculturalism by its particular emphasis on social identities as social constructions, rather than as the expression of some essential form;
3) It understands 'culture' as dynamic and shifting, in which meaning may shift across time and place, rather than as a taken-for-granted stable building block;
4) Unlike Inclusivity, it situates the individual within the context of social identities and related power relations, while sharing with Inclusivity a commitment to the inclusion of all children from whatever background;
5) It recognizes that a focus on one particular identity may come at the cost of awareness of other social identities (Kumashiro, 2002).

EMERGING SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS

Two issues of major social significance indicate the need to reframe the debates in terms that rely less on 'culture.' These are first, the stigma related to HIV/AIDS, and secondly, xenophobia directed against Black people from elsewhere in Africa.

The physical consequences of the HIV/AIDS pandemic are fairly well known. In mid 2004, an estimated 5 million out of a total of 46 million South Africans were living with HIV (Dorrington, Bradshaw, Johnson, & Budlender, 2004). According to Statistics South Africa (Health Systems Trust, 2006), in 1996 the life expectancy for South African Whites was 10 years higher than for Africans. Mid-year estimates for 2004 were that the gap had widened to 14.4 years, over a period of only 8 years. What is less well known is the extent of stigma (Francis, 2006; Francis & Francis, 2006; Francis & Hemson, 2006; Francis) and the way that such stigma draws on themes of race, class, religion and sexual orientation.

With regard to xenophobia, the media are increasingly reporting attacks on foreigners from other African countries. Black foreigners experience high levels of hostility, violence and economic hardship (Warner & Finchilescu, 2003; Harris, 2002). The experience of African foreigners is one of considerable difficulty as they are accused of taking jobs, bringing crime and HIV/AIDS into the country and so on. Ironically, one complaint is that they fail to speak the local African language (even if they are newly in the country), a complaint that is seldom made against White people who have lived their lives in South Africa. That this xenophobia is closely related to racism is indicated by the fact that no public hostility is expressed toward foreigners seen as White. It is thus a form of subordination that privileges Whites, whether it is enacted by Black or White South Africans.

Both these issues demonstrate the interconnectedness of issues of power imbalances and the need to frame issues of inclusion or exclusion in terms other than culture. These are two areas where an emphasis on 'culture' serves to entrench the marginalization of groups who are subordinated on other grounds. Thus, stigma around HIV, xenophobia, heterosexism and such oppressive forces thrives once HIV, nationality and sexual orientation fall out of the frame of 'culture.'

The rapidity of the emergence of these new forms of exclusion and their severity indicate a need for those concerned with the just accommodating of difference in society to be open to the dynamic forces at work, as well as the ways in which those who are themselves subordinated may become implicated in excluding others. Typically, such forms draw on existing oppressions. Thus, programs directed against racism, for example, need to be developed around a critical understanding of these relationships and move beyond a single perspective in which White perpetrators exclude Black victims.

These examples validate the point made by Carrim and Soudien (1999) about the centrality of race and the complexity of race. We cannot account for the destructive impact of these issues without seeing the ways in which race interconnects with other identities, and also the ways in which negative self-images are internalized by the 'oppressed' as much as rigidly positive self-images are internalized by the 'oppressor' (Fanon, 1967). The 'oppressor' and the 'oppressed' often reside in the same person, as subjects privilege within themselves certain social identities and subordinate others.

Whereas both HIV-related stigma and xenophobia exhibit the severity of exclusion, they also point to another element that we believe a critical multiculturalism must address: agency. In South Africa, the Treatment Action Campaign has enabled people who are HIV positive to assert clearly and publicly their right to treatment and challenge their exclusion in ways that are hopeful and powerful. Similarly, the authors' work with children of African migrants (Francis & Hemson, 2007a) provides ample evidence of xenophobia but, more significantly in our view, attests to the remarkable

spirit, resilience and academic achievement of people who face poverty, linguistic challenge and societal hostility.

Pedagogically, the opportunity opened through a framework that is sensitive to such dynamics is one that recognizes the potential for those excluded to reframe the situation. This may consist in part of renaming; proudly proclaiming that you are HIV positive is one way of jolting the stereotypes and the message that those infected should hide themselves in shame. Similarly, the comment made by migrant children, that they can see things in two ways (Francis & Henson, 2007a), attests to the ability to rework challenging experience into a source of strength.

Elements of a Critical Framework

Thus we see the need for a framework for approaching issues of diversity in South African education that focuses on how various social identities are caught up in imbalances of power, that is, open to the intersections of race, class, gender and other forms of oppression, and that connects individual and group agency to the traditions of democratic struggle.

SOME PRINCIPLES FOR A CRITICAL APPROACH

What then would a critical multiculturalist approach attend to? In the section that follows, we call attention to some general principles of practice. Many of these are drawn from our experience and work on diversity and social justice education with undergraduate and graduate students. Some address specifically the way issues of diversity are handled from a critical perspective. Others seek to bring that perspective to the whole curriculum.

Classrooms vary, of course, hugely in terms of societal context, the subject being pursued, skill requirements, the level of study and so on. Our own practice is within the context of university teacher education, in classes in which social justice is the focus, usually classes that are fairly diverse in terms of race and class. One of the ways in which we seek to use these principles is to notice who speaks most and who speaks least, and to draw students' attention to that which often shifts the patterns of communication. Another way is to avoid responding in a judgemental way to the prejudiced things that students may say; rather, to encourage the speaker to identify where that idea came from, or alternatively, to ask other students how they feel about the statement. Our aim is, in part, to develop in students a questioning attitude toward the ways in which people communicate, or fail to communicate, and also to model ways of enabling communication across social divisions. Another approach we use is through a wide variety of pedagogical techniques, as we do not assume that all students manage with ease the particular interactions of university debate (Ellsworth, 1992).

A teacher of mathematics in an impoverished rural school will face very different conditions; both content and aims will be very different. However, the principles may be very similar. One emphasis may be necessary: finding ways of validating the intellectual potential of the learners in a context where this is often not recognized (hooks, 1994). Such validation is itself a powerful challenge to oppressive relationships. Others are to recognize how mathematics may be encumbered with feelings of powerlessness and to find ways of working with the emotions of learners that enable them to see past the emotional blocks (Weissglass, 2002). A further intervention may concern ways of involving learners by discussing how to resolve conflicts among themselves equitably.

The following principles are thus stated in general terms, and teachers will need to reflect on how these may inform their own practices, each with its many unique demands:

1. Be open to what 'diversity' might mean in the particular context and how diversity relates to either inclusion or exclusion. Kumashiro refers to the possibility of being unaware of perpetuating oppression through assuming that one knows (2002, pp. 78–79). Instead, such an approach requires that educators listen carefully, learn from the context, and take care not to let even well-founded understandings from elsewhere serve as an adequate description of the relationships present in this context. As we indicate above, an approach that promotes the inclusion of all must be based on an understanding of how exclusion operates in ways that may have typical patterns of oppression, but differ in the specific ways that exclusion is expressed and becomes normalized in that context. The good teacher thus seeks to understand how these forms of exclusion may develop in the school's context and respond through taking thoughtful action to challenge them. It may require creating a climate that enables the silent to speak and recognizing that not all groups communicate in exactly the same ways.
2. Affirm the experiential base of learners and students. The assumption is made that students will be more effective practitioners if their own experience is validated and explored. It is crucial that the students' own history is treated as valuable and is a critical part of the data that are reflected. Equally important is that such stories and similar activities are intentionally processed to enable students to make the connections between personal experience and relevant theory. Yosso (2005) identifies forms of cultural capital that the marginalized bring to education. A teacher can thus seek to explore and work with that capital.
3. Challenge the ways in which knowledge has been framed through oppression. Schools are often characterized by messages that draw on one or another form of oppression. Thus, expectations are subtly

or in some cases unsubtly communicated, that girls are not good at physics, that whereas White learners are strong in abstract thought, African learners have untapped creativity and so on. These attitudes are often expressed through both the 'hidden curriculum' (Jackson, 1968) and the silent or seldom espoused views of educators, parents and learners.

4. For someone to integrate into their role as educator a commitment against oppression means confronting obstacles that one may previously have shied away from, such as challenging authority, naming privilege, emphasizing the power relations that exist between social groups, listening to people one has previously ignored, and risking being seen as deviant, troublesome or unpopular. Concepts such as internalization, domination, subordination, collusion and stereotypes can be used to inform practice, because they have proved useful in naming and understanding complex interpersonal and intrapersonal interactions (Adams & Marchesani, 1992). To avoid leaving anti-oppressive attitudes at the level of opinions, we need tools that enable us to draw attention to how diversity is caught up in relations of power (Francis & Hemson, 2007b).
5. Dealing with diversity in education is always affectively loaded for both students and teachers. In South Africa, one injunction from educators is to be 'sensitive' (Hemson, 2006, p. 35). The cost of this is to avoid risking engagement with the contentious issues around imbalances of power. Most students do not want to believe that they can harbor unfair prejudices about groups of people and, for many students, confronting such prejudices is difficult (Griffin, 1997). Teachers also grapple with their own social identities, biases, fears and prejudices, and need to be willing to deal honestly with their values, assumptions and emotional reactions to oppressive issues (Bell, Washington, Weinstein, & Love 1997; Francis et al., 2003). If both students and teachers are to confront issues of oppression and power in any meaningful way, we need to design more purposely for the difficulties they will encounter. For example, creating a classroom environment that promotes safety and trust so that all students are able to confront and deal with prejudice and discrimination. Classroom environments will need to balance the affective and cognitive in addressing issues of diversity and social justice.
6. Recognize the need to complement changing attitudes with attempts to change the structural aspects of oppressions. Translating raised awareness into social action must be seen as a critical and necessary aspect of a critical approach. To prevent superficial commitments to change, it is important for students to explore barriers that prevent them from confronting oppressive attitudes and behaviors. In this way students are able to learn and see the structural aspects of oppression. Equally important, however, is to get students to examine the benefits

associated with challenging oppression. A fair amount of time, therefore, must be spent on developing strategies with students which they will be able to use practically in challenging oppression.

7. Affirm the capacity of staff and learners to act and learn in ways that do not replicate patterns of oppression. Many South African schools have survived both the harsh repression of apartheid and the continuing legacy of oppression of various kinds. Despite that, we are often as educators made aware of the ways in which young people in particular affirm themselves and each other in creative and confident ways.

NOTES

1. By 'Rainbow Nation' we refer to the term coined by the then Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, to describe post-1994 South Africa when apartheid rule officially ended after South Africa's first fully democratic election.

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15 Cultural Transformation of Educational Discourse in China

Perspectives of Multiculturalism/ Interculturalism

Zongjie Wu and Chunyan Han

INTRODUCTION

A better understanding of multiculturalism in the Chinese education should at least involve three levels of investigation: the indigenous tradition and particularity of Chinese education; the history of the present as the result of cultural interaction and transformation; and the discursive currents where contemporary educational policies and practices are located. This paper explores the three issues of multiculturalism both in contemporary China, and in its indigenous tradition. By presenting the unique way of understanding multiculturalism in Chinese educational tradition, particularly, Confucian pedagogy, we attempt to evoke a Chinese way of understanding multiculturalism in education. Meanwhile we will investigate how this tradition has been culturally transformed ever since China encountered the western modernity. The theme of multiculturalism presented and developed in this chapter is over two major concerns: the intercultural relations between China and the globalized world (mainly the West), and the promotion of cultural diversity and plurality within China, both in the context of education. Foucault (1970, 1972) articulates the episteme as a model for a way inquiry or learning of knowledge is ordered, and ties different models of episteme to different epochs of language use in term of discourse. In this chapter, different visions of multicultural education in China will be presented in the analysis of its discourse periodically emerged in terms of multicultural episteme. By doing so, we meanwhile offer a discourse approach to the inquiry of multicultural pedagogy.

MULTICULTURALISM INTERPRETED IN CONFUCIAN PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSE

Fundamental assumptions concerning multiculturalism and pluralism in education have remained constant since the time of Confucius, who recognizes that diversity is achieved in the multiple interpretation of any given

text or discourse against a given historical, sociocultural background of everydayness. This vision of multiculturalism could be revealed in three aspects: (1) an openness to multiple perspectives allowing a diversity of views, values and cultures to emerge in opposition to one single approach or interpretation; (2) ritual hermeneutics as embodied pluralism; (3) the recognition of differences as the prerequisite of building a harmonious social relation, or harmony as the cosmic vision of diversity and plurality. We believe that ancient Chinese had a "sense" of pedagogical diversity although they did not have the concept. Such a sense is revealed in their unique way of using language for education.

First, based on the *Analects*, a collection of Confucius's teaching recorded by his students, we may decode Chinese tradition of multicultural pedagogy. In the *Analects* a lot of conversations between Confucius and his students were centered around the question of how to achieve piety, loyalty, benevolence, good governance and *junzi* (goodperson 君子). In most occasions, Confucius was asked the same questions by different persons, but never offered them any single fixed explanations or definitions of these concepts. It seems that Confucius's responses to inquiries were always improvized and diverse, varying from people to people, situation to situation, and time to time. Recorded in the *Analects*, seven people including Duke Chi and Confucius's three disciples all once individually asked him the way to govern (*zheng* 政). In *Analects*.12.14, when the disciple, Tsze-chang, inquired about the way to govern, Confucius answered, "The art of governing is to keep its affairs before the mind without weariness, and to practice them with undeviating consistency.[1]" When Tsze-lu inquired about the same question, Confucius answered, "Lead them, encourage them." Tsze-lu asked further, and Confucius responded, "untiringly." In *Analects*.12.17 Chi Kang asked Confucius about government, Confucius replied, "to govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?" When Duke Chi asked Confucius about government, he asserted, "There is government, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son." The example shows that Confucius and his students engage in interpretive dialogues, where the openness in the dialogue provides multiple routes to reach the source of pedagogical meanings. There has never been a universal and analytical thesis in Confucius's answer. In his pedagogy, teaching is to provide means of access to the lived world that is hermeneutic. In the Chinese history, Confucius's way of offering different answers to the same question has left Chinese people a huge space of interpretation for teaching and learning, where diversity and pluralism are appreciated and active construction of meanings is possible. Generations of students can consistently reinterpret, reconstruct and renegotiate the meaning with their evolving cultural identities.

Confucius has a remarkable awareness of the ineffability of the ultimate (X. L. Zhang, 2009). Long arguments and rigorous definitions were

considered to be unhelpful. They were seen as limiting and undermining the value of discourse (Wu, 2007). In the *Analects*, his student comments, "We can learn from the Master's cultural refinements, but do not hear his discourse (*yan*言) on subjects such as our 'natural disposition (*xing*性, human nature)' and 'the way of *tian* (the Way of Heaven天道)'" (*Analects* 5.13). Education thus becomes the collaborative process of exploring an open space of diversity, rather than discourse indoctrination. Such a vision of multiculturalism does not attempt to classify diversity into different concepts of social groups and cultures for the purpose of advocating equity and social justice. It is the multiplicity of interpretations about the world that laid down the foundation of Chinese multiculturalism.

The second aspect of multiculturalism in the Chinese tradition is implied in ritual hermeneutics as embodied pluralism. Chinese pluralism takes difference as strictly cosmologic to the extent that they give up linguistically defined distinctions among myriad things both cultural and natural. Chinese civilization has developed a very critical view to the use of language for representing cultures, both for Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism (Hall, 1991; Kang, 2004; Wu, 2006). Laozi holds that the distinctions of myriad things are purely made out of names or language (*you min wan wu zhi mu* 有名万物之母). Meanwhile, words easily make the world into a mirror of one single perspective. Thus a pedagogy based upon ritual practices and the descriptions of ritual events was developed. For Confucius, pedagogical meanings are situated in the ritual activities. For thousands of years of Chinese schooling, it is not the grasping of propositional meanings or rational mode of judgment that is regarded as the ultimate attainment of knowledge; rather, it is the ritual practices that give the embodiment of knowledge and enlightenment. This idea was later developed by the Confucian scholar in Ming Dynasty, Wang Yang-ming (1472–1528 A.D.), who claimed that "True knowledge is what constitutes action"(*zhixing heyi* 知行合一), a concept that later became the central doctrine of his teaching (X. Yang, 2009). Pedagogy takes place in bodily movement of ritual interpretation rather than by mere reading or speaking of text. Nonetheless text does provide important access to the understanding of ritual as long as it is used to describe rather explain ritual behaviors and activities. The entire body of Confucian classics (for instance, the *Five Canons*[3]), together with the works later attached to them, is shaped by the spirit of 'ritual hermeneutics' (Kern, 2005, p. x).

For illustration, let us look at one of the earliest Chinese classics edited by Confucius, *The Spring and Autumn Annals*. It was included as one of the Five Canons of Chinese literature in Song Dynasty (960–1279 A.D.), and has had great influence on the formation of Chinese civilization, particularly its discourse practice. However, the text is extremely concise, with only about 16,000 words. Confucius's thoughts in the western sense of philosophy, religion, ethics, politics, social relations and order of society are expressed in the text not in the form of arguments or judgments but in

the mere description of events, both natural or social, as they happened—meetings between princes, military expeditions and treatises, as well as droughts, floods and fires. For instance, the *Annals* begins with the following record, "The Duke Yin, the first year, in the spring, of the king the first month." No judgments or opinions are made upon these records. As the pedagogical practice of the text, students would ask questions: Why is the title "Duke" selected? Why does it say 'the first year'? Why does it say 'in the spring'? What does it mean by the 'king'? Why does it mention 'king' before 'the first month'? And so on. Each word and its placement, including what is missing, are carefully examined and interpreted. The textual interpretation of the smallest details serves as pedagogy as well as moral decoding of the world. The writing style of *Annals* is called "subtle and clear"(*wei er xian* 微而显). It describes rather than expresses what one wants to say; it is indirect at the level of propositional meanings while at the same time clear in terms of understanding (Jullien & Hawkes, 2000). The *Annals* "unfolds" what is visible to us as mere description of events to reach its "hidden" meaning of Confucius's ritual pedagogy and society (Jullien & Hawkes, 2000), thus avoiding using words as "the formation of concepts" (Foucault, 1972). What we see in this pedagogical discourse is that the horizon of diversity is embodied and practiced in the act of interpretation, where Confucian classic texts help establish pluralist and situated meanings in dialogue with body not mind, heart not brain.

To some degree, the heritage of Chinese discourse as multicultural episteme has been passed down to the present without conscious awareness in Chinese people's daily life. Ever since the *Annals* was completed, three memoirs, *ZuoZhuan, Gongyang and Guliang*, interpreting the texts of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, came into being. Later on, for thousands of years, the text functions as the source of meanings, from which numerous books were compiled into Chinese classics. Consequently, in accompany with the continuous commentary, new meanings always emerge and the space for interpretation seems endless, diverse and forever open.

Harmony as cosmic vision of diversity and plurality stands as the highest horizon of Chinese traditional multiculturalism. In the West, equity is usually conceptualized as the basic value of multiculturalism, but for Chinese 'he', harmony and harmonization, is an ideal for people with different cultural backgrounds to live together. According to Li (2006), the original meaning of 'he' has to do with music and how the sounds interact with each other when it appears in the earliest Confucius text. "'He' does not simply mean that sounds mutually respond, but rather that various sounds respond to one another in a mutually promoting, mutually complementing, and mutually stabilizing way" (Li, 2006, p. 584). "Harmony presupposes the existence of different things and implies a certain favorable relationship among them" (Li, 2006, p. 584). Confucius says that "The *junzi* harmonizes but does not seek sameness, whereas the petty person seeks sameness but does not harmonize" (*junzi he er butong, xiaoren tong er buhe* 君子和

而不同, 小人同而不和; *Analects* 13.23). *Junzi* enjoys diversity and difference in the same way different instruments play in concord in a symphony.

For Confucius, an educated person not only respects differences and is able to work with different people in a harmonious way; moreover he is able to allow all things, including one's self and other, to unfold their natural tendencies. Confucius pronounces: "What *Heaven (Tian* 天) commands (*ming* 命) is called natural tendencies (*xing* 性); drawing out these natural tendencies is called the proper way (*Tao* 道); improving upon this way is called education (*Jiao* 教)." For Confucius, human's way to cultural harmony is obtained by "assisting in the transforming and nourishing process of Heaven and Earth (*zan tian di zhi hua yu* 赞天地之化育)." The harmonization of different things (cultures and nature) is achieved by keeping the principle of *mean* (centrality, unbiased position). Extreme measures should be refrained. A dualistic interpretation of cultural differences by dividing them into two distinct conflicting values should be avoided in the context of harmony. The cosmic vision of multicultural harmony could be understood as follows: "All things are nurtured together and do not cause injury to one another; the various ways are travelled together and are not conflicted. Their lesser excellences are to be seen as flowing streams; their greater excellences are to be seen as massive transformations. This is why the heavens and the earth are so great."[2]

What is important in terms of the cosmic pluralism is that it attempts to see the natural inborn differences among human species, for instance, the color of skin, the biological features of gender not in binaries, dualisms or opposites, but as the mirror of the heaven and the earth. For Confucius, a *junzi* or an educated person respects inborn differences of all things, and is able to nourish his/her own natural tendencies. To build a harmonious society and eventually reach the state of unity among different cultures and between heaven and man is the ultimate aims of Confucian multicultural curriculum practice (H. Zhang & Zhong, 2003).

CULTURE TRANSFORMATION OF CHINESE PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSE: A GENEALOGY

The cultural transformation of Chinese education takes the form of emerging blocs of historical discourse that is PRESENT and othering, but disguised itself within the monotonous discourse of self consciousness (Wu, 2009). We adopt Foucault's approach of genealogy, which operates patiently on the "accumulation of source materials" to examine the origin of discourse in the cultural struggles between China and the West (Foucault, 1996, p. 361). Since the May Forth Movement in 1919, a number of reformers, who have learned western educational theories from abroad, focused on the need to adapt Western educational practices to the demands and conditions for educational reform in China. Western notions of knowledge

such as *evolution, natural selection, wealth of nation, sociology, science, technology, democracy* emerged in the Chinese curriculum practice to represent a set of universalized values about reasons and knowledge. There are four periodic transformations of Chinese educational discourse accompanied with series of political events. Each epoch of transformation accumulated a certain degree of Western consciousness of modernity. Eventually, others' discourse has now taken on a fundamental and deep significance in the discursive formation of Chinese curriculum, performing today "as authoritative discourse, and an internally persuasive discourse" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342).

Stage 1: (Ti-Yong Dichotomy 体用)

At the time of late Qing dynasty when China first encountered the West, the Chinese pedagogy was still practiced in its own discourse, not yet affected by the modern epistemology from the West. After China's defeat in two opium wars with the West, there was great concern about the superiority of Western culture and fierce debate about how to respond. In early 1860s, when the 'self-strengthening' campaign started, rhetorical constructions such as "Chinese substance versus Western function," "To learn from others and then compete with them," "historiographical revolution" came into being in response to a national crisis that resulted from the intrusion of the West into China. In justifying the conservation of Chinese culture, reformers such as Liang Qichao, Zhang Zhidong, Yan Fu adopted "Ti-Yong dichotomy" (Chinese Learning for Fundamental Principles and Western Learning for Practical Application), to bring together the Chinese and Western cultures into a whole and to secure China's survival in the precariously changing world (Kwong, 1993). At that time, Western learning was regarded as illusive, fragmented and intractable and was treated on marginal to the Confucian kingly way by early Chinese educational reformers.

Tongwen Academy (Tong Wen Guan), the earliest official educational institution influenced by the West as well as the earliest foreign language school, was set up under the principle of Ti-Yong dichotomy. Taking the curriculum as an example, the foreign language at that period of time is not regarded as a subject or a major, or object of knowledge, but as 'otherness', which represents the aggregation of western instrumental knowledge, including physics, mathematics, international law, economics, and geography and so forth. Chinese classics were taught as the "soul and action of the Sage" (Z. D. Zhang, 1900). China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) came to symbolize the "degeneration" and "backwardness" of Chinese traditional culture and demonstrate how successful westernization attempts had been in Japan. In 1902, a modern educational system, greatly influenced by the West but modeled upon that of Japan, was inaugurated. In 1905, the throne endorsed a memorial which ordered the civil service examination system (*keju* 科举) that lasted for 1,300 years to be discontinued.

Nevertheless, the educational minister, Sun Jianai, in a statement relating to the objectives of the projected Peking University, made it clear that students would be required to immerse themselves in "Chinese learning for fundamental principles and Western learning for practical application." It was this stress on the co-existence of Western with indigenous culture that imbued the historical spirit of the intercultural curriculum.

Stage 2: (Translated Imagination of Chinese Modernity)

The May Fourth Movement in 1919 marks a radical break with Chinese traditional culture. Scholars like Chen Duxiu, Cai Yuanpei, Li Dazhao, Lu Xun and Hu Shi, who had both Chinese classical and Western educational experience, began to lead a revolt against Confucian culture. They called for the creation of a new Chinese culture based on western standards, especially democracy and science. The replacement of classic Chinese with vernacular language (*bai hua wen* 白话文) not only appropriated the syntactical structure of Chinese for assimilating the particularities of Western-derived notions, but also determined the very bases of Chinese ideological interrelations with the world (Wu, 2005b). "Within less than one hundred years, the Chinese language absorbed, or indeed 'devoured', the nomenclatures of the most diverse branches of Western knowledge" (Lackner, Amelung & Kurz, 2001, p. 2). Modern Chinese discourses, no matter social or scientific practices or on China's intellectual and cultural heritage, are articulated to a large extent in westernized discourse that were normalized as their own (Wu, 2007). By drawing upon modern Western notions such as *democracy, feudalism, nation* and so on, Chinese discourse of modernity was imagined and translated, in part, for the resistance to Western hegemony (L. H. Liu, 1995). For building "Chinese" educational theories, vast amount of western books on education, curriculum, and pedagogy, mostly from America, were translated, appropriated and localized (see H. Zhang & Zhong, 2003, p. 260–263).

