



Policy Forum No. 17

Planning for diversity: education in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies

IIEP, Paris, 19-20 June 2003

Organized on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of IIEP

Gudmund Hernes,

in collaboration with **Michaela Martin** and **Estelle Zadra**



International Institute for Educational Planning

Planning for diversity: education in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies

The views and opinions expressed in this booklet are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of UNESCO or the IIEP. The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout this review do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO or the IIEP concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or its authorities, or concerning its frontiers or boundaries.

The publication costs have been covered through a grant-in-aid offered by UNESCO and by voluntary contributions made by several Member States of UNESCO, the list of which will be found at the end of the volume.

Published by: International Institute for Educational Planning
7-9 rue Eugène-Delacroix, 75116 Paris
e-mail: information@iiep.unesco.org
IIEP web site: www.unesco.org/iiep

Cover design: Pierre Finot
Typesetting: Linéale Production

This volume has been printed in IIEP's printshop
ISBN 92-803-1271-5
© UNESCO 2004

CONTENTS

List of abbreviations	9
List of tables, charts and examples	11
Executive summary	13
Introduction, <i>Gudmund Hernes</i>	17
Part I: Presentation and discussion: opening statements	29
Chapter 1. The changing map: from nation states to multi-ethnic and multicultural societies, <i>Christine Inglis</i>	31
Introduction	31
Three models of state responses to diversity	32
Major phases in ethnic diversity since the late nineteenth century	34
Implications of the changing context and nature of ethnic diversity	38
The extent of international population flows	39
Local responses to migration	45
Government responses to migration and settlement	46
Conclusion: key challenges confronting policy-makers	49
References	63
Chapter 2. For better or worse: the impact of education on societies facing diversity, <i>C.J. Daswani</i>	65
Introduction	65
Attitudes towards diversity	66
Dealing with diversity	68
Religion and human rights	72
Diversity in a changing world	73
Current concern with diversity	75
Diversity and education: the Indian experience	77
References	82
Part II: Panel – organizational strategies for coping with diversity: three ‘ideal’ types	85
Chapter 1. The multicultural model: the case of Canada <i>Charles S. Ungerleider</i>	87
Canada’s unique course	87
Objectives of Canada’s multicultural policy	88
Educational institutions play a vital role	88

	The organizational and policy context	89
	The curricular context	91
	The pedagogical context	96
	Challenges to Canada's vision of a pluralistic, multi-nation state	100
	Minority language and bilingual education	101
	Unfinished business	112
	References	119
Chapter 2.	The multicultural model: the case of Mexico, <i>Sylvia Schmelkes</i>	127
	Introduction	127
	Education: diagnosis	128
	Recent developments	132
	Educational policy regarding intercultural bilingual education: the initial definitions towards an integrated model	134
	Tensions, dilemmas, questions	140
	References	144
Chapter 3.	The integration model: the case of France, <i>Jean-Pierre Obin</i>	145
	Introduction	145
	The meaning of the words: multiple views on immigration	146
	The French school: a school that is more 'national' than 'republican'	153
	A school model in trouble	160
	References	165
Chapter 4.	The parallel model: the case of Cameroon, <i>Maurice Tchunte</i>	167
	Acknowledgements	167
	Abstract	168
	Introduction	168
	Cameroon in its diversity	169
	Management of the diversity	172
	Conclusion	178
	References	181
	Part III: Changing contexts – emerging challenges to educational planning	183
Chapter 1.	The view from above (filling the screen): the (dual) impact of global media, <i>Wadi D. Haddad</i>	185
	Setting the stage	185
	Impact of new media and information technologies	186

	How successful can global media be?	190
	From potential to effectiveness	197
	Conclusion	200
Chapter 2.	The view from below (setting the tone): migrants with mindsets, <i>Audrey Osler</i>	203
	Abstract	203
	Introduction	204
	Globalization, diversity and citizenship education	206
	Exclusion, teacher expectations and minorities	210
	Differential achievement: the case of England	213
	Schools and violence	214
	Democratic practice, policy and research	221
	Conclusion	223
	References	224
Part IV: Where can planners make a difference?		231
Chapter 1.	Payload and accessories: the content of education, <i>Cecilia Braslavsky</i>	233
	Introduction	233
	Some trends in cultural and socio-economic development and the need for multi-ethnic and multicultural contents	235
	Heterogeneous reasons for curriculum change and isomorphic results	239
	Pillars of 'glocal' curricula for inter-ethnic and multicultural education	242
	Cross-cutting issues and methodologies	255
	Ownership	256
	Final remarks	258
	References	259
Chapter 2.	Split tongues or lingua franca: language, identity and achievement, <i>Mamadou Ndoye</i>	265
	Introduction	265
	Effects of the colonial ideology: alienation and the search for identity	266
	Post-colonial linguistic policies	269
	Educational experiences with a strategy of bilingualism	270
	Obstacles and risks	274
	References	277
Chapter 3.	The training of teachers for cultural diversity and social justice, <i>Anne Hickling-Hudson</i>	279
	Introduction: the ethnocentric curriculum and the challenge of intercultural teaching	279

	Course content: life histories and the student teacher	283
	Designing the overall programme to promote a critical study of education in social context	289
	Training the trainers – the intercultural research degree	295
	Partnerships – with government, schools and community	298
	Conclusion: taking a postcolonial turn	301
	References	303
Chapter 4.	Maps and blueprints: the social organization of schools, <i>Henry M. Levin and Clive R. Belfield</i>	307
	Abstract	307
	Introduction	308
	Criteria for evaluating education reform	311
	Peer groups and diversity	317
	Conclusion	332
	References	333
	Part V: Conclusions: learning to plan together	339
Chapter 1.	Diversity and the politics of knowledge, <i>Hans N. Weiler</i>	341
	References	344
Chapter 2.	Panel intervention, <i>Jacques Hallak</i>	345
	Introduction	345
	The approach	345
	The field	346
	The problem	347
	Action strategies and perspectives	348
Chapter 3.	Learning to plan together: from diversity to unity in the South African context, <i>Teboho Moja</i>	349
	Introduction	349
	Racial integration in education	351
	Language policy	352
	Policy on religion education	353
	Curriculum transformation	354
	References	355
Chapter 4.	Panel intervention, <i>Faïza Kefi</i>	357
	Appendices	363
	Appendix 1. Programme	365
	Appendix 2. List of participants	369

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFN	Assembly of First Nations
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BTS	Brevet de Technicien Supérieur
CNN	Cable News Network
COPPIP	Conferencia Permanente de los Pueblos Indígenas
CRC	The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989
DFID	Department for International Development
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
HND	Higher National Diploma
HP	Hewlett Packard
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ICT	Information and communication technologies
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
LEA	Local Education Authorities
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NLSCY	National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education

QPASTT	Queensland Programme of Assistance to Survivors of Torture and Trauma Inc.
QUT	Queensland University of Technology
RCN	Red Continental de Noticias (radio station in Bogotá)
SAP	Structural adjustment programme
SES	Socio-economic status
SEVEC	Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
VITA	Volunteers in Technical Assistance
VSAT	Very Small Aperture Terminal (satellite)
WTO	World Trade Organization

LIST OF TABLES, CHARTS AND EXAMPLES

Part I

- Table 1.1 Minimum number of countries of origin which represent a cumulative 25% and 50% of the total inflows of foreigners, 1990 and 1999
- Chart 1.1 Changes in inflows of migrants by country of origin to selected OECD countries, 1990-1998 and 1999
- Chart 1.2 Population of concern to UNHCR by category, 2001
- Chart 1.3 Population of concern to UNHCR by United Nations major area, 2001

Part II

- Table 1.1 Background characteristics associated with support for choice of language of instruction in Quebec
- Table 1.2 Percentage correct and percentage in agreement with provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms for British Columbia secondary school students by country of birth ($N = 3129$), first language spoken ($N = 3101$), language spoken at home ($N = 3099$), and ethno-cultural group identification ($N = 2909$)

Part III

- Example 1.1 It brings connectivity to North America's native populations

Example 1.2 Children's television in Macedonia for violence prevention

Example 1.3 The Asháninka community in Peru

Example 1.4 A television mini-series for teaching values in Bogotá

Example 1.5 Bringing Mayan language and culture across the digital divide

Example 1.6 Suitcase FM radio station

Part IV

Table 1.1 Motives for curriculum change in a comparative perspective (by 2001)

Table 1.2 Total amount of hours and average percentage of time devoted to options, elective subjects or school-designated time in years 1-9

Table 1.3 Time allocated to religious education (first nine years of formal education)

Table 1.4 Total amount of hours and average percentage of time devoted to the teaching of history (or social studies including history) in years 1-9

Table 2.1 Pass rates on entrance examinations for the fifth primary year in Mali

Table 2.2 Test results in Niger

Table 2.3 Indicators of internal output and the cost of traditional and bilingual schooling in Burkina Faso

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Educational planning in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies

In June 2003, IIEP organized its annual Policy Forum, this year to discuss the impact of increasingly multi-ethnic and multicultural societies on education in general and the implications for educational planning in particular.

At the turn of the millennium, the great majority of countries worldwide can be characterized as multi-ethnic or multicultural societies. Countries are either multi-ethnic because their societies are naturally composed of different ethnic groups (majority and minority groups, including indigenous populations), or because they have experienced long-standing migration. More recently, in the context of globalization and regional integration, the world has seen an acceleration of migration, both voluntary and forced. Among the voluntary are labour migration and subsequent family reunification.

Education systems within any country have been planned and constructed to forge identities and foster loyalties, but schools also have the potential of either easing or exacerbating ethnic conflict through the way it is organized and delivered to different ethnic groups. The school is where life chances are distributed – often unequally – and thus may either favour or hamper social mobility of different ethnic groups. The school is also the place where ‘socially constructed’ attitudes towards other ethnic groups may be either formed or reassessed and its functioning thus determines the rules of ethnic interaction.

This is why the Policy Forum explored three different models of organizing education systems for addressing ethnic and cultural diversity in terms of their intellectual roots and philosophy, as well as their principles of organization and implementation: (a) the *integration* model whereby students are enrolled in the same universal system and where individual merit decides personal future; (b) the *multicultural* model whereby diverse groups – both migrant and indigenous – cultivate differences within the same unitary system in terms of language of instruction and ethnically sensitive content; and (c) the *parallel* model whereby different segments of the school system are designed to cater to different linguistic or ethnic groups.

There are three particular areas where policy-makers and educational planners can make a difference in the context of multi-ethnicity. They relate to educational content, language policy and teacher training.

With regard to educational content, the Policy Forum discussed whether there should be a single universal set of content for all students, or if there is room for specificity of content relating to the various ethnic groups. Also, content may be constructed and taught in such a manner that it is both comprehensive to diverse cultures and a challenge to common stereotypes. Curriculum may be constructed through a centrally steered process that involves consultations with both communities and stakeholders to various degrees.

The status of languages of instruction, which may be the same as the official or one of the minority languages, or both (bilingual education) was also examined. Decisions are usually taken on broad political grounds, but they affect both the learning and achievement of students and thus have an impact on the equality of educational opportunity as well as for equity on the labour market.

Different approaches of teacher education and training were also presented. Teachers need to be qualified and sensitized to cultural diversity and different learning styles. In other words, they need to be prepared for teaching in an environment that is very different from the one in which they themselves went to school, and one that is continually adapting to the changing demography. Teachers need to be enabled to cope with cultural diversity and prepared for the leading role of mediation that they will often have to play in a situation of potential conflict and interaction between students.

Finally, outside the classroom, schools are implanted in a specific local, cultural and national environment. Educational planners may have an impact on the social, ethnic and cultural composition of schools through policies relating to school choice and funding schemes such as formula-funding (targeting ethnic groups).

This forum provided the opportunity to open up a dialogue between national policy-makers and academic experts on multicultural education from both developing and industrialized countries and brought out enriching experiences for a better communication between both worlds in the interest of education systems.

INTRODUCTION

Gudmund Hernes

Humans thrive on differences – on everything from dissimilarity between men and women to varieties of foods, from range of architectural styles to the multiplicity of musical expressions. Yet differences are not only a source of appreciation, but also of discrimination; not just causes of delight and enjoyment, but also of clash and conflict.

Take the following two stories as expressions of these divergent modes of reaction to differences between social groups, which can be manifest in many ways, from language to skin colour. The first is taken from The Old Testament and describes the aftermath of an armed conflict. The Gileadites defeated the Ephraimites who were forced across the rapids of the river Jordan. In the Book Judges (12: 5–6) the ensuing destiny of the fugitives is described thus:

5: And the Gileadites took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites: and it was so, that when those Ephraimites which were escaped said, Let me go over; that the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay;

6: Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth: and he said Sibboleth: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him, and slew him at the passages of Jordan: and there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand.

Since then a shibboleth is taken to mean a word, a phrase, a usage or a custom that can be used to distinguish people into different groups, classes or cultures, into insiders or outsiders.

The other story is about the Parsis, the followers of the prophet Zarathustra. When they were prosecuted in their homeland Persia a millennium ago, they set sail for the shores of India to preserve their identity, religion and culture. A few boatloads of them landed at Sanjan, some 100 kilometres north of present-day Mumbai, and has since then been a group set apart from their surrounding groups. According to the legend, on learning of their arrival a Hindu ruler sent them a bowl full of milk to let them know that there was no room for them. The Parsis, however, returned the milk, but with a golden ring in it to suggest that they would enrich their land of adoption without disturbing it.

These ancient stories in many ways condense both the predicaments and challenges of modern societies as well. For modern societies are societies with multiple identities. They can be based on race or religion, on ethnicity or nationality, on language or locality. They can have emerged from old-established indigenous peoples redefining their past and present, and resurrecting languages that are different from the national, such as the Sami people of Norway or the Basques in France. Or they can have emerged from the legion newcomers who have created new minorities within old national boundaries - newcomers that bring not just their labour power and skills, but also their mindsets and self-perceptions which may differ from those of their country of adoption, and for which they demand space - rather than being absorbed in the great melting pot.

Sometimes the mingling of identities makes for enrichment and added variety. Globalization and the concurrent migration can free people from the tyranny of geography and enrich societies in many

ways; perhaps this is illustrated most simply in the many different 'ethnic foods' that can be found in capitals around the world – Chilean wine, Italian pasta, Japanese sushi, Indian curry, Chinese sweet-and-sour chicken, Mexican enchiladas, Lebanese mezze – or in other cultural expressions, such as Thai boxing, Argentinian tango, Indian yoga, Chinese Qi Gong exercises. These are just a few examples of how cross-fertilization can revitalize cultures from within and without, and at the same time illustrate that cultures are not just cut in stone, but rather like basins that can be supplied and changed from many sources.

Yet at the same time integrating the new elements or their human carriers is also troublesome – and sometimes old tensions may flare with unexpected explosiveness, as seen in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Societies with multiple identities may have overlapping and partly conflicting subdivisions – and the import of new identities may question or enhance the validity of old, as when the freedom of religious expression for Muslims, and the carrying of scarves, may trigger new discussions on gender identity and equality or even of the implications of citizenship – i.e. the mix of rights, obligations and protection from the state.