Stage 3: (Centralization and Singularization)

The third wave of discontinuity and transformation of Chinese educational culture started after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. China modeled itself after the former Soviet Union and built up a highly centralized educational system, following the principle of planned economy and the "calculated planning of people" into economic force of population and abstraction (Popkewitz, 2008). A government-run educational system was established to make decisions with regard to all curriculum issues from syllabi, textbooks, teaching plans, principles of teaching methods to the preparation of teachers for the implementation in the classroom (H. Zhang & Zhong, 2003). Under the political pressure of the revolutionary zealousness, the multiplicity of knowledge was rewritten into one single perspective

of Marxism. Ivan Kairov's book, *Pedagogy*, conceptually rooted in European rationalism, was translated into Chinese and regarded as the authority to present a Marxist approach to education (Hayhoe, 2006, p. 330). Various forms of intellectual works that do not conform to the desired ideology, whether from the West or the Chinese tradition, were sidelined or abandoned.

The tendency accelerated during the Cultural Revolution to such an extreme extent that all cultural artifacts, historical reserves and educational institutions, especially much of China's thousands of years of heritage was demolished in the battle against the Western *bourgeois,* the Russian *revisionism* and the Chinese *feudalism*. The grass rooted movement aimed at "great democracy" and destruction of oppressive cultural norms ended up with disillusionment and puzzlement. Despite its nativist undertones, the Cultural Revolution itself "claimed final ideological authority not from indigenous roots but from the West's Karl Marx," a single and culturally purified discursive practice, which adopted empiricist position to see history as continuity of progressive evolution (Huang, P. C. C., 2000, p. 15; Wu, 2005b).

Stage 4: (Expansion of Technological Reason)

The Cultural Revolution offered a lesson for Chinese people to critically reflect on metaphysical notion of socialism, democracy, culture and knowledge. The historical shift from Maoist ideology to Deng' pragmatics reform represents the turning point. Regardless of ideology of socialism or capitalism, Chinese people returned to look for intuitive insights to social solutions. Deng Xiaoping's famous remarks which laid down the keystone of his opening policy, "don't argue (*bu zheng lun* 不争论)"; "whatever color a cat is, so long as it could catch mouse, it is a good cat (*heimao baimao zhuazhu laoshu jiushi haomao*黑猫白猫抓住老鼠就是好猫)," reflects his critical attitude to reason and representation. Chinese people learnt a bitter lesson from the discourse of "reasons". But when they are awaken, they find they are surrounded by a new wave of strange language brought by the force of globalization, and have to continue the assimilation process (Wu, 2005b). Since 1980s, a positivist discourse featured with calculative mode of thinking has been imported into Chinese educational research, and made great impact on the shaping of students' soul (Wu, 2004). This, in part, was promoted and consolidated by the national entrance examination system which was restored in 1977, and was recognized as prestigious as the system of the Imperial Examination (*Keju* 科举) in the Chinese history. In the early 1980, a model of standardized examination with mainly multiple-choice questions was introduced into China, first in English language examination following American model of TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), and then spread to other subjects. Immediately the cultural alliance of Western epistemology of objectivity and the Eastern

imperial device of justice exerted pervasive power to shape calculative meaning of talents, inscribed through rules and standards to calculate the space of learning and its imagined outcome (Popkewitz, 2008).

The genealogy of the cultural transformation of Chinese education reveals the roots of the present, the historical deployment of contemporary discourse and the discursive formation of the cultural relationships between China and the West. Under this historical condition, current educational policies in regard to multiculturalism and pluralism are put into practice.

CURRENT RHETORIC OF DIVERSITY AND PLURALITY IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

In this section, by looking at the currents of discourse centered on the most ambiguous reform (The New National Curriculum Standards) that took place since 1949, we present a glimpse of how the notion of diversity and plurality is currently put into policies and practices, what discourse has been deployed for promoting pluralism, and what the rhetoric looks like in the current debate.

For decades since 1949, all schools use the same syllabus and textbook for the same line of educational value designed by the Ministry of Education (2001). This situation was attempted to be changed, when the government issued the Guideline of Curriculum Reform of Basic Education in 2001 (hereinafter referred to as the "Guideline"). According to the Guideline, the central government no longer directly prescribes curricula or provides textbooks for schools, but instead issues National Curriculum Standards and defuses the decision-making mechanism to local governments and schools so that they can have more autonomy to determine what students will lean.

The Guideline proclaims that the issue of the National Curriculum Standards is aimed to bring substantial transformation of curriculum organization, structure and content to foster diversity and plurality in order that education will "be oriented towards modernization, the world and the future" in the context of global competition (Ministry of Education, 2001, session 1). Zhong (2006), one of the directors of this endeavor, explains that the curriculum reform aims at three aspects of transformation: from centralization to decentralization in curriculum policy-making, from scientific rationality to social constructivism in curriculum paradigm, and from knowledge transmission to inquiry-based mode of teaching.

To guarantee the goal of decentralization, the new reform adopts a three-level curriculum administration: state, province and school. The general responsibilities for the three administrative levels are described in a book published on behalf of the Ministry of Education as follows: "the state establishes the overall guideline of curriculum development, including

the number and categories of subjects, class hours, and national curriculum standards, and monitors the general curriculum implementation. The provincial educational departments establish the scheme for curriculum implementation that fits the needs of different regions in accordance with the overall framework of national curriculum, including developing or selecting local curriculum" (Ministry of Education, 2001, session 7). The schools in the implementation of national and local curriculum have the right to develop or select curriculum reflecting their own particularities. The flexibility and diversity are meanwhile reflected in the design of objective dimensions. In light of National Curriculum Standards an emphasis was laid on integrating affective-attitudinal-value, processes-approaches, as well as knowledge-skills dimensions of contents. The two added new dimensions of objectives aim to create innovative space for diversity and flexibility, by "changing curriculum content from bookish knowledge," to "the linkages of curriculum content to learners' life" (Zhu, 2002, p. 14).

Since the issue of the Guideline, what is called the 8th curriculum reform is mobilized throughout the nation in a top-down order. By 2003 curriculum standards for each of the eighteen school subjects had been designed and issued. In 2005, the Grade 1 of the primary schools and junior secondary schools were demanded to use new curriculum in principle (Zhou & Zhu, 2007). Guided by the standards, different versions of textbooks have been compiled. Provincial educational departments have established management teams and expert teams to design local schemes of curriculum. Large-scale mandatory teacher trainings at local and national level have been organized. Nonetheless, the mandatory reform has triggered heated debates among scholars. Led by two prominent educational scholars, Wang Cesan from Beijing Normal University and Zhong Qiquan from East China Normal University in Shanghai, the nation was divided into two campaigns, known as the "South–North Dispute" (L. Huang & X. Liu, 2009; J. Z. Zhang, 2005). Rounds of debates took place in newspapers, magazines and academic journals with accelerating and intensifying disagreement rarely seen in China. Main issues surrounding these debates are about cultural contrast between China's national conditions (*guoqing* 国情) and the globalized vision of the West and the direction of the reform (B. L.Wang, 2006).

The North (C. S. Wang, 2004) initiated the debate by criticizing the New Curriculum Standards for lack of attention to knowledge acquisition and its transmission. By presenting the chaotic situation and teachers' confusion caused by the current reform and its implementation, they claim that "the direction of the reform is deviating" and "fundamentally wrong" (C. S. Wang, 2006, p. 3). They argue that the rhetoric of "transforming examination-driven education into quality education," with "'mass education' replacing 'elite education'" and "'well-rounded' development replacing singular skill acquisition," must be stopped. On the other part, the South campaign holds that the new round of basic educational reform has

well incorporated the legitimate elements of modern knowledge, and meanwhile links them to students' life experiences and interests. They point out that the rhetoric used by the North hypothesizes an invisible enemy and recycles ideological labels popularized during the Cultural Revolution, as they further argue, is at best a political discourse which may "turn people's blood cold" (Zhong & You, 2004, p. 68).

The North, however, calls the South "radical reformers" and blames them for blindly copying foreign (or "western") curricula with little regards to China's national conditions (B. L. Wang, 2006, p. 19; Jin & Ai, 2005; J. Z. Zhang, 2005). The right approach to the Chinese education reform, they claim, is to develop local curriculum combined with absorbing foreign elements. They continue that the reformers have a wrong idea that "curriculum reform should be based upon time tendency (globalization) and Western truth, turning Chinese condition into a negative factor—a target to be changed" (B. L. Wang, 2006, p. 12). For the reformers, "the national condition is filtered and cut up by the concepts of truth, and "to let the truth change national condition" (B. L. Wang, 2006, p. 26). The North asks, "whether curriculum reform in China is aimed at connecting or abandoning Chinese civilization, revitalizing or forgoing the tradition and the ancestral heritage is a big question we have to face" (B. L. Wang, 2006, p. 26).

The South campaigners respond that the new curriculum reform had absorbed the spirits of former Chinese Sage. Confucian thoughts have been inherited to guide the reform, such as "teaching without discrimination," "mutual promotion of teaching and learning,", "never enlighten anyone who has not been driven to desperation in trying to understand a difficulty or who has not got into a frenzy trying to put his ideas into words." "True knowledge is what constitutes action," and so on (Zhong & You, 2004. p. 68). The South argue that "when we see with joy that Confucius is worshiped by other countries in their temples, why can't we let Rauseau and Dewey enter our temple?" (Zhong & You, 2004, p. 68). Ying (2007, p. 42) in his paper entitled "Readdressing 'Chinese National Condition and Curriculum Reform'" holds that globalization and integration of the world in the areas of science, economy, education and culture have become an inevitable tendency, and if we do not have an global vision to "face the world," we will repeat the historical tragedy of being attacked by Western powers who once used the inventions of China.

The third area of the dispute centers on the philosophical and theoretical foundation of the new curriculum. The South campaign claims to have smelled a "ghost of ideology" wandering in the discourse against the reform. The ghost was introduced into China from former Soviet Union during the 1950s, and "left a deep imprint on Chinese educational model, its theory" and many people's mentality, which could be named as *Kairov's Complex of Pedagogy* (Zhong & You, 2004, p. 70, 2009). On the other part, C. S. Wang (2008) in a paper about Kairov's pedagogy and the new

curriculum rationality, expresses that on behalf of the generation who were influenced by the pedagogy he has the responsibility to clarify the misunderstandings and biased judgment on Kairov's theory, despite the risk of being labeled as conservative or "out of date." They argue that Kairov's Pedagogy reflected the basic norms of modern school education and is still applicable to the current educational practice. His emphasis on intellectual education contributed to the former Soviet Union's accomplishment in sending the satellite to the space.

In the teacher training package delivered on behalf of the Ministry of Education, various schools of theories and names of foreign scholars are listed to present the theoretical foundation of the curriculum. These include: Burner's "discovery learning," Bloom's "Mastery Learning," Ausubel's cognitive assimilation theory," Rogers's "non-directive therapy," Suchman "inquiry-based learning," and so on (Zhu, 2002). No contemporary or ancient Chinese educators are mentioned. The Curriculum Standards claimed to have synthesized many western models, representing a "convergence toward a world curriculum" (Anderson-Levitt, 2008, p. 355). In a review of eight versions of curriculum in China since 1949, Zheng (2005) concludes that the theories that guide the eight reforms are all blindly duplicated from other countries.

From the currents of discourse centered on the national curriculum reform, we see a given moment of its historical existence. The discourse represents the co-existence of cultural contradictions between the present and the past, between different epochs of the Chinese past, between different socioideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth in the international arena, "all given a bodily form" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 291). The presentation of the current debate is not intended to show what disputes, disagreements, or divergent views Chinese people have about the reform. We envisage, instead, that Confucius, if he were alive, might not be interested at all in the debates not for its questions, but for the language deployed and articulated. He would be likely to keep silent, turn to the everydayness in the classroom, and describe it with simple and concise language like what he did in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. He would then feel disappointed, as his words would be soon swept away and buried in the sea of "empty noises" that are monotonous, powerful and global.

"Multiculturalism" as a Discourse of Education for Ethnic Minorities

A culturally minded education is crucial in promoting multiculturalism in an ethnically diverse society. China is a country of immense diversity in terrain, climate, culture, history, and especially people. Indigenous and authentic Chinese culture, including the *Han* (汉)culture such as Confucianism, are likely better kept in the so-called minority regions, rather than in the metropolitan cities like Shanghai or Beijing. Some areas in the

country such as Tibet and Yunnan hold perhaps the most charming cultures in the world in terms of its uniqueness, diversity and nativity. But like many non-western cultures in the world, they have been under increasing threat from the discourse of globalization. To address the question of multiculturalism in China, we have to look at the discourse of education for ethnic minorities.

In China, the national majority called 'Han' comprises 90.66% of total population. The Han nationality, unlike other nationalities in the world, is not a primordial ethnic grouping. Its categorization is the result of a historical process amalgamated diverse ethnic and culture elements into a mega socio-politico-cultural collective under a historical symbol 'Han', which was the name of a powerful ancient dynasty (202 B.C.–220 A.D.). Ethnic minorities in China usually refer to the non-Han Chinese population in China. Officially 55 ethnic minority groups are recognized in addition to the Han majority. China claims itself to be "a united multi-ethnic state founded jointly by the people of all its ethnic groups" (Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China [IOSCPRC], 2005).

The major issue concerning multicultural education within China is to create equal educational opportunities for minority students, by respecting and preserving the uniqueness of their cultures. Ethnic groups in China are often called *nationalities* in official documents which adopted the naming style of the former Soviet Union. The ethnic classification project that utilized Stalin's fourfold criteria for a "nationality" (language, territory, economic life and psychological disposition) was carried out in 1950 right after the communist China was founded. The project could be seen as the major enterprise of modernity, a process in which western notions of ethnicity and nation were borrowed and imagined (Anderson, 1983). After the staging of unrests and separatist movements in Tibet and Xinjiang in recent years, scholars in China start to reflect upon the project, and even talk about abandoning the use of the term "Chinese nationality"(*zhonghua minzu* 中华民族), a term first borrowed by Liang Qichao in 1903 from the German scholar J. K. Bluntschli. Ma (2009), a professor in Beijing University, argues that the classification system has now been used by the minority elites to develop a national consciousness for independence which was absent in the history. The project has also been criticized by many Western ethnographers as "civilizing project" of Communism for the sake of developing an ideology of ethnic consciousness, and regarding ethnic minorities as uncivilized (Harrell, 1995). Gladney drew attention to the way "Sinocentric discourses have feminized and infantilized images of the minorities (an exoticization of the minority for the sake of a homogeneous Han Self)" (quoted from Tapp, 2002, p. 66). It is interesting to see that both those who once stood for and those against the minority policies in China have now questioned the classification system. It is the imagined discourse of nation and ethnic groups based upon the grand discursive elements of economy, politics and the superficial identification of cultural phenomena

that give the playground for the practice of today's most policies concerning minority education.

Ever since the identification of minority groups, Chinese government claimed to have paid great attention to minority education. In a document entitled "China Minorities Education" released by State Nationalities Affairs Commission, five aspects of preferential policies are claimed for promoting ethnic minority education: (1) autonomous governance of education; (2) priority of financial investment; (3) lower university admission standards; (4) cultural aids; (5) financial aids.

Measures have been taken for local government to manage minority education autonomously. The "Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy" stipulates that central government as well as local governments at all levels should establish education bureaus for ethnic minorities. Governments in ethnic autonomous areas have the right to carry out national curriculum in ways suitable to the region's self-development and progress. During the period of 2001 to 2005, the central government invested a total of 6 billion (RMB) on economic and cultural construction, of which 57% is for the western and minority areas. For the recent 2 years, the investment on the western education project has increased to 30 billion (Ministry of Education of China & Chinese National Commission for UNESCO [MOE & CNNC-UNESCO], 2008, p. 16). From the year 2004, the government invested 10 billion in order to help the western impoverished areas to establish boarding schools in rural areas, and most importantly, to set up minority higher education institutions. For those who reside at rural and nomadic areas of Tibet, the preferential policy of "three coverage" (namely, state coverage of tuition, accommodation and food) is also applied for the period of compulsory education (Xia, 2007). Chinese government claim to have provided "cultural aids" (*wen hua yuan zhu*文化援助) for minority education. Specifically, in 1992, paring-off relationships were built up between 143 impoverished counties mostly in the minority regions and provinces or cities in more prosperous coastal regions. For many years, places like Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Hebei, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shandong have been supporting the education in minority regions by providing fundings, infrastructures, facilities as well as sending advisors, trainers and teachers. In the 1980s, classes for minority students, especially for Tibet and Xinjiang, were set up in many national universities as well as in some secondary schools in the developed regions (Xia, 2007). Priority is given to the minority students in the university enrollment. Ethnic minorities can be enrolled by higher education institutions with 5 or 20 points below the benchmark in comparison with the Han students. The government gives special care to the minority students' living. Since 2002, the central government subsidizes the living cost for the students in bordering schools at elementary and secondary levels. Under the same circumstance, minority students will usually be given priority for receiving students' funds in universities (Xia, 2007).

In order to ensure the rights of all different minorities in applying and developing their own languages and cultures, minority autonomous provinces or regions adopt a policy of bilingualism, acting in accordance with local situation. Usually schools or classes and other educational institutions whose students are predominantly from ethnic minority families use textbooks printed in their own languages, and lessons are taught in those languages. Depending on the particular situation, Chinese language courses are also offered at different times of the primary school (IOSCPRC, 2005). "Gradually two modes of bilingual instruction have been developed: one minority language as medium of instruction with Chinese classes available, or Chinese as medium of instruction with minority language classes available, while at the same time in most schools trilingual education (minority language, Chinese and foreign language) are carried out" (MOE & CNNC-UNESCO, 2008, p. 18).

By 2007, bilingual education is adopted in over 10,000 minority schools where 21 types of minority language are taught and over 6 million students enrolled (MOE & CNNC-UNESCO, 2008). The government established special funds to compensate the publication of textbooks in minority languages. Each year, over 3,500 kinds of textbooks in minority languages are compiled at different types of institutions, whose publication amounts to about 100 million copies.

Since 1990s, China's rapid economic development increases the status of Mandarin Chinese in the minority regions. In 2002, the Xinjiang Regional Education Bureau introduced a new bilingual education policy that mandates Chinese be used as the language of instruction, and students' mother tongue be taught as a subject. It is said that this was done primarily to improve the standard of Chinese language among minority graduates, so that they would be more competitive in the globalized work place. The implementation of the new bilingual policy has led to the increasing popularity of Mandarin Chinese and made a profound impact on the maintenance of minority cultures. Many minority people themselves prefer a mastery of Han literacy, technical skills and "modern" mentality to local and indigenous knowledge, and perceived the former as more advantageous in preparing them to depart "their world" and enter into the "mainstream" (Chang, 2007).

The special educational policies designed for the ethnic minorities as described show that Chinese government has made great efforts to provide students of ethnic backgrounds an equal access to education. However, ethnic minorities' unique lifeways and cultural traditions have not been given sufficient attention in either policy making or curriculum practice. J. Wang, a reputable professor from Northwestern Normal University, comments that the policies and legislations, despite the good intentions to protect the educational rights of ethnic minorities, ignored the role of education in inheriting and developing the culture of ethnic minorities, which, to him, is "a big flaw in the educational legislations for ethnic minorities" (J. Wang, Qin, Luan, & Guan, 2007, p. 149; Chen, 2008).

Local textual and non-textual cultural resources relevant to the life experience of the minority children have not been considerably included in the subsidized textbooks (L. B. Liu & Peng, 2007). Most textbooks for ethnic minorities are translated from Han literacy textbooks or complied in the same model as the Han literacy curriculum. Local culture and knowledge are often written in a very single perspective, imbued with a heavy doze of mainstream values and ideologies, as well as modern and patriotic elements (Z. Z. Yang, 2007). Boarding schools including ethnic minority classes set up in developed regions have been criticized for relocating minority students and teaching them "a new moral code, inspired by sense of modernity, patriotism and socialism" (Bass, 2008, p. 41).The standardized national textbooks and university entrance examination, which are written based upon the experience of urban and Han students, are adopted as the main source and criteria of knowledge in elementary and secondary schools (L. B. Liu & Peng, 2007; Z. Z. Yang, 2007). The failure to reflect local indigenous culture in curriculum has caused cultural domination of minority groups by the Han mainstream majority (J. Wang, Qin, Luan & Guan, 2007). All the problems could be ascribed to the instrumental, scientific and functional agenda of educational policy-making, where cultural issues are managed as "planning," "designing," "amelioration" and development in the name of progress, with poor understanding, anthropologically, of what culture means and the problematic classification of ethnic groups (Popkewitz, 2008).

CONCLUSION

This chapter is a large scope of review on the multicultural/intercultural issues in Chinese education, ranging from the ancient tradition and its transformation, the historical deployment of modern pedagogical discourse, the rhetoric in the discourse of curriculum reform, and policies with regard to ethnic minority education, all being presented and analyzed as forms of discourse. By doing so, we take cultural complexities as a focus of transformation—the change of language toward diversity and plurality. This means treating curriculum as cultural text and policy as discourse, and taking the current model of classroom practice as a fertile ground to interpret cultural meanings and appreciate diversities. Teaching is thus to provide the opportunities for students to "understand and explore a multiplicity of expressions and interpretations" as shown in the Confucian pedagogical discourse (Kubota, 2004, p. 48). It requires policy makers to engage in an interpretive dialogue with teachers at the classroom, to critically examine what policies or practices might constrain teachers' capacity of helping students explore their own linguistic and cultural resources.

Both teachers and policy makers should be well aware of the historical deployments of discourse contingencies, and capable of breaking false

illusions and cultural boundaries created by the discourse. Educational reformers, teachers and teacher educators in China need to recover Chinese heritage of speaking to create infinite space of interpretation within the linguistic texture but beyond its boundaries. By maintaining its unique way of thinking about multiculturalism, education in China stands harmoniously among the myriad versions of world curriculum. It does not blindly imitate western mode of practice but seeks approaches workable only in particular contexts that are always diverse and different. This does not mean creating two essentialisms between East and West, but rather removing the distinctions created by the language of essentialism. As a step toward the direction, an anthropological understanding of cultural meanings sensitive to the local everydayness, and a choice of language that can narrate the culture in its own authentic way without being "deceived by common vocabulary for curriculum and pedagogy" are the urgent mission China have to embark on (Xu & Connelly, 2009; Wu & Jiang, 2009; Anderson-Levitt, 2008).

NOTES

1. The Five Canons include *The Book of Odes, The Book of History, The Book of Rites, The Book of Changes, The Spring and Autumn Annals*.

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16 The Politics of Inclusion and the Search for the "Other"

The International Education Policies and the Politics of "Difference" in Pakistan

Ayesha Khurshid

"They want us to play with children, how can we play with them for the whole day?" said Nasima, a teacher working with 4-year-olds in a rural community school of Pakistan. "You know children get spoilt, they do not want to read and write when they go to the next class. They are also no able to catch up and meet the expectations for the next grade." The requirement to "play" with young children instead of giving direct instructions about reading and writing was part of the "child-centered pedagogy" practiced at Nasima's school. But Nasima and some of her fellow teachers were unable to understand the use of "playing with children" when children could spend that time learning to read and write. These negotiations about the best use of students' time reflected differences in how constructs like "education" and "play" were defined. For the teachers at Nasima's school, play was something children did on their own and did not need adults' or teachers' supervision. On the other hand, the organization that supported this school and also defined the curriculum and teaching pedagogy introduced teacher-supervised playtime as an important component of students' social and academic development. This organization is formed by expatriate Pakistanis living in the United States and supports community schools for low-income and marginalized communities in Pakistan. The organization describes "child-centered education" as the core of their educational philosophy. The mission statement of the organization states "This approach (child-centered education) is an alternative to the traditional system of repetitive memorization and has been shown to improve student achievement. Child-centered education emphasizes creativity as well as social skills and critical thinking skills" (www.dil.org).

This organization of expatriate Pakistanis is not the only organization working in Pakistan that connects child-centered pedagogy to the quality of education. The international development agencies in Pakistan view the "traditional" methods as one of the main reasons for the low academic achievement and high drop out rates of the students. Child-centered

education is presented as the central component of "quality education." However, I argue that these educational policies have Western notions of *individual, difference* and *inclusion/exclusion* embedded in them. For instance, the construction of "difference" defines the core of the policies to support inclusive education in the West. These constructions are embedded in the educational policies internationalized by the international development agencies and may not capture the *local* realities in contexts like Pakistan. For example, "Education for All,"[1] supported by the World Bank and UNESCO to support education for marginalized children in the "Third World countries," reflects specific notions of inclusive education. I examine how these international education policies interact and overlap with *local* beliefs to create hybrid processes of teaching and learning.

This chapter highlights the processes of translations, negotiations and enactments when international educational policies, embodying notions specific to the West, are implemented in non-Western contexts like Pakistan. I use the data collected during the year 2009 with students and teachers from community school and staff of the education development organization supporting these schools. The development organization was formed by expatriate Pakistanis living in the United States to manage and support community schools for children from low-income rural and urban communities in Pakistan. It is important to mention that the objective of this chapter is not to critique child-centered education as a construct or a policy. The fact is that a number of international development organizations working in Pakistan, including the one I am focusing on for this chapter, are doing valuable work to make education accessible to children who may not be able to attend school otherwise. The staff and policymakers of the organization I was working with were deeply committed to improve the lives of the children they are working with. The objective of this chapter is to examine the processes involved in internationalization of educational policies like Child-Centered Education or Multicultural Education. The implementation and understanding of these policies, with Western notions of inclusion/exclusion embedded in them, is limited in different countries. This chapter uses the case study of child-centered education to examine the tensions inherent in transporting educational constructs from one cultural context to another one.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES: A CASE STUDY OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The educational discourse in Pakistan, home to diverse ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious communities, does not constitute terms like "multiculturalism" or "Multicultural Education." Educational policies such as Multicultural Education and Education for All, which are internationalized

by development agencies define a new discourse of education for countries like Pakistan. For example, Multicultural Education as a construct and a policy is intrinsically linked to the history of racial inequality and the influence of the civil rights movement of the 1960s in the United States (Lei & Grant, 2001). There is a process of translations and negotiations involved when this policy, reflecting specific social and historical constructions of inclusion/exclusion and difference, travels to other countries. Dussel (2001) discusses how Multicultural Education, introduced by the World Bank in Argentina, is seen and resisted as a "North American discourse" by different groups of students and teachers. In this context, Multicultural Education is seen as an ideology that promotes differentiation, rather than social equity, through overtly compensating programs toward marginalized students. Rey (this book) discusses how the Council of Europe decided to use the term "Intercultural Education" instead of "Multicultural Education" in an effort to develop an educational policy providing equal opportunity to students from different backgrounds. The intention was to focus on xenophobia and integration of underprivileged social classes and not to address the issues related racism as was seen the case with Multicultural Education. In some other contexts, the policies of "Intercultural Education" and "Multicultural Education" were adopted to differentiate the goals of inclusion. For example Shibuya (see this book) discusses the co-existence of Intercultural and Multicultural Education policies in Japan. Multicultural Education is borrowed from the United States, Canada and Australia to address the issues of social inequality in relation to resident Koreans who have been denied citizenship rights. On the other hand, Intercultural Education was originally developed to support the adoption process of Japanese children who had lived outside Japan because of their parents' businesses.

These examples demonstrate how an educational policy developed in one cultural context and thus tied to the social and cultural features of that context cannot be directly replicated in another context. For example, the Intercultural Educational policy in some European countries replaces race with the constructs of class and citizenship status. However, I argue that it is not just replacing one construct with the other that defines the internationalization of culturally specific educational policies. This internationalization also embodies transportation of ideas to the contexts that have their own system of reasoning to define teaching and learning. I argue that the system of reason to understand *difference* and the issues of *exclusion/inclusion* in different countries is specific to their particular social and cultural history. The educational discourse embodies these social constructions to define the processes of teaching and learning at schools. The next sub-section briefly discusses the context of Pakistan in relation to the issues of difference and inclusion/exclusion with a realization of the impossibility to fully describe and capture the complexity of any culture.

WHO IS THE "OTHER" IN PAKISTAN?

Pakistan, described as "an anathema in the official lexicons of Indian nationalism" by Ayesha Jalal, a famous South Asian historian, was carved out of Muslim majority provinces divided along the religious lines in 1947. The "other" in Pakistan is not a stable category, the "Muslim citizen" is the norm constructed in relation to the "Hindu" India and is a reminiscent of the partition history. However, the "othering" also happens in relation to the West where West also stands in opposition to the Muslim identity. However, I argue that *difference a*nd the processes of *inclusion/exclusion* are complex and do not fit into the modernist binaries used to define identities. The Western ideas of difference are inherently linked to the process of "othering" where the processes of inclusion create spaces for exclusions (Popkewitz, 2008). Although ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and disability are part of the inclusive educational discourse in the United States, it defines difference primarily in relation to race (Grant & Khurshid, 2009). I argue the need to examine the processes and outcomes of the translation of such Western educational discourses in a context like Pakistan where the concept of race does not exist and ethnicity is not assigned based on skin color. I would like to mention here that I do not endorse the binary of a pure *indigenous/local* perspective against an *international/global* one. I acknowledge that there is neither a singular or static Pakistani perspective nor a local belief not touched by the outside influences. However, there are specific cultural beliefs and systems of reason, some with origins in the British colonial era and others shaped and/or influenced by discourses such as Muslim nationalism, which define the way people construct the world around them. Thus I refer to the "local" to highlight those cultural beliefs and systems of reason.

I argue that the notion of difference in Pakistan is neither tied to the idea of "progress" nor seen as something that has to be eliminated or overcome. Progress itself is not seen as a linear movement forward but a journey to the "glorious" Muslim past when Muslims were scholars, scientists and world explorers. Thus future is seen as an opportunity to recapture the Muslim past. In this discourse, education is seen as a prerequisite to claim that lost glory and dignity. This construction of education is influenced by a number of factors. "Seek knowledge even if you have to go as far as China, as seeking knowledge is a duty on every Muslim," a quote by Prophet Mohammad, is seen as a calling to realize the importance of education. This quotation is frequently used in educational policies and curriculum and is often displayed in schools and classrooms in Pakistan. Another important but a distinct influence is of the construction of education within the discourse of the Muslim nationalist movement that led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947. The Muslim nationalist movement, which demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims of India, was deeply influenced and in some ways was a product of an earlier movement focusing

on education. This educational movement was initiated in the later half of the 19th century and sought to encourage Muslims of India to embrace the British educational system. The leaders of this movement saw British education as a prerequisite for Indian Muslims to successfully enter into the social and political arenas during the British colonial era. It was eventually the graduates of the British educational system who formed the front cadre of the Muslim nationalist movement demanding a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. The Muslim nationalist movement was modernist in its goals and modes of operation. It used modernist language to define the Muslims of India as a "minority." In this movement for self-determination for the Muslims of India however, secular language was used to construct *difference* based on religion.

The official and social discourses in Pakistan naturalize the idea of citizens as Muslim thus positioning Hindus as the "other." However, this discourse is layered with other discourses of difference based on variables other than religion. In these discourses, difference is primarily understood in terms of ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. There are more than five major ethnic groups living in Pakistan and they all are positioned as different without the centrality of a single group. In this discourse, which defines difference in terms of ethnicity, language, and culture, difference is not something that has to be overcome. The system of reason that operationalizes this notion of difference does not demarcate social spaces in ways similar to the West. For instance, it is often not possible to identify the ethnic background of an individual based on skin color or any other physical feature. However, there are other ways to see and enact differences, for example, the social practices generally discourage intermarriages between individuals from different ethnicity or caste groups. The society continues to endorse some practices that would be thought of as discrimination within a modernist/humanist discourse. For instance, Muslims who lived with Hindus in the pre-partition days before the creation of Pakistan in 1947, do not think that their Hindu friends discriminated when they did not allow their Muslim friends to touch their food or to enter into their kitchen for the fear of *impurity*. However, the Muslim nationalist movement used such social practices to rationalize the need for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India.

The educational system of Pakistan reflects similar hybridities in defining the "Pakistani" identity. On the one hand, it positions the Muslim identity in reference to the Hindu "other." On the other hand, it endorses the ethnic markers of difference by highlighting images of different cultures. I argue that these representations of ethnic/cultural differences, although layered within the Muslim-Hindu dichotomy, are still not seen in relation to a central norm. The "other" in the classroom is thus not understood in terms of skin color or individual learning styles. In this context, the child-centered pedagogy and activity-based teaching are foreign notions especially because of their specific construction of the "individual."

THE POLITICS OF *DIFFERENCE* AND THE WORKINGS OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION POLICIES IN PAKISTAN

The international development agencies, vigorously promoting education for all in Pakistan, have yet not introduced Multicultural Education as a way to include children they consider disadvantaged or marginalized. These agencies identify a number of flaws in the Pakistani educational system such as rote-learning system and, related to that, teachers' inability to account for and include individualistic needs and learning styles of their students. These development agencies stress the need to position all children as *different* and call for the Pakistani educational system to reform itself to include those differences. *Child-Centered Education* is seen as the remedy by the international development agencies to meet the goal of serving all children. These agencies, including the World Bank, the UN, among others, are collaborating with the Pakistani government as well as with the local organizations to reform the curriculum and teaching pedagogy based on the principles of child-centered pedagogy. In this sub-section, I examine child-centered pedagogy as an example to understand the inherent tensions translating international educational policies, with constructs specific to Western contexts, in contexts like Pakistan. This discussion is specifically relevant to examine the interaction of two culturally specific systems to understand the issues *difference* and *inclusion/exclusion*.

The child-centered pedagogy and activity-based teaching are gradually being introduced but have yet not become part of the mainstream educational discourse in Pakistan. The social relevance of these notions can be determined by examining the types of school that have started endorsing these teaching philosophies. There are at least four types of schools serving elementary, middle and high school students in Pakistan. *Deeni madarsahs* are the Islamic religious schools largely supported by private donors and private organizations. The second type of schools are the state sponsored and subsidized schools, which serve the majority of the children living in the cities as well as in the rural areas. These schools provide subsidized education to every child and are modeled after the educational system brought to South Asia by the British colonial authorities. The third type is private schools, ranging from elite and expensive boarding schools to small schools in rural areas. The forth type of schools are the community schools, a fairly recent phenomenon introduced by the local and international development agencies. These schools often serve the rural and urban low-income communities and follow the policies adopted by the international development agencies and not the government of Pakistan.

The schools that have started adopting the child-centered pedagogy are either the elite private schools or the community schools. The private schools have English medium of instruction and primarily serve children from wealthy families. The community schools, on the other hand, provide educational opportunities to the groups defined as marginalized by

the international development agencies. The teachers from these schools attend the trainings designed by the international development agencies. Both types of schools present child-centered pedagogy as the core of "quality education." However, the definition of quality education varies significantly. The elite private schools present child-centered pedagogy as a philosophy that distinguishes them from other private and state schools. They claim to prepare students to enter into the elite higher educational institutions of the West. The international development agencies, on the other hand, position child-centered pedagogy as an "inclusive" rather than "distinguishing" strategy. The community schools claim to use the child-centered pedagogy to include children who otherwise do not have access to quality education.

HOW TO DRAW THE "FUTURE": CHILD-CENTERED EDUCATION AND THE TECHNOLOGIES OF TEACHING AND LEARNING IN PAKISTAN

It was an elementary school serving a semi-urban settlement situated in a close proximity of a large city of Pakistan. The school was holding classes in two adjacent houses. This community school provided subsidized education to low-income families but was also open to anyone who wanted to join the school. I had accompanied the staff of the organization supporting this school to observe an art activity to be conducted with children from different age groups. The organization felt that it was important to promote such activities as part of students' academic and social development.

The children ranging in age from 7 to 10 years sat around a table in a small courtyard of the school. The teacher trainer from the organization asked children to draw how they saw their homes, communities, and school in the future, for example, how would they like these spaces to look like in the future. The expectation was that children would be able to articulate and communicate their "dreams" about these places through drawing. However, the teacher trainer started looking exasperated when neither students nor teachers understood the activity even after she provided a detailed explanation. The children kept asking "do you want us to draw a building?," "yes, the building too but probably the environment around it, e.g., if you would like the school to have a playground. You could also draw students, teachers . . . , if you like," the teacher trainer said. The teachers felt unable to help because the teacher trainer asked them not to provide any directions to the children. As she was looking at children's drawings, the teacher trainer said to me "they want me to tell them what to draw . . . these children do not know how to be creative. We need to design trainings to help them with creativity." The activity went on for couple of hours among all these confusions. At the end, it seemed like children had replicated the pictures of schools and houses that they had seen in their textbooks.

This example demonstrates the limitations of an educational pedagogy that focuses on the ability of an "individual" child to express her creativity in an environment considered "non-structured" because of the absence of explicit directions from the teachers. The teacher trainer, trained in Western philosophies of education, developed an art activity using child-centered pedagogy. It was believed that this activity would help to bring out the individual strengths of children by engaging them in a fun activity. However, the children and teachers were unable to understand the relevance of this activity especially in relation to imagination, creativity and academics. This is particularly important because these children lived in environments that were often not able to provide them toys or books. One could see them engaging in make-believe plays with their friends during recess time. These children, thus, relied on their active imagination to develop and engage in fun activities. So the "lack of creativity" was not the issue, the fact was that this activity was not able to capture the creativity of children. There seemed to be a significant confusion about the concept of "future," children felt that they could not draw "the future" through drawings about their homes, schools and community. At the end, an activity that was supposed to make learning fun transformed into an incomprehensible chore for students.

This example shows that international education policies prescribing certain teaching philosophies and pedagogies may present a foreign terrain to the Pakistani teachers and students. This unfamiliarity is not just about the *foreigness* of constructs like Child-Centered Education or Multicultural Education. This has been dealt with by replacing constructs like race with ethnicity in some European contexts. This paper however, focuses on culturally specific systems of reason that construct education and technologies of teaching and learning according to the social and cultural histories of those contexts. This argument is particularly pertinent to understand the workings of international education policies that emphasize inclusive education for the Third World countries.

The education development organization of the expatriate Pakistanis supporting these schools embraces the ideas of "child-centered education" and "activity-based teaching" to support the learning of every child. This teaching philosophy is supposed to address the individual learning styles and abilities of children. The teachers are recruited from the same communities and are extensively trained to understand the "individual" needs of their students and to adopt methods proven to be successful in the West and especially in the United States. The teacher trainings also discourage some methods considered "local," for example, memorization of text instead of understanding the concepts. The teachers are trained to reward students for participation instead of focusing too much on the outcome. This philosophy of teaching is embraced and advocated by all the international development agencies working on education in Pakistan.

Despite enormous emphasis on Child-Centered Education, a number of teachers working at different community schools shared their dissatisfaction

with some aspects of this educational philosophy. The teachers felt that at times children needed active support from teachers but it was seen as direct instruction by the organization supporting these schools. They felt that the time assigned to play in class did not make sense because children found it challenging to transition back into work. I argue that these dissatisfactions did not originate just from a different opinion about teaching methods. They were a reflection of the way teachers defined education, teaching and learning. They felt that the main objective of education was not to become "creative" but to learn manners and responsibilities as family and community members.

What happens when educational policies with modernist ideas of *difference* and *individual* interact with local systems of beliefs? Some interactions such as the one that required students to imagine future through drawing reflect the parallel existence of two diverse ways of seeing the world. Other interactions produce hybrid, layered and complex identities that reflect but are neither modern nor local. I use the personal narratives of two teachers, Nazia and Shakeela, to understand their construction and description of *difference* in relation to their identities of "educated" women. These narratives show how the *other* is simultaneously used and dissolved by teachers to construct difference. These constructions are important not only to understand the interactions of modern and local but also to examine the translations and negotiations of the international educational policies.

DIFFERENCE WITHOUT THE *OTHER*?

Nazia's village was not too far from the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi but was somewhat disconnected and inaccessible because of its geographical location. Unlike the surrounding villages, this village had yet to receive electricity. Shakeela on the other hand, lived in a village that had better access to the twin cities as well as to a number of other utilities such as electricity, hospitals, schools, etc. Nazia and Shakeela came from families who had close kinship connections to the communities in their respective villages but also enjoyed higher social status and better socioeconomic conditions. Both the participants were among the first women to be educated in their respective communities/villages. They felt that their families understood the value of education, unlike others around them, even when there were no schools in their villages. The reasons for choosing these two participants were the similarities in the way they saw and rationalized differences, whether it was about how they were different from their families or how their families were different from the rest of the community. In addition, their families enjoyed more or less the same social status in their respective communities and had similar socioeconomic status as well as educational qualifications to each other.

Both the participants had received extensive teacher training from the Western and local experts hired by the education development organization. These trainings focused on the individuality of every child in their classrooms and the need to tailor their teaching accordingly. However, it was the difference of their families from the rest of the village that both Nazia and Shakeela spoke about at length. They felt that this difference existed not just in terms of understanding the value of education but also in relation to some other issues such as parenting techniques. They described the "irrational mannerism" and the "unreasonable ways to resolve conflicts" of the members of their community. They spoke about these issues in relation to the educated approach of their families. Nazia said:

> Women in our village do not know how to behave reasonably. They fight and curse at each other whenever there is a conflict. They would stand in middle of a field and curse at each other over petty things. My own cousins, one of them is married to my husband's brother, also has very uneducated mannerism. She is loud and obnoxious. Now my in-laws value me since I was never rude to them even when we had disagreements. I always did what I wanted to do and told them if I did not like anything they said or did but did not curse them. That is the difference that education makes.

Nazia defined herself and her sisters, who were educated and had lived in the cities, in relation to the "uneducated" women in her extended family and community. This was a process of "othering" embodying a distinction between the civilized (educated) and the irrational (uneducated), the terms Nazia used to describe the difference. This process of constructing difference bears the mark of modernist approach to understand life and reflects the philosophy of the international development agencies working on education and other sectors in Pakistan. Kothari (2005) argues that the forms of expertise produced under the paradigm of international development are often developed by asserting the colonial dichotomies that the "traditional" cultures and practices of the Third world needs to be replaced with the "modern" of the first world. She theorizes that at a fundamental level both colonialism and international development are embedded in ideas and institutions that evolve in the West and have a global reach. In other words, the "difference" between traditional and modern defines the core and eliminating this difference, in terms of having people modernize through development, the ultimate goal of the international development paradigm.

Nazia's narrative comes across as a reflection of the way difference is constructed by the international development agencies and promoted through their education project in countries like Pakistan. However, the complexity of her ideas emerges through connecting different parts of her narratives and understanding it as a whole instead of focusing on selective parts in isolation. For example, the difference between educated and irrational dissolved when

Nazia spoke about the values that in her opinion defined the core of her community. For instance, she felt that women in her extended family and community were very wise and careful about protecting their "honor." Although their parents were not educated, they had instilled the "right" values and morals in their daughters to live a respectable and decent life.

Shakeela's narratives shared similar notions of difference in terms of using the modernist frameworks to understand differences on the one hand and on the other hand dissolving the "other" defined by these categories of difference. While talking about the relationship between parenting and education, she said:

> My nephews and nieces are living in a very educated environment, we teach them how to speak, eat, greet, and meet people. We teach them manners. It is very different from the way we grew up. We learnt about life and manners as adults and from teacher trainings and TV. Our parents were very simple. But our children only see the educated environment around them.

Shakeela defined the educated parenting in relation to the "simple" environment that she grew up in. However, as in the case of Nazia, this othering dissolved as she spoke more about the meaning and impact of education.

> My parents were not educated, my mother did not know much about the world but she told us how to distinguish between right and wrong. It is her upbringing and values that helped us understand the meaning of life. My sister tells her children the same stories that our mother told us. It is very important for our children to learn those values.

The construction and dissolution of the other in the narratives of Nazia and Shakeela describe difference that reflects the complex interaction of modern and local beliefs within the international education discourse. These layers of complexity position students and teachers within international education discourses like child-centered pedagogy, which has a special focus on inclusion. This inclusion can only take place when children are recognized as different whether this difference exists in terms of their individual learning styles or other markers of difference. However, the above discussion shows that cultural specific understandings of *difference* create processes and outcomes not captured by international education policies.

CONCLUSION

Educational policies like Multicultural Education and Child-Centered Education are internationalized and implemented in different countries primarily to address the issues of inclusion/exclusion. The concept and construct of

Multicultural Education does not exist in Pakistan. It is the Child-Centered Education that is positioned and promoted by the international development as the most important reform to improve access to quality education. With the growing role of the international development agencies in funding the education sector of Pakistan, it has become important to examine the tensions in translating and negotiating international education policies like Child-Centered Education in the *local* context of Pakistan. The intention of the chapter is not to critique the Child-Centered Education but to analyze how the modernist constructs of *difference* and *inclusion/exclusion* embedded in this policy interact with *local* beliefs to create hybrid processes and identities. This chapter examine examples when these two systems of reason, local and international, coexist in parallel but not necessarily as separate spheres and in other cases they interact and sometimes overlap to create complex identities. For example, what happens when the idea of difference exists without a stable category or even the existence of the *other*. These examples, although specific to the implementation of the Child-Centered Education in Pakistan, are important to understand the workings of international education policies focusing on inclusive education in non-Western contexts. These international policies cannot be effective until and unless they recognize and acknowledge the complexity of their influence in diverse contexts.

NOTES

1. "Education for All (EFA) is an international initiative first launched in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 to bring the benefits of education to "every citizen in every society." In order to realize this aim, a broad coalition of national governments, civil society groups, and development agencies such as the UNESCO and the World Bank committed to achieving specific education goals focusing on early childhood education, girls education, literacy rates, etc. (http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION, retrieved September 16, 2009)

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Part IV

Intercultural and Multicultural Education

17 Multiculturalism in the Nordic Countries

Johanna Lasonen

BECOMING MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) have traditionally been regarded, and perceived themselves, as homogeneous nations, in terms of a number of different ethnic groups, rather than countries of immigration. In Sweden the tide turned from emigration to immigration in the 1940s. Denmark and Norway followed suit in the 1970s and 1980s. In Iceland and Finland this happened later, in the turning point of the 1980s and 1990s.

Nonetheless, each Nordic country is unique in terms of immigration and ethnicity. Iceland and Finland deviate from Denmark, Norway and Sweden in being countries of emigration much longer. Besides Finnish-speakers, Finland has a Swedish-speaking population, located mainly along the south and west coast as well as in the autonomous province of the Åland Islands. In addition, traditional Finnish minorities include the Lapps, the Romany, the Tatars and the Jews, some of whom speak Yiddish. Finnish and Swedish are the two national languages of Finland, whereas Lappish, Romany and sign language enjoy a special constitutional position. The Lapps living in Finland, Sweden and Norway are the only officially recognized indigenous people within the European Union.

Many workers migrated to central and northern Europe after the second World War. The flow of migrants was not channelled to Finland, whereas during the war, Sweden received refugees from Denmark, Norway, Estonia and many other countries. In Finland, the domestic labor force satisfied the needs of expanding industrial and service sectors. The good supply of a domestic labor force was due partly to the relatively high proportion of women in the labor market. Finnish women have been highly educated, and with advanced family policies, female labor has been efficiently available. Also, a flexible education system since the 1980s and high social mobility have provided the workforce with professional experts from different social strata.

A different trend was found in Sweden, where systematic immigration was favored as early as the 1940s. Work-based immigration to Sweden started in the mid-1940s when the Swedes recruited laborers for their

factories from central and western Europe, as well as the other Nordic countries, especially Finland. A similar wave from southern Europe and from outside Europe to Sweden began in the early 1960s, and a few years later to Denmark and Norway.

A considerable number of people have migrated from one Nordic country to another; such Nordic migration has been common since the 1950s. Mutual agreements by the Nordic countries concerning free mobility and exchange of workers have had a great impact on migration. Work permits between these countries were abandoned in 1943 through the Common Nordic Labour Market. Sweden stopped requiring visas from the citizens of Denmark, Iceland and Norway in 1949 and Finland in 1954. The free Nordic labor market was established officially in 1954. Since then more than a million Nordic citizens have settled down in another Nordic country (Fischer & Straubhaar, 1996; Heikkilä, Järvinen, Neubauer, & Persson, 2004). For example, in 1998 the total number of emigrants within the Nordic countries was 37,247. The exchange was most frequent between Sweden and Norway: 4,293 people moved from Norway to Sweden, while the flow from Sweden to Norway consisted of 7,765 people. The least migration occurred between Finland and Iceland, with about 50 people in both directions (Heikkilä et al., 2004, p. 4).

Nevertheless, migration between the Nordic countries has not been as massive as internal migration in each country (Fischer & Straubhaar, 1996). In Finland, for instance, the quantity of internal migration, mainly from North to South, was 3 to 20 times larger than emigration to other Nordic countries during the 1970s and 1980s (Fischer & Straubhaar, 1996, p. 18). Nonetheless, Finns are still on the top of the immigration statistics in Sweden, although they are a special case. Until the late 1970s, Finns accounted for half of all the immigrants in Sweden. The treatment of immigrants in Sweden has had a profound effect upon Finnish immigrants, and Sweden has had to reckon with the economic, political and social relationships between the two countries.

After the second World War, approximately 700,000 Finns moved to Sweden, North America, Australia and elsewhere abroad. It was not until the late 1980s and the early 1990s that immigration to Finland started to exceed emigration. Since then, most of the immigrants have been of Finnish origin, returning from Sweden (Finnish Swedes) and the former Soviet Union (mainly Ingrian Finns). Finland has also received refugees according to a quota, coming, for example, from Somalia, Iran and the Balkan countries. Immigration to Finland by marriage makes up a considerable share of the total number.

Although migration between the Nordic countries has been quite active, immigration from other parts of Europe and beyond has occurred in greater volumes. It has also had significant cultural effects on the institutions of Nordic societies. Table 17.1 displays immigration profiles for the five Nordic countries.

Table 17.1 Immigration Profiles in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (European Union 2008)[1]

Description (population)	*Denmark (5.5 million)*	*Finland (5.3 million)*	*Iceland (316,252)*	*Norway (4.7 million)*	*Sweden (9.2 million)*
Foreign born as part of the population (2004)	6.3%	3.2%	6%	8.3% (2006)	12.2%
Third-country nationals as part of the population (2006)	3.6%	1.4%	0.9%	4.7%	2.9%
Third-country national population (2006)	198,057	75,938	2,916	380,400	266,731
Largest third countries of origin (2005)	Turkey, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina	Russia, Somalia, Serbia- Montenegro	Philippines, Former Yugoslavia, USA	Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia	Iraq, Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey
Long-term migration: Family reunion (2004)	42.1%	52.1%	—	55.2%	61.5%
Registered asylum seekers (2006)	1,918	2,288	—	5,320	24,322
Employment rate for third-country nationals	65%	48%	—	56.9%	46.4%
– compared to nationals	-12.3%	-22.2%		-18.6%	-27.6%
Unemployment rate for third-country nationals (2006)	8.2%	29.9%	—	13.1%	22.9%
– compared to nationals	+12.2%	+20.4%		+2.3%	+15.9%
Acquisition of nationality (2005)	10,197	5,683	—	12,655	39,573
Largest third-country groups for acquisition of nationality (2005)	Somalia, Former Yugoslavia, Iraq	Russia, Somalia, Serbia and Montenegro	—	Iraq, Somalia, Serbia and Montenegro,	Iraq, Serbia and Montenegro, Iran
International students (2004)	13,222	5,310	—	7,972	20,357

According to *The Annual Report on Migration and Integration* produced by the Commission of the European Communities (2007), some 18.5 million third-country nationals were in the EU-27 countries in 2006. They comprise 3.8% of the EU-27 countries' population. Denmark compares with the EU average. Three (Denmark, Finland and Sweden) of five Nordic countries belong to the European Union. Only Finland has adopted the common European currency. Immigration is the main factor of demographic growth in the EU as well as in the Nordic countries. Net migration has increased during the 21st century compared to the preceding century in the Nordic region.