The arenas where the issues of identity and diversity are first faced, are generally schools. Education is a universal right and is provided in some form or another by all states, but how it is to be done – when groups are mixed and identities multiple – has no single answer.

It is an interesting historical fact that education systems to no small extent became a state responsibility when states engaged themselves in broad political programmes to remake themselves into homogenous entities with citizens with a shared past – often based on a history constructed on dramatic and defining events, such as

great victories, and often with a shared language that did not exist as a standardized body but had to be created as well. Similarly, many states tried to impose a religious homogeneity, sometimes achieved by forced conversions or evictions. The common denominator for such endeavours was often nation-building.

The nation state – as an organizing principle for citizenship, belonging and identity – is a relatively recent phenomenon in human history (just a few hundred years old), yet a very successful one. The paramount international organization is called the ‘United Nations’. Individual states are its members – their number has been steadily increasing.

Within all states, education systems have been planned and constructed to forge identities and foster loyalties. But schools have also become a battleground for groups with divergent aspirations or conflicting ambitions. Over recent years, the potential for such discords and clashes has intensified within the context of newly affirmed or ‘reconstructed’ ethnic identities. First, new boundaries have not obliterated old conflicts. Both the fall of communism and the dissolution of older states, not only within the former Soviet Union, but also in Yugoslavia, have resulted in an eruption of wars based on nationalist, ethnic and cultural claims for self-determination.

Second, in the developing world, new states have faced internal tensions that have often flared up as violent conflicts because of borders established by colonial powers crossed with older tribal, ethnic, linguistic and religious boundaries. The notion, and sometimes illusion, underlying the formation of European nation states – i.e. that the existence of common schools is a unifying driving force – has not always been realized in former colonies either. Hence, ethnically and culturally generated loyalties have been mobilized in support of conflicting territorial claims. Most developing countries

in Africa as well as in south and south-east Asia are constantly confronted with challenges of ethnic and cultural diversity.

Third, many countries that have only recently been formed are fully engaged by the double challenge of building a nation, whilst preventing potential ethnic conflicts. Consequently, they must strike a balance between the acceptance of distinctive cultural expressions of particularities, and the establishment of an integrative common framework of values, symbols and objectives for development.

In 1983, minority opposition groups in as many as forty-one states gave way to violence, whereas in 1996 this number increased to seventy-four violent political conflicts of ethnic origin. Indeed, the great majority of the current major armed conflicts take place within, and not between, countries.

Globalization itself has a prominent demographic aspect: People are on the move as never before in human history. The number of those living outside their country of birth has jumped from 70 million thirty years ago to 185 million today – not just opening opportunities for self-realization, but also often resulting in social tensions, political stress and strong feelings. Certain countries, which had originally been founded as immigrant societies, now witness a reversal of the general trend towards desegregation.

Hence it is sometimes claimed that the nation state, with a homogenous population that corresponds to a territorial unit, is becoming more of an exception than a rule. Others express the fear that both new and old multi-ethnic and multicultural societies do not necessarily develop into a melting pot, but may instead generate friction and heat that can turn into a social meltdown. In this context, education is seen both as a remedy and an institution for training

people how to live together. Yet it is also a policy area of contention, itself generating conflicts.

However, it is important not to address this new diversity solely as a problem, difficulty or trouble. Cultural diversity can also amplify the appreciation of human variation and increase possibilities for both cultural enrichment and creativity, as is illustrated in the culinary example given above. Whatever the underlying rationale, no country whose policies are now challenged, either by groups with a long indigenous history or by recent migrants, can avoid dealing with this issue within its educational system, whether by default or by design.

The acuteness of this challenge, combined with the actuality of new opportunities, is the reason for which the International Institute for Educational Planning chose to celebrate its 40th Anniversary by organizing a Policy Forum on 'Planning for diversity: education in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies'. The proceedings of this Policy Forum are presented in this volume.

The first part set out to paint the general picture. What trends, tendencies and forces are at work? What is the population dynamic of globalization? What determines the ethnic composition and cultural diversity of countries worldwide? How do demographic changes alter public sentiments and ideologies, and what are their effects? How do institutional arrangements – such as the relative weight of market-generated income, as compared to publicly provided welfare benefits – affect reactions to newcomers?

The second session explored the potential effects of education systems on ethnic relations and cultural diversity. Do education systems help people live together peacefully, or do they as often exacerbate conflicts? How do the broad international frameworks for human rights in general harmonize with the specific rights of the

ethnic minorities or religious groups? What conflicts may arise between the entitlement of minorities to self-determination and the right of states to organize their particular education system and demand equal allegiance from the citizens it protects? How are the rights of groups to be balanced against the rights of individuals? According to the United Nations Charter “all peoples have the right to self-determination” – but the term ‘peoples’ is still left undefined.

The third topic for the Policy Forum was how to address ethnic and cultural diversity. Three models were presented and explored in terms of their intellectual roots and philosophy, as well as the principles of organization and implementation. These general models were illustrated in concrete terms by the following cases: (a) the *integrative* model by which students are enrolled in the same universal system and where individual merit decides personal prospects – France provides a case in point; (b) the *multicultural* model by which diverse groups – both migrant and indigenous – cultivate differences within the same unitary system in terms of language of instruction and ethnically sensitive content – Canada and Mexico would be examples; and (c) the *parallel* model by which different segments of the school system are designed to cater to different linguistic or ethnic groups – Cameroon would be a case in point. The specific merits of these systems, the problems they face and the tensions they generate were addressed.

Whatever the organization of the education system, a number of specific prominent structural challenges are to be addressed within the contemporary global/national environment – and they must constantly be dealt with by educational policy-makers and planners.

At the international level, new media with a global reach have changed the world of the young – but in contradictory ways. On the one hand, an international youth culture with common elements cuts

across all boundaries (e.g. Hollywood movies, MTV, Nintendo games, etc.). Moreover, norms for educational delivery and quality are also increasingly standardized and international. This is partly based on international agreements, such as the Bologna process, but also more informally by emulation, illustrated by the open MIT courseware initiative, which makes the comparison of educational content possible. Common educational norms are also promulgated by international research, (e.g. PISA studies) which not only highlight contrasts, but also sometimes render differences in achievements politically painful.

On the other hand, new media technologies, through satellites and cable networks, also mean that different ethnic and cultural groups can stay in touch with their language or country of origin. And any group can watch home movies by way of videos or DVDs, or through access to home Internet web sites and thus so to speak reside within its own 'home' culture and environment even though living abroad.

In short, identity – both when it is exposed to homogenizing and diversifying influences – is increasingly mediated and conditioned by mass-communications technology.

Yet migrants, of course, also live in communities. At the local level, they bring their own mindset with them when they move abroad – a mindset that may differ considerably from what is usually observed among the majority of students. Yet their ways of thinking and their modes of behaviour interact with the local culture in which they are embedded, and may even alter the local value systems of schools and around schools. Educational planners who operate at the micro-level have to take such changes, indeed the general fluidity and also possible conflicts, into account when designing policies and planning procedures.

The first half of the Policy Forum, therefore, focused on what is happening at the global, education-system and school levels, what has been attempted and achieved in terms of policy, as well as what must be addressed in the future. The second half examined different tools at the disposal of educational policy-makers and planners in dealing with issues of multi-ethnicity, multiculturalism and multiple identities, examining both what may work and what can be done.

It follows from the duality of the perspective presented initially that diversity cannot and should not be addressed just as problems, difficulties and troubles – diversity also makes for an enhanced sense of identity, amplified appreciation of human variation and expanded possibilities for cultural combinatorics and creativity.

One of the most important issues to be addressed by policy-makers and planners in a multi-ethnic and multicultural context is that of educational content. A key question is whether there should be a single universal roster of content for all students, or if there is room for specificity of content tailored to the various ethnic groups within a school. Moreover, content may be constructed and taught to simultaneously embrace diverse cultures and yet challenge common stereotypes. Curriculum may be designed through centrally steered – yet on a consulting basis – community groups and stakeholders, or it may be delegated to local authorities and schools under general guidelines. What is done and what works?

A second aspect examined was the status of languages of instruction. What are the relative merits of immersing minorities in the majority language as compared to teaching it as a second language? Decisions on such issues are usually taken on broad political grounds, but they affect both the learning possibilities and achievement levels of students. Hence they have an impact on equality of educational

opportunity, equity in the labour market and cultural diversity and identity.

The third instrument for policy-making is teacher education and training. How are teachers trained (or re-trained), to what extent and in what way are they sensitized to cultural diversity and different learning styles? In other words, how can teachers be prepared for teaching in an environment that is very different from the one in which they themselves were educated? More than that, for an environment that is continually being modified by the changing demography? What types of alternative content and training methods are most appropriate for teachers to cope with cultural diversity and to prepare them for the leading role in mediation between cultures that they often have to play in situations that may also have the potential for conflict but also collaboration and intermingling between students?

Finally, educational planners have to look outside the classroom, at the broader local, cultural and national environment in which schools are lodged. In other words, how they can affect the acquisition of knowledge, attitudes and skills by their impact on the social organization of schools. For example, how can they affect the social, ethnic and cultural composition of students? How can the parents' choice of schools for their children be influenced? How can funding schemes such as formula-funding (targeting ethnic groups) affect the recruitment from different ethnic groups? How can schools bring parents and the local community into the act?

The final session at the Policy Forum attempted a synthesis of the different topics, under the heading: 'Learning to plan together'. It was facilitated by widely experienced educational planners with a close association to IIEP: two former directors (Hans Weiler and Jacques Hallak) and one former trainee who has also served as a

Minister of Education (Ambassador Zeineb Faïza Kefi). They placed the general discussion in a broader perspective (such as cultures of knowledge), more directly in relation to current issues in educational planning.

The twin focuses of the Policy Forum were the problems and possibilities posed for educational planning, management and policy-making by countries that at the same time are becoming more alike through globalization and modern mass media, yet more internally diverse and complex by migration and relocation. It is our hope that the papers presented and the perspectives discussed will provide constructive inputs for the many concrete decisions that all UNESCO's Member States increasingly face, overlapping and contrasting identities of ethnicity, religion, origin and citizenship – all to be forged into personal destiny and social history.

PART I
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION: OPENING
STATEMENTS

CHAPTER 1. THE CHANGING MAP: FROM NATION STATES TO MULTI-ETHNIC AND MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES

Christine Inglis

Introduction

The emergence over the last one and a half centuries of mass education systems, often based on compulsory schooling and state support, has coincided with major political, economic and social changes. It has also coincided with major changes in the ethnic diversity of societies linked to shifting national boundaries as well as extensive international migration. The interrelationships between these changes are complex but must be addressed since educational policy-makers are continually confronted by calls to align educational objectives and outcomes with domestic political, economic and social objectives.

This chapter outlines the changing patterns and dynamics of ethnic diversity over the last century with particular emphasis on the significant contribution of migration to the growth of multi-ethnic populations. This demographic diversity is what is often meant when describing states as ‘multicultural’. Ethnic diversity is not, in itself, a modern phenomenon. The historically varied policy responses of states and governments to ethnic diversity reflect normative and ideological views about the nature of the state and ways of maintaining social stability and avoiding social conflict. These responses provide the context and framework for the development of specific educational policies and programmes. Three models of

government responses to ethnic diversity are described before sketching major phases in changing migration and policy responses since the 19th century: the years before the Second World War, the post-Second World War period and developments since the mid-1970s. Often described as the Age of Migration, developments in this last phase are increasingly calling into question established policy responses to diversity.

Three models of state responses to diversity

The most extreme response by states to ethnic minorities is to exclude them physically (as well as socially) from the state, as occurs with policies of repatriation, ethnic cleansing and apartheid. Given the ethical and practical limitations of such responses, most states and societies adopt mechanisms for coexisting with, and incorporating, ethnic minorities. Despite the influence of diverse socio-historical patterns of inter-ethnic contact and relations, three broad models exist: assimilationism, differentialism and multiculturalism.¹

The normative underpinning of ‘assimilationism’ is that the minority individuals should merge or ‘disappear’ into the majority society. Given this ideological statement, which also implicitly assumes that assimilation will occur, not least because of the presumed superior benefits of the existing society, specific policies catering for the needs of the minority are rare and confined to the early stages of settlement. Indeed, the universalist principles often underlying this ideology deny that special provisions should be made for particular groups. This model has been favoured by nation states constructed on the basis of a dominant ethnic group or ‘nation’, and

1. For a more detailed discussion of each model and its related descriptive–demographic, policy–programmatic and ideological–normative features, see Inglis (1996).

states based on extensive immigration such as the United States and Australia.

'Differentialism', in contrast, starts from the assumption that social conflict is best avoided by allowing the diverse ethnic minorities to maintain their social and cultural practices while participating in the larger society. The state's policy response is typically passive toleration of the difference as it does not become involved in supporting the diverse and parallel institutional structures developed by the minority to maintain themselves and their culture. However, the state's 'neutrality' disappears when it perceives a need to 'control' behaviours viewed as threatening the state's viability or existence. These may range from criminal activities to educational curriculum or teacher recruitment. Differentialism characterized multi-ethnic empires such as the Roman or Austro-Hungarian. It was also a response favoured by the British and Dutch colonial administrators in South-East Asia concerned with economic gains for their country. Differentialism fits well with situations where the financial and other resources to support more active state involvement are limited.

The third model of 'multiculturalism' differs from both the preceding models since it is predicated on the need for state support of ethnic diversity. This may involve allocation of specifically targeted resources and institutional reform reflecting the view that diversity is a legitimate part of society. Going further, the normative model accepts that maintenance of cultural practices and values should not cause the marginalization and exclusion of the minority groups from full participation in the society. This policy response with its ideological view that diversity is an asset and benefit to society has only emerged in recent times and has close links to the existence of activist states with a social-welfare orientation.

These three models have the limitations associated with all efforts to categorize and construct ideal typologies. Within society, different levels or sectors of government may adopt different approaches reflecting the different timing in their responses to ethnic diversity. The actual policy responses will also be extensively influenced by historical context and contemporary experience. That said, these three models, especially in their normative-ideological form, play an important role in defining popular, as well as political, discourse within societies and states. The following examination of recent phases in patterns of inter-ethnic contact illustrates some of this complexity.

Major phases in ethnic diversity since the late nineteenth century

■ Reconfiguring ethnic diversity before the Second World War

The century prior to the Second World War was characterized by major changes in the patterns of ethnic diversity in states. The changing political boundaries of states with the consolidation of European nation states and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires resulted in changing ethnic populations within the new states. Elsewhere, migration contributed to ethnic diversity as millions left Europe to settle in the new nations being created in the Americas and Australasia. Extensive Asian emigration from China and India was directed to these areas as well as to the European colonies in Asia and Africa. Patterns of ethnic diversity also became more complex as colonial administrations brought together previously autonomous societies and states. British India and the Netherlands East Indies each brought into the one society and state many hundreds of different linguistic groups.