Since the 1960s, immigration to the Nordic countries has been characterized by humanitarian reasons; that is, by the reception of refugees and asylum-seekers, the reunion of families and immigration based on marriage. Work-based immigration started first to wealthy Sweden, whereas in Finland it has been highlighted only recently. From 1990 to 2000, work was the reason for immigration for only 5–10% of the immigrants in Finland. By contrast, family reasons, such as marriage, were highlighted in this statistic. If a Finn has a foreign-born wife, she comes most likely from Russia or Estonia. Family ties have been registered as a reason for immigration for as many as 60–65% of the immigrants in Finland. Other reasons include refugees and returning migrants (Heikkilä, 2004).

Work-based immigrants have come mostly from western countries, whereas refugees, asylum-seekers and those immigrating for family reasons have come from the third-country groups. The success of these groups in the labor market varies considerably, which poses a major challenge to policy makers, employers, schools and other stakeholders in the Nordic region. A genuinely intercultural trend in multiculturalism in the Nordic countries stems from humanitarian immigration, that is, from the reception of refugees and asylum-seekers that have provided opportunities for the Nordic people to understand different languages and life styles. Ensuring linguistic rights to the existing population and the newcomers, which represent a significant strand of human identity, is a prerequisite for intercultural understanding and recognition.

Neither multiculturalism in society nor multicultural education can guarantee the quality of personal encounters and mutual learning with different people. Multicultural society, possibly with a correspondingly developed education system, also refers to countries with various coexisting ethnic or linguistic groups. Mere coexistence does not guarantee any mutual interaction and negotiation, however. McGee Banks (2004) emphasizes intergroup education in multicultural societies while examining past efforts to respond to ethnic, racial and religious diversity in schools.

To a fluctuating extent, people of the Nordic countries have learned to accept and recognize foreigners as equal citizens in their neighborhood, schools, jobs and communities. The religion- and value-based caricature scandals in Denmark (and Norway) made a splash in Islamic countries.

Denmark does not seem to be as liberal and tolerant as one is used to thinking about the country. Wren (2001) revealed that a shift in attitudes occurred in the 1980s, and Denmark is "one of the most racist countries in Europe." In Nordic countries, there is a danger that liberal values are used as justification for negative representations of "others." In all Nordic countries, unemployment is much higher among immigrants compared to the original population. The demand for country-specific skills might hide intolerance for diversity. In Finland, attitudes of the general population toward immigrants are monitored regularly by means of attitude barometers. Especially in the early 1990s, the general public was rather reserved with relation to immigration, and even racist attitudes were evident (Jaakkola, 2005). One reason for this was the coincidence of economic recession and increased immigration. Attitudes have become more positive in the 21st century as more immigrants have arrived and rendezvous with them has increased. However, the general public might see immigrants as a threat to their achieved social and welfare benefits rather than a potential contribution to national economy.

One of the explanations for negative attitudes and prejudices toward immigrants is a personally perceived and experienced threat. According to Esses, Dovidio, and Jackson (2001) there are two types of intergroup threats: realistic and symbolic. Realistic threat results from perceived scarcity of economic and other resources, whereas symbolic threat reflects cultural differences. Immigrants may be perceived as posing a realistic threat to a particular host society when they are economically successful, and thus can be seen as competing with members of the host society for limited resources, such as jobs. Belittling "others," discrimination and avoidance may take place in order to reduce competition. At the same time, immigrants who do not progress economically and otherwise may be seen as a burden for a country's social services, and hence pose a different kind of realistic threat. Esses, Dietz, and Bhardwaj (2006) found that the particular groups find especially that their competency and skills are discounted. Migrants often do jobs that the local population does not want to do, and they are frequently overqualified and overeducated for jobs they receive. It may not be recognized that if migrants are economically successful, they also contribute to the societies' wealth.

The Nordic countries consider themselves as a part of the Western world and civilization including its values. While defending their values, for example, liberty of speech and democracy, and the ethics of the Nordic equity and welfare for all, the former values seem to dominate in people's attitudes and stereotypes. Nevertheless, Nordic citizens with immigrant background, on the average, have lower levels of educational attainment as well as their unemployment rates are higher compared with the natives (see Table 17.1). Vuorela (2009) indicated the notion of *colonial complicity* "to theorise a situation in which a country . . . has neither been historically situated as one of the colonial centres in Europe nor has it been an innocent

victim or mere outsider of the colonial project" (p. 19). Colonial complicity includes the processes in which (post)colonial practices, products and imaginaries are reflected as a part of what is understood as national and traditional culture of a Nordic country. Power relations and decision making power, which belong to the majority, are supporting these imaginaries and practices.

Multicultural societies have Intercultural Education[2] when the education system adjusts its policies and practices to account for interculturality. For example, the number of mother tongues—that is, the first languages—may increase in education, and a national language of the host country is taught as a second language to immigrants. Curricular development, teaching and learning styles, as well as student assessment, continue to challenge educators at all levels of schooling, as well as evaluators considering multicultural awareness and anti-racism.

At the same time as newcomers' education, skills and competence are discounted, each Nordic country would like to have more international students and keep them in the countries after graduation. National strategies for international student and research exchanges in higher education also propose targets of attracting more international student and researcher exchanges than actually have been fulfilled. Student and teacher exchanges have shown that new contexts require intercultural understanding and interaction, conflict resolution and problem-solving skills which could be exercised already in the multicultural classes and communities at home (Lasonen, 2005). Internationalization of education and Intercultural Education have been seen as separate rather than complementary activities. The interest of the former is seen to support globalization of economy, and the latter aims at mutual learning and intercultural understanding at the local level.

INTEGRATION PROCESS

Immigrants' integration into society is a complex process that is affected by the integration policy of the host country, as well as the host population's and immigrants' background, education level, age and attitudes. Mutual encounters and cooperation promote integration on both sides and enrich the dominant culture. Integration has been analyzed as (a) economic, which presupposes employment opportunities; (b) social; and (c) cultural, which requires that an immigrant adapts mentally to the new environment by adjusting his or her identity accordingly. The new and former lifestyles are connected by learning new skills and habits, as well as maintaining relations to the family and ethnic group and establishing contacts with the local population. Integration is also affected by (d) political adaptation and activity (e.g., Council of Europe, 1997).

Several large-scale surveys on integration have been made in the Nordic countries. Numerous investigations are connected to economic analyses of

immigrants' employment, living conditions and economic status. Whereas immigrants' employment and socioeconomic status seem to be improving over time, they are still lagging behind those of the native population. There are few studies on immigrants' own experiences of integration, as well as on the native population's interaction with immigrants. Immigrants' integration can also be studied in terms of language skills, use of languages and linguistic identity. Further, the success of integration has been evaluated as mastery of the national language(s) of the new home country in addition to active usage of one's own native language. Cultural identity is regarded as an indicator of acculturation, because like language, it can be studied as a dual construction with host culture and ethnic culture components.

Immigrants' employment tends to improve by time, although slowly (Työministeriö, 2007). Perhoniemi and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2007) conducted the first longitudinal study on the progress of immigrants' integration and adaptation in Finland. The data for their survey were collected from 1997 to 2004. The questionnaire data comprises 457 immigrants from the Helsinki region, where nearly a half (46%) of the immigrants in Finland are located. The findings showed that, while integration for highly educated immigrants had progressed during 10 years, it was still slow. Only after 10 years had immigrants reached a reasonable command of the Finnish language, as well as slightly more even stress levels and reasonable employment opportunities.

Border migration (which in this context refers to migration between Nordic countries and immigration from Russia and Estonia to Finland) has had a significant effect on economies of these countries since the 1950s. The following factors are relevant to migration to a bordering country as well as to the international mobility of the workforce in general: (a) migration between the countries is enabled institutionally; (b) the target country needs a workforce beyond its national supply; and (c) the country of departure has a workforce with emigration potential, which may be due to an oversupply of labor force in the country or better income prospects abroad (Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2007). According to Wanner (2002), in Europe immigration can also be explained by historical ties, immigration policy, geographical proximity and common language.

Finland's industrial structure experienced a widespread transition in the 1960s and 1970s. In this process, the labor market was flooded with a low-educated labor force from rural areas, who could not be employed by Finnish industry. Then again, Swedish industry needed an inexpensive workforce coming from Finland and southern Europe. In addition, Sweden needed more personnel for the public sector in order to build its welfare state. From 1954 to 1970, Sweden received approximately 262,000 Finnish immigrants, which was about 6% of the population of Finland (Korkiasaari & Tarkiainen, 2000). On the other hand, many also returned; for example, half of those immigrating to Sweden in 1968 had returned to Finland by 1989. All in all, during 60 years (1945–2004) about 558,000

people migrated from Finland to Sweden, while about 308,000 people migrated back from Sweden to Finland. According to Karjalainen (1989), the reasons for returning were not economic but had to do with adaptation problems, language difficulties, education of children, unemployment or retirement. Unlike other Nordic languages (Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish), which are related to each other, Finnish belongs to an entirely different family of languages, deviating totally from its Nordic neighbors. Nevertheless, Swedish is Finland's second official language and is, therefore, compulsory to learn.

At present, the largest immigrant groups in Finland come from Russia, Estonia and Sweden. Once the Soviet system collapsed in the early 1990s, Finland loosened her immigration policy for Russians, and especially for the Ingrians, coming from the former Soviet Union. The discrepancy between Finland and Russia in terms of GNP per capita has been one of the largest in Europe, which, of course, has made Finland more attractive (Heikkilä & Järvinen, 2004). Similarly, salary differences between Finland and Estonia have created an incentive for Estonians immigrating to Finland. What makes Finland particularly inviting for Estonians is the geographical and linguistic proximity. It has also given them an advantage over Russians and other immigrants for finding employment in Finland, whether measured by time or employment rate.

As a concept, multiculturalism is often understood as a phenomenon brought by immigrants who are needed in societies. Multiculturalism is a modern movement in social, political or educational thought characterized by claims, theses and values, respectively. Multiculturalism in some societies may have been considered as a marginalizing factor. However, the contemporary movement emphasizes positive aspects of cultural differences. Mason (2003) indicates that "insisting upon the just, respectful treatment of members of all cultures, especially those which have historically been the victims of domination and oppression; and emphasizes the integrity of historically marginalised cultures." Schools can be multicultural, but the practice of pedagogy may be monocultural. Multicultural schools presuppose a change of administration, methods and curricula which come from their students' ethnic cultures and languages. Intercultural Education is an educational movement emphasizing justice, equity and understanding of diversity in democratic multicultural societies (see Banks, 2006; Grant & Lei, 2001; Gundara, 2000). The task of Intercultural Education is to provide optimal environments for mutual learning by the means of intercultural communication and dialogue aiming at intercultural understanding and competences.

A model to develop intercultural sensitivity describes changes in a person's behavior, knowledge and feelings. This occurs through the learner's subjective experience of gradually learning to understand cultural diversity and at the same time construct their view of the world. According to Bennett and Bennett (2004), experiencing cultural differences goes through six

stages. Each stage involves new kind of experiences. The first three stages (denial, defense, depreciation) reduce *ethnocentricity,* that is, the belief that one's own group is absolutely unique. In the beginning, other cultures are seen negatively and with great reservation. This stand can also be reversed. Ethnocentric orientation tends to polarize cultural differences, which leads to the avoidance or depreciation of other cultures which, for one, inhibits learning. A reversed worldview is possible with regard to cultural differences, so that other cultures are considered superior and one's own culture is depreciated.

The next three stages in this development (acceptance, adaptation and integration) help people see their own group as one of the many. A tolerant approach typically works toward minimizing the significance of cultural differences. A tolerant person puts emphasis on solidarity and universal values and minimizes the significance of cultural differences. *Ethnorelativistic* thinking recognizes and accepts cultural differences. Cultural sensitivity also strengthens one's own cultural identity. Although this kind of stage-based model involves the risk of making individual learning more rigid, it also provides a framework for progress toward intercultural understanding. These stages show a process of change and learning that may be hindered in the ethnocentric phase. At the more mature stage of ethnorelativistic thinking, intercultural learning is possible due to acceptance of and openness to cultural difference.

If multicultural society is promoted by Intercultural Education, we can ask what is an objective of intercultural learning. One solution has been seen in training intercultural competence. The concept of intercultural competence has been approach from many academic disciplines and models. In the next chapter, the term of intercultural competence is discussed, first, generally and, second, in the context of the Nordic countries.

INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

The concept of competence is usually explained according to the rationality of its purpose. The term 'competence' refers to performance, standard of quality as well as individual attributes including: (a) behavioral; (b) generic; and (c) cognitive approaches. In conclusion, competence involves a person's capacity for handling certain situations, fulfilling tasks or performing a job. Intercultural competence has been mostly studied in the contexts of expert work, international leadership and expatriates' adjustment to new environments. Indeed, intercultural and multicultural issues are part of professional competence both in professional work and in managerial duties. People are often working and studying abroad as well as in multicultural and multilingual teams. Intercultural competence is needed in everyday situations in multicultural societies at any age of youth and adulthood, and in multicultural families and leisure time activities.

The concept of intercultural competence has been studied and interpreted in many ways, such as cross-cultural adaptation, intercultural communication competence, cultural adjustment, cultural communication effectiveness, and as individual attributes that are openness, empathy, adaptive motivation, cultural sensitiveness, perspective taking, behavioral flexibility and person-centered communication. Competence in the context of cross-cultural adaptation has been substituted by intercultural effectiveness. Then the focus has been on intercultural communication competence. The intercultural effectiveness has been described as skills, attitudes and traits which a person needs in new cultural situations or environments in order to have psychological and cultural adjustment. Effectiveness has also been a concern in intercultural situations for economic or political or individual purposes.

Earlier intercultural theories have highlighted differences and conflicts, and how these could be avoided. More recent models, in contrast, emphasize participation in the interaction (Friedman & Antal, 2005) and achieving results together (Holden, 2002; Kemppainen, 2009). In the earlier approaches, awareness (e.g., self-awareness and attitudes) was seen as a core component of intercultural competence. Today the emphasis is rather on functional competencies like those pertaining to sharing and transferring knowledge as well as competencies relative to intercultural communication (Sercu, 2004). Affective domain in the context of intercultural competencies refers to people's view of themselves, their identity and respect for others, as well as positive orientation to cultural learning, attitudes and feelings. Cognitive intercultural competence refers to knowledge concerning the partners of interaction, other cultures as well as oneself. The cognitive domain covers knowledge about interaction both at individual and community levels, and also understanding how culture influences language and communication.

Intercultural knowledge can be general or specific (Holden, 2002; Lasonen, 2003, 2005; Sercu, 2004). General knowledge is publicly available and objective to some degree; for instance, knowledge of general customs and practices pertaining to a national culture. Specific knowledge is needed in specific contexts; for example, with reference to a particular organization. Functional skills and behavior in terms of intercultural competence mean, for example, the ability to interpret, feel and respect different people. Action and behavior refer to the ability to interact, acquire and process new information, attitudes and skills in real-time communication, as well as use metacognitive strategies for directing one's learning. The ability to critically evaluate perspectives, practices and products is part of skills and behavior level competence.

Stier (2003) summarized that intercultural competence is comprised of two aspects: content competencies and processual competencies. The former aspect refers to knowledge and information about a culture and its people. The latter aspect, being the dynamic character of intercultural

competence, includes intrapersonal and interpersonal competencies which, among others, include self-reflection emphasizing meta-cognitive skills. Jordan and Cartwright (1998) made a distinction between stable personality factors and core behavioral competencies while analyzing the literature and taking conclusions from many studies on intercultural competence. They revealed three personality attributes (low neuroticism, moderate extroversion and high openness to experience) and four core intercultural competencies (relational ability, cultural sensitivity, linguistic skill and ability to handle stress) for expatriate or another international management. Many managers have employees of different ethnic[3] origins or the manager him/herself may have an immigrant background.

According to Friedman and Antal (2005), intercultural competence includes the ability to be actively involved and study tacit assumptions that can be seen in behavior as well as open-minded readiness to test different ways of thinking and acting. Their notion of intercultural competence, emphasizing involvement and adaptation, offers the alternative approach of *negotiating reality* where cultural conflict is treated as resource of learning. These competencies help recognize different realities, which facilitates building a shared understanding and establishing collaborative efforts. The ability to acquire and manage knowledge, skills and attitudes amidst the challenges of real-time communication belongs to central intercultural competencies. Interactive translation, or the ability to negotiate meanings, is equivalent with negotiating reality, which can be characterized as an aggregate set of competencies and refers to the ability to think and act. Negotiating reality is a strategy for effective participation in intercultural interaction and finding new ways of action with a richer repertoire. Negotiating reality seeks to cast light on tacit knowledge and assumptions and make use of this knowledge when dealing with the issues or problems encountered.

Intercultural competence is seen in certain contexts and in action in Nordic countries (see Kemppainen, 2009; Lasonen, 2003; Teräs, 2007). Teräs (2007) emphasizes the dynamics, hybridity and interactive, reciprocal nature of 'inter,' not only its location or existence somewhere between the cultures. Thus, intercultural refers to the interactive, hybrid and dynamic processes at work and in learning between cultures and people. These processes are manifested in cultural clashes, co-operations and new innovations, for example, and take place in an area that can be conceptualized as a third space, that is intercultural space.

Intercultural competence describes action itself in a certain context rather than actual underlining competencies. Those activities can be translated into competencies, capabilities and abilities. Participative competence refers to adaptation and to the ability to be productively involved in interaction, even if it would take place in a foreign language. The participants can bring their contributions to the interactive setting. Participative competence is also about the ability to encourage sharing of knowledge and

recognize other people's contributions. Interactive translation refers to the capability of both literal and metaphorical translation in real-time activities and shared clarification of intentions and definition of meanings (Holden, 2002). Interactive translation is a kind of negotiation, where the team members seek to clarify the reality of the organization.

Operation in intercultural networks implies the ability to establish and maintain contacts and work in networks. An intercultural team, when bringing in its best resources to synergic efforts, can turn into collaborative intercultural learning. It involves shared goal-setting and searching for the best solutions to joint problems. The ability to operate in networks is crucial for intercultural exchange and transfer of skills and knowledge. Sharing of knowledge calls for the ability to adapt the relevant content, as appropriate, to the group concerned. The whole interactive process is based on the ability to create an initial collaborative atmosphere, which means building contacts and identifying the purpose. As the process goes on, it will yield deeper mutual trust, which in turn prepares the ground for future collaboration.

The Nordic countries have faced a social change while they have become multicultural societies. This change touches the competencies need in the welfare and education systems. Education is considered an essential way to foster critical thinking, improve people's capability to deal with local and global diversity issues and find solutions for conflicts in unequity. The enhancement of instructional modes for intercultural teaching and learning aiming at intercultural competence is an emerging issue in lifelong education. In a formal school setting, a pedagogical approach matters to intercultural learning outcomes. The key concepts of critical pedagogy are politics, culture and the economy (Suoranta & Moisio, 2006). Politics covers cultural, social and communal activity where identities are constructed, ways of life maintained and reproduced and meanings created. Accordingly, the term *culture politics* is often used when talking about the way in which school and other public spaces reproduce and produce certain values, ways of life and conceptions of reality. Critical pedagogues such as Giroux and McLaren (1994) stress the role of the economic domain. Justifying knowledge, deciding what is right and true knowledge, is determined largely on a class basis: The economic elite defines what, in a certain social situation, is considered valid knowledge and determines the orders of knowledge, the content of the concept of giftedness and the directions of educational tracks. Pedagogical activity is bound up with the world outside school, such as the position of various social groups, different genders and ethnic groups, within the media and popular culture. There are various tensions present in the world of school and popular culture, as well as the ways in which the education, race, class and gender system operate to differentiate people socially. Culture politics is also strongly involved in social welfare programs that has been strongly emphasized in Nordic countries. Service sector employs most of the Nordic citizens. In the welfare states, caring

services belong to the service sector. Caring values challenge an ethnical aspect of intercultural competence. Caring services refer to holistic caring relationships which include experiential actions, personal everyday knowledge and skills and moral commitment.

A number of different definitions of intercultural competence form at least four approaches: individual oriented approaches, situational models, interactionist models and ethical approaches (see also Rathje, 2007). Individual-oriented approaches consist of list models and structural models, the former focusing on a catalogue of separate competencies and attributes and the latter treating intercultural competence as a procedural system. Situational and interactionistic models take account the context in which the interactions in action take place and where interdependencies and involved in certain time and episodes. The ethical aspect of intercultural competence leans on the caring values focusing particularly on those groups of people who have been oppressed and who have not enjoyed equal treatment.

SOME TRENDS OF UNDERSTANDING AND STUDYING INTERCULTURALITY

Multiculturalism is a complex phenomenon that encompasses various political, social and cultural goals and outcomes. Multiculturalism is a social movement that praises cultural differences and demands fair and respectful treatment for the representatives of all ethnic groups (Banks, 2006; Grant & Lei, 2001; McGee Banks, 2004; Mason, 2003). The term *multicultural* is a natural and appropriate attribute to use when referring to a place or group of people hosting various cultural backgrounds. It could also be characterized as a desirable state of affairs in society, where interculturalism refers to the co-existence of different cultures as natural and equal constituents of society. Advancing multicultural society and intercultural understanding has gradually become a significant target of social and educational policies and of education itself in the Nordic countries. To some extent, research and development have followed this tendency at least on papers. A goal of analyzing multi- and intercultural issues would seek to approach them from the respective perspectives of both ethnic minorities and the majority group or culture.

In the first half of the 20th century, ethnographic studies on the origin of human races and populations often sought to form an overall picture of ethnic groups and their qualities. As far as the interaction between population groups was concerned at the time, it was not seen to change the nature or culture of these groups, because these qualities were considered inherent, deriving from the groups' origin (see also Grant & Miller, 1992). In the same vein, in the Nordic countries regional and educational policies regarded immigration as a temporary, passing phenomenon rather than something permanent that would cause changes in its environment and

policies. The traditional minority groups, including indigenous population, were hardly recognized. Multiculturalism was not analyzed as a concept, and interculturality was not even mentioned. Multiculturalism in terms of mixing cultures was often denied, and human populations were treated as ethnically or racially 'pure entities.'

At the next stage, people got used to the idea that immigrants and other minorities are here to stay. They were also getting used to the pluralistic nature of communities and schools. The assimilation phase marked a fundamental shift in local attitudes as migrants were considered a permanent phenomenon. According to the assimilation assumption, migrants will remain and their otherness will gradually disappear. Assimilation policies encourage a one-sided process of integration into the local host society, while discouraging public manifestations of ethnic and religious difference (Alexander, 2001). In the Nordic countries this stage lasted up to the last decades of the 20th century. Research was characterized by functionalism, so there was a tendency to explain the qualities, customs, and relationships of ethnic groups in terms of how they sustained and stabilized communities and their interrelationships (see Liebkind, 2004). Conflicts were seen as disturbing factors, but nevertheless beneficial for social integration. The assimilation stage sought to fuse minorities into the majority culture. Education and teaching followed this tendency, and there was very little evidence of interculturalism.

The constructivist view, which gained ground in theories of learning and also in research that applied social constructionism, regarded ethnicity and multiculturalism as informative concepts and concrete phenomena that are constructed and changed by social interaction. Different groups and their interrelationships were considered to receive different meanings in different social and historical contexts. However, educational policy objectives have not showed aspiration toward mutual acculturation. The vision of intercultural integration emphasizes the need for a common ground of a multicultural community and city. The dangers of sectarianism and the importance of interaction between different communities and individuals is recognized, as well as differences within ethnic groups and the constraints that an ethnic community may place on individual members. The cultural research orientation that had gained ground in social and educational sciences followed a way paved by constructionism. Some research into multiculturalism and ethnicity has focused increasingly on how meanings are constructed and altered in everyday interactions, which essentially means adopting an intercultural approach. Multicultural and intercultural issues have been studied from the viewpoint of discourses and semantic systems that provide a certain type of information on the issues concerned as well as on their interrelationships and connections. Multicultural Education has been used as a research concept for the past three decades. Subsequent Intercultural Education has come much later, only 1990s in the Nordic countries.

Ethnicity, nationality, identity and competence are concepts used today in social and educational studies on immigration. These concepts are not new in the research of ethnic and multicultural issues, as such, but now they have been applied also in studies on intercultural competence in the Nordic countries. However, little attention has been paid to the historical roots of Intercultural Education traced to the struggle of the oppressed in the Western societies.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nordic societies have grown more diverse and their citizens have gradually become aware of this diversity. Also, societal institutions of the Nordic countries have changed to some extent by immigration. For example, immigration-related services have become part of the public sector provisions. Education and the labor market are gradually opening doors for more heterogeneous trends and at least aiming at fair treatment, in line with the Nordic policy of equity. In academic life, new associations, publications and research projects have been established to focus on cultural diversity. In general, national policies, organization structures and practices, as well as people's attitudes, are constantly challenged by changes and needs for adaptation that immigration entails.

Multicultural Education is criticized for focusing on specific problems such as differences in learning style and language development within ethnic or cultural groups. Intercultural Education is more proactive and action-oriented than Multicultural Education, with an emphasis on developing a genuine understanding of cultural differences and similarities in order to build a foundation for working collaboratively. In the context of Intercultural Education, 'intercultural' refers to implications, comparisons, exchanges, cooperation and confrontations between groups. Gundara (2000) sees Intercultural Education as part and parcel of all educational processes, not a separate area. He also refers to the long and complex legacy of Europe's multicultural past, suggesting that Intercultural Education needs to take into account the complexities of past and present situations together with regard to social diversity. Intercultural Education struggles against a new racism in Europe and Eurocentric thinking. The research on and the analyses of the concept of Intercultural Education is challenged to investigate the processes in which (post)colonial practice and outcomes are reflected in national cultures, including research itself. Grant (1992) indicated that "multicultural research must be included in all areas of research on education and schools. . . . [M]ulticultural research has a close kinship to the equal opportunity and equity movement and therefore researchers of multicultural education have an obligation to demand to be included as part of this research cadre in leadership positions" (p. 2).

People working in intercultural settings need many competencies including those related to attitudes, awareness, sensitivity, knowledge and skills. In education especially, the focus has been on attitudes, knowledge and skills. Intercultural skills and their development pose a challenge to today's work organizations and their leadership. Working life calls for competencies and their functional development. Intercultural competence seems to become an internal element of expertise and appears to be a broadly understood competence that covers personal characteristics, professional competence and skills, affective domain and cultural education as a whole. Intercultural learning is a complex social and personal learning process. It rises through awareness and reflection on colonial complicity as well as global and national politics, and it affects personal behavior in changing situations involving social human beings.

NOTES

1. Iceland and Norway are not members of the European Union (EU). However, they belong to the European Economic Area (EEA).
2. Cherry McGee Banks (2004, and her article in this volume) has thoroughly analyzed the birth of the concept of intergroup/Intercultural Education.
3. All people belong to some ethnic group(s). However, it seems that the ethnic groups in majority have the power to decide the distribution of resources. In each Nordic country, mostly White people have economic, political and academic power.

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18 Multicultural and Intercultural Education in Spain

Teresa Aguado and Beatriz Malik

PRESENTATION

This chapter analyzes Multicultural and Intercultural Education in Spain by focusing on four main issues: (a) multicultural and/or intercultural approaches in education (semantic and epistemological aspects); (b) rules/directives on foreign student integration in the schools; (c) the development of good practices in multicultural and Intercultural Education in Spain; and finally, (d) conclusions and future perspectives on Intercultural Education in the Spanish context.

This contribution has been made possible thanks to our participation in the INTERPROJECT (www.uned.es/interproject), a Comenius 2.1. Program oriented to teacher training on Intercultural Education. The project has developed two main products: (1) a needs assessment report about Intercultural Education on teacher training; and (2) the INTER Guide: a resource to implement Intercultural Education in schools.

MULTICULTURAL OR/AND INTERCULTURAL APPROACHES TO EDUCATION IN SPAIN

To us, the term *Intercultural Education* is preferable to that of *Multicultural Education*, as it conveys more accurately the idea of exchange, communication, reciprocity, dialogue, mutual responsibility, mutual enrichment and negotiation between different interacting cultural groups. It is generally used in relation to the interaction, shared construction of knowledge and exchange of ideas and values, whereas the term multicultural refers to the setting or context in which different cultures live together (not necessarily interacting and sharing knowledge or values). Multiculturalism addresses questions which refer only to certain groups or focus on their allegedly specific characteristics. In Spain, when multiculturalism has been the focus in schools, it has contributed to reinforcing differences between individuals and has been used as a reason to justify discrimination. Nevertheless, the

adjective *intercultural* is in fact quite often applied to programs or initiatives which, in our opinion, are rather multicultural in nature.

Obviously, there are several definitions of *Intercultural Education* in our context, depending on how the researcher or practitioner uses them. We include the definition proposed by Aguado (2003):

> [An] educational approach based on respect for and recognition of cultural diversity, aimed at every member of the society as a whole, that proposes an intervention model, formal and informal, holistic, integrated and encompassing all dimensions of the educational process in order to accomplish a real equality of opportunities/results, to promote intercultural communication and competency, and to overcome racism in all its expressions (p. 45).

Within this approach, we regard cultural differences as social and dynamic constructs, not as static and essential features that describe and classify people in predefined groups or categories. Intercultural education, conceptualized as such, is defined in the context of cultural diversity, but avoiding stereotyping and classification imposed by a narrow and superficial definition of culture, being especially careful not to place students in groups with which they do not necessarily identify. It implies the adoption of a perspective that modulates all educational decisions, while at the same time promoting differentiated actions with respect to the interaction between cultural and other significant variables in education. Its success will greatly depend on the coherence between the actions undertaken and the needs assessment carried out in the context in which these actions are being implemented (at individual and community levels), as well as on the combination of such actions and other structural measures coming from outside the school. If these conditions are not met, so-called intercultural initiatives might simply hide inequalities, becoming an alibi to avoid adopting genuine initiatives that are respectful of cultural diversity, or a mere showcase of a folkloric and superficial view of cultural expressions.

An intercultural approach is thus embraced by involving society as a whole and each one of its members in particular. This approach does not seek to implement specific programs for special groups; it entails a wider perspective that affects all dimensions and participants in the educational process. We contend that cultural diversity is always present in school contexts, not only when there are groups explicitly defined according to their ethnic or national origin. Interculturalism is an approach to understand and deal with diversity in education (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2003).

In Spain, however, as in most other countries, it is very common to define specific categories to which students are allocated. In most cases they are closed categories that derive in stereotyping and a very narrow and limited knowledge of reality; they are frequently used to classify and discriminate. Thus, the richness and features that define all and each of the students get

lost. There is a general trend to categorize school reality according to established groups (ethnic group, country of origin, special educational needs, first language, etc.). We reckon that this trend makes it difficult to consider other individual differences, which go beyond these "group differences" that probably do not exist (IOE, 2002):

- The categories that are being used for describing diversity favor the creation of stereotypes, rather than a more individualized perception of the students' reality;
- Diversity is generally seen as a deficit or a problem (something to be solved);
- The number of minority students (foreigners, immigrants, ethnic minorities) decreases when advancing upward in the educational system; in general, there are fewer students from these populations in secondary than in primary education.

It is, nevertheless, necessary to know how diversity is usually described in our countries, in order to train teachers to describe it in a better way, understanding and accepting diversity as normality. Regarding official statistics, in Spain diversity in the schools is described within a framework of special needs or compensatory education, focusing on the difficulties or the "deficits" for which there needs to be compensation (except in the case of Autonomous Communities with two official languages, where linguistic diversity is also taken into account). This is in direct conflict with the intercultural approach. It would be necessary to modify both the categories that are used and the way in which they are used, because the current classification favors the creation of stereotypes instead of a more individualized perception of the students' reality. From an intercultural perspective, it would be more accurate to describe the composition of the student population in terms of significant differences affecting the teaching–learning processes, which are normally variables of a micro-nature favoring an individualized analysis of the students, their families and the environment in which they live.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES RELATED TO INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND FOREIGN STUDENT INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS

There is no legislation on Intercultural Education as such in Spain. The specific regulations dealing with cultural diversity in education refer to ethnic and cultural minorities (such as Roma) who are in a "disadvantaged social situation," with the aim of compensating their difficulties in access to and maintenance of the educational system, found in the *Plan de Compesanción Educativa* in most Autonomus Communities. More recently, some

directives focus also on immigrant students, always with a compensatory nature. Promotion of the regional language is taken into account in those Autonomous Communities where another official language exists besides Spanish. In the general laws of education there are references to promoting respect for linguistic and cultural differences of students, and ensuring that these are catered to, but in general, attention to cultural diversity lacks an intercultural perspective. It is associated with compensating deficits and isolated measures, and only some languages are granted importance.

There have been some substantial changes in the educational system during recent years in Spain. Since the Educational Reform which took place with the passing of the LOGSE[1] in 1990 (for a concise description of what this Law implies, see Aguado, Ballesteros, & Malik, 2003). Two more General Laws have been passed, coinciding with government shifts: the LOCE and the LOE[2], although only the latest one has actually come into force. At the time we are writing, the *Ley de Ordenación Educativa—LOE* (General Law of Education) has just been approved by the Spanish Parliament, in December of 2006. It now has to be implemented in the different Autonomous Communities. The model of attention to diversity developed by the former law on education (LOGSE, from the 1990s) centered on three types of programs, some of which are still operating:

a) compensatory education programs;
b) social guarantee programs; and
c) maintenance of the languages and cultures of origin.

Compensatory programs can be of a permanent or temporary nature and are based on adaptation and curricular diversification. Social Guarantee programs in secondary education are aimed at those students who do not reach basic educational objectives and seeks to give them basic vocational training, allowing them to access the labor market or pursue further vocational training. Programs covering maintenance of language and cultures of origin are based on the right to linguistic plurality (which in the case of Spain refers to the different languages and cultures of the communities, such as Catalonia and Euskadi or Basque country). There have been some initiatives regarding other languages such as Portuguese or Arabic (resulting from cooperation agreements with Portugal and Morrocco), but they are not included in the legislation on education.

Some elements of the LOCE (Law on Quality of Education, 2002) had a certain continuity with approaches adopted by previous educational reform measures (compensatory approach, deficit) and even involved a regression from the intercultural perspective. The starting point of the Quality of Education Law implies a restrictive concept of diversity as it differentiates three specific collectives that require special attention: immigrant students, disabled students and intellectually gifted students. Cultural diversity is equated with immigration. When compensatory

educational measures are proposed, cultural diversity is undervalued because it is associated with deficit.

From the intercultural viewpoint, practical measures that are proposed to achieve this "equality of results" have a segregationist nature; they highlight two measures that, in an attempt to "compensate," can turn out to be clearly discriminatory. Treatment of students with specific educational needs also includes foreign students, with no recognition of the cultural diversity that exists among all students. This law never came into force, although some communities started implementing the proposed measures.

The most recent law (LOE), as well as the former ones, state that all children, regardless of origin, are entitled to free compulsory education. The philosophy of this law differs from the previous one (LOCE) and is more in accordance with a comprehensive model of education, as the earlier LOGSE was. Although at some point there still exists the tendency to address cultural diversity from a compensatory approach, it does not propose early tracking (and consequently segregation) of the students as the LOCE did. Specific measures are also proposed for those with learning difficulties, the gifted ones or students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, even though attention to diversity is considered necessary for all students, not only for those with special needs (which was a major breakthrough of the LOGSE passed in 1990). At least it does not automatically place certain students in those special groups. One of the novelties of the new law is that it places a strong emphasis on *citizenship education*.

Equity, inclusion and non-discrimination are words used throughout the preamble and the first chapters, and one of its goals states that interculturalism must be seen as an enriching element of society, besides respect for and acknowledgement of the linguistic and cultural plurality of Spain. It remains to be seen if the proper transformation of schools is fostered to make these goals become a reality and not merely a rhetorical discourse, as is currently the case.

DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD PRACTICES OF MULTICULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN SPAIN

Welcome Classes /"Aulas de enlace"

Some structural practices of the Spanish schooling system make it difficult to implement an intercultural approach at school. For instance, the existence of a type of center which is characteristic of Spain: private schools partly funded by the State (*colegios concertados)* for primary education, although in some cases also for compulsory secondary education (these exist alongside totally private schools, and state or public schools). The problem with this type of schools is that some of them do not follow the regulations

regarding enrolment of all children in their district, regardless of origin or characteristics, by selecting their students, either directly or indirectly (by being located in certain neighborhoods and not others, charging some fees, previously selecting the students in the pre-compulsory stage), thus contributing to the ghettization of students in certain public schools, depending where they are located. Other measures aimed at dealing with diversity include assigning some students to special groups. Finally, teacher training is not adequate as it prioritizes individual activities (courses, seminars, etc.) which do not facilitate cooperation or team work, essential in an intercultural approach. Furthermore, state schools are not autonomous in selecting their teachers, and therefore cannot ensure that their staff embrace a intercultural approach in their daily practice. Within this context, and bearing in mind this situation, the *"Aulas de enlace*[3]*"* ("Welcome or linking classes"), can be considered as a potentially good example of practices oriented to avoid the effects of the "guettization" taking place in some city districts. For instance, immigrant students are assigned mostly to state schools and in particular to certain schools. This situation encourages the creation of ghettos with severe social and educational consequences.

The community of Madrid launched an institutional program in January/February 2003, aimed at immigrant students who had recently arrived. It is part of a program called "Welcome Schools" that is funded and implemented by the Education Department in the Comunidad de Madrid as an experimental program. The introductory text of the program offers the following information (Aguado et al., 2006):

> "Welcome Schools" is a program of the Education Council, Comunidad de Madrid, to create some pedagogical, integrative and Intercultural proposals [. . .]. Its goal is to incorporate students coming from other countries into the Madrid education system in the best conditions to guarantee their academic success, their social adaptation and to help the students develop social skills in order to fulfil their rights and their duties as citizens [. . .]. This intervention Model is based on four different pillars: the "aulas de enlace" (Linking classrooms); a proposal to immerse and adapt students to the school system, the society, the culture and the language but respecting, at the same time, their cultural identity; the development of an active co-habitation; and teacher training Programs. (www.educa.madrid.org/portal/web/Bienvenida) (p. 65)

In practice, the program has been limited to the establishment of the *aulas de enlace* (welcome or linking classrooms), where students stay for 6 months before going into their ordinary classroom. Because there are usually fewer students, and the teaching methods are more in accordance with an intercultural perspective, this approach should have positive effects on students' linguistic competence and academic achievement. Nevertheless, some teachers strongly disapprove of this measure and point to parental

discomfort with the program. They argue primarily that it does not ease integration but holds back students when they are about to enter regular classrooms. They also argue that these classrooms can be placed in private schools where public funds are then diverted. A head teacher of a public primary school in Madrid, interviewed for the INTERPROJECT needs assessment report (Aguado et al., 2006), stated the following:

> 60% of the student population is immigrant, and their enrolment in school takes place at different times throughout the school year. During the last school year (2001/2002) 100 children arrived after the registration period had expired, and in total the school has 309. The Madrid Community created welcome classrooms in January 2003. From my point of view they constitute a scandal, they have been placed in "centros concertados"[4] and receive a special teacher, computer equipment, a grant of 3,000 Euro, 12 students per classroom. The immigrant students will be there for 6 months and then sent to the State school which corresponds them. I feel indignant about these special classrooms that they call welcome classrooms; why do not they assign teachers' money and resources to us? (p. 35)

One of the aspects of the "linking classrooms" that has been criticized is their lack of real overlap with the ordinary schools where the students will finally be enrolled. The result is that the students enjoy a school atmosphere that is very hospitable and warm in many ways for 6 months, but with no real link to the school context that they will experience once this "receiving" period is over (del Olmo, 2007). On the other hand, some people feel that the ordinary classrooms with recently-enrolled students are the ones that should be considered linking classrooms and should be supported with appropriate resources.

In some regions, such as Castilla-La Mancha, recent legislation has abolished these initiatives, promoting instead the integration of all newcomers into the ordinary classroom, along with support in the classroom. The challenge for teachers is to accept this integration and adapt their teaching methodologies to the diversity in their classrooms. In Cataluña, government policies are implementing comprehensive programs which promote closer links between the schools and the communities. We agree that resources and efforts should be dedicated to enhancing teachers´ competences to deal with their students´ diversity, within the regular classroom, without assigning some of them to special groups.

Learning Communities

Learning communities are also a good example of inclusive and Intercultural Education, when inclusive principles and methodologies are embraced by the whole educational community. These are in accordance with the

intercultural approach defined at the beginning of this chapter, promoting a real transformation of schools, by effecting changes on all relevant dimensions: organization, teaching methodologies, assessment and evaluation procedures, etc. Some schools are already functioning as learning communities (mostly in the Basque region and in Cataluña, although there are some in other communities as well), even if they still constitute a very small percentage of the total number of schools in Spain.

These schools practice curricular diversification at the level of compulsory education (primary and secondary); in other words, adapting the curriculum to specific learning needs by establishing flexible interactive groups and promoting teaching teams integrated by teachers, parents and other staff. Thus, teachers receive additional support to assist all students in their learning process by promoting cooperative work, and students are not taken out of the classrooms for special classes.

Actual Practices in the Classroom

So far, we have briefly described measures of a structural or institutional nature. As regards the actual practices developed in the classrooms, which reflect the teaching/learning processes going on in schools, we will present some results from systematic observations that were made by the authors of this chapter, in collaboration with other researchers (Aguado et al., 1999). The objective was to identify those practices that exemplify the principles and objectives of Intercultural Education, that is, "good practices in Intercultural Education." One of the main criteria for selecting schools was their implication, in any way, in "Intercultural Education" initiatives. The information gathered allows us to describe the practices developed in each one of the following dimensions: school climate, curricular design, methodology, assessment, evaluation procedures and relationships between the school/family/community.

In the needs assessment report (Aguado et al., 2006) mentioned earlier, and in a recent research project, we carried out direct observation in schools and analyzed reports and other research studies. The objective was to analyze school practices in order to ascertain whether or not they meet requirements of the intercultural approach. In the following sections we present some of the information provided in both reports concerning three dimensions: school climate, teaching methodology and family/school relations.

School Climate

As regards school climate, we found that schools develop sporadic and isolated practices to meet students' cultural diversity. The most frequent practices consist of *celebration of differences* by means of "diversity week," "intercultural month" or "cooperative breakfast." In our opinion these

practices respond to what is called "soft multiculturalism," relegating diversity to blackboards, while ignoring it in everyday life and common curricula. We have also observed practices embodied in providing opportunities for developing positive self-esteem, underlining human similarities and using expressions of the pupils' languages. In some cases (one of the 20 analyzed schools), there was a climate of closeness, respect and trust between the teachers and the students.

Activities aimed at encouraging self-esteem and understanding other people are carried out in some of the classes, particularly in tutorials. Dialogue and negotiation are encouraged as strategies to resolve conflicts. Teachers try not to intervene in these cases other than as mediators, working to ensure that students resolve their own problems. A welcoming plan is developed for the reception of newly arrived students.

Teaching Methodology

In cases where teaching methodology reflects an intercultural approach, it has been observed that teachers adapt their methods and instructions to the students' skills, taking into account their personal (family situation, community, friends) as well as academic experience. Exchange activities are organized (parties, cultural weeks, exhibitions), the teacher is aware of prejudices and anxieties, and discipline and personal proximity are combined. However, changes that could alter the way of transferring knowledge and motivating students are not put into practice.

Meaningful interdisciplinary learning is encouraged. Importance is given to experimentation and manipulation. Nevertheless, the majority of teachers use mainly lectures in their classes, teaching in a linear and one-way direction.

In some cases, group work and cooperative learning are encouraged. Students are seated in groups, generally of four, but also of eight, three or two. Sometimes there are activities that group together students of different grades.

Family/School/Community

Contact is maintained with the families, particularly with the students' mothers, throughout the school year. This is normally derived from the pupil's behavioral problems or underperformance. Family patterns of the students are taken into account. Occasionally schools have to resort to volunteers who speak the same language as the parents. Encouragement is not given to families to participate in activities, commissions, school councils, etc.

In some cases, a meeting between the teacher and a group of parents is systematically held at the beginning of the school year. Other meetings are held with one family at a time throughout the rest of the year. Parents are

duly notified of the availability of the teachers for appointments, and they can be called upon at any time through the school secretary. Access to the teachers for a brief or informal discussion is facilitated because they are normally in the playground or in the school entrance hall at the end of the school day. More formal meetings with parents are almost invariably held in their children's classrooms. Parents are invited to see and examine the work and materials on display in the classroom. Parents are allowed unrestricted access to all parts of the school (classrooms, play areas, dining rooms).[5]

In some cases, parents are invited to promote and participate in school field trips and visits to the community. Likewise they can propose and carry out all sorts of activities in the classroom (reading or telling stories, talking about their jobs or professions, showing some of their abilities, etc.). It would be interesting to promote and use the cooperation networks and mutual support among families as a school resource. In one school, some off-campus activities, such as theatre events, are programmed for groups of parents. Periodically (once or twice during the school year), a "Parents' School" (*Escuela de Padres*) is organized, covering subjects such as infant years, adolescence, coexistence with adults, etc. However, important information concerning the school is rarely provided in the family's language, when it's different from the "official" one. Participation of parents from diverse groups in educational activities, as well as in major school decisions, is not encouraged (they are invited, but their participation is not promoted).

A more recent research project (ended in 2007), in which we analyzed students' achievement in relation to cultural diversity and other variables, enabled us to outline two main scenarios that show the situation has changed very little in past years, although there has been some improvement. Some schools do carry out practices which adjust better to an intercultural perspective. We are currently involved in a new project, starting in 2007, whose aim is to analyze these practices and elaborate on a repertoire of "good" strategies in education related to school efficacy, diversity and students achievement.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

As we stated in a previous article (Aguado & Malik, 2001), the concepts of diversity and interculturalism are part of the current educational discourse, but as rhetorical elements rather than as real practices. Most of the initiatives adopted so far do not properly meet the needs of those pupils to whom these initiatives are addressed: that is, students traditionally labelled as belonging to "culturally" diverse groups. (However, it is our opinion, as we have contended earlier, that all students are culturally diverse.) Things haven't changed too much in recent years.

Intercultural education does not have a monolithic formula that is transferable from one school to another. Instead, it contains a set of recommendations that affect all decisions and dimensions of the school environment. The ultimate goal is to reform schools in such a way that all pupils, regardless of their social and cultural backgrounds, have real access to high-quality education. This implies changes in an educational system that affect the curriculum, educational materials, teaching methods and other dimensions of the educational process. Changes would also affect the processes whereby knowledge is constructed and legitimated.

All of this makes it necessary to redefine the concept of academic success, establishing variables and criteria by which it is assessed. In addition to the type of knowledge acquisition that is traditionally regarded as valuable (reading, writing and mathematics), it is also essential to take into account the development of other knowledge and skills such as communication, foreign languages, and social cognition relating to the reality in which students and their families live. Additionally, the proper attitudes and values of a multiculturally diverse society should receive extra attention. A priority of evaluation/assessment procedures should be the analysis of learning processes and the measurement of multiple abilities.

It is necessary to question the concept of culture itself and stop using it as an adjective that describes and classifies human behavior according to characteristics that are separate from individuals. Cultural differences should be described as social and dynamic constructs, defined in relation to and not as essential characteristics, as they can change over time. Placing cultural diversity at the heart of education should be a priority that is reflected in school practices without labelling or categorizing students.

Intercultural education is aimed at all members of society. It is not special education for specific groups. Its objective is to offer quality education for all and not only to guarantee access to the school system. It also involves the development of intercultural skills, which imply acquiring knowledge, attitudes and skills for life. Lastly, mechanisms of personal and institutional racism must be regularly analyzed.

We think the main priority of Intercultural Education is not to give recipes but to discuss and bring about a change in the fundamental ideas which currently shape education. This discussion should be an important part in teacher training programs (i.e., initial training and in-service teacher training) and should seek to explain the ideas of Intercultural Education and discuss them with teachers, in order for them to act according to its principles. It should also show them that we live in a constantly changing society, that we need education in accordance with this constant change, that the old models are not working in spite of their new "compensatory" patches, and that it is worthwhile that together we rethink our values. We must also decide which values are to be changed and which ones we want to maintain, how we are going to reformulate our own roles (as teachers, students, parents, citizens, etc.), and what we are going to do to live together

with people whose values are, sometimes, opposite to our own. Because we also think it is necessary to work through stereotypes and bias, we need an antiracist education, in order to develop cultural relativism as a tool to think about the world and challenge homogeneity as an ideal environment for students.

In a majority of cases, practices and resources derive from an approach that associates cultural differences with a problem or a special need. There are normally "specific" practices and resources for "specific" students, defined according to the labels that they have been given (nationality, ability, religion, language and ethnic origin). This is also the case with the educational administration and policies. Programs that are labelled intercultural are a long way away from responding to the principles, objectives and strategies of genuine Intercultural Education. On the other hand, individual efforts are being made by teachers and other professionals who do develop intercultural practices and resources. However, these teacher initiatives are scarcely valued or reinforced.

Generally speaking, a serious commitment to providing quality education for everyone, regardless of their background, is not present in the practices carried out in schools or the resources allocated. The objective of attention to cultural diversity gives priority to respect, tolerance, cooperation, a positive self-concept, and acceptance, but it does not foster the achievement of curricular/academic objectives for all students. Shows, exhibitions, cultural weeks and similar events are staged, but the ordinary curriculum is not modified, and therefore the practices and resources developed in ordinary classrooms and normal activities of the school remain unchanged. This could be explained by teachers´ lack of real competence to do it (due to training received), and by the general perception of Intercultural Education aiming at "getting along well," "knowing and respecting other cultures," interacting with diverse people, etc. On the other hand, it can also be explained by a lack of political and even social willingness to change the way schools (and society at large) operate. The *status quo* of those groups in power needs to be maintained, so there is no real interest in transforming practices, thus merely acting in a "politically correct" manner. This implies carrying out isolated "intercultural" activities and promoting "tolerance" and respect for others, without a commitment to going beyond this level.

In fact, so-called curricular adaptations are in some cases more a question of "legitimizing" the falling behind of certain students rather than measures aimed at modulating the way in which they are taught and, therefore, achieving worthwhile academic objectives. It is significant that schools do not analyze performance rates of their students bearing in mind the profile of the student who achieves the best results. What type of student passes exams? Why? What characteristics are subject to discrimination?

Teaching strategies do not always adjust to a pupil's skill level, communicative style and motivation. Quite often, we find teachers who refuse to question or modify their practices, even when recognizing that

their student population has changed over the years. They simply hope that their pupils will "adapt" to the system as soon as possible. In some cases (compensatory classrooms, link classrooms and some ordinary classrooms), however, we have observed the use of indirect control techniques (working plans, agreed-upon assignments, responsibilities), as well as encouragement of discussions and debates. Formulae for welcoming newcomers are put into practice, cooperative learning is encouraged and social mediators are used.

The choice and use of materials and other types of teaching resources does not always take into account the cultural diversity of teachers, students, parents and the community. The monopoly that certain publishers have in the field of text books is alarming. In some cases, we can almost confirm that it is the publisher who determines the curriculum and there are hardly any alternatives for adapting it to the specificity of the context. It is a shame that interesting resources produced by associations or international cooperation projects (such as COMENIUS, within the European Commission, amongst others) are neither shared nor distributed.