In this phase, assimilationism was the major model adopted by the emerging nation states in Europe and the new world. Its emphasis

on minorities acquiring the culture of the new society fitted with the nation builders' emphasis on the superiority of their nation's culture and society. By contrast, in the colonies in Asia and Africa, colonial administrations relied extensively on indigenous elites and were more committed to profiting financially from the colonies than investing in social and educational change. In these circumstances, differentialism was the model most frequently adopted. The colonial administrator, Furnivall's description of the plural society as one where ethnic groups only encountered each other in the market place illustrates well the extent to which differentialism operated in many colonies (Furnivall, 1948).

■ **Changing patterns of ethnic diversity after the Second World War**

Political changes in Europe and the former colonies were major factors affecting ethnic diversity and relations after the Second World War. In Europe, substantial migration was associated with border and regime change. There was also continuing emigration to various parts of the 'new' world as individuals sought to escape wartime devastation. With the recovery of the European economies the major industrial countries of Western Europe sought to increase their labour force through migration from the less developed regions of Europe and former colonies. Colonial emigration was also linked to the gaining of independence by former colonies. By 1984, 85 former colonies had gained their independence and had become involved in the process of nation building which often involved them in directly confronting the issue of ethnic diversity as they sought to incorporate diverse, long-established ethnic groups as well as more recent immigrants who had followed the colonial administrations.

Especially in the former colonies, efforts to construct nations out of diverse ethnic groups were often associated with the identification of core dimensions of a new national culture, ideology

and language which all ethnic groups were expected to adopt in a process of assimilation. In Indonesia, this involved promulgating the principles of Pancha Sila and the construction of a new national language, Bahasa Indonesia. Sometimes in the interests of nation building, assimilation was enforced with bans placed on the use of ethnic minority languages in the public sphere. As former colonies moved to favour policies of assimilation, in Europe, countries such as Germany developed differentialist policy models to guide relations with the ethnic minority labour migrants. Underlying this response was a concern to ensure that the migrants, and their children, could be repatriated when their labour was no longer required.

■ The age of migration

Political and economic changes in the last quarter of the twentieth century have been widely identified as producing a 'sea change' in the nature of international migration and patterns of inter-ethnic relations (Castles and Miller, 1993; Kritz *et al.*, 1992; Stahl *et al.*, 1993). To describe the world as being 'on the move' is certainly more accurate than at any earlier period of history. Prior to describing the major features of these trends it is important to consider the role of political developments and globalization on them.

Regime and political change

Political change resulting from the break up of the Soviet empire and the end of Russian influence in Eastern Europe has created significant flows of ethnic minority populations in Europe and central Asia. The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia highlights the impact of contested efforts to create new states on both internal ethnic relations and the creation of international refugee flows. At the same time, the end of the Cold War and the declining super-power interest in controlling client regimes in Africa, Asia and elsewhere has led to often bloody conflicts resulting from attempts at regime change,

especially in situations where the colonial legacy of ethnic diversity was not satisfactorily resolved. Even where, as in South Africa or Hong Kong, a change in political regime has occurred relatively peacefully, there has been a significant emigration of highly skilled, wealthy individuals. Other political processes, which have resulted in increasing opportunities for migration, involve the establishment of supranational entities such as the European Union. The events of 11 September 2001 and the promulgation of a 'war against terrorism' have introduced different political processes. Most significant from the perspective of inter-ethnic relations is the impact of these events on ethnic groups linked in public discourse to terrorist groups.

*Globalization and increasing international
inter-connectedness and interdependence*

Since the 1970s and 1980s the term 'globalization' has been used to describe the effects of major political and economic changes, combined with technological innovation, in a manner seen as increasing international interconnectedness and interdependence. The impact of globalization is felt not only in major financial centres but, also, in geographically remote regions of the world previously insulated from major international developments. Globalization involves change in three key areas: economic, cultural and political. Economic changes include economic growth outside Europe and North America following the oil crisis of the mid-1970s. The resultant demand for labour in countries in the Middle East, Japan and newly industrialized economies in Asia and elsewhere has led to extensive labour migration. At the same time, industrial restructuring in European and other countries shifting from labour-intensive to service- and capital-intensive economies has created increased demand for skilled labour to staff these new industries. A somewhat different effect is associated with the growing economic strength of regions such as Scotland, Northern Italy or Aceh in Indonesia, which

has helped demands to regain or increase their autonomous identities. The economic impact of globalization thus extends from migration flows to inter-ethnic relations.

Cultural changes linked to globalization relate to technical innovation and its contribution to increasing opportunities for international travel by reducing its length and costs as well as increasing the coverage of media and cultural forms. One dimension of the protests against globalization is the perception that it involves the expansion of a homogenous world culture linked to the economic dominance of a country such as the United States. However, there are counter trends since technological innovations now also provide options for local cultures to be promoted even among widely scattered, indigenous populations. At the same time, the expansion of the Internet and mobile phones allows individual migrants to retain contact with kin and home communities around the globe. One effect of these developments is to facilitate the flow of cultural patterns and social relations beyond state borders.

Political changes associated with the growth of transnational corporations, supranational political groupings and the maintenance of individual cross-border networks are widely seen as further problematizing the ability of states to control key institutions involved in managing multi-ethnic societies such as citizenship, welfare rights and liberal democracy. Although the decline of state power may be overstated, these changes associated with globalization certainly render the task facing policy-makers far more complex.

Implications of the changing context and nature of ethnic diversity

Globalization has been variously seen as contributing to social and economic advancement or as the basis for exploitation and subjugation. The complexity of phenomena embraced by the term

'globalization' precludes such simple judgements. From the perspective of ethnic diversity and inter-ethnic relations the outcomes are often conflicting. The older assumed nexus between the ideological nation, the political state, the social community and physical territory is problematic, if not irreparably broken. State and individual views about the desirability of freedom of international movement coexist with concerns for greater control of the movement of those deemed to be potentially 'undesirable'. In many countries which have undergone extensive economic restructuring involving the displacement of workers from declining industries and regions, political movements support new forms of racism targeting ethnic minorities. France, Austria and Australia are examples of countries where such groupings have gained substantial electoral support. Such movements can create a sense of alienation and dislocation among ethnic minorities. Especially where cultural differences coexist with material disadvantage, they provide a fertile ground for the development of ethno-nationalist movements, sometimes with a religious dimension. Even in societies where ethnic minority alienation is less evident, the participation of minority individuals in diasporic networks of kin and communities can produce tension especially when membership in the nation state is couched in highly exclusive, assimilationist terms.

The extent of international population flows

While the actual or relative size of ethnic minority populations is not the sole factor affecting relations between groups, it is a very important dimension, especially where there has been substantial migration. Historical information on the extent of immigration is problematic but so too are precise figures on the extent of contemporary international migration. Definitions vary of who should be counted, and states have varying levels of interest and

effectiveness in collecting data which include permanent and temporary, legal and illegal residents. The most complete set of comparable data is collected by the OECD group of 30 industrialized countries which have a particular interest in migration because of its ability to address labour market shortages, and also because their relative wealth acts as a magnet for migrants from poorer countries. Between 1980 and 1999 OECD data shows that virtually all OECD countries experienced substantial increases in the inflows of migrants although there were variations in the extent and characteristics of these flows (OECD, 2001: 18). By the end of the 1990s in the European economic area and Japan, 5.4 per cent and 1.3 per cent respectively of their populations were foreign nationals. Larger still, although not always able to be precisely documented, was the percentage of foreign-born in their populations. In the major countries of permanent immigration settlement (the United States, Canada and Australia) the percentage of foreign-born in their populations increased to 10.4 per cent, 17.4 per cent and 23.6 per cent respectively (OECD, 2003: 12).

Certain features distinguish the current international migration patterns from earlier movements and highlight the active role of states in attracting migrants.

- **The growth of permanent and temporary highly skilled labour migration**

In nations of immigrants, traditional forms of migration based on family reunification are increasingly being supplemented by economically linked migration, as countries concerned about labour market shortages (resulting from economic restructuring and demographic changes involving declining birth rates and rapidly ageing populations) use migration to address these shortages. Even countries not committed to permanent immigration are increasing

opportunities for the entry of temporary migrants to overcome shortages in their labour markets. While such schemes for agricultural and low-skilled labour are not new, what is a major innovation is the focus on attracting highly skilled workers in the health sector and other areas of short supply – such as information technology. Government policy changes to allow temporary workers to reside for periods in excess of one year and to bring their families with them are also being encouraged by multi-national companies wishing to import their own skilled workers and managers to work in their local branches. The frequency of long-term residence among temporary migrants increases the likelihood that workers will bring their immediate families, including children, with them. The growing willingness of states to allow their citizens to have dual or multiple nationality is also closely associated with government strategies to attract foreign workers and, at the same time, to maintain links with their own migrant populations.

These changes favouring growing numbers of temporary migrants are also evident in countries which traditionally emphasized the importance of permanent immigrant settlement. The extent of this change is evident in the way Australia, since the end of the 1990s, has been admitting more long-term temporary residents than permanent settlers. This is a major innovation for a country which, since the nineteenth century, eschewed temporary migration. The enabling changes in migration policy are part of an ongoing programme of economic restructuring designed to address the challenges posed by globalization: its inability to compete against manufacturing in low-wage countries in Asia and a desire to reduce its reliance on agricultural and mining exports.

■ **The growth of educational migration**

Another increasingly significant form of temporary migration involves international study. Originally viewed as a way of providing assistance to countries with limited educational resources and developing cultural and social links, educational programmes for international students have become important sources of foreign exchange as education becomes a commodity to be sold alongside tourism or goods. A growing number of countries are expanding their efforts to attract foreign students and, in some cases, also provide them with special opportunities to convert from temporary to permanent resident status at the end of their courses. There is widespread variation in the origins and destinations of international students. Five countries with levels of more than 110 per 1,000 local students are Australia, Switzerland, Austria, the United Kingdom and Luxembourg (OECD, 2001: 99). The attraction for students and their families, who pay substantial sums of money to study elsewhere, include the opportunities to overcome limited educational access in their countries of origin, to acquire qualifications with an international status, and fluency in a major international language.

■ **The diversification of migrant origins**

Not only are migrants growing in numbers and bringing with them higher levels of education and new skills, they are also coming from an increasingly diverse range of countries. Traditional patterns of migration between countries that are in geographical proximity, or linked by historical ties of empire and earlier migrations, are being complemented by new patterns of migration as people from Asia, Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Latin America, join the flows of international movements to European OECD countries, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. One illustration of this change is the increasing number of countries that provide

25 or 50 per cent of the immigrants in individual OECD countries (OECD, 2001: 33) (*Table 1.1*). At the same time the flows are dynamic and the importance of particular source countries changes over time (*Charts 1.1(a) to 1.1(r)*).

Table 1.1 Minimum number of countries of origin which represent a cumulative 25% and 50% of the total inflows of foreigners, 1990 and 1999

	1990		1999	
	25%	50%	25%	50%
Australia	2 (28.6)	6 (54.8)	2 (33.7)	5 (52.3)
Belgium	3 (29.7)	7 (51.6)	2 (34.4)	4 (50.6)
Canada	3 (27.2)	9 (53.3)	3 (29.4)	10 (51.8)
Denmark	5 (28.6)	11 (50.8)	4 (27.3)	10 (50.9)
Finland	1 (29.0)	5 (50.9)	1 (27.7)	5 (52.9)
France	2 (31.0)	6 (51.4)	2 (29.6)	9 (51.0)
Germany	2 (33.8)	5 (55.3)	3 (28.7)	9 (50.1)
Hungary	1 (79.5)	1 (79.5)	1 (39.9)	2 (51.2)
Italy			3 (32.3)	8 (52.3)
Japan	2 (35.6)	4 (59.2)	2 (41.3)	3 (50.6)
Luxembourg	1 (36.4)	3 (58.5)	2 (36.0)	4 (53.3)
Netherlands	2 (27.2)	6 (52.2)	5 (27.4)	+15
Norway	4 (30.3)	9 (52.2)	2 (34.0)	6 (52.8)
Portugal			3 (30.1)	6 (55.6)
Sweden	3 (29.9)	8 (51.1)	2 (25.8)	9 (50.7)
Switzerland	2 (35.2)	4 (53.5)	2 (27.6)	6 (51.6)
United Kingdom	2 (33.8)	6 (52.7)	2 (28.2)	6 (53.6)
United States	1 (44.2)	2 (51.7)	2 (25.5)	10 (51.3)

Note: numbers in brackets give the exact percentage of the number of countries indicated (cumulative flows as a per cent of total flows).

Again, globalization has played a part in the diversification. The search for suitable workers has encouraged governments to look beyond the traditional source countries. One of the best publicized examples was Germany's recent attempt to attract some 20,000 IT workers, the majority of them from India. The spread of global culture is also alerting individuals outside traditional source areas to the attractions and potential of new migration destinations at the very time that technological innovations are making international travel cheaper, quicker and easier. Innovations such as the mobile phone, Internet and e-mail facilitate ongoing communications with family and friends in the country of origin. This eases the pain and difficulties of physical separation and also extends significant links across national boundaries.

■ **Forced, refugee migration**

More important than globalization in precipitating the flows of refugees and asylum seekers are political conflicts within and across national borders. Natural disasters can also result in substantial refugee flows. The end of the Cold War and the growing lack of stability in international relations have been associated with major political change and upheavals in Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia since the 1980s. Although UNHCR estimates that the number of refugees between 1997 and 2001 fell by 38 per cent in comparison with the period 1992–1997 there is little room for complacency (UNHCR, 2002: 24). The population described as being 'of concern' to the UNHCR in 2001 was 21.8 million persons, of whom 12 million are refugees (UNHCR, 2002: 23), (see *Chart 1.2*). While the number of those designated as 'refugees' has been fairly stable between 1997 and 2001, the increase in reported asylum seekers has contributed to the growth of the population of concern to the UNHCR from 19.7 to 21.8 million.² The highly volatile nature of conflict situations can result in very rapid changes to these statistics which, for example,

2. This figure does not include Palestinians.

do not include the effects of more recent conflicts in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

As UNHCR notes, less-developed countries are both the major source *and* destination of refugees, asylum seekers and individuals displaced within their own countries. A key feature of refugee movements is that individuals are forced from their homes often at very short notice and in violent circumstances. The lack of predictability means that these flows are often much more difficult for policy-makers to prepare for than other forms of population movement. In 2001, Europe hosted 13 per cent fewer individuals of concern than in the previous year but, nevertheless, it was the second most significant host region after Asia and ahead of Africa at the end of the year (*Chart 1.3*).

Children are a substantial part of these flows. In 2001, 5.5 million (32.9 per cent) of the population of concern were school-age children, and another (11.6 per cent) were under 5 years old. The highest proportions of school-age children, varying between 37 and 39 per cent were in Africa and Central and South America. By contrast in Europe, North America and the Caribbean, children aged between 5 and 17 were less than 20 per cent of the populations of concern (UNHCR, 2002: 35).

Local responses to migration

Evidence of increasing ethnic diversity is most evident in major urban centres. Cities provide a wider range of economic opportunities, support services and an extensive range of life-style choices. They thus constitute an obvious residential destination for migrants as well as for members of long-established territorially based ethnic minorities. The reaction to the presence of ethnic diversity in a neighbourhood and city is often diverse.