Teachers and other educational professionals maintain contact with parents through meetings and regular discussions. These tend to be geared toward presenting the school's program and class timetable, and commenting on a pupil's potential difficulties. In some cases, parents participate in the school's activities (workshops, talks to students and support during outings and excursions).

In future initiatives, it should be necessary to take into account the following principles and suggestions:

1. Ensure that teachers have access to available resources and are trained to use them in a significant way, that is, in relation to their own working conditions.
2. Address cultural diversity on the basis that it is the "norm" that characterizes us all. Overcome and reject the vision of difference as a lack of something, or a problem associated with certain social groups. Formulate theoretical-conceptual bases to support the proposal.
3. Assume the democratic principles of equity and participation in all decisions made by the educational centre: structural and operational. Analyze who benefits from the decisions that are made.
4. Analyze official curricular designs and take them into account when setting yearly plans for a school, cycle or classroom. Revise the minimum required objectives established by official norms. The official curriculum itself insists on the acquisition of skills that can be obtained by means of diverse contents and activities.
5. Promote cooperation and exchange amongst students, as well as teachers, volunteers and other community representatives. It is necessary to define rules and strategies for teams of supervisors. Give indications about objectives and operating procedures.

6. Give teachers the opportunity to work in groups, exchange information, select material and reach consensus on evaluation criteria. It is important that teachers collaborate with other professionals and assume the need to evaluate and be evaluated (share activities with others and analyze interaction jointly with students). Highlight the benefits of this collaboration.
7. In all cases, standardize implementation of practices and resources in accordance with the intercultural model. Some of these are practiced in an isolated manner in centers or classrooms (compensatory, link or diversification). Use work plans, cooperation, revision of academic evaluation criteria, flexible teaching styles, along with diverse sources and materials in order to establish exchange within the community.
8. Offer criteria for selecting and using teaching resources and sources of documentation. Issue recommendations for the production of materials and their use in the classroom.
9. Avoid activism, or simply doing for the sake of doing in addressing diversity (because I read it, I saw another colleague do it, or this is what I did as a pupil). It is necessary to adopt a philosophy, or a former compromise, that gives meaning to the objectives, plans, activities, resources and evaluation criteria assumed by a school.
10. Analyze personal and institutional mechanisms that promote discrimination in school centers. Revise the sources of institutional racism (unequal division of power and influence) and individual racism (prejudice and personal experience).

NOTES

1. Ley Orgánica 1/1990 de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (LOGSE).
2. Ley de Calidad de 2002 (LOCE), and Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006 (LOE).
3. Thus named in the Community of Madrid, with different names in different communities, i.e., *aulas de acogida* in Andalucía.
4. Private schools with state funding at the compulsory level.
5. This is not a common practice in schools, only in those that adjust better to an intercultural approach.

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19 Citizenship and Intercultural Education in an International and Comparative Context

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THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT FOR SOCIAL COHESION

An accumulation of societal changes around the globe have placed education systems in a series of quandaries. Educators are being asked to implement policies that will enhance social cohesion in contexts where social identities of citizens and non-citizens range from being hybrid in multiple as well as singular ways. These identities do not necessarily have any biological dimensions, despite assertions by a former chief schools inspector of schools, who states that children of middle-class professionals have "better genes" (*The Guardian,* May 19, 2009). In other words, working class children singular identities which made them only able to follow practical subjects. All of them raise extremely complex issues for educators. There is also an enormous amount of stress on the rights of the children and people in general. However, teachers, schools and the curricula are not prepared to deal with these complex issues because the politicians have abrogated from their own responsibilities by not developing inclusive, socially cohesive and equality-based public and social policies. Schools and teachers generally do not have supportive legislative and legal environments in which to develop effective teaching and learning strategies within currently complex and unequal societies (Gundara, 2003).

There are also differences in the way certain international legal instruments are not accepted, let alone constitutionalized within nation states. Hence, whereas Britain is a signatory to the Convention of the Rights of the Child and has been chastised for not doing enough for the rights and welfare of children, the United States (along with Somalia) is not even a signatory to this Convention. It is, therefore, not possible to ascertain whether in international terms there are any salient differences or similarities between the rights and welfare of children in Britain or the United States. In the extremely complex area of human rights, Britain is subject to the European Convention of Human Rights, but not many teachers are familiar with the Convention. Most international legal instruments present serious challenges in theoretical and practical terms for being constitutional at the nation state level.

Ministries of Education and planners of curricula have failed to fully consider implications of much of the international legal instruments and changes in various fields at the global level. Educational policies and practices in general lag behind the rapidly changing needs of the new generations of learners. Teacher 'trainers' and their institutions still merely 'train' teachers rather than provide them with professional competencies through rigorous intercultural teacher education. This is partly because teacher 'trainers' are themselves not sufficiently knowledgeable or prepared to educate teachers with the intercultural skills, knowledge and understandings that are necessary for the complex, changing multicultural global world.

This chapter will focus largely on these issues within the British context and point to the gaping holes between the overarching theoretical and conceptual issues relevant to the educational domain, as well as the actual practices which are totally inadequate in meeting complex educational challenges. The 1996 Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, entitled *Learning: The Treasure Within* (UNESCO/ICE, 1996), is considered to be a major document to provide the educational systems with a learning framework for this century. The Commission outlined four pillars of education: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. However, the Commission stressed the need to learn not only to live together but also to live together with 'others.'

In an increasingly complex local, regional, national and global context, there are very few educational institutions that can implement these UNESCO Commission principles. This is because the education systems are based within 'sovereign national state systems' and do not have the flexibility of dealing with the challenges represented by societal multiculturalism at the global level. They are not able to meet the need for layered Intercultural Educational policies and principles to enhance both the legitimacy of diversities and address inequalities, as well as confront layers of societal and citizenship values. No single nation state has a monopoly on developing inclusive civic literacy and citizenship power. As an example, whereas the Nova Scarman Trust works in civil society empowering ordinary citizens in Britain, there is a great deal to be learnt from the work developed by the late Professor Otto Feinstein of Wayne State University, working with local community groups in the area of Detroit, Michigan. Both of these organizations deal with issues of politics that require praxis, combining thought and action. Professor Feinstein developed his practice within local communities over a decade of teaching political science classes at the university (Chesney & Feinstein, 1997).

Discussions about the need for social cohesion and inclusion in a multicultural British society are taking place at a time when powers have devolved to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This provides an opportunity and a challenge to develop ideas about social cohesion, especially if the imagination of young people can be captured because they are frequently

reported to be disaffected with the socialization process. Paradoxically, neither the political nor the educational elites have a clear understanding of these complex historical and contemporary diversities. They continue to stress the contemporary dimensions of diversity through migration but ignore their linkages with the historically based features of social diversity. It is, therefore, important to underscore that community and social cohesion is not as yet something on which there is any common understanding. This chapter does not provide formal definitions but directions in which educators can actualize some of these principles. Therefore, this contribution is being delivered in the spirit of examining issues to establish a more common ground for discussion. The common framework can subsequently be used to develop policies and practices which can help to negate exclusions from societal institutions at many levels.

Here is an intention to develop a few ideas based on historical and contemporary aspects of multiculturalism and their relevance to inclusion, which can be integrative of issues of identities, citizenship and human rights, particularly in the educational context. Issues of identity, whether in its singular or multiple forms, are relevant for considering issues of social cohesion. Within complex democratic societies where globalization and technological changes may be leading to high levels of unemployment, democracies, democratic engagement and democratic institutions are subject to great stress. The need to deepen democracy entails a critical appraisal of the issues of societal diversity, equalities and the development of collaborative community participation in the public domain and public institutions. Such strategies of collaboration open up discussions about the belongingness of diverse groups in a society and its institutions (Gundara, 1993).

HUMAN RIGHTS AND CITIZENSHIP

Access to good education is a human right, and this entitlement to education includes acquisition of an understanding of the concepts of children's and human rights, as well as education which prepares young people to become good citizens. Citizenship is a complex issue with legal, cultural, social and political dimensions. It provides a basis of identity that includes political bonds with defined rights and obligations. Therefore, human rights and citizenship education should be integral parts of the entitlement to education (Kymlicka, 2007). Entitlement to good education ought to include not only a grasp of languages but also competencies in literacy and numerics. These skills are part and parcel for young people becoming educated and subsequently, understanding civic and political literacy and developing expertise and skills as active citizens. Whereas young people may acquire an academic understanding of citizenship in the classroom, becoming active citizens necessitates an actual engagement in the operations of a school, its community and the civil society. Recent research in England has, however,

revealed that the reading and writing skills of young people have declined in recent years despite various initiatives.

It is not only what children are taught and what they learn but also their actual experiences at school that contribute to an understanding of their rights and responsibilities in society. Because a democratic school ethos is important, it needs to be experienced in the context of the wider community (ICIS/ULIE, 1996). However, formal learning about human rights and citizenship are not sufficient: Young people need to have a democratic school experience. Furthermore, the role of youth work and other formal and non-formal life-long learning experiences are all important. There is an African adage which states that 'it takes a whole village to educate a child.' There is obviously a lot to this adage, but today it is possible that the village itself will need re-educating. This is especially true because both young people and adults may not be sufficiently educated to understand either the historical and contemporary underpinnings of society or the issues of its complexity and belongingness within it. The changing nature of identities resulting from globalization is particularly a challenge, leading individuals and communities to live in either conflict or peace and stability.

School and democratic civil society engagements have an important role in educating young people to understand that they can legitimately have multiple identities and well as multiple belongings, or relationships. In this respect, young people and adults ought to learn that whereas some people may belong to a locality through historical, cultural and nationality ties, others may belong to localities and communities by becoming citizens. In diverse communities, citizenship education ought to emphasis ideas of inclusion rather than of exclusion.

The terms 'social diversity' and 'multiculturalism,' used descriptively, raise issues about which there is no agreement. Basically, there is a common sense notion that British society has become multicultural. An assumption prevails that post-World War II immigrants, especially from the Commonwealth, have caused this diversity and led to a loss of national identity. The comparative educationalist Nicholas Hans (Hans, 1947) referred to taxonomic factors such as languages, religion, social class and territory that formed the basis of nations. If one examines British society using this taxonomy, then this society can be seen as historically diverse. In linguistic terms, the use of Gaelic and Celtic languages and different forms of regional English makes British society historically multilingual. Likewise, in religious terms, pre-Christian religions, various denominations of Christianity and Judaism have made Britain a multifaith society.

The historical distinctions between social classes and between rural and urban areas are indicators of differential access to public and social institutions. The polity has been constitutive of the Welsh, Scottish, English and Irish nations, in addition to the presence of non-territorially based and largely invisible Roman/Gypsy communities. All these indices of diversity form the historical basis of Britain's multicultural past. However, policy

makers and educators do not gaze into these historical diversities and stress the contemporary dimensions of difference and diversity. Instead, new and vulnerable communities are perceived to be the problem communities. This is an issue for teachers and schools on both sides of the Atlantic.

Ideas of writers like Samuel Huntington in his book, *Who are We?* (Huntington, 2004), and his previous work, *The Clash of Civilizations*, have influenced discussions within Britain. *The Clash of Civilizations* is miniaturized in a more recent book on the American body politic. Now it is Mexicans who appear as the local 'Muslims,' an alien unmelting presence who refuse to play by American rules. Huntington does not discuss the fact that such communities live in abject poverty. Nor does he consider that a public policy issue that could correct educational as well as other inequalities. He is 'defending America' by invoking traditional American values wrapped up as Protestant small-town values. Such a perspective does not engender intercultural excitement for the vibrancy and dynamism of various and diverse Latino and African-American cultures. Rather, it engenders fear of these groups who are portrayed as poor, menacing and a threat to the Anglo-Protestant sub-society in America. Small-town Protestant values have now become construed as national public values and culture. This perspective, however, ignores the fact that there were first other peoples, American Indians, whose fundamental belongingness through human and citizenship rights are totally ignored.

At the present time in England and at a qualitatively different level likewise, the Huntington argument is used in discussions about national identity and citizenship. No thought is devoted to developing newer and inclusive democratic, public and citizenship values but to imposing time-worn English values, not only on England but on Scotland, Wales and newly settled communities. These developments in the United States and Britain are happening at a time when constitutional and legal frameworks, as well as democratic values, need to become more cosmopolitan. Hence, an understanding of the historical and contemporary aspects of societal diversity ought to provide educators and young people with a more textured and layered understanding of polity. Such an understanding can enhance the legitimacy of multiple identities and their belonging, which will obviate conflict within diverse communities. This process can, in turn, help in the development of good values from across diverse social groups, which would strengthen democratic engagements and the legitimacy of public institutions.

Many narrow nationalists argue that the current influx of immigrant communities has made British and other societies 'multicultural,' and that previously they were historically cohesive monocultural societies. However, devolution within Britain is an indication of different social realities that presents an opportunity to develop a coherent historical and contemporary understanding of societal diversity within an academic framework, allowing young people, and in fact all people, to view as complex the notion of

belongingness of different groups. The devolution of powers in Britain also represents a challenge to develop social cohesion and inclusion within the nine English regions. However, regionalism can also raise issues of narrow nationalisms, xenophobia, racism and exclusivities. This can happen because small communities can be excluding and tyrannical rather than open and inclusive. Hence, educators, as well as public policies and practices, ought to be inclusive. Local communities themselves ought to be democratically open and nurture the civic engagement of diverse groups, which would allow for the development of common democratic values.

The term 'multicultural' is generally used in programmatic terms in English speaking countries. It would be preferable if the term 'multicultural' was used as a descriptive term, which indicates elements of diversities in schools and communities. The current usage of this term in many countries with new immigrant populations has largely been racialized because it is seen as pertaining to immigrants who are visibly different from dominant 'White' populations. It is being suggested here that a more appropriate term for discussing programs, policies and practices is 'intercultural' (Gundara, 2000). This is because issues of difference and diversity are not necessarily contingent on them only being visibly different, but may pertain to issues of linguistic, religious, social class and gender differences. These broader taxonomic features of difference and diversity are more amenable to being dealt with through intercultural policies and practices.

The development of 'intercultural' educational and social policies is important because ensuing educational practices would be inclusive of both long established and newly settled groups. This is an extremely important reorientation of policies and practice, because previous policies merely tried to focus on absorbing immigrant communities into the norms of long settled 'White' dominant communities. Many of these multicultural educational policies and practices in Britain have not been successful and their viability needs to be re-appraised. This is necessary because policy makers assumed that 'White' dominant communities were cohesive entities whose norms and values did not need to be changed to make the communities more democratic and inclusive. Issues of xenophobia and racism continue to fester and have not been seriously addressed. Many critics of these policies alleged that they were 'politically correct,' that they stressed differences and divergences, and that they contributed to the emergence of separate communities and detractions from social cohesion (Gundara, 1996).

This chapter suggests that English-speaking countries should reappraise the usage of multicultural policies and develop notions of interculturalism. The term 'intercultural' ought to receive more serious consideration as a policy term that is indicative of the complex interactions within multicultural communities. Such a focus on intercultural policies ought to include substantive measures which lead to the reduction of inequalities and an end to racial and religious discrimination. Therefore, academics and educators need to make an effort to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework

that includes use of the term 'multicultural' as a descriptive term. High levels of inequality and lack of social cohesion present social systems with at least two possibilities.

First is the possibility of intercultural conflict on the basis of linguistic, religious, racial and social class differences, as well as the continued exclusion of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Such intercultural conflicts on various indices have already taken place in northern English cities. In other areas, the rights of non-territorially based Roma communities continue to be undermined by many local authorities. Secondly, how to reverse these exclusions in the neighborhood, community and other societal institutions merits attention. Institutional exclusions on the basis of 'race,' religion, social class or language necessitate intercultural and inclusive strategies and policies. This requires an examination of the unrepresentative and sometimes undemocratic nature of many public institutions.

Communities that are not cohesive can erupt in intercultural conflict through lack of trust at intergroup levels, as well as from a lack of access to opportunities. Civil society organizations, like the Nova Scarman Group, are using local talent to build community cohesion through leadership and by encouraging community champions. The embedding inculcation of citizenship values among excluded groups cannot be undertaken through pedestrian policies. This civil society group provides people with artistic and cultural opportunities that enable their creativity and imagination so that they can become active and functioning citizens. There is an enormous amount of theoretical literature in this field, but in the British context the practice that the Novas Scarman Trust is to use the creative arts as a basis to enchant the disenchanted marginalized groups, so that they can become active in seeking employment, housing and to become active citizens in their communities. Yet, such initiatives are not widespread enough to shift the plight of large numbers of marginalized communities in urban and rural areas.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND DIVERSITY

The challenge for Intercultural Education is molding one out of the many to construct appropriate educational responses to difference and diversity within British society, especially in light of new and emerging constitutional and institutional arrangements, and initiatives for citizenship education. The state, the education system and anti-racist activists, either purposely or by default, have failed to develop frameworks based on historical and contemporary diversity using the disciplines of history and the social sciences. In devising programs for social cohesion and Intercultural Education at the present time, these issues need to be re-addressed.

Public and education policy initiatives on anti-racism or multiculturalism, directed at 'immigrants' to the exclusion of the dominant groups or

nationalities, have not been effective. With devolution, this issue becomes even more complex, and previous assumptions about dominant and subordinate groups require re-examination. The issue of human rights becomes important within devolved nations because all minorities, even those from dominant nationalities within these nations, may be treated as second class citizens. The devolution of power necessitates democratic engagement based on more inclusive public values from all the groups in society. Schools have an important role to play in this respect; however, it all depends on how educational initiatives are structured and what importance they have within the school curriculum. For instance, in Northern Ireland, in schools where initiatives on 'education for mutual understanding' between the Protestant and Catholic communities were marginalized, there was no improvement in community relations. Initiatives that were not considered to be central in the school curriculum were also not successful in developing common and shared values.

The essentialist rhetoric of some of anti-racist or multicultural policies has led some communities to be designated as 'other' groups, and this has created binary oppositions (e.g., majority/minority, dominant/subordinate, Black/White, belongers/non-belongers, winners/losers). These polarizations have negated the possibility of creating an inclusive polity based on eliminating institutional racism, which would help the process of developing inclusive values and policies. These issues have both long-term institutional and everyday implications. However, after September 11, 2001, in New York City; March 11th in Madrid; and July 7th in London, the "Us–them" divide has become sharper and more overt on both sides of the Atlantic.

The most important current policy recommendation in Britain does not come from the field of education, but from the McPherson Report on the Stephen Lawrence murder. The issue of 'institutional racism' is of major significance for human rights issues of groups who are subject to institutionalized discrimination and exclusions. A more recent investigation presents a more complex picture and sets of strategies to minimize racial discrimination in police services in England and Wales (CRE/PFI, 2005). In the educational sector, such issues have complex realities, which require analyses based on educational initiatives. Because citizenship legally bestows equality (which is neither graded nor divisible), then racial justice or equity can only be actualized if institutional racism is absent. The issue becomes more critical as the rise of xenophobia, chauvinism and racism have consequences for even dominant nationalities, such as the English. However, the rights of those who are not citizens or even immigrants are more tenuous, especially for groups like refugees and asylum seekers. The simmering issue of religious discrimination also takes exclusionary significance at institutional levels, and Islamophobia resonates with other faiths, even if these dangers are not recognized. For instance, after the events of 9/11, Sikh communities in the United States and the United Kingdom were subjected to racial and religious harassment.

Therefore, Intercultural Education ought to recognize the possibility of a rise of reactive identities in England, which can take root in the aftermath of devolution. Among minority communities, a 'siege mentality' can develop, which is largely sustained by languages or religion. Among dominant groups this may be based on racism, xenophobia and territorial ownership at the exclusion of 'the other.' As has been stated earlier, intercultural conflicts based on a combination of these differences have already taken place.

In historical terms, not only societies but also the nature and type of human rights change. For instance, the definition of rights changes over time from the first generation of rights, which were largely civil in nature (18th century) to political rights (19th century) and then to a third generation of social rights (20th century). Given the varying levels of inequality, a state may also try, as Marshall writes, to initiate a 'tendency towards equality' (Marshall, 1977) by creating basic conditions leading toward social equality. This is a dynamic and active concept, not a passive one.

The challenge is to build social cohesion and inclusive polities which can accommodate notions of difference but can also create conditions for belongingness of diverse groups. Initiatives which can draw on the diverse resources, CAN DO mentalities and active engagement of citizens in impoverished communities can help to reduce notions of the exclusive territorial belongingness of groups which privilege's their exclusive 'ownership' of such neighborhoods. This therefore, makes these neighborhoods 'no-go' areas for 'the others,' the outsiders who are to be excluded because they do not belong. Many of these communities can build on the social assets in their communities to develop inclusive initiatives which enhance the social, political and economic capital of these neighborhoods. From an educational perspective this presents a 'creative moment,' because notions of Intercultural Education can be utilized to develop integrative mentalities based on notions of differences and multiple identities. Some aspects of diversity can be counterproductive if they conflict with citizenship and liberal democratic principles. Given that there are deep divisions and uneven development, what can be done to develop new friendships, as well as constructive and creative imaginations? There is already a legacy of the exclusive and negative phenomena of racism, xenophobia, chauvinism and sexism. However, citizenship and human rights are recent concepts to be part of the modern nation state, because in ancient and medieval societies (where monarchies, empires and chiefdoms existed), the rights of people were more circumscribed.

THE PRIVATE DOMAIN AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Modern citizenship rights are a result of many struggles of oppressed and subordinated groups. History has been disarmed, in part, because these

struggles in democratic states have settled disputes not by war but through courts, tribunals and, of course, elections. However, in many isolated and exclusive communities, and also currently through the development of 'siege mentalities,' rights acquired in modern, democratic terms are being negated by traditional, patriarchal and conservative elements within separate communities and sometimes reinforced by exclusion and racism within the civil society, as well as state institutions.

These regressive communal elements can only be countered through civil society engagement and the openness of state institutions to inclusive democratic values. In many patriarchal, conservative and exclusive communities, archaic customs and traditions need to be challenged to ensure that whole communities are able to benefit from belonging to open communities. In Britain, many liberals within the educational establishment, however, continue to interfere within the private domain to aid and abet communalist and divisive religious forces on the grounds of autonomous community rights.

Some liberal activists only have superficial understanding of complex and deeply embedded communal divides. They also ignore the difficult struggles that progressive members of these communities have fought for: the acceptance of secular humanist values within their own communities and nurturance of greater levels of democratic participation within public institutions. Bodies in the public sector ought to strengthen not only the equality of opportunity and access, but also the equality of outcomes to public goods. This is especially necessary to ensure that girls and women in unequal, socially diverse societies do not continue to remain excluded. Both civil society and public institutions shouldn't allow local communities to deny girls or women access to a good education or employment.

The conferring of citizenship and human rights entails opposing such particularistic practices that deny girls and women equality in education or employment. Hence, here the barriers to equality may not come from the state but from the customs and practices of communities. However, the cultural practice of a Sikh wearing a turban or a Muslim girl wearing a headdress can be considered as legitimate because these practices do not impair acquisition to education or pose an impediment to gaining employment.

In Scotland, Wales and other regions of Britain, if the argument for social cohesion revolves around the "essentialist" identity of belonging, will constitutional safeguards provide a sufficient guarantee for cohesiveness in communities? The question for us is how to decide which aspects of an identity are legitimate and which are not? For the settler communities, there is another set of issues at the present. After September 11th and March 11th, subtle differences between the customs of Sikhs and Muslims, for instance, are lost. How can we build a more subtle, textured and layered but differentiated notion of religiously derived exclusions, especially through a complex and deeply based interfaith, humanist and secular education?

If some groups are excluded from or marginalized within the education system and schools, because they are not socially cohesive, should the state remain neutral or should it intervene? In other words, is the state fair or is it impartial? Rawls, using the principle of difference, argues that the 'better off' should not do better than the 'worst off' (Rawls, 1997). Therefore, to accord equity, the state should be 'fair' but not 'impartial.' In a democratic state, citizens are entitled to access to education and knowledge in order to equalize their life chances. If the state remains impartial, it cannot create a level playing field in educational terms. It can only do so by intervening.

We currently face an additional dilemma because social cohesion and old solidarities based on class have been destroyed, especially as the younger generation confronts greater levels of polarization by being divided into winners and losers. Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett have undertaken groundbreaking research which states that large inequalities leading to unequal societies are divisive, corrosive and lead to ill-health, violence, drugs, obesity, mental illness, big prison populations, fragmented communities and social and environmental problems. The research furthermore, is optimistic and suggests that greater equality is the material foundation on which better social relations can be built (Wilkinson & Pickett: *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better* [London: Allan Lane, 2009]).

In unequal societies with deep levels of inequalities losers feel that they owe nothing to the winners, poses a new challenge to intercultural and citizenship education. How can schools build a set of mutualities and resemblances, or create a stake among multi-divided groups in society? Where groups who are losers contain Black and White youth, they may not share solidarities or sets of resemblances. Intercultural education, therefore, has the complex role of addressing the sense of exclusion and loss among both Black and White youth. In this context, genderized exclusion presents an additional level of complexity and needs to be addressed firmly but delicately. Previous policies, which privileged one or another group, may prove to be counterproductive by exacerbating differences and reducing features of commonality among different groups. Hence, the state (through the school, youth service or career guidance service) is not impartial but intervenes, because both Black and White groups may be poor and excluded.

Schools and other institutions have an important task of turning the majority/minority issue into one of social cohesion and inclusiveness. The development of inclusiveness would entail reversing the polarities of majority or minority. This year will mark the 54th anniversary of the Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka County, Kansas, on May 17, 1954. This decision has important ramifications for educational equality and citizenship rights on both sides of the Atlantic. Its fundamental principle declared that racial discrimination in public education was a violation of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. All provisions of federal, state or local law that either permitted or required such discrimination were to cease. The

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) supported Oliver Brown, whose daughter was forced to travel by bus to an all-Black school, even though she lived close to an all-White institution. Chief Justice Warren concluded: "In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place" (Supreme Court Judgments, 1954). In ruling segregation unconstitutional, the Brown decision overturned the conclusions of Plessy vs. Ferguson 1896, which had given rise to the Jim Crow era.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision was intended to ensure that Black students received the same education as White students, and that the process of desegregation on educational performance and the increased contact between different types of students would eventually erode discrimination because of interracial understanding. This perception was, however, somewhat misplaced; desegregation does not imply integration. The challenge to desegregate legally is only one step in eliminating class- and race-based inequalities, because issues of institutional exclusion and discrimination are deeply embedded in unequal communities and societies. These issues in the United States are also relevant within Britain, but Black and minority communities do not benefit from the powerful legal decision by Chief Justice Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Race Relations Act (1976) and the Amendment Act (2000) in Britain are not widely enough enforceable to deal with the deep-seated racism in British society. For instance, anti-Semitism dates back to the 13th century, anti-African racism to the 16th century, racism against slaves and indentured labor from the 17th century and intense colonial racism to the 19th and 20th centuries. All of these have left a complex legacy in British society, its institutions and consciousness and are impediments to equity, inclusive citizenship values and genuine intercultural understandings.

To bring about equality necessitates development of complex policies and strategies over and above legal equality. At institutional and societal levels, these strategies should include both White and Black groups and should establish a minimum level of mutuality or resemblances within the public domain. Furthermore, Intercultural Education ought to bridge gaps between those who are considered permanent minorities or majorities, and nurture the notion of human rights for both. Such policies and processes can instill an enduring notion of fraternity or new solidarities, creating 'communities of development and hope,' as Judith Green describes it (Green, 1998). Even so, this is easier said than done because Britain, like many other states, confronts complicated issues. Habermas writes:

> Today, as the nation-state finds itself challenged from within by the explosive potential of multiculturalism and from without by the pressure of globlisation, the question arises of whether there exists a functional equivalent for the fusion of the nation of citizens with the ethnic nation. (Habermas, 1998)

The above challenge presents serious issues at the present time because state education systems have marginalized measures to deal with the critical levels of deep discrimination and exclusion. The Janus-faced nature of the nation state requires a massive mobilization of resources in the public, private and civil sectors of society in order to ensure that moves toward greater levels of equality and social cohesion are not derailed. Such a negation would detract from the development of 'communities of development and hope.' Furthermore, these are not issues of 'political correctness' but essential to the development of an inclusive democratic ethos that can enhance safety and security of entire diverse communities.

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

Dominant groups in society have the privilege of adopting individual or group identities. Paradoxically, subordinated groups are ascribed a singular identity, normally referred to as 'ethnic.' The ascription of singularity of identity marginalizes minority groups even and has no relation to the lived realities of such groups.

A major challenge is how democratic processes in society and experiential democratic education can be a guarantor for social integration in highly differentiated contexts. There are already positive examples among many young British folk that defy identities based on simplistic constructs of race or ethnicity. Das of the Asian Dub Foundation describes himself as a 'Hindi British Asian, English, Bengali European.' Pandit G, who operates the decks, describes himself as 'a half-Irish, Asian Scot' (*The Times*, 1999, pp. 2–7). Professors Steven and Hilary Rose state that these complex identifiers "speak both of a new ease and pleasure in difference and of a political demand that racism become history" (*The Guardian*, 2005, p. 4). Andrew Marr stated a few years ago that multiple Asian identities were a contributory factor in the improved educational performances of children of Asian origin. He also wrote about the difference between Edinburgh and Belfast. In Edinburgh:

> They began to juggle multiple identities—British, Scottish, and European. The Scottish home rule movement, including the SNP, has been vigorously developing the rhetoric of liberalism and democracy (pp. 4–7)

Conversely in Belfast:

> The Ulster Unionist people meanwhile, huddled inside a simple, singular view of the world that deliberately avoided complexity or intermingling. As a result, today they have no open door to the outside world. Their identity is too strong, too single. In 1999, that is a tragic predicament for any people. Ask the Serbs (*The Observer*, 1999, pp. 4–7).

One cannot ignore the grave dangers of old, historically entrenched, ethnic identities of nationalities. This historical multicultural past may create more division than the differences arising from contemporary migrations.

However, pervasive racism and a lack of democratic engagement also has led to more singular notions of identities among dominant groups (on the basis of nationality) and among the settled communities (on the basis of religion). Hence, citizenship education confronts a major challenge in trying to deal with this proliferation of identities. This is especially true if bullying and violence ensue and disrupt the educational process. Because a school is part of the community in which it is situated, school–community links, informal learning and youth clubs need to be strengthened. Such links should include parental involvement to ensure that peer and gang cultures do not remain autonomous. Specificities of identities in and of themselves may not be a problem but reactive identities, which are exclusive, can be problematic.

The development of siege communities and siege mentalities arises partly because of economic uncertainties, unemployment and downward mobility. Penalizing these groups further not only consolidates reactive polities but can lead to conflict and violence. Economic regeneration of these localities and development of democratically inclusive civic cultures, as part of public and social policies, need serious and urgent consideration.

The rejection of democratic engagements by young people in siege communities is one issue which necessitates consideration. Currently, young people only demand their rights but do not necessarily accept that they have obligations. The public culture and domain, therefore, has to be inclusive of positive values derived from minorities and majorities, not just from dominant groups in society. Intercultural education must have an inclusive notion that symbolically and substantively captures the imagination and enchants disenchanted young people. In order to engage young people who are disaffected by the political process, it is appropriate to use constitutional and human rights principles, as well as other progressive and democratic struggles, as part of the curriculum in a democratic school. The experience of democratic schools is as important as the school curriculum.

Among young people, the notion of being part of and belonging to socially cohesive communities and complex localities is important. Hence, the notion of territorial belongingness, that is not exclusive but shared, is worth exploring in schools and youth clubs. There is a need to develop non-exclusivist neighborhoods that are not no-go areas for others but are confederal communities. Such communities would be based on mutuality, shared resemblances and values that are neither racist nor patriarchal. At the level of the community, mutuality compacts can assist this process. In British and American societies where market fundamentalism has privatized large sectors of public domain there has been an erosion of public values and secular moralities. This necessitates not only a renewal of modern

political and citizenship values but of engaging with similar initiatives from democracies which have worked on these issues in the past. It is necessary to revamp the old Greek concept of 'Paidea' or the German notion of 'Bildung' in order to develop interactive and intercultural dimensions within complex schools and their communities.

The erosion of public and educational values is reflected by the increasing grip of markets on the schools. The older notions of the importance of learning and 'learning for the sake of learning' have been forgotten and lost. Schools on both side of the Atlantic do not seem to understand the profound values of education and of teaching and learning. For instance, in New York schools young people are to receive monetary payments if they do well in standardized tests.

The Department for Children, Schools and Families in England, however, has not quite understood the grave need of these deep intercultural public values to build the character of young people as good citizens as well as, developing inclusive public institutions so that citizens of the future feel that they have a stake in the public and civic life of the societies they live in. Instead of developing strategies for making schools safer for all children and learning from the problem of violence in the United States, the Department would like for boys between the ages of three and five to be able to play with toy weapons (*The Guardian*, 2007). The Department seems to ignore the fact that many young students in recent years, especially from Black and other minority communities, have died or been seriously injured by their peers. Instead of countering negative media messages and images in the development of aggressive male cultures, the Department has completely ignored the necessity of promoting inclusive values that would create safer schools for all children, whatever their gender. The year 2007 has seen 27 teenagers killed in London, especially in poorer communities, and many of them are so taken by films and media that they cannot distinguish between reality and fantasy (*The Observer*, 2007).

Safer schools and inclusive cultures are only the first precondition, however, for obviating conflict-ridden, violent cultures in English society. This process also needs to be undertaken through academic, formal political and Intercultural Education, as well as active citizenship engagement. Underclass or pauperized groups of whatever nationality or religion will not activate their own separatist 'politics of recognition.' Such dynamics could heighten notions of fragmentation with even further divisive political consequences. Even if these groups are statistically small, they cannot be written off as having no political consequences. Urban ghettos and rural blight have a way of permeating the body politic; prisons and internal security cannot contain their corrosive potential. Hence, social fragmentation and insular group demands on the public square, propelled by inequality and injustice, are more likely scenarios than are those of social inclusion. To avoid this negative forecast, more proactive public education and socially inclusive policies need to be put in place.

THE ECONOMIC GLOBAL, INTERCULTURAL AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

The global macro economies do not necessarily work hand in hand with local micro economies, nor do power structures located largely in the north deal equitably with the poorer south. A similar relationship of inequality is evident between southern parts of Britain and the poorer north. More democratic governance at local to global organizational levels may be one way of legitimizing 'mondialisation' or global governance. However, the political economy of the global corporate order is based on integrating production/consumption patterns on a monocultural basis. Through this process, finance relations and services as well as labor standards are leveled out through centralized control and the concentration of power. These processes do not only have a local economic impact. Giddens refers to the impact of the global on the local as follows:

> Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanciated relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space. (Giddens, 1999)

'Local transformations' include the rise of chauvinism or local nationalisms. Where these are conflictual in nature they can destabilize a locality, a nation or a region. They may even have wider reverberations. Therefore, globalization processes have many strands and do not have a single trajectory.

These issues present a major challenge to developing socially cohesive communities because of the growth of global economics and the technology at the expense of what is political, social and cultural. In diverse societies, this becomes a critical issue because of the massive unemployment that can affect young people. Intercultural education that nurtures political knowledge, understanding and skills is crucial to strengthen engagement in the public domain, in order to obviate the binary and oppositional cultures of winners/losers. Active citizenship, which only relies on weak and impoverished institutions in civil society, is not sufficient because it does not currently possess the leverage necessary to interest young people. Academic learning about citizenship in schools and all types of active citizenship engagement by young people are very far removed from the lives and concerns of many young people, especially those who come from poorer communities. Intercultural dimensions of citizenship education and active citizenship can only be effective if the good public values from diverse sources are reflected with all civic and public institutions

In England, citizenship education was introduced in secondary schools in 2002 and, according to a recent OFSTED Inspectorate Report, only a minority of schools has embraced it with any enthusiasm. Furthermore, the quality of lessons is considered inadequate (*The Guardia*n, 2006). Schools have not considered the serious societal implications of an inclusive citizenship education that has high status within the school curriculum, with the school functioning as a democratic institution. Also, the Inspectorate may have only partial understanding of reasons for the inadequacy of citizenship education, because a learner's lack of interest may be another factor.

Underlying concerns of learners in the younger generation may range from preoccupation with the fissiparous tribes of electronically engaged members of the body politic (who are not susceptible to modern politics defined by control 'freakery') to facing inflated career expectations and the grim realities that inform swathes of contemporary pop culture. One of the biggest hits in 2005, a single called "Cash Machine" by the British group Hard-Fi, was a doleful glimpse of life in which Day-Glo consumerism is constantly dulled by the rattle of small change. 'I scratch a living, it ain't easy, you know it's a drag,' goes its chorus. 'I'm always paying; never making, but you can't look back.' Its end, frenziedly shouted at the band's gig, runs thus: 'There is a hole in my pocket, my pocket, my pocket' (*The Guardian*, 2006, p. 9). How do citizenship education and old style schooling address the profound concerns about brick walls that thwart the ambition of young people?

The first prerequisite for active citizenship is having the tools for young people to control their own lives and improve their life chances. This should not only include improved educational outcomes but also enhanced knowledge and skills to become autonomous citizens in economic terms. In situations where improvements have been made, dynamic young people are involved in programs of active citizenship and have made a difference in the schools and localities in many regions of England.

Divisive aspects of the 'politics of recognition' are a powerful issue in the United States as well as other parts of Britain and Europe. Groups that demand recognition of their particularistic identities also demand separate schools and a 'curriculum of recognition.' Such demands, which normally take the form of denominational schools, detract from the development of intercultural understanding. An inclusive curriculum based on diverse sources of knowledge is relevant to complex and diverse modern communities.

Most understanding of the rights of young people in Britain comes from the media and not the school. Young people are not taught to read these messages critically. Important considerations are raised for teachers, curriculum planners, schools and other educators concerning what education systems need to do about Intercultural Education, either in tandem with or in response to the media. There are, however, very few coordinated initiatives of citizenship education that are central to the lives of schools and are qualitatively able to make a difference in the lives of young people.

Notions of how to develop democracy based on deep and active social participation require urgent attention. The role of mixed economies becomes important because the role of social capital among people is now recognized by the World Bank. This reflects some acceptance of the possibility of many voices with social and civic virtues at the universal level, along with the deep values of human rights that democracy demands. The activation of civic values in public and private domains puts into place a new, non-traditional understanding of these rights.

The solution for resolving contradictions, dilemmas and complexities lies partly in a recognition of multiple identities and political loyalties. In the contemporary British context, being an active member of a local street association, as well as Scottish or Welsh, British, European and global, are all consistent markers of deep citizenship. Acceptance of democratic engagement, which includes recognition of areas of disagreement, can only be inculcated if groups feel that they are part of the polity and have a stake in it.

BELONGINGNESS

One other issue in discussions about social cohesion is the 'belongingness' of all groups in British society. Dominant nationalities tend to see the polity as 'theirs,' and 'others' are regarded as aliens who do not belong, or are seen to encroach upon the dominant domain. There are obviously specificities of different localities, communities, families and groups that provide a diversity of colors, textures and hues to different parts of society. There are also differences in local politics, economies and histories, and these intersect and interact differently within local, regional, national, European and global contexts.

Sharing of space by dominant and subordinate, colonizer and the colonized, rich and poor comes together in polities in ways that make the functioning of modern democratic society complex. This complexity includes the way in which material and social goods are produced and distributed, including the political, economic, literary, cultural and media output. The 'other' is no longer "out there" but here, and as Chambers states, there is an intersection of 'histories, memories and experiences' (Chambers, 1994). It is important to develop an agenda for public and social policy to create spaces where we can negotiate the complexity of our societies, both in rural areas and cities.

Analysis of this type should be inclusive of all groups who live within a particular society. In establishing such a context, past and current exclusions need to be "put right," making it possible to initiate a dialogue between all those living in complex localities. Interaction and intersection of the histories of cultures and languages enables construction of a more realistic understanding of the past, to better inform us of the present which may,

in turn, have implications for constructing a less biased and a more meaningful future. For instance, the teaching of British history should include the contributions of Islam, Judaism, Blacks and regional nationalities like the English, Scottish, Welsh (their cultures, civilizations and history). This includes issues of antipathy, conflict and cooperation, and is, therefore, a history of all those who are British, informing the history of these islands. Hence, the goal is not ethnicized histories for ethnicized groups, but an inclusive understanding of history. This ought to lead to a non-centric curriculum, not one that is narrowly Anglo-centric or reinforces 'Fortress Europe's' mentalities.

Communities are not only situated within their localities but have other identities, both at national and supranational levels, all of which lends an enormous range of heterogeneity to the life of society. Such complexity defies simplistic definition by either dominant or subordinate cultures. Political systems, in most parts of the world, have not come to terms with the public policy implications of this reality.

Communities as such embody notions of 'belongingness' cohesion as well as alienation. They have universalistic features as well as particularisms and local differences. Yet, non-confederal localisms can become parochial, racist, insular, stagnant and authoritarian. There are thick and textured layers of political, social and economic contexts that intersect with history, culture and language. Communities in Britain, therefore, provide possibilities and prospects of an infinite nature and yet, can also be lonely and confining. The confederal nature of society requires that integrative thinking and structures can link individual groups with other groups and localities. The challenge for political and educational systems is to develop democratic strategies at the public level that can lead to development of a basic common value system, in which inclusive rights and responsibilities will be developed as an outcome of the work of schools, social and political institutions.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed issues of intercultural and citizenship education in the British and, especially, within the English context. It has tried to illustrate that issues within these islands resonate with issues across the Atlantic, especially in the United States, and have largely multinational dimensions. Hence, citizenship education currently is not an issue which is clearly confined to the sovereign national context, but has extraterritorial dimensions. Civil society engagements have enriched notions of active citizenship, but their implications for the non-formal institutional context have not yet had major impact on societal inequalities. Therefore, concepts of citizenship remain largely marginalized within both the formal and informal sectors of society. Citizenship education needs to move creatively across the formal and informal

sectors of society. Currently, it does not have the dynamism to capture the imagination of the younger generation. Arts, literature and other cultural facets need to be integrated to make it more attractive.

Intercultural education as an overarching concept is, likewise, not widely or systematically implemented. Within all sectors of the education system, teacher educators, schools, curriculum planners and the Department of Education and Skills have dismally failed to develop a systemic approach to implementation of this concept. Hence, the potential for intercultural understanding within an increasingly multicultural and globalized world has not been actualized, and the realities and possibilities of intercultural conflict remain a threat to the body politic. Therefore, educational and political realization of cosmopolitan demos, at both nation state and global levels, still remains a distant vision.

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20 Moving from Multicultural to Intercultural Education in Australian Higher Education

Valerie A. Clifford

INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the involvement of Australian higher education in international education and argues that Australia's colonialist exercise is now being questioned by its own staff and students, and faces challenges by foreign governments. These challenges and the changing nature of the international student market offer the Australian higher education system an opportunity to reassess its focus on a multicultural approach and consider benefits of an intercultural approach to meet the need of both native and international students for an education that prepares them to live and work in our globalized world.

The face of Australian higher education today is truly multicultural. Along with its domestic diversity that consists of the Aborigine indigenous population (with their own languages and cultures) and multiple layers of immigrants from all over the English speaking and non-English speaking world, 17.3% of students in Australia are now international, with a further 61,330 international students studying off-shore (IDP, 2007). Changes in the social, political and economic environments in Australia and overseas have led universities to position themselves as 'international' institutions. Gradual withdrawal of government funding has led particularly to entrepreneurial activities that encourage full-fee paying international students to enter Australia for their higher education, and deliver higher education overseas (especially to Asia) through many varied partnership arrangements. In recent years there has also been the development of offshore campuses, initially in partnership with providers in the host country, but more recently, Australian universities have become involved in building their own campuses offshore and operating independently of local providers or brokers.

The economic reasoning behind these developments has been stronger than the moral imperative. Australia has become heavily involved in exporting Australian education and importing international students, without due regard to the needs of the students involved. Whereas consideration has been given to academic skills and language support for international

students, until recently within Australia, little attention has been given to what students are being taught in terms of their future personal and professional needs, as well as the needs of their countries.

Serious consideration is now being given to issues of internationalization and what it means to be an 'international' university. Knight (2003) defined internationalization as "the process of integrating an international/intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education." This chapter explores the meaning of Australian curricula and pedagogy for native and international students 'onshore,' and for native and international students 'offshore.'

MOVING FROM MULTICULTURAL AND TRANSNATIONAL TO INTERCULTURAL

In the opening of this book Portera argues against most forms of multiculturalism (in terms of peaceful coexistence) and in favor of interactive integration, seeing culture as dynamic and in constant evolution. He contends that we need to encourage dialogue and relationships between groups on equal terms. Other writers argue similarly against transnational education as it positions those 'offshore' as marginal (Leask, Hicks, Kohler, & King, 2005) and challenges national autonomy and sovereignty in higher education (Van Rooijen, Jones, & Adam, 2003). Momentum is developing in Australian higher education to consider these issues and rethink international educational strategies. This is being encouraged by the Australian Universities Quality Agency.

Quality Assurance

The Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) is systematically examining all universities and making recommendations about the ways they work and the standards of their programmes. These audits include work that the universities are engaged in overseas in order to ensure that it meets Australian standards requirements. At the same time, programs delivered overseas and campuses established overseas have to meet regulations and standards of the receiving countries. Defining standards and assuring that all courses comply with them is very demanding, and some universities or faculties have responded by decreeing that all their programmes shall be the same wherever they are delivered, in Australia and overseas (Schapper & Mayson, 2004). The dictum includes curriculum content, modes of delivery, the central setting of assignments and exams and the centralized marking of all exams. This is a difficult approach when the economic, social, political and cultural environments of students' lives are so varied (e.g., students who have never used computers can be faced with high tech study environments, students from war ravaged areas can be sitting in classes

with their 'enemies'). Not only is one curriculum unsuitable in all locations for all cohorts, but the pedagogy and modes of assessment may be alien, incomprehensible or unacceptable to students from different backgrounds. Van Damme (2002) has argued that movements toward an international quality assurance for international education "further intensify the risks of cultural intrusion and 'imperialism' already inherent in transnational delivery" and asserts that issues of diversity and cultural sensitivity must be paramount. However, Australian universities 'exporting' education are extremely concerned about their good name and find it hard to release control of any part of the educational process.

Balancing tension between the needs of quality assurance and the needs of the students is seen in Australia in the current work on graduate attributes, curriculum content, learning environments, teaching strategies and the attributes of teachers.

Graduate Attributes

Australian universities have been asking what attributes are required of our future graduates so they will be fit to live and work in a globalized world. The 'Internationalisation at Home' movement has been useful in turning attention to the personal and professional growth of all students within a globalized economy and furthering their development as world citizens (Nilsson, 1999). Nilsson has argued that curricula could not be adjusted to meet the needs of international students alone, because 90% of students remain at home but also need to be prepared for living and working in a globalized world. Nilsson was concerned about education for world citizenship and saw internationalization of the curriculum as concerned with attitudes and values, especially anti-racism and democracy. For Australian universities, a further dimension has been added by the development of offshore campuses in Asia and Africa. These differently situated campuses have brought new perspectives and new demands to the parent universities and have foregrounded tensions between the global and the local. How to foster the personal and professional growth of a diversely geographic student body, while paying attention to the development of values and attitudes toward justice, equality, democracy, sustainability of the global environment and issues of development has become a critical curriculum issue.

Curriculum Content

Curriculum practices are being increasingly questioned by young academics entering university teaching in Australia who have fresh ideas and initiatives, and have often started to study pedagogy through new staff learning and teaching courses. They frequently find themselves unable to introduce any changes into curriculum content, teaching strategies or assessment practices because of their junior status. Curriculum practices are also being

challenged by staff and students in university partnership arrangements and offshore campuses. The dictate of a homogeneous global curriculum gives rise to accusations of pedagogical imperialism and the deskilling of staff (Schapper & Mayson, 2004).

In a study at a large Australian university with multiple overseas delivery arrangements, staff and students at home and offshore campuses were interviewed about internationalization of the curriculum issues (Clifford, 2005a, 2005b; Clifford & Joseph, 2005). One lecturer described the complex delivery problem of beaming education into China, Indonesia and other places as 'pedagogical imperialism,' because the university had not yet worked through the issues of diverse pedagogies. 'Offshore' staff described themselves as 'technicians' who were disempowered and whose jobs were deskilled as they carried out the dictates of Australia. Offshore-based lecturers especially saw curriculum units based on Australian political, governmental and industrial situations as nonsensical because offshore contexts were so different; they believed their students needed to be familiar with their own environments and have the skills to operate in those environments. The South African-based lecturers argued that most of the students would be going back into their own local environments in Africa, and not into the global market, so they emphasized the need for an African focus on issues of development in order to prepare the graduates for future leadership roles in Africa.

In some transnational education situations, the offshore staff are taking back their power and presenting their central authorities with new curricula designed for the needs of their students and relevant to their future lives. Also, they are demanding the right to set assessment and mark it. The response to these demands is mixed, with some disciplines and some universities finding alternative curricula and power sharing easier to accept than others (Clifford, 2005b). In other locales, offshore staff members feel less able to challenge the central authority, so they continue to deliver the central curriculum, despite their reservations about it.

There is a moral need for Australian universities to address the tension inherent in the clash of the global with the local. An intercultural rather than a multicultural stance requires that all parties (representatives of staff and students) be brought together on curriculum review teams to address epistemological questions about the universality of knowledge, such as how cultural difference is implicated in the construction and organization of knowledge. With academics based in Australia, Asia and Africa, at the university in the study, the collision of the local with the global is inevitable but should provide fertile ground for debate to create new perspectives, knowledge and ways of doing. These teams should allow the 'center' to be questioned and a decentered curriculum to evolve. To truly cross borders, rather than being 'academic-as-tourists,' the politics of cultural difference needs to be addressed (Mohanty, 2003). However, the evolution of such representative curriculum development teams is slow, because Australian

institutions are reluctant to relinquish centralized control of their courses for fear that standards will become compromised.

Learning Environments and Teaching Strategies

As well as considering curriculum content, Intercultural Education demands attention to the learning environment and teaching strategies. In the study cited above, students saw their environment as one of the three critical factors in learning (the others being curriculum content and the attributes of their teachers). Many students have experienced more formal educational environments than those of Australia and have emphasized the need for a friendly environment and induction into the expectation of their new classrooms and courses. Currently, much emphasis has been placed on 'inclusive' teaching approaches that focus on actively involving all students in the classroom (Carroll & Ryan, 2005). However, research is now demonstrating that these pedagogies are based on Western assumptions and can be confrontational to international students (Wallace & Hellmundt, 2003; Dunn & Wallace, 2004; Clifford & Vakamocea, 2006). There needs to be greater knowledge and understanding of the formal and informal pedagogical experiences of students and staff, as well as a willingness to use universities as 'contact zones' (Pratt, 1992) for productive dialogue that would create new 'glocal' epistemologies and pedagogies (Huffer & Qalo, 2004). As yet, there is little evidence of such dialogues taking place or of universities prioritizing such dialogues and providing space for them.

Attributes of Staff

The most crucial factor for students in the study cited above was the attributes of the university staff. The students wanted staff to be conversant with their backgrounds, the curriculum content, and a variety of teaching strategies. Having staff with international perspectives was seen as basic to any hope of achieving Intercultural Education. Knight (2004), Crabtree and Sapp (2004) and Teekens (2003) write about the need for staff to develop new sets of knowledge and new modes of thinking, valuing and behaving in order to understand international/intercultural/global dimensions. Teekens (2003) has drawn up a profile of an ideal lecturer involved with internationalization of the curriculum. She sees teachers as generally knowing little educational theory, so they may find it difficult to analyze the knowledge, as well as the teaching and learning styles, that they are using. The profile includes issues related to using a non-native language of instruction, cultural differences, learning and teaching styles, the academic discipline and personal qualities.