Negative concerns by majority groups often focus on the competition that minorities represent for jobs, housing, access to public space, and even the time of teachers in school classrooms. Concerns can exist about the costs they impose on publicly funded welfare and social services. Vague, but nevertheless strongly held fears also are linked to stereotypes and concerns about the threat posed to national identity by the new forms of cultural diversity. The present climate of international fear about terrorism has led to an unfortunate heightening of fear as the 'others' or 'outsiders' are increasingly represented as a source of physical danger. It has also provided legitimacy to those who espouse unfounded allegations about the anti-social behaviour of individuals and groups.

More positive reactions by local populations, and especially the younger and better educated, focus on the increasing cosmopolitanism and wider cultural and social choices available in food, leisure and other areas of daily life. The advantages of migration identified by states and governments' contributions to meeting labour market shortages, stimulating consumption and economic growth and expanding international trade and diplomatic links – as well as overcoming the ageing of the population – may be intellectually appreciated by the general population but they have less impact on their day-to-day lives.

Government responses to migration and settlement

Government policies towards the settlement and incorporation of ethnically diverse populations have an important role to play in responses to ethnic diversity. They reflect and mould popular responses through both what they do, and do not do. Differentialist policy responses to ethnic diversity often developed in states and societies that did not wish to incorporate ethnic minorities on a long-term basis. The reality, as many European states discovered, was that the so-called temporary or guest workers, often did remain. While

such differentialist policies may provide a material basis for coexistence, they are limited in the extent to which they can engender attachment and loyalty among the ethnic minority, especially when they are marginalized or in the lower social strata. Recognition of this underlay the emphasis of many immigrant nations on assimilation policies. However, the most striking trend in government policies in this third phase is the extent to which they are retreating from strong versions of assimilation policy. In the strong version, the assumed inevitability (and desirability) of assimilation means that there is no need for any policy intervention to assist incorporation. Even efforts to provide language classes for adults and children are considered unnecessary. The earlier experience of countries such as Australia and Canada as they abandoned assimilationism are now being increasingly explored by states that have begun to recognize the limitations and barriers to successful incorporation involved in such assimilation policies.

Despite these difficulties, there is a growing state recognition that more rapid and, in the long run, less socially divisive incorporation can be achieved through pro-active policies to assist settlement and the realization of the goals of their migration programmes. Regardless of whether these new approaches will abandon assimilation as an ultimate objective, they are increasingly recognizing that assimilation is not easy for individuals without appropriate assistance and if there is continuing marginalization and disadvantage emanating from the larger society and its institutions.

Much of the focus in public debate about the social integration of ethnic minorities has revolved around issues of cultural expression and maintenance. While such a focus is understandable given the symbolic and expressive significance involved in particular forms of cultural expression including language and religion, it is important also to recognize the concerns for equity and social equality among members of ethnic minorities. Overcoming discrimination and

inequality are of major importance for them and their children. Individuals and groups unable to achieve equal participation in social life through society's regular institutional channels may well turn to alternative pathways and retreat into separatist groupings. An important element in the reform of policies catering for diversity must thus be to address questions of equity and social justice alongside those of cultural expression. In doing so, states are responding to the international instruments developed by bodies such as UNESCO to ensure individual rights to freedom of cultural, linguistic and religious expression.

Whether even a more supportive programmatic form of assimilation is adequate to achieve social cohesion and the various economic objectives of policy-makers in the contemporary world is open to question. It is, after all, based on assumptions about the non-problematic existence of a homogeneous nation state and society. However, as the discussion of temporary migration and globalization highlighted, the social, cultural and geographical boundaries of states are increasingly porous. Extensive tourism and short-term business travel is being supplemented by a growth in longer-term temporary migration. There is also no guarantee that permanent residents will remain in their country of residence. Economic, life-style and family considerations can all lead citizens – migrant and native-born – to emigrate. Partially in recognition of this trend is the adoption by governments of provisions allowing dual citizenship both for the native- and foreign-born. This legal expression of transnationalism draws attention to the other forms of transnational ties now being recognized: political, economic, cultural and familial. The increasing involvement of individuals in such transnationalist linkages has the potential to change their expectations of institutions, including education, in their present countries of residence.

Policy-makers are hence operating in a new international and national environment of ethnic diversity. The social expectations of

both ethnic minorities and majority populations are changing to reflect a greater desire to participate in the global, transnational world. These pressures are important drivers in the search for more adequate policy responses to diversity: multiculturalism is one effort to seek a new model. Criticisms of it are often based on interpreting it as another differentialist policy response to diversity. This ignores its agenda of not establishing parallel institutions but, rather, of reforming existing, unitary institutions to reflect the diversity in society. Although the effectiveness of such a response is unclear it certainly represents an effort to respond to the new challenges facing policy-makers.

Conclusion: key challenges confronting policy-makers

Given the attraction of international migration for both states and individuals, there is little likelihood of its imminent decline, although states seek to more actively control it. Educational planners are already aware of its effects on educational institutions. Teachers can no longer assume that all their students will be familiar with the language of instruction. They find students who bring with them a range of historical and cultural knowledge and practices not shared by children from the majority group. Many students also come with a range of personal experiences very different to that of children from the majority group. In the case of children from refugee or asylum-seeking families, these experiences all too often involve physical and psychological trauma. Both from the minority and majority groups there are calls for the teaching of languages other than the national language in the schools.

In developing policy responses, policy-makers will need to consider certain key questions concerning changing agendas among key stakeholders, the commitment to existing ideological-normative models and the availability of resources.

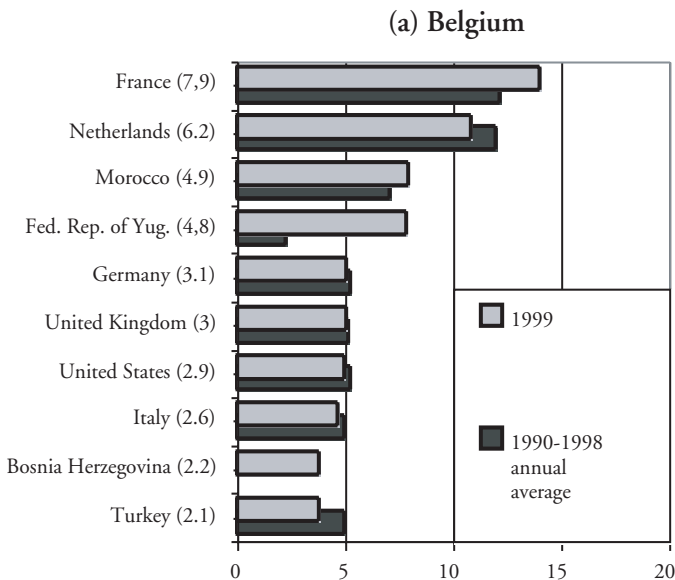
Key stakeholders include members of the ethnic minorities, service providers and grass-roots workers and the mainstream society. In the new environment it is necessary to ask whether the agendas of the less educated and articulate ethnic minorities remain the focus of more recent, better-educated and confident migrants with different cultural and social resources: What aspects of cultural maintenance do they emphasize? What is their assessment of material disadvantage and discrimination? How do these judgements affect their views on appropriate forms of incorporation and identity? In the case of service providers and grass-roots workers, how may they be redefining the needs of the minority and their own professional role? There is evidence that teachers, health workers and managers have been changing their practices and pragmatically innovating in response to their ethnic minority students, patients and workers. Often supporting such changes are new occupational philosophies emphasizing child-centred education, or the desirability of human resource development in the labour force. Finally, in the case of the general public, to what extent do increasing opportunities to encounter ethnic diversity in the media, on holidays and in their own neighbourhoods, lead to greater acceptance of diversity? Is diversity being linked to fears about physical and socio-economic security?

Any change in ideological–normative responses to ethnic diversity also has to be reviewed in relation to existing and often extremely powerful ideological models, as illustrated by the ongoing French debates about the acceptability of Muslim girls wearing headscarves in the secular state schools. Strongly expressed views about such principles can, however, coincide with innovation and shifts in actual practice by teachers and other key stakeholders, thereby increasing the potential for demonstrating that change may be less harmful than feared.

Ultimately, however, the effectiveness of any change in policy to respond to the changing extent and nature of ethnic diversity will depend on the allocation of adequate human and material resources. Without these, no model can be claimed to be implemented or actually evaluated.

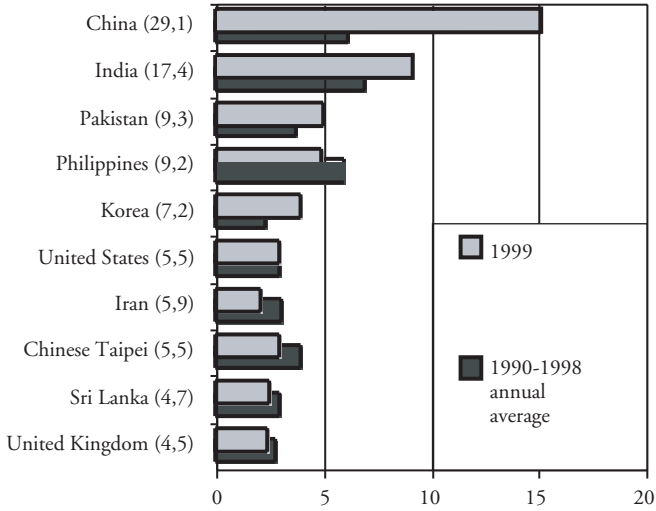
Chart 1.1 Changes in inflows of migrants by country of origin to selected OECD countries, 1990-1998 and 1999

1999 top 10 countries of origin as a percentage of total inflows¹
 1990-1998 annual average², 1999³

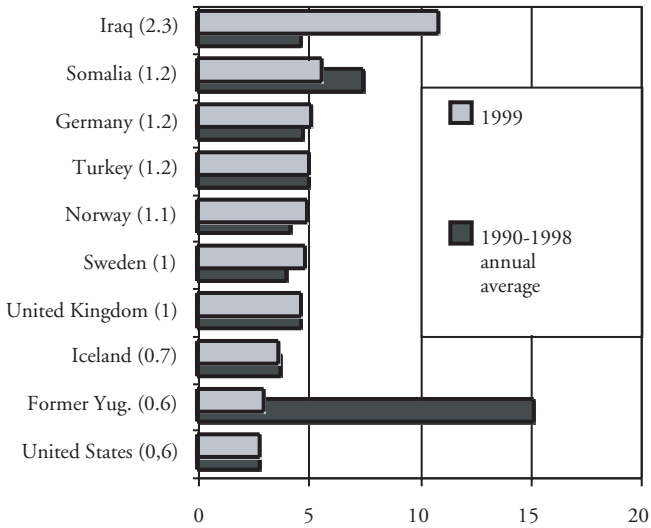


1. The figures in brackets are inflows, in thousands, in 1999.
 2. Annual average flows for the period 1990-1998 except for Australia (1990-1999), Denmark and the United States (1990-1997), Finland, Portugal and the United Kingdom (1992-1998).
 3. 1998 for Denmark and the United States; 2000 for Australia.

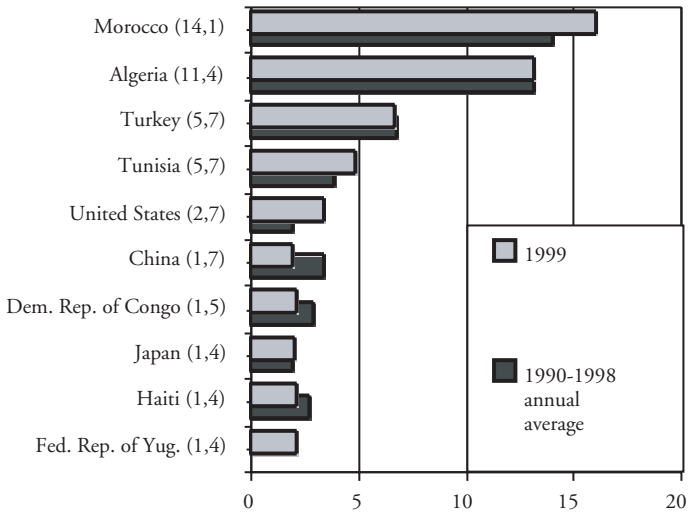
(b) Canada



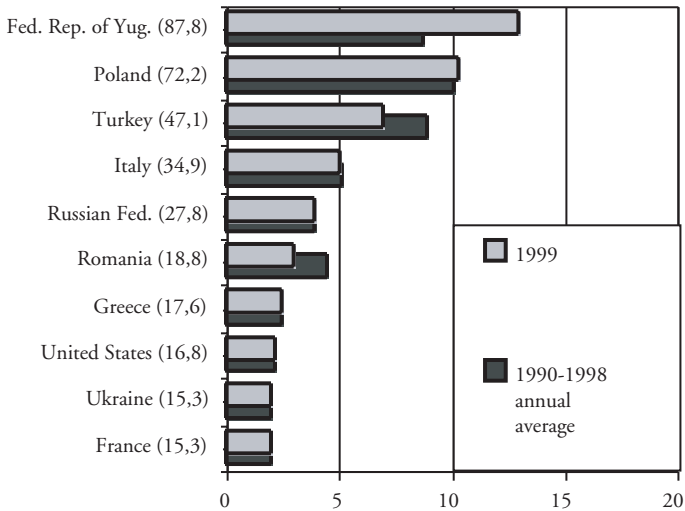
(c) Denmark



(d) France⁴

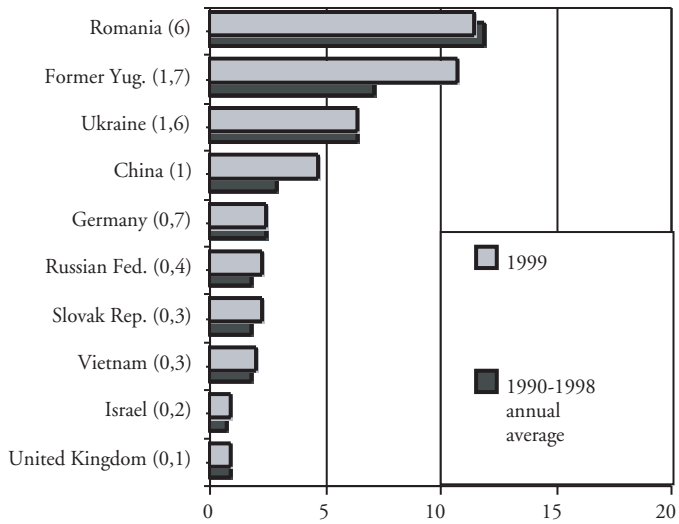


(e) Germany

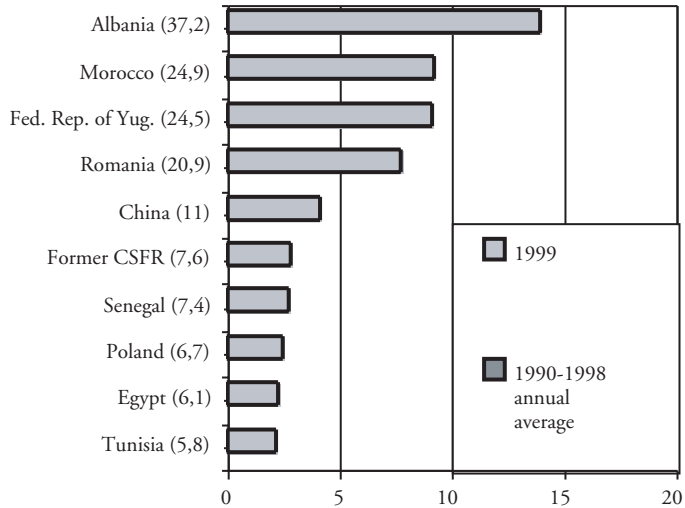


4. Data do not include EU citizens.

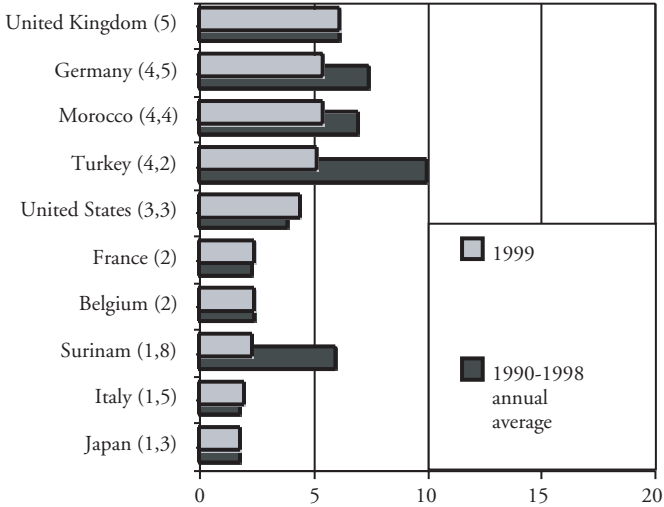
(f) Hungary



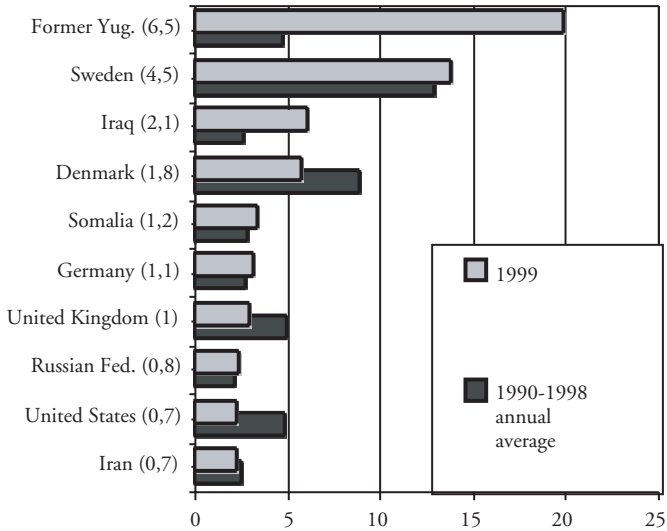
(g) Italy



(h) Netherlands

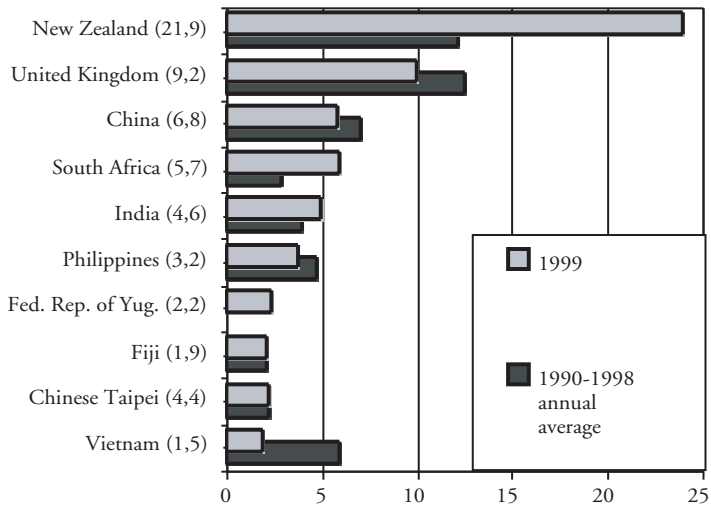


(i) Norway⁵

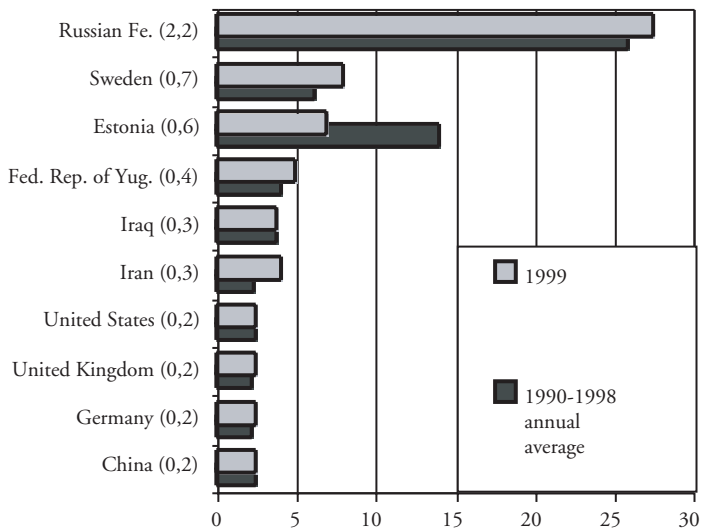


5. Former Yugoslavia, excluding Bosnia Herzegovina, from 1993 onwards.

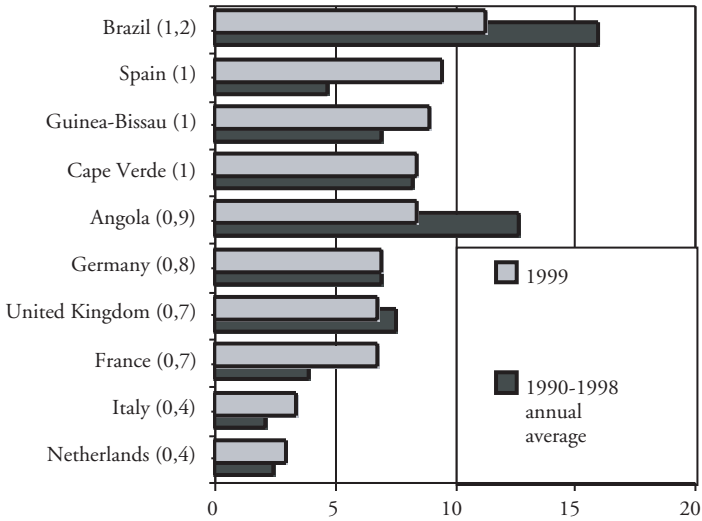
(j) Australia



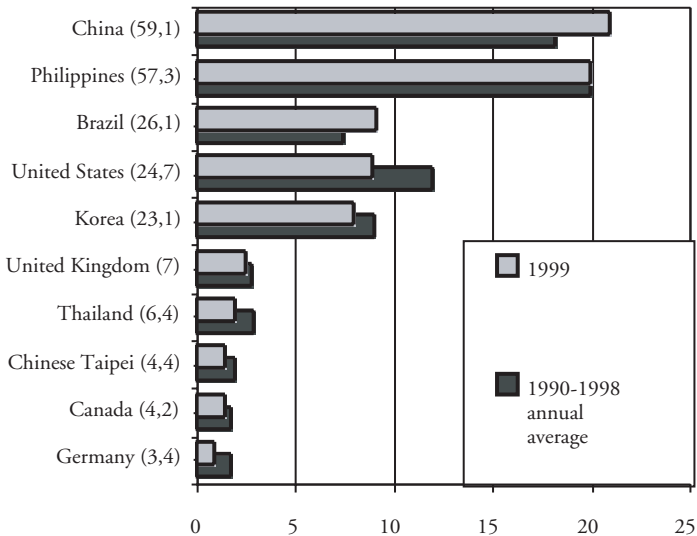
(k) Finland



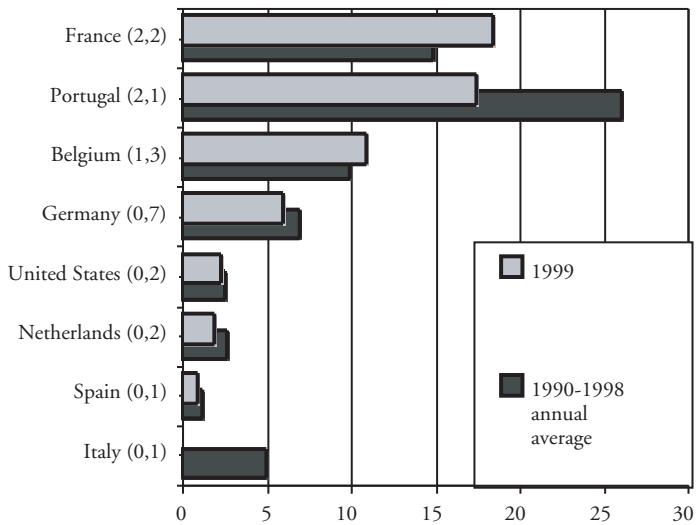
(l) Portugal



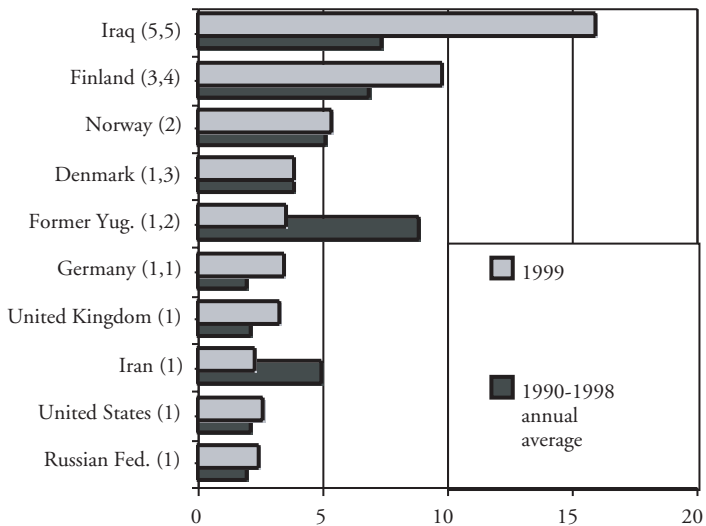
(m) Japan



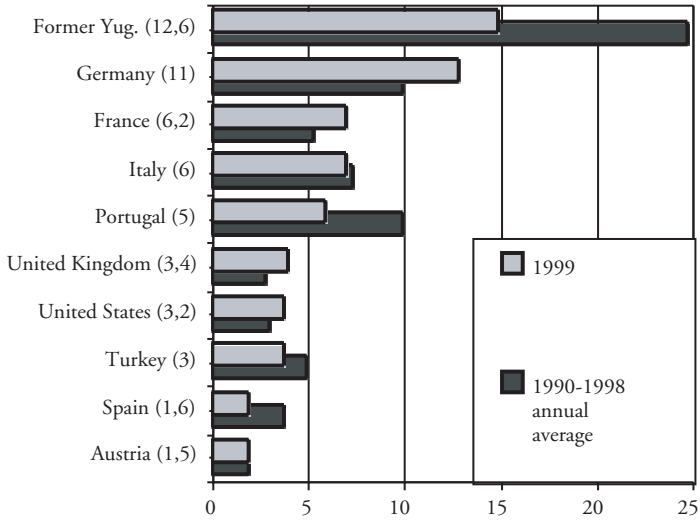
(n) Luxembourg



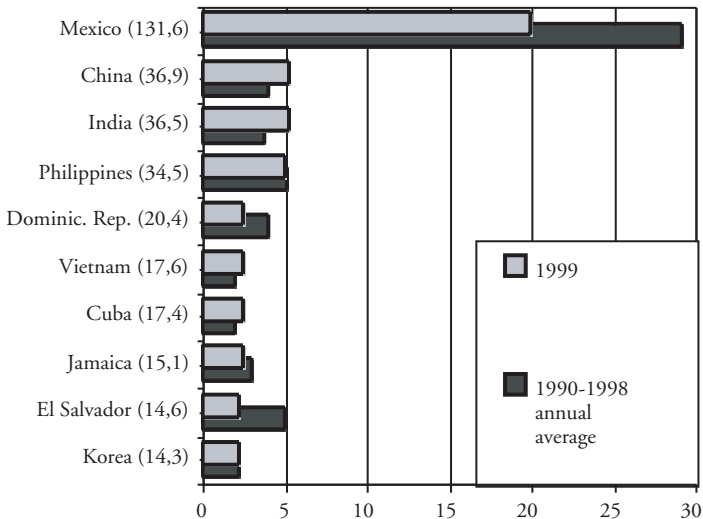
(o) Sweden

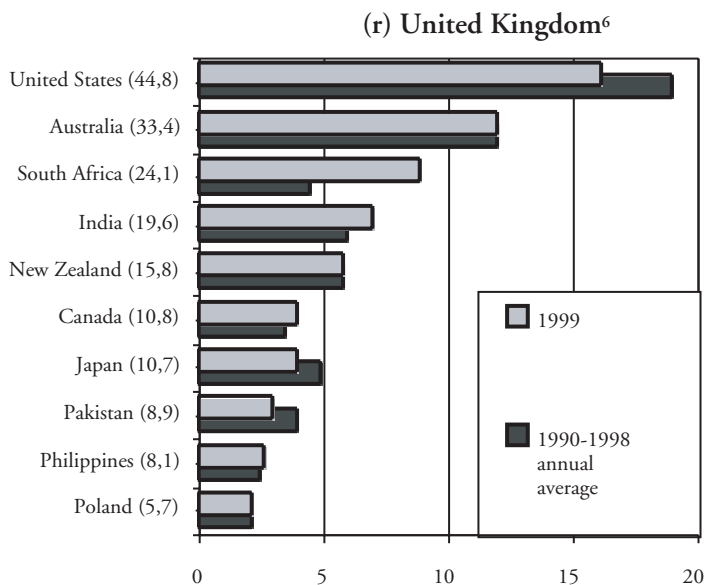


(p) Switzerland



(q) United States





Note: The top ten source countries are presented by decreasing order. Data for Australia, Canada and the United States refer to inflows of permanent settlers by country of birth, for France, Italy and Portugal to issues of certain types of permits. For the United Kingdom, the data are based on entry control at ports of certain categories of migrants. For all other countries, figures are from Population registers or Registers of foreigners. The figures for the Netherlands, Norway and especially Germany include substantial numbers of asylum seekers.

Source: National Statistical Offices.

6. Passengers, excluding European Economic Area nationals, admitted to the United Kingdom. Data only include certain categories of migrants: work permit holders, spouses and refugees (excluding residents returning on limiting leave or who previously settled).