Teekens maintains that teachers need a solid grounding in their disciplinary knowledge to be able to deal with unexpected questions and perspectives. Teachers also need specific language skills to teach students

for whom English is a non-native language, because each national group uses the language in their own way: 'they are using the language [English] in their own cultural context and not realising that the others may be understanding the words but not comprehending the meaning as it was intended' (Teekens, 2003, p. 113). Teachers also need to have the vision and leadership to promote intercultural understanding and foster openness to cultural diversity.

The critical question is how to encourage staff to question their long held epistemological beliefs and their teaching practices, which they have invested many years developing, and to participate in professional development activities that would introduce them not to new 'truths' but to explorations of possible new ways of thinking and of being a teacher, which would be a very destabilizing experience.

MOVING TOWARD INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION?

As Australian universities respond to the challenges of internationalization, the world higher education environment continues to change rapidly around them. Many Asian countries are now investing heavily in local higher education in order to keep their students at home, and a new Australian offshore campus has recently failed. Foreign governments want to refocus scholarships for postgraduate study overseas to up-skill nationals and educate them to meet the needs of their own countries, so they can take up key positions on their return. These movements, alongside onshore and offshore dissension within their institutions, all challenge Australia to rethink its multicultural approach to higher education.

Until now Australia has invited its multicultural constituency to learn at its table; it has not welcomed international students as a potential source of intellectual challenge and change. A new intellectual approach, viewing the Australian culture as dynamic, evolving and enriched through interaction with other cultures and people, would open up dialogue. A recent report commissioned by an Australian university recommends that the university look at three areas if they want to keep their international students: co-development of curricula with all stake holders, development of teaching strategies suited to the learning styles and learning environment of the students and development of appropriate assessment methods (Connelly, Garton, & Olsen, 2006). Other work is also acknowledging the need for institutions to adapt to the diversity of the students (Pyvis & Chapman, 2004). Hegemonic practices of the Australian higher education system are being challenged, and reports indicate an increased willingness to enter into dialogue with international constituents.

Australia cannot afford to continue to use the international education market to prop up its home higher education system or ignore the views of its own staff and students. Australian higher education currently advocates

a philosophy of student-centered learning (indicating an interest in the identity and needs of its students), and some universities are beginning to develop graduate attributes that address internationalization, for example, a graduate of the University of South Australia will demonstrate international perspectives as a professional and as a citizen. The espoused values are now in place for Australian higher education institutions to explore practical ways to enter into dialogue with their constituents (staff and students) and use the rich diversity of resources within their institutions to develop new ways of thinking and doing higher education as Intercultural Education. Such changes are both uncomfortable and stimulating and have the potential to lead to new interdisciplinary and international collaborations. Such recognition of intercultural learning is necessary, not only for the future of Australian universities as international institutions, but also for a peaceful future of the diverse Australian society and the sustaining of its fragile continent.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has looked at the rapid development of the Australian higher education sector's involvement in International Education, which has been largely driven by economic imperatives. It has discussed increasing challenges to the 'imperialist' methods of operating within a privileged Western culture and curriculum, from the universities' own staff and students and from foreign governments. Australian universities now appear to be entering a phase where they will be more willing to engage into dialogue with their own diverse staff and students to explore the co-development of curricula and new approaches to teaching and assessment. This movement, from a multicultural to an intercultural approach to higher education, could lead to exciting intellectual and pedagogical developments for Australia and the region.

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21 Interculturalism, Multiculturalism and Diversity as Social and Educational Policies in Chile, 1990–2008

Carmen Montecinos and Guillermo Williamson

In Latin America and the Caribbean, and particularly in Chile, to make reference to the condition of cultural plurality in our societies, the academic, pedagogical and social discourses in education have privileged two concepts: diversity and interculturalism (this last is associated with bilingualism). Gradually, and mainly from the government, the concept of multiculturalism has been introduced throughout the Chilean landscape. Multiculturalism is settling like a fog that rises from the moist soils of our southern forests, falling like the northern fog; although at times it seems more like Santiago's smog. Multiculturalism is a contested concept that may either conceal or embrace diversity and interculturalism, as these last two concepts have been constructed in Latin America.

In this chapter, we will discuss briefly how interculturalism has been used in educational policy discourses in order to provide a context for our analysis of how the addition of multiculturalism to this discourse may help determine how education responds to new demands from a civil society that is seeking to reconstruct its relationship with the state. Next, we will examine how diversity has been used in Chilean educational discourse, suggesting a broader conception which recognizes advances in the way progressive sectors of society are redefining social regulation.

INTERCULTURAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION (IBE): THE RELATION AMONG INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES, THE STATE AND THE WIDER SOCIETY

In Latin America, and Chile, the concept of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) represents an educational approach that has as its axis the relationship between the indigenous communities, the state and the wider society. From the inception of the republic in 1810, the educational model sought to integrate the indigenous population through assimilation, as they were (and still are) considered Chilean citizens. With the reconstruction of democracy during the '90s, interculturalism in Chile emerged both as a

need and a shared interest in reconstructing relations among the indigenous communities, the state and the wider society (Williamson & Montecinos, 2001). Indigenous groups and the State, however, have differed in the strategic cultural and societal projects they aim to develop.

Interculturalism represents an ideological social project that purports to address the cultural, linguistic, ideological and sociocultural contradictions that emerge as the state and the dominant society attempt to address the collective demands of subordinated groups that are claiming new identities and redrawing the maps that have confined their territories (Report from the Historical Truth and New Deal [or Treatment] Commission, 2003). The control and management of the land are particularly contentious issues as indigenous movements struggle to recuperate ownership of lands that historically were part of their territories. In this context, Intercultural Education is not just a project seeking to strengthen communication among cultures; it is also the political vindication of indigenous people. To the extent that IBE is a state-sponsored response to these social movements, its praxis draws more from indigenous culture than from central curriculum planning which treats interculturalism as a particular problem and a specific program external to the definition of the national curriculum framework over which standardized high-stake tests are constructed.

IBE is used by the State to design educational policies for indigenous groups, as well as by indigenous social movements that expect that same state to redress historic and contemporary injustices. For the indigenous people in Chile, to paraphrase Paulo Freire, IBE does not have a political character, it *is* political. IBE also needs to be understood in the context of relations between indigenous communities and the national and transnational corporations that control commodities grown on their ancestral territory (forestry, mining and agribusiness), along with the treatment of industrial residues from these utilization of the land. Land conflicts that have pitted indigenous communities against these corporations have resulted in demands by the corporations to the State (i.e., the protection of their property rights). Although the government has bought back land from corporations and returned property rights to the communities, the interlocking set of social, political and economic demands have at times impacted the government's ability to understand the nature of the conflict.

IBE's mission has been challenged by Mexican author Sylvia Schmelkes who has argued for an Intercultural Education for All. From her perspective, all citizens must become intercultural, that is, develop the abilities to undo asymmetries in the economy, political and social arenas. This would entail embracing differences and recognizing culture as dynamic, in a continuous process of exchange. This call has not been institutionalized and still remains an intention. Politically, Intercultural Education for All continues to be based on ethnic diversity and indigenous people continue to use IBE to express their demands for an education that speaks to their issues, not only to those defined by the state through national curriculum frameworks.

In contrast to previous public education policies that excluded the language of indigenous groups, IBE created a discourse of inclusion (Hornberger, 1989). Others have argued that a contrast needs to be made between previous policies of denial and new policies of exclusion. Until the restoration of democracy, the existence of indigenous, first nation people as groups that were subject to special rights was denied through educational policies that assumed cultural and linguistic homogeneity. In Chile, it is only after the restoration of democracy in the '90s that the Ministry of Education developed the Program for Intercultural Bilingual Education to improve the educational attainment of children attending schools with a high concentration of indigenous populations. It was founded on the belief that by strengthening ethnic identity, culture and language, these students would be more likely to succeed in their mastery of the national curriculum. Caniulef (1998) has argued that this policy is not inclusive of the culture of these students to the extent that it is understood as bridge to access a national curriculum which excludes knowledge developed by native people. Current IBE policy has fallen short of the expectations of indigenous communities of providing all students with curricular experiences that overcome the hegemony of western knowledge (Quilaqueo, 2004).

On the other hand, the implementation of IBE has provided opportunities for the strengthening and revitalization of indigenous languages solely in areas with a high concentration of first nation people. IBE is implemented in about 162 schools that enroll a large number of children from one of the nine first nation groups recognized by the State.[1] The low educational attainment by schools that serve these communities is seen by the communities, not as failure of IBE, but as institutional discrimination expressed in the educational indicators used by the State, such as results on national standardized testing programs. Indigenous educators have asked that the state re-examine or justify the use of indicators of achievement on the national curriculum, without taking into account that some schools have developed a curriculum that is responsive to cultural diversity.

Given this analysis, it could be hypothesized that, to the extent that IBE is a political strategy of the indigenous movement, currently it is not as attractive for the State as it was in the early '90s. When it was unveiled, this educational approach provided an example of the collaborative solidarity framed in the New Imperial Agreement (1989). Some 20 years later, however, it might be best for the State to find new approaches that are less politicized, to serve the purpose of social integrating indigenous people while also taking into account demands that the State is getting from other social sectors. This is being expressed in a new social pact that is focused on redefining Chile as a multicultural society. Is there intent to move beyond the relationship of "indigenous people-state-wider society" and establish a new relationship of "state-multicultural society" thus making indigenous groups one among many groups? Will multiculturalism provide a broader framework that can strengthen IBE? In the next section of the paper, we

will examine these questions by illustrating the concept of multiculturalism as the government has introduced it to redefine the relationship between the state and indigenous groups.

"RE-COGNIZE: A SOCIAL PACT FOR MULTICULTURALISM"

Let us begin by looking at a formal definition. The *Dictionary of the Real Academia de la Lengua* (Spanish language's official dictionary) does not include the word "multicultural." We can, however, find multiculturalism defined as the "coexistence of diverse cultures." What is coexistence, and what is it to coexist? Again, if we refer to the dictionary, we find that it means "to live in the company of another or others." "Company" is defined as "a society or gathering of several people united for the same purpose, frequently mercantile." In short, multiculturalism is, according to this dictionary, defined basically as living in the company of diverse cultures in a society that shares a purpose. In this definition we find an objective description of a phenomenon that constitutes a complex society: People who belong to different cultures live together and have, or should have, some shared aims.

Chilean society has been constructed historically with equality as a fundamental value that can sustain our identity as a nation. Equality is understood as sharing one language, one cosmovision, one culture, a hybrid identity that drew from our Spanish and first nation ancestry. In other words, equality has meant the suppression of diversity and the assimilation of indigenous groups. Chile began to be named as a multicultural society around 2003 with the Report from the Historical Truth and New Deal (or Treatment) Commission, 2003.[2] The report, "Re-cognize: A Social Pact for Multiculturalism," launched in 2008, defines multiculturalism as the ancestral coexistence of various ethnic groups which, in a truly democratic context, have full rights to an equitable participation in society and, therefore, should have their particular cultures respected (cosmovision, religion, material culture, language, values, etc.). This version of multiculturalism, following Fraser (1998), frames the problem of difference as restricted to a cultural dimension that is disassociated from the political economy by which indigenous people are clustered among the poorest segments of Chilean society.

As policy, multiculturalism was introduced on April 1, 2008, when the President of Chile, Michelle Bachelet, proposed a new social and political pact with indigenous people. This new pact adds to the Nueva Imperial Agreement (1989), the Indigenous Law (1993), the Policies of the New Deal (2002), the Nueva Imperial Agreement II (2006) and the Axis for Indigenous Policy (2007), among other agreements between the state and indigenous people. To carry out these and other policies, in 2008 a presidential Commissioner for Indigenous Affairs was appointed.

In her presentation of the new pact, the President noted that "what is important, beyond any specific measure, is our political will to move these measures forward, in particular the concepts that sustain them, which have been long-awaited by the communities and can be summed up in three axis: political rights, integrated development, and multiculturalism."[3] Later in her speech she said: "It is time that Chile rises to new heights. It is time that we assume us as diverse and that this diversity should have the political representation it is due. I want to see indigenous representatives in Congress."[4]

In this part of the speech, we can see that multiculturalism is ascribed as an indigenous demand, is made to be a synonym of diversity and is linked to the political institutions in a democratic state. The pact provides an action plan, because "the big task in this almost two decades of democracy has been to construct a multicultural, plural, and diverse society that can recognize, and at the same time express, the rich origins of our nation. But let's call things by their name; it has not been easy to leave behind old racist prejudices and the lack of understanding of the indigenous world by some sectors of Chilean society." She recalled that some sectors have claimed that "the problem of indigenous people is just poverty, and a good focalization of subsidies would be most appropriate. Instead, we maintain that it is an issue of rights, of a collective identity seeking expression in a multicultural society."

In this speech, we can hear a State that is beginning to take action to create institutions and legal provisions that will recognize Chile as a society that is culturally diverse. As a society, we must face the challenge of constructing a multicultural society that acknowledges and is built from its first nation cultures. This entails overcoming racism and rejecting the view that that the social integration of first nation people is precluded by poverty. Rather, integration entails the right to a collective identity within a multicultural society. From this perspective, to overcome the high incidence of poverty in indigenous communities, structural problems for the construction of identities and the barriers of discrimination must be addressed. The fight against poverty must be fought by recognizing indigenous rights in the cultural and institutional terrain. Furthermore, it is the responsibility of the State to ensure and protect those rights and end poverty.

The "Social Pact for Multiculturalism" is an action plan structured into three main areas: (1) political system, rights and institutions; (2) integrated development of indigenous communities; and (3) multiculturalism and diversity. Education is addressed in the second area, specifically in section 2.3: Education, Health and Culture. In the third area, three aspects are addressed: urban indigenous policies, multiculturalism in society and management for an integrated development. In the section related to education, the pact considers the continuation of Intercultural Education for indigenous groups, utilizing culturally relevant pedagogical, linguistic and cultural elements. In a sense, this is a continuation of IBE, but sustained

in legal rights. For example, it is stated that indigenous groups have a legal right to impinge upon the education of its members and that the new education law will include provisions to this effect. It also proposes a renewed impulse for intercultural preschool and elementary education in regions of the country with high concentrations of indigenous populations, recognizing the need to have indigenous teachers. Additionally, it provides financial aid for indigenous students from elementary through graduate education. This includes improving the conditions and availability of boarding houses for indigenous students who must move away from their homes in order to pursue formal education.

In the area of multiculturalism and diversity, the Urban Indigenous Policies are intended to design actions for urban areas with high concentrations of indigenous people (about 70% of indigenous people live in urban areas). These new responsibilities of the state are focused on improving their quality of life, strengthening their identity, promoting rights and anti-discrimination. This is a shift from previous policies that focused on indigenous groups living in rural sectors. The separation between urban and rural indigenous groups reflects a reality, but at the same time, might be a consequence of the fragmentation of the indigenous movement, which has made land demands in rural areas one of its central political objectives (Donoso, 2007).

Through multiculturalism and diversity, the action plan's main objective is to integrate the wider society in accord with this pact. It recognizes that, to promote the full integration of indigenous people into society, a cultural change among all citizens is required. This change should allow for all citizens to understand and assimilate the multicultural character of our society. Activities included in this area are: distributing in schools the Report from the Historical Truth and New Deal (or Treatment) Commission, 2003,[5] along with curricular changes to teach national history from the perspective proposed in the report. The pact includes development of a multicultural policy that will lay out an action plan to move forward in recognizing the value of diverse cultures, generating new links and relations among them. The policy of multicultural inclusion will ask each ministry to identify actions and measures that can contribute to multiculturalism. Also, it will send an anti-discrimination law to Congress.

The new pact understands the concept of multiculturalism as inextricably linked to indigenous people and sees interculturalism as a key characteristic of Chilean society. In this way, we can argue that interculturalism is a component of, not a contradiction to, multiculturalism. When we examine the Ministry of Education, through its Intercultural Bilingual Education program, we could argue that, in principle, it is congruent with the new pact. The IBE program claims to prepare all students to interact with people different from themselves on an equal basis, defending from the educational space the principle of pluriculturalism.[6] Pluriculturalism argues that groups should maintain their identities and develop their own

culture (Flecha, 1994, cited in Sinisi, 2000). This claim would suggest that pedagogy for diversity provides for dialogue across cultures. Nevertheless, it is unclear how the IBE program will move from interculturalism to multiculturalism. Moreover, the new general educational law, currently under discussion in Congress, makes explicit reference to Intercultural Education but not to a Multicultural Education. [7]

It is still unclear why we move from a public discourse of interculturalism to a discourse of diversity and multiculturalism. One might ask how these policies are ideologically and theoretically constructed, and to what extent they draw from conversations generated in a participatory democracy. The policy sketches some strategies by which the idea of Chile as a multicultural society will become a social representation. However, we will need time to see if, in a few years, the Ministry of Education and educators continue using the term Intercultural Education and targeting only indigenous communities, or whether multiculturalism has gained ground. As it stands, however, we argue that multiculturalism is a concept that needs to be developed further, so that it embraces not only the rights of indigenous groups but other rights and ways of organizing society that can coalesce under the banner of diversity.

DIVERSITY: AN AMBIGUOUS EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT

The concept of diversity, as it has penetrated Chilean educational discourse, refers to: (a) the democratic ethos in a complex and globalized society; and (b) a recognition that schools (and consequently, their students) are not homogenous, but are constituted as learners who exhibit individual as well as group-based differences. Our experience of working with teachers at all levels of the system indicates that there is little theoretical and conceptual clarity with respect to the meaning of diversity and, specifically, how to work pedagogically with diversity.

As a democratic imperative, diversity is a component of the transversal objectives that are addressed in Chile's national curriculum. Among others, these objectives speak to the development of citizenship values, skills and attitudes required for life in a society that defines itself as pluralistic and democratic. This framework expects teachers to infuse these objectives throughout the various curricular content areas. It is explicitly recognized that the values that govern democratic life represent tensions with respect to ideals, such as openness to cultural influences, valuing and preserving one´s own culture and heritage, solidarity and competition, rights and responsibility. Through their curricular experiences, students should be afforded opportunities to experience and resolve these tensions as they grapple with the topics identified by our society as key to the development of democracy (Cox, 2003; Magendzo, Donoso, & Rodas, 1997). Topics included in the transversal objectives are human rights, environmental stewardship, gender

equality and respect for cultural diversity, among others. Although teachers are expected to address these topics throughout content areas, these topics do not constitute a criterion for deciding curricular content and objectives, or guidelines for pedagogy and assessment. To the extent that the educational system in Chile (and other Latin American countries) uses, as an indicator of quality, results on tests that measure knowledge and skills favoring economic growth, and *not* what favors democratic citizenship, addressing these transversal objectives has been problematic (Magendzo, 2002).

When teachers talk about diversity, however, we have most often heard about the challenges of working with students who differ in learning rates or students who do not progress at the pace set by the teacher. This view of diversity has affirmed vigorously our concern with the social and educational inclusion of students with special educational needs. We also find references to educational designs that emphasize the recognition of cultural differences in the classrooms.

The cultural groups to be recognized vary widely. In urban contexts, sociocultural characteristics that are addressed make reference to young people who exhibit behaviours deemed as "alternative"; for example, those associated with an "urban tribe" or working with students from economically impoverished communities. In the case of adult education, different generations must be served, like youngsters who left or were expelled recently from the system, and adults who after years out of the system, return for a GED. In the case of those regions of the country that have high concentrations of indigenous people, ethnicity needs to be recognized. In non-urban settings, ethnic, rural or farming cultures are confounded when thinking about the sociocultural characteristics of the students to be recognized in the curriculum.

Notwithstanding the different ways in which teachers think about diversity, pedagogically the implication is the same. Diversity provides a reason for didactic planning; teachers acknowledge diversity by selecting culturally relevant content and activities. There is no practical consensus on what this selection may mean, but it is a topic of conversation. However, most often the purpose is to make the objectives and content of the national curriculum more accessible to these populations, closely resembling the "Teaching the Exceptional and the Culturally Different" approach to diversity described by Sleeter and Grant (1993).

BROADENING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION

We propose that diversity in education needs to be considered from three perspectives: (1) from a natural perspective we recognize that human beings are an inherent part of our planet`s biodiversity; (2) from a cultural perspective, we see that cooperation in the biocommunity transcends

adaptation to the environment as it seeks transformation; and (3) from a sociopolitical perspective, transformation involves making decisions about the conditions necessary to define a collective development project. From this last perspective, we understand education as a sociopolitical act that takes place in a territory populated by cultural groups who orient their lives by cosmovisions that at times overlap and at other times clash. For this reason, the idea and the reality of diversity are understood as closely associated with what exists and is transformed within a territory: the physical environment, a common economy of cooperation, territorial development and the transmission/production of culture through primary socialization and formal education.

As a sociopolitical act, education occurs in the midst of globalization and new social movements that bring to the forefront at least five issues of social regulation: (a) living and non-living beings are subjects of legal rights; (b) new demands to create conditions for greater democratization and reconstructing liberal views of democracy; (c) new relations between the state and society; (d) tensions and contradictions in social movements, from the local (i.e., land disputes among the Mapuche, the State and forest companies) to the global (i.e., consequences of bioenergy on the food supply worldwide); and (e) a search for individual and collective local identities in a worldwide context of globalization with physical and virtual border-crossings.

The three perspectives on diversity that we have outlined imply that curricular and pedagogical developments need to be on a par with at least three advances that we observe nationally and globally. One advance is toward the constitution of universal legal norms that assure respect and protection for human rights by an international community, not just the State. Until now, the State has constituted the last legal, valid opinion. However, international courts allow people who feel that their rights have been violated by their own governments to seek justice elsewhere. In Chile, for example, a lesbian woman who was denied custody of her children by the Supreme Court because of her sexual orientation is suing the State in an international court.

A second advance is the push toward reconstruction of the meaning and decision making about issues that affect local communities. Representative democracy is under intense scrutiny and is even discredited as cases of corruption, clientele-ism, and factic powers that deny the essence of citizenship are repeatedly uncovered. New social movements are asking for a form of participatory democracy that allows people to exercise citizenship in a more direct way. Undoubtedly, massive access to information technologies makes it possible for hundreds of thousands of people to come together and exercise direct democracy. In our work with Chilean youth, for example, we have found that a vast majority has not registered to vote (something that worries the political parties), but many of them are actively engaged in local community activities and evidence a high level of civic commitment.

The third advance related to the previous two is pressure for equality among individuals as sustenance for liberal democracy. Today, we see advances in the recognition of collective rights. Consequently, indigenous people, children and adolescents, people with disabilities and women demand special rights; and they have already formally attained them in many countries. There is also a slow but sustained, emergent movement raising questions about the extension of human rights. The rights of nature and its creatures are increasingly understood as key to securing conditions for the existence of planet earth (the big house of all) and its life forms. To defend the rights of all forms of life on earth is to protect the biodiversity of the biocommunity and, therefore, is to defend human rights. In Ecuador, for example, a new constitution that specifically includes the legal rights of nature is under a referendum. It states that Nature (or Pacha Mama) has the right to be respected, in terms of the existence, maintenance and regeneration of its vital cycles, functions, structures and evolutionary processes.

The few examples we have addressed exemplify that we cannot continue with everyday social representations constructed from pedagogical common sense or ideology when referring to diversity in education. As our societies change, diversity is a concept and a pedagogical praxis that needs to be rooted in social and cultural transformations, such as those just described.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The discussion of multiculturalism is only beginning in our country at a political level and has yet to reach mainstream educational discourse. As we have reviewed the State proposal, "Re-cognize: A Social Pact for Multiculturalism," we are unclear about its theoretical, ideological, methodological and political foundations. Some questions are particularly unclear, such as why and what consequences were expected when deciding to adopt multiculturalism instead of continuing with the concept of interculturalism. Whereas interculturalism neatly defines the subjects of this educational policy and the social sectors in conflict and contradiction (indigenous-state, indigenous-forest companies, indigenous-regional governments), multiculturalism seems to be the task of all, and might turn out to be the task of no one. In this sense, multiculturalism may come to render invisible certain social groups and their plight.

On the other hand, multiculturalism may also become a concept that recognizes that social demands for equality are indeed demands for a critical globalization, a new democracy that not only has mechanisms for representation but also for participation. If either of these two scenarios will prevail, or how both may prevail, remains an empirical question. As educators, however, we will not remain observers, because the answer requires action from the academy in alliance with diverse grassroots movements.

NOTES

1. In http://www.origenes.cl/educacion.htm Programa Orígenes.
2. The Report from the Historical Truth and New Deal (or Treatment) Commission was prepared by an interdisciplinary group touted by the state as representing the most important effort that the state has carried out to develop social and political policies that can restitute human rights to first nation people (for a complete copy of the report in Spanish, see http://biblioteca.serindigena.org/libros_digitales/cvhynt/index.html).
3. These words were extracted, and translated, from http://www.origenes.cl/_presidencia.htm.
4. These words were extracted, and translated, from http://www.origenes.cl/_presidencia.htm.
5. The report from the Historical Truth and New Deal (or Treatment) Commission was prepared by an interdisciplinary group representing the most important effort that the state has carried out to offered to developed social and political policies that can restitute human rights to first nation people.
6. Retrieved from http://www.mineduc.cl/index0.php?id_portal=28.
7. The only indications of the General Education Law Proposal are the product of the advocacy the territorial organization *Identidad Mapuche-Lafquenche*, in conjunction with the mayor of Puerto Saavedra and the mobilization of the Derechos Lingüísticos y Educativos de los Pueblos Indígenas` (Commission on the Linguistic and Educational Rights of Indigenous People).

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