Chart 1.2 Population of concern to UNHCR by category, 2001

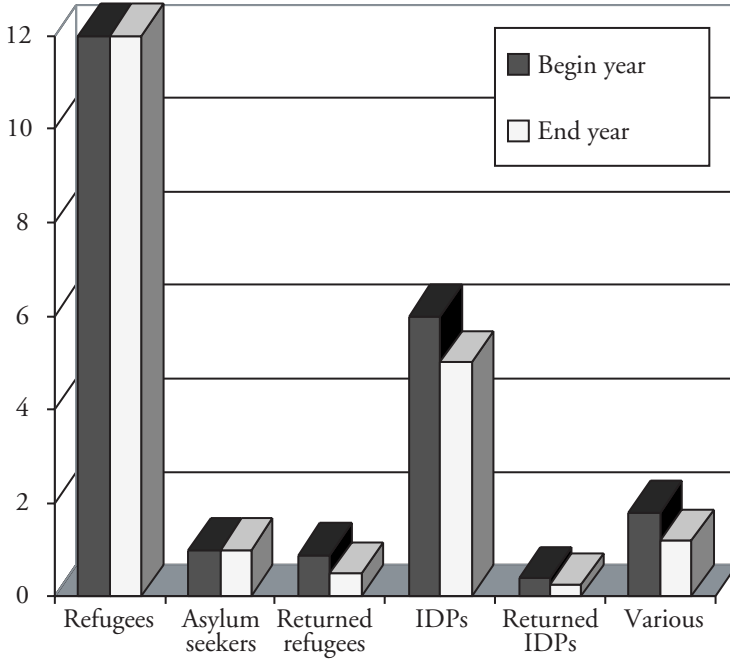
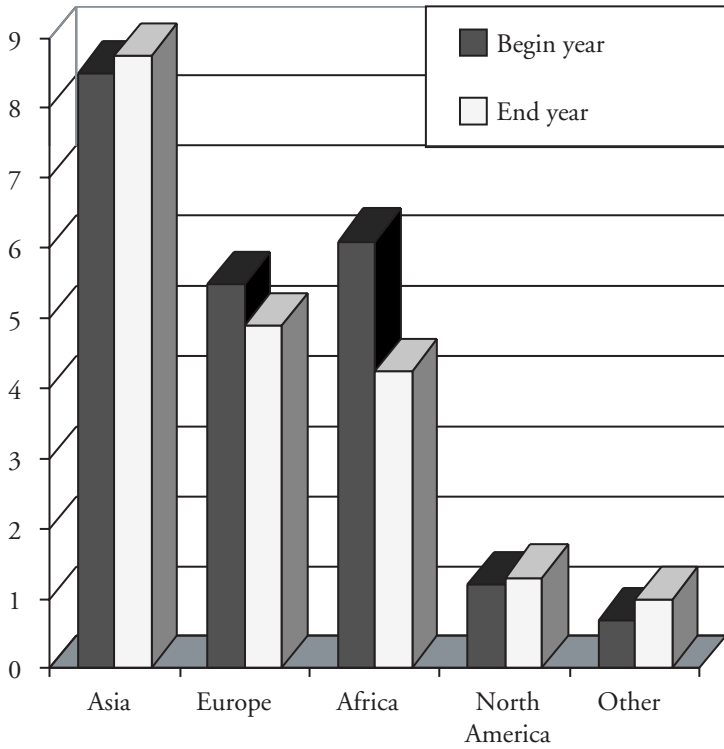


Chart 1.3 Population of concern to UNHCR by United Nations major area, 2001



References

- Castles, S.; Miller, M. 1993. *The age of migration: international population movements in the modern world*. London: Macmillan.
- Furnivall, J. 1948. *Colonial policy and practice: a comparative study of Burma and Netherlands India*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglis, C. 1996. *Multiculturalism: new policy responses to diversity*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kritz, M.; Lim, L.L.; Zlotnik, H. 1992. *International migration systems: a global approach*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- OECD. 2001. *Trends in international migration, SOPEMI 2001*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. 2003. *Trends in international migration, SOPEMI 2002*. Paris: OECD.
- Stahl, C.; Ball, R.; Inglis, C.; Gutman, P. 1993. *Global population movements and their implications for Australia*. Canberra: AGPS.
- UNHCR. 2002. *Statistical yearbook 2001*. Geneva: UNHCR.

CHAPTER 2. FOR BETTER OR WORSE: THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON SOCIETIES FACING DIVERSITY

C.J. Daswani

Introduction

Diversity is as natural in human society as variety is in nature. Variety in nature is basically harmonious, but diversity in human society is not always harmonious. All societies and nations are aware of ethnic and cultural diversity, but not all nations perceive or manage diversity in the same manner. Human beings are ever suspicious of 'others' who appear to be different from them. History of human civilization is nothing but an account of how each ethnic or cultural group has attempted to dominate or subjugate the 'other' groups because they are different. The perception of sameness or difference can be based on a host of real or imagined attributes. Race, colour, language, religion, territory, military might, power, political ideology, food, cultural practices and personal behaviour or habits are some of the known attributes that trigger the 'us-and-them' syndrome in human groups.

Some societies cannot tolerate diversity at all and take steps to aggressively eliminate it, while others not only recognize diversity as natural, they accommodate it and weave it into the very fabric of society.

An educational system reflects the socio-political make-up of a society or nation. How far the educational system is able to address or respond to societal diversity is determined by the society itself. A society that accepts, respects and accommodates diversity will create

an educational system that promotes inclusion of diverse cultural ingredients into the curriculum, and enables different groups to become assimilated within that society. Such an educational system is flexible and inclusive. It allows for multilingual communication and is basically reflective of the multi-ethnic and multicultural ethos of the society itself.

The educational system in a society that does not acknowledge diversity is likely to be ethno-centred, mono-lingual and inflexible. Such an educational system is most likely to promote uniformity, aimed at creating a mono-cultural society. The basic goal of such an educational system is to exclude those who are considered different.

The impact of education on societies facing diversity, therefore, can only be determined by the manner in which such societies face diversity – squarely or not at all.

Attitudes towards diversity

If we were to broadly divide human societies into those that accept diversity as natural, and those that aim to obliterate diversity, we could put these two broad categories at the extreme ends of a continuum of attitudes towards diversity. One extreme would represent those societies or nations that assimilate all social groups into a single society, and the other extreme would represent those societies that do not recognize or accept diversity, and aggressively obliterate all signs of diversity in the society.

Assimilation ————— Obliteration

Between these two opposing extreme attitudes, we can posit several grades or points on the continuum that reflect both positive and negative attitudes towards diversity. It may be argued that the

central point on the continuum is indifference, that is, a society is indifferent to the presence of many ethnic and cultural groups, and the everyday business within the society is not affected by diversity. Indifference, at the centre of the continuum, so to speak, is a neutral attitude from where a society can go in either direction – positive or negative.

Assimilation ————— Indifference ————— Obliteration

On the positive side, between indifference and assimilation there can be several other attitudes such as: tolerance, acceptance, harmony and integration. Likewise, on the negative side, between indifference and obliteration, we can have intolerance, rejection, conflict and aggression. Put on a vertical scale with the most positive attitude at the top, the continuum would look like this:

Assimilation
Integration
Harmony
Acceptance
Tolerance

Indifference

Intolerance
Rejection
Conflict
Aggression
Obliteration

We can posit several other points on this scale on the positive or negative side of the scale each indicating a lesser or greater degree of reaction attitude towards ethnic/cultural diversity. What is

significant is that the central point of indifference is essentially neutral and can be present in both diversity-accepting and diversity-rejecting societies. In the former it signifies benign recognition of diversity, a beginning point towards assimilation; and in the latter it says 'stay out of my hair', or such a society is consciously 'indifferent to difference', and can go all the way from intolerance to aggression and even obliteration.

A society or a nation often moves up and down on this scale through its history on account of several reasons. A tolerant society may become indifferent towards interests of some cultural groups and, indeed, may also become aggressive towards them. Likewise, an intolerant society may become tolerant and accept diversity in national interest. In the present-day world, with large-scale movement of people all over the globe, many countries are rethinking their attitude towards ethnic and cultural diversity (Stavenhagen, 1996).

Dealing with diversity

The perception of 'sameness' or 'otherness' can be complex and changing. For most societies, common ethnicity, language and culture are often perceived as essential features of sameness, and a social group that does not share these features with them is considered different. However, even these features intersect in several interesting ways. Some societies consider ethnicity alone sufficient for sameness; others may find culture sufficient, or just language. Or a combination of any two of these three features may be considered sufficient. Religion, too, has been an important feature in the determination of sameness or otherness, but it has seldom been a sufficient feature by itself.

For the countries or nations of the North, ethnicity and culture – and to some extent religion – have been important ingredients of

sameness. Language in these countries has often been seen as a feature of otherness. Attitudes of these countries towards different groups have surfaced when they have come in contact with societies outside Europe.

Consider the case of colonization of the Americas by European cultures, including the English. In both the continents of the New World, the European invaders ruthlessly decimated the local populations because they were ethnically different, practised heathen religions, and were considered 'savage' in comparison to the European culture of the invaders. Those of the local populations that survived had to conform by adopting the religion and language of the invaders – the Christian faith and English, French, Spanish or Portuguese language. Yet the survivors have never been considered the same because of different ethnicity and culture. The history of invasion and colonization of Australia is identical with that of the Americas. Both in North America and Australia, the European invaders became settlers and captured the territory from the original inhabitants, reducing them to an inferior status in the predominantly white European society.

In Africa, the colonizers imposed their religion and language – Christianity and French, English or Dutch – on the tribal groups without ever accepting them as the 'same' as themselves because of the different ethnicity and culture. In addition to imposing the foreign religion and language on the local populations, the European colonizers established educational institutions imparting education for the local populations in the language of the colonial masters and on the pattern of the system prevalent in the home country of the white rulers (Chung, 1996). Predictably, although the educational system and the language, introduced in these colonies, were European, the children of the white rulers did not attend the same schools as the coloured African children who were being taught in

the foreign language. No matter how extensively African people adopted the European ways, they were never looked upon as the same as the white rulers because they were ethnically different, just as the African-Americans in North America have never been perceived as the 'same' as the white populations. In contrast, even if some of the white communities who emigrated from Europe to America at different periods in the settlement history of North America spoke a European language different from the majority national language, they were readily accepted as the 'same' because of their ethnicity and culture.

In India, too, the British rulers introduced the English system of education through the English language, and converted the local populations to Christianity. The socio-political situation prevalent in India, of course, was vastly different from the one in Africa, and the colonial rulers were only partially successful in imposing their language, culture and religion on the local populations. However, even those Indians who conformed to the English language and culture were always looked upon as different because of their ethnicity. Strangely enough, even the children born of mixed English-Indian marriages (called Anglo-Indians) were not acceptable to the British as the same as themselves (Daswani, 1982).

Clearly, the European societies have held ethnicity as the most essential marker of 'sameness' and have refused to recognize any other social groups as 'same' even if these groups have adopted the religion, language and culture of the European imperialists.

Religion has largely been used by invaders and colonial powers as a device for exercising control over the local native populations, but never as a marker of sameness. The spread of Islam has followed a similar path as the spread of Christianity. Whether through invasion, coercion or persuasion, the conversion to Islam has not resulted in

the 'same' identity for societies or nations. Even language has had no effect on the creation of a single identity. Ethnicity and culture have always outweighed religion and language in determination of sameness. Examples are legion. Islamic-Arabic countries in the Middle East perceive themselves as different on the basis of ethnicity and culture – even when they share the religion and language. Iran, although Islamic, considers itself different from the Arab countries despite a common religion, and so does Turkey. Indonesia, Malaysia and Pakistan are not the 'same' as other Islamic countries in the region. Bangladesh, earlier a part of Pakistan, found language and culture more significant than religion as a distinguishing feature.

In India, on the other hand, none of the four features – ethnicity, language, culture and religion – have been a significant factor in determining the Indian identity. As has been claimed by many Indic scholars, the social ethos of India reflects a high degree of 'unity in diversity'. Since antiquity the Indian response to diversity has been guided by the Vedic "concept of human beings as an extended family: *vasudhaiva kutumbakam*" (Karan Singh, 1987: 54). Different ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups have coexisted in India and contributed equally to the Indian civilization. Until the advent of Islam, India had not seen any forced conversions to the religion of conquerors. Over a number of centuries, during which period many Indians were converted to Islam, that religion, too, was assimilated into the Indian ethos of unity in diversity. Later, with the arrival of the British, many Indians were converted to Christianity, and yet again, the Indian ethos assimilated that religion as well. Many religious groups have migrated to India and maintained their faith without ever being in the danger of coercion to change their religion. Over time, all these groups have merged in the all-embracing Indian culture. In India, then, 'sameness' results from sharing a diverse yet unified culture, and different ethnic groups coexist as part of this larger cultural group.

Dealing with diversity positively, then, is the result of a country or nation coming to terms with the presence of diverse languages, ethnic groups, cultures and religions, which can all be woven into a fabric of oneness, where each identity is allowed to remain intact and yet be a part of the harmonious whole.

Religion and human rights

Religion has been responsible for perpetual strife in human history. Many societies in recorded history have used force or inducement to win converts to their faith. According to ancient Indian texts, all religions, all spiritual paths are essentially the same. Yet, each religious group proclaims that its religion alone is the best.

The United Nations recognizes, as a human right of every individual, the right to profess, practise and propagate a religion of his/her choice. While as a human right, this appears to be a benign provision as a part of the Human Rights Declaration, the right to propagate a religion is often abused by religious groups in order to proselytize, leading invariably to religious strife and fundamentalism. In many countries, where the majority religious group believes in conversion and is unable to tolerate the practice of other faiths, minority religious groups are often persecuted. Several major religions firmly believe in conversion, since such religions enjoin upon the believers to convert others to their faith in order to achieve grace. Such religions allow persuasion, inducement or coercion to convert others. Indeed, in the contemporary context, some religious groups have declared it desirable to convert the entire world to their faiths – a sure formula for continued strife.

On the other hand, there are some other religions that do not believe in conversion; one can only be born into that religion. In a globalized world, fundamentalism is a saleable commodity. Religious

fanatics, who wish to propagate their religions, find it easy to import terrorism and armaments to create disorder and strife, which in turn leads to negative perceptions not about the lunatic fringes of these 'different' religious communities, but the entire communities themselves.

Diversity in a changing world

The twentieth century was witness to some of the most dramatic changes in human history. In the first quarter, the European colonial powers were firmly in the driver's seat in what was to be called the Third World. Scientific and technological advances in the West gave them supremacy over the rest of the world, and seeming mastery and control over nature (Suhr, 1996). The West was poised to change and refashion Mother Nature. Of course, in the first quarter itself, the colonized populations of Asia and Africa were already questioning the authority of the white colonists. And, then, there was the Great War, which shattered some of the established equations in Europe. The ethno-centric and racial attitudes that the imperial powers had exhibited in their colonies, had surfaced in their own front yard. At the same time a real challenge to the established economic and military world order was provided by the Russian revolution.

In the second quarter came the Second World War which demonstrated the ugly side of technology as well as the capacity of human beings to destroy everything. It also brought out the underlying intolerance and hatred that had been nurtured by power and greed. But even as the Euro-Atlantic region was engaged in a war that was nurtured by geo-political compulsions and ethno-centric ambitions, the colonized Third World was getting ready to shake off the yoke of colonialism and slavery. Before the end of the second quarter, the war ended and people of the world gave themselves the

United Nations to prevent a recurrence of the horrors of a world war.

The third quarter of the twentieth century was perhaps the most eventful for the Third World. As more and more nations in Asia and Africa gained freedom from colonial rule, new equations were built leading to changed geo-political realignments. Although now free, many of these new nations discovered the extent to which they had been impoverished by the imperialist forces. Most of these countries had to combat underdevelopment, poverty, lack of resources and continued dependence on the First World.

At the same time the advanced countries continued to thrive through advances in science and technology. Because of their accumulated wealth they could provide unparalleled comforts for their people, resulting in a widening gap between the rich consumer societies in the North and the impoverished and undernourished societies in the South. About this time, too, the world began to realize the environmental degradation that had been brought about by unthinking use of technology in pursuit of consumerism. The newly acquired wealth of the oil-rich countries turned marginalized countries into world players.

The fourth quarter witnessed the information revolution and the power of information and communication technology. Alongside this the Soviet Union collapsed, making the Euro-Atlantic dominance a reality.

The economic ascendancy of the North along with the opening of world markets through globalization, created an employment boom in the developed countries. A large number of these jobs were available for the asking because there were no takers in these countries, either because the jobs were looked down upon by the

local populations, or they required skills that were not available locally (Geremek, 1996). This situation led to large-scale immigration into these countries, quite naturally by citizens of those very countries that had been colonized earlier. The immigrants, coming from poor countries of the South, were willing to take on jobs that the local ethnic white people were reluctant to accept. Also, a large number of these immigrants were highly qualified technicians and specialists who were readily absorbed by the job market because many of the available jobs required these specialized skills.

During the colonial period the white colonizers went to various countries, carrying their ethno-centric attitudes with them, rejecting the local cultures and imposing their religion, language, education and legal system on the subject nations. Ironically, in the second half of the twentieth century, the countries of the North were eagerly inviting and accepting their former subjects to bolster their economies, little realizing that in so doing they were inducting cultural diversity into their hitherto mono-ethnic societies that were believed to have homogeneous cultures.

Current concern with diversity

Immigration from the Third World countries into the First World countries has significantly altered the ethnic, cultural and sometimes religious scenarios in the host countries. The presence of multi-ethnic and multicultural populations in these countries is so real and noticeable that the governments have had to acknowledge the existence of this diversity. In the 1960s and 1970s the presence was still limited, and the host countries could safely continue to be 'indifferent' to this new diversity.

Over the years, these ethnic and cultural minorities have acquired resident or citizen status. They have participated in the local and

national elections, paid taxes, built homes, sent their children to school, contributed to and benefited from the local economy and have made the host country their home. At the same time they have maintained their original culture, often modifying it to suit the host conditions. Many of them profess and practise religions different from the dominant religion, i.e. Christianity. Collectively they have constructed places of worship and community centres characteristic of their original cultures. They have established eateries, which cater to their gastronomic habits, and they often dress in their national attire.

The presence of this diversity in most European countries and in North America can no longer be ignored. Yet, the basically mono-ethnic and mono-lingual system of education has continued to be the norm. Children from these minorities, naturally, find a place in the educational system, but it is expected that they will quickly become acculturated to the dominant culture and language.

In the United Kingdom, children of these cultural minorities are provided special instruction in the English language. In some towns and counties, where some minority has a significant presence, the school system also incorporates language and cultural courses for these children, again with the purpose of building a smooth transition from the home culture to the dominant school culture. In America all immigrants, no matter what their mother tongue, have to learn the English language. However, none of these countries require the majority white populations to learn the language or discover the culture of the immigrant minorities.

In France the educational system is designed explicitly to create French citizens. In the process, all diversity is sought to be controlled through uniformity. In Canada, on the other hand, serious attempts have been made to respond to the demands of a multicultural society.

In the United States, where there has been an African-American (earlier referred to as Negro, Black or Coloured) minority for centuries, the infusion of numerous ethnic and cultural groups has created challenges for the educational system. Having practised cultural exclusion for centuries, the United States is now committed to cultural inclusion of all disparate groups.

And yet, despite policies and postures supporting a plural society, not many of these countries have been able to create an educational system that is truly plural. A pluri-cultural society does not merely recognize the existence of diversity. In doing so it perhaps goes from 'indifference' to 'tolerance' and 'acceptance', but not to 'integration' or 'assimilation'. A truly plural society enables all cultural groups to maintain their identities and to find equity and non-discrimination in all facets of life – education, employment, social interaction, as well as participation in democratic processes.

Diversity and education: the Indian experience

■ **Indian diversity**

The Indian society has been a truly plural society throughout its history and even before, since antiquity. The linguistic evidence as well as the cultural practices attest to an integrated plural society where different ethnic and cultural groups have coexisted harmoniously. It is not being suggested that there has been no strife or conflict amongst the various cultural and religious groups in India. But in spite of periodic conflicts the underlying theme has been 'unity in diversity'.

The socio-cultural milieu in India has been so thoroughly integrated that it is often difficult to trace the origin of a particular cultural convention or practice. For instance there are basically four

racial groups present in India – the Dravidian, the (Indo) Aryan, the (Sino) Tibetan and the Austro-Asiatic (Daswani, 1994). It is assumed that all four groups have come into India from outside, which leads one to speculate about the original inhabitants of India. That the four racial groups have intermingled is evident from the cross linguistic features that have been borrowed by all the four groups from each other. For instance, Sanskrit, an Indo-European language, a sister language of ancient Greek and Latin, has linguistic features that it could only have borrowed from the Dravidian languages, since these features are not found in any other Indo-European language. Similarly almost all the Indian languages, written and oral, share a very large common vocabulary which has obviously been assimilated into the languages over several millennia.

At the religious-cultural level, the entire subcontinent shares a culture, deriving from the ancient Vedic practices which, although popularly known as religious practices, actually form an intricate yet simple code of ethical principles for personal and public behaviour. Places of religious pilgrimage are located all over the country and the devout believers cover thousands of kilometres travelling from south to north and from east to west, and vice versa, intermingling and communicating with the local populations in pursuit of spiritual solace and enlightenment. Although there exist regional differences of food and dress, there is a shared world-view of what is an appropriate, and a common correct code of conduct that cuts across all regions.

A remarkable feature of the Indian response to ethnic diversity has been the absorption and integration of numerous ethnic, religious and cultural groups who have come to India, even perhaps as invaders. But all these have quickly become a part of the integrative culture. Indeed, people who have adopted India as their home have often adopted local languages and food habits although they have continued

to follow their own religious and social customs. Jews, Parsis and Chinese who came into India from outside have become totally integrated into the Indian society.

■ Indian education

It is generally agreed that a vibrant educational system was functioning in India when the British took upon themselves the task of establishing a system based on the English pattern. Before the British take-over of education, almost every village in India is said to have had three different kinds of school: the Pathshalas for the study of Sanskrit and Hindu religious texts, Madrasas for the study of the Koran and Persian language, and a secular school where instruction in the '3Rs' was imparted in the local language (Khubchandani and Lachman, 2001).

The British replaced this system with the English-language medium education based on the curricula in vogue in England in the nineteenth century (Daswani, 2001). Since the British system was linked to government jobs, the upwardly mobile sections of the population accepted the British system in favour of the earlier indigenous system. Another more serious impact of the British system was the direct financial support provided by the colonial government to the schools, with the result that the village schools, which were supported and run by the local communities, eventually died an unnatural death.

A consequence of the British system of education was the de-recognition of all educational arrangements other than the state-promoted system. As a result, only those who received education through the English language were considered literate. All those who were literate in any of the local (so-called vernacular) languages were not counted. In 1901, over 40 years after English-language education

was introduced, the literacy rate in India according to the British Government was under 6 per cent (Daswani, 1994).

■ **Mother-tongue education**

Even as the colonial government spread the tentacles of the English language education, Indian leaders perceived the dangers of providing education only for the few Indians who were looking for government jobs. These leaders demanded universal primary education through Indian languages. It took the British rulers over 60 years to permit education in the local languages in the early 1920s. While this concession satisfied the demand for mother-tongue education, it further decimated the indigenous school system, with both the Pathshalas and Madrasas facing near extinction. Despite the expansion of the vernacular system, English-language education continued to flourish for its economic advantage. As early as in 1908 Mahatma Gandhi asserted that English education had enslaved the Indian minds.

■ **Education in modern India**

The 1961 Census of India lists 1,652 mother tongues spoken in India. These mother tongues have been grouped under 106 languages with a further 106 dialects grouped under the 106 languages. Primary education is delivered through 50 languages that are written languages and have sufficient written resources. Another 32 languages are alphabetized but do not have significant written traditions. Every year several hitherto unwritten languages are alphabetized and put on the road to development and standardization. The National Academy of Letters recognizes 22 languages as literary languages, and literary awards are given each year to distinguished writers in these languages. The Constitution of India recognizes 18 official languages that are used as languages of administration and communication in various states in the country. Radio programmes

are broadcast in 148 languages and dialects. Most Indians are bi- or multilingual. There is no region in India that is mono-lingual.

Every school-going child (after 10 years of schooling) learns to read and write in three or four languages: the mother-tongue/regional language, the national language (Hindi), and English as an international language. In the process, a child learns at least two scripts, often three, and some learn four different scripts. Several Indian languages are written in more than one script (Daswani, 1994).

It is significant to note that the first language that a child learns to read and write in the primary school is the mother-tongue/regional language and not the national or international language. An Indian may complete his entire educational career through the medium of mother tongue/regional language, although at the university level instruction in English is also available. At the senior secondary school and the university, a student can optionally study one or two of the many foreign languages, both classical and modern.

Linguistic and religious minorities in India are protected under the Constitution and are empowered to run their own educational institutions. Socially deprived and economically backward classes are accorded positive discrimination through reservation in access to education (and later to government employment). Girls are provided incentives for accessing and completing educational courses to the highest level. The educational system is secular. No religious instruction is permitted and no religious group can be denied entry to an educational institution. Likewise no ethnic discrimination is permitted.

■ Education and society

The Indian educational system, like the Indian society, truly recognizes, integrates and assimilates the cultural, religious and ethnic diversity that exists in India. Each ethnic, cultural and religious group is able to maintain and practise its identity, and yet contribute to and participate in the larger regional and national identity. Every Indian recognizes and understands the cultural practices of other cultural groups. The educational system nurtures a multicultural ethos, celebrating all religious and cultural festivals. It is inconceivable that the educational system could have become truly plural without the society being essentially plural in its attitudes, and not merely in its composition.

Education and culture are so intimately and intricately linked that they can only move in tandem (Nanzhao, 1996). In other words, it is impossible to construct a plural educational system in a society which is basically mono-ethnic, mono-cultural and mono-lingual.

It is evident, therefore, that if education is to have an impact on societies that face ethnic and cultural diversity, it is the societies that have to consciously accept such diversity and work towards assimilating the diverse cultural and ethnic groups into the national mainstream – only then can such societies create a truly effective plural educational system.

References

- Chung, F. 1996. "Education in Africa today". In: J. Delors (Ed.), *Learning: the treasure within* (pp.205-208). Paris: UNESCO.
- Delors, J. (Ed.) 1996. *Learning: the treasure within*. Paris: UNESCO.

- Daswani, C.J. 1982. "*English in India: the brown man's burden*". In: *Literacy Criterion*, 17(2), 93-99.
- . 1994. "The sphere of Indian writing". In: H. Gunther and O. Ludwig (Eds.), *Writing and its use*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- . (Ed). 2001. *Language education in multilingual India*. New Delhi: UNESCO.
- Gandhi, M.K. 1938. *Hind Swaraj or Indian home rule*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.
- Geremek, B. 1996. "Cohesion, solidarity and exclusion". In: J. Delors (Ed.), *Learning: the treasure within* (pp. 209-213). Paris: UNESCO.
- Karan Singh. 1987. *Essays on Hinduism*. New Delhi: Ratna Sagar.
- Khubchandani; Lachman, M. 2001. In: C.J. Daswani (Ed.), *Language education in multilingual India* (pp.3-47). New Delhi: UNESCO.
- Nanzhao, Z. 1996. "Interactions of education and culture for economic and human development: an Asian perspective". In: J. Delors (Ed.), *Learning: the treasure within* (pp. 239-246). Paris: UNESCO.
- Stavenhagen, R. 1996. "Education for a multicultural world". In: J. Delors (Ed.), *Learning: the treasure within* (pp. 229-233). Paris: UNESCO.
- Suhr, M. W. 1996. "Opening our minds for a better life for all". In: J. Delors (Ed.), *Learning: the treasure within* (pp. 235-238). Paris: UNESCO.

PART II

**PANEL - ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR COPING
WITH DIVERSITY: THREE 'IDEAL' TYPES**

CHAPTER 1. THE MULTICULTURAL MODEL: THE CASE OF CANADA

Charles S. Ungerleider

Canada's unique course

Over the last 60 years, Canada has charted a unique course among nations in pursuit of a sometimes elusive and controversial vision of a multicultural society. In this vision, people retain their cultural identifications while enjoying the full benefits of a citizenship founded on shared rights, freedoms, and obligations:

Canada with its policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' and its recognition of aboriginal rights to self-government is one of the few countries which has officially recognized and endorsed both polyethnicity and multinationality.¹

Multiculturalism promotes the values expressed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the Citizenship, Official Languages, Multiculturalism and Human Rights acts - values that all Canadians share. By protecting the civil and political rights of individuals, Canada accommodates cultural differences, ensuring that individuals' rights to free speech, religion, association, political organization and the like are not infringed upon or abridged. Multiculturalism works to eliminate discrimination that would deprive Canadians of the opportunities and benefits to which all are entitled. Multiculturalism helps to ensure that all who call Canada

1. Canada is a state that incorporates distinct and potentially self-governing groups - First Nations, English, and French - as well as immigrants who have departed from their national communities to enter Canada (Kymlicka, 1995: 10-33).

home are able to take a full and active part in the affairs of their community and their country.

Over the course of its history as unofficial and official state policy, multiculturalism has permeated virtually every aspect of the public life of Canadians, albeit to varying degrees. Education is no exception; the literature devoted to education includes attention to many different facets of multiculturalism, including the description and analysis of multicultural policies (Murray, 1977; Anderson and Fullan, 1984; Cummins and Masemann, 1985; Melnicer, 1986; Lavender, 1986; Churchill, 1986; Martin-Jones, 1989; Redden, 1990), the impact of the climate of schooling (Kehoe, 1984; Lynch, 1987; McDougall, 1986), student attitudes (Clifton and Perry, 1985), and the impact of curricular interventions on students (McPhie and Beynon, 1989; Melenchuk, 1989; Jack, 1989; McGregor, 1993).

Objectives of Canada's multicultural policy

Multicultural education in English-speaking Canada has reflected the three objectives of Canada's informal and formal multicultural policies – identity, participation and social justice – and the tensions engendered by differing conceptions of these objectives. Though it is not an exhaustive list, among the tensions are those between assimilation and integration, individual identity and group identity, and equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.

Educational institutions play a vital role

Linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity have long been features of Canadian society. Indeed these are features that distinguish Canada from other countries in which pluralism is less evident and less well regarded. However, the value of cultural pluralism requires cultivation. Major agencies of socialization for democratic citizenship

as well as educational institutions play a central part in the process in at least four ways. Society looks to its educational institutions, first, to help sustain a climate in which cultural, religious and linguistic differences will be both understood and appreciated; second, to foster healthy inter-group attitudes, to erode cultural stereotypes, and to ensure equality of treatment and equality of access for all without regard to their backgrounds; third, to preserve diverse cultural heritages through instruction in language, literature, art, history, music and in other curricular areas; and fourth, to help overcome the barriers to success that some students face because of their backgrounds (McAndrew, 2001).

However, Canada has no national ministry of education through which multicultural education might be advanced. Canada's provinces exercise exclusive jurisdiction to make laws regarding education. Unique among provinces, Quebec pursues initiatives under the ambit of multiculturalism, reflecting that province's distinctive character and the primary placed on the super ordinate importance of the French language and culture.

The organizational and policy context

Notwithstanding the fact that education is a responsibility of the provinces in Canada, the influence of the federal government's multicultural policy has been felt in the field of education. From the development of programmes and materials for adult, immigrant education - during the war years and beyond - to its support for institutional changes to make schools more hospitable places for persons of diverse background, multiculturalism as both informal and formal policy has influenced the shape and direction of education.

Prior to the introduction of multiculturalism, the scholarly landscape devoted to multiculturalism and ethnic studies in Canada

was quite barren; today, it flourishes with academic journals and chairs devoted to both ethnic studies and multicultural education. On most post-secondary campuses, there is healthy debate - informed by scholarship - about curricular inclusiveness, recruitment and retention of students and faculty from diverse backgrounds, and human rights policies.

Canada's provincial governments have policies devoted to multiculturalism, and have undertaken initiatives that recognize the cultural and linguistic diversity of the province. Initiatives pursued by ministries of education include language programmes (including the provision of English or French as an additional language, heritage language programmes, and bilingual education), curriculum development and revision, and the provision of professional development. School boards in most urban jurisdictions throughout Canada have adopted race relations and multicultural education policies. In addition to adopting policies, local school boards have established guidelines for employee and student behaviour, procedures for handling inter-group conflicts, committees to review curricula and materials for their suitability, and employment equity policies and procedures to govern hiring (Metropolitan Separate School Board, 1984; Zinman, 1988). Notwithstanding these efforts, significant gaps between policy intentions and practices abound (Echols and Fisher, 1989).

Cognizant that students benefit when their parents are involved in and support their schooling, schools in Canada have engaged in a broad range of activities to encourage parental participation. School jurisdictions that enrol youngsters who speak neither official language employ persons proficient in the languages spoken in the youngsters' homes to liaise with parents and community groups, provide translation services, and to explain the school system to parents and

parental concerns to teachers and other school personnel. Some jurisdictions translate school notices into the languages spoken in the home. And some school jurisdictions complement their K-12 instructional programmes with language programmes directed towards mothers with pre-school children.

Even a seemingly benign practice as translating school bulletins into different languages is contested ground. Some argue against such practices saying that many parents are not print literate in their own language and cannot benefit from such effort. Others say that, notwithstanding this objection, the symbolic recognition of these languages is important for parents and their children and signal for the school system the importance of including parents.

Racism seems as prevalent in relations among students as it is in the larger society. School jurisdictions employ a variety of practices aimed at reducing and responding to racism with varying degrees of success. On the preventive side, some school jurisdictions use peer counsellors, multicultural leadership experiences, and in-school organizations to prevent inter-group tensions from erupting into overt conflict. They use similar strategies - and in some jurisdictions, police-liaison officers - to address conflicts when they do arise. Students at the secondary level are cognizant of racism and support multicultural and anti-racist education as means to its elimination (Griffith, Labercane and Paul, 1995).

The curricular context

The instructional programme is the terrain upon which differing conceptions of multicultural education most often contend. Few who have examined the history of education in Canada would deny that, for most of its history, it was assimilationist in character. Through explicit indoctrination and 'encouraged' conformity, the

assimilationist period in Canadian education established conditions in which students would shed those traditions and values of their ancestors at variance with those of the predominant Anglo-Christian society.

Following the introduction of multiculturalism as official state policy, there has been a gradual, but perceptible change towards an education that permits – and sometimes encourages – students to retain their heritage languages and cultural traditions. Particularly evident during the early years of the policy and durably persistent today, the most common expression of multiculturalism in education is folkloric, encouraging students to express the surface features – costume, dance and food – of their ethno-cultural traditions in co-curricular festivals. Though well-intentioned, these efforts did (do) little to affect changes to a curriculum imbued with strong Anglo-Christian values and traditions.

A second, less widespread, and highly contested conception in multicultural education is voluntary isolation of cultural groups to preserve their distinctness and reinforce the identities of their members. Schools organized by and for the members of a particular group such as aboriginals, blacks and females are all instances of this ‘ethnic-specific’ conception of multiculturalism (McLeod, 1984).²

Notwithstanding the desire that persons who wish to do so may retain their heritage languages, heritage language retention has continued to decline among the progeny of immigrants. Partly in response and partly in recognition that multilingualism contributes to greater cognitive flexibility and ‘global-mindedness’, some school jurisdictions have established heritage language programmes. In some

2. Schools that are established exclusively for persons of aboriginal nation ancestry are more common in Canada than schools established exclusively for any other group.

jurisdictions, the aforementioned response and recognition have also given rise to an increased emphasis on modern language acquisition.³ Education in languages other than French or English, which has flourished in Quebec since the 1960s, was first introduced in Alberta in 1971. Today, it is available in a number of urban and rural Canadian jurisdictions, but is not as widespread as the members of some language groups would like (Roberts and Clifton, 1990; Danesi and De Sousa, 1995). Consistent with the bilingual framework within which multiculturalism exists, French immersion schooling is widespread in English-speaking Canada. Bilingual education in languages other than French or English is increasingly seen as both a cognitive and economic asset for interdependent world economy.

A third conception of multiculturalism is primarily procedural. It seeks to ensure that human rights extend to all persons regardless of their background or ethno-cultural identification. Rather than address what should or should not be included in courses of study, this point of view is predicated on the view that all persons are deserving of equal respect, and should be treated equally unless there is good reason to do otherwise (Coombs, 1986).

A facet of procedural multiculturalism is the scrutiny of curriculum materials to ensure that they are representative of a broad range of persons. Provincial ministries of education typically have review panels to determine the suitability of curriculum resources. In addition, both ministries of education and local school districts normally have procedures for responding to complaints from parents and others about bias in curriculum resources. There is a variety of ways that such materials may be biased. One evident bias in some materials is omission, the absence of evidence of a particular group.

3. British Columbia, for example, recently enunciated a policy to support modern language acquisition for grades 5 to 8 to complement its modern language programmes aimed at older students.

Another is stereotyping, clichéd and distorted portrayal of a group or its members. Materials can also be biased because they fail to take into account counter-evidence or alternative points of view. Some materials are biased not because they fail to include a group, its members or alternative points of view, but because they marginalize them by isolating them in the presentation.

Controversy surrounds the relationship between anti-racist education and multicultural education. Advocates of the former contend that multicultural education ignores the structural and systemic inequalities among groups – especially between ‘whites’, who are considered to be members of the dominant group, and ‘non-whites’, perceived to be subordinate to them. Anti-racist education includes: (a) examination of the historical roots and contemporary manifestations of racial prejudice and discrimination; (b) exploration of the influence of race and culture on one’s personal and professional attitudes and behaviour; (c) identification of, and counteracting the bias and stereotyping in learning materials; (d) management of racial tensions and conflicts; (e) identification of appropriate anti-racist resources for incorporation into the curriculum in different subject areas; (f) development of new approaches to teaching children using varying cognitive approaches to diverse learning styles; (g) identification of appropriate assessment and placement procedures and practices; (h) assessment of the hidden curriculum to make it more inclusive and reflective of all students’ experiences; and (i) implementation of personnel policies and practices consistent with equity goals while providing managers with the knowledge and skills to implement equity programmes (Tator and Henry, 1991).

Multicultural education seeks to cultivate pride in heritage by: (a) institutionalizing in-school cultural celebrations in addition to those of the Anglo-Christian majority; (b) encouraging retention of

heritage languages; (c) including cultural contributions to humankind and to Canada as a part of the curriculum; and (d) acquainting all students with their own and other cultures through exchange of literature, art, dance, food, clothing, folk rhymes, religion, ethics and subjective aspects of culture such as pause length, eye contact, social distance, greeting, etc. Multicultural education fosters positive intergroup attitudes by: (a) encouraging students to recognize differences within groups of people, and encouraging them to judge people on the basis of achieved rather than ascribed characteristics; (b) encouraging the development of empathy; (c) teaching that principles should be applied consistently; (d) teaching critical thinking skills such as the recognition of fallacious arguments; (e) facilitating carefully structured personal contact; and (f) providing information about other cultures that follow the criteria of teaching about similarities, the nature of everyday life, and positive achievements. Multicultural education seeks to achieve equivalent outcomes in achievement by: (a) teaching English or French as a second language; (b) changing assessment and placement procedures; (c) removing ethnocentric bias from the curriculum; (d) teaching students in a manner consistent with their cultural background; (e) making contact with and encouraging participation by the community; (f) changing the way people respond to racist incidents; and (g) ensuring that teacher expectations do not deny achievement (Tator and Henry, 1991; McGregor, 1993; Kehoe and Segawa, 1995).⁴

4. McGregor undertook a meta-analytic study of the effects of role-taking and anti-racist teaching strategies on the reduction of racial prejudice in students. She found little difference between the two approaches. Students exposed to anti-racist strategies exhibited less racial prejudice than approximately 66 per cent of the students with no such exposure, and students exposed to role-taking approaches exhibited less prejudice than approximately 65 per cent of the students without such exposure.

The pedagogical context

Any consideration of multiculturalism and race relations in education that ignores the centrality of teachers would be inadequate since teachers play the pivotal role in educating for a socially just and plural society. Both multicultural and anti-racist educators are concerned to ensure that teachers reflect Canada's diversity. To that end, a number of Canadian faculties of education give preference in their selection of applicants to persons who possess linguistic competence and/or cultural knowledge that is not well represented among teachers (Lundy and Lawrence, 1995). In recognition that teaching is not an occupation prized equally among the members of all groups, some jurisdictions have undertaken initiatives to increase the visibility of teaching and enhance its desirability as a profession among the members of groups not well represented among the ranks of teachers. While it is the case that faculties of education devote attention to multicultural education as part of the preparation of teachers, none uses selection procedures to eliminate applicants who are intolerant of diversity or employs programmes explicitly designed to reduce prejudice among those preparing to teach.

The preparation of teachers for creating the conditions under which students can learn to work and live together harmoniously and productively is central to achieving these goals. As Triandis (1975) puts it:

When people belong to different cultures or have different subjective cultures, interpersonal interaction is painfully unpleasant; however, when individuals are trained to understand the subjective culture of other groups, there is some evidence of improved inter-group relationships.

According to this viewpoint, the social complexity of schools and classrooms demands that teachers learn how to read, analyze and respond to the social relations that they confront daily. Teachers are considered capable of changing the social relations of the classroom to better meet the goals of a multicultural society by developing specific skills, knowledge and attitudes in students (Kehoe, 1984; Friesen, 1985).

One approach has been to educate teachers about specific cultures. The approach combines anthropological and social-psychological perspectives and involves a broad range of teaching techniques. For example, teachers may be taught: (a) how members of a particular cultural group view time and space; (b) how the type, frequency and intimacy of contact with members of other cultural groups affects interaction with them; and (c) how the relative numbers and status of in-group and out-group members affect relations within the classroom. A second approach takes the view that teachers need: (a) a philosophy of multicultural education; (b) knowledge of cultural pluralism; (c) respect for minority students; (d) interaction and management skills; (e) a non-judgemental orientation; (f) ability to respond with empathy; and (g) tolerance for ambiguity (Daudlin, 1984; McGregor and Ungerleider, 1993).⁵

Authentic multicultural teaching is quite clearly more than understanding and respecting the subjective culture of students and

5. Curious about the effects of attempts to prepare teachers for managing inter-cultural and inter-racial contact in their classrooms, and for creating the conditions under which students can learn to work and live together harmoniously and productively, McGregor and Ungerleider sought to synthesize the research devoted to attitude change in teachers using a technique called meta-analysis. They found that the average teacher who had taken part in an attitude change programme exhibited less racial prejudice than 57 per cent of the teachers who had not taken part in such programmes. They also found that programmes focusing on racism were more efficacious than programmes using a cultural information approach or a psychological approach.

encouraging them to retain their cultural practices and beliefs. The uncritical retention of cultural practices and beliefs may result in prejudice and discrimination. In order to be authentic, multicultural teaching must be directed toward the goal of promoting social justice. Coombs (1986: 12) argues persuasively that:

Students must be helped to understand and appreciate that cultural differences are irrelevant to the determination of moral worth and fundamental rights, and that the principle of justice, or equal consideration of interests applies to all persons regardless of cultural background. Moreover, they must acquire a considered, defensible view of the nature of justice and know how to reason responsibly about the justice of individual actions towards others as well as the justice of social institutions and practices.

It follows that these goals cannot be realized within public schools unless teachers possess the same capacities.

Teaching is fundamentally a moral activity, involving the development of the students' capacities for making defensible judgements about people and how they should be treated. The examples that teachers set are central in the development of these capacities. The decisions teachers make, and the reasons they give in support of those decisions, should exemplify – both substantively and procedurally – a moral point of view.

Much of teaching involves making decisions about the most desirable course of action from among a universe of alternative actions under a particular set of circumstances.⁶ Many of the decisions teachers make require that they know whether or not the course of action they have chosen involves acting in an ethically responsible manner. In a pluralistic society, one's actions are ethically acceptable

6. This section is adapted from Association for Values Education and Research (1978).

if they can be shown to have been impartial with respect to the competing interests of other persons.

There is a range of knowledge that teachers must possess and a corresponding range of things they must be disposed towards and capable of doing in order to take a moral point of view towards the situations they face. In short, there are concepts and standards of reasoning that teachers should possess in order to help them rationally address the decisions they must make – especially moral decisions. Multicultural education requires that teachers have the ability and be disposed to: (a) distinguish among different types of claims; (b) gather factual evidence relevant to one's decisions; (c) assess the truth of empirical claims; (d) assess the reliability of authorities; (e) reason accurately in coming to moral decisions; (f) imaginatively take the role of another and to judge one's actions from the perspective of that role; (g) imagine the consequences of everyone taking the course of action proposed, and to judge that course of action in terms of those consequences; and (h) do what one has decided is the right thing to do and to eschew doing what one has decided is wrong.⁷

Teachers are capable of changing the social relations in their classrooms to better meet the goals of a multicultural society. But their efforts would prove more efficacious if increased attention were paid to the systematic development and delivery of educational experiences designed to help teachers acquire the aforementioned knowledge and dispositions as well as the ability to manage the variables affecting inter-group relations in classrooms.

Notwithstanding more than a quarter century of multicultural education, there are administrators and teachers who appear unaware

7. Adapted from LaBar (1981).

of the diversity they confront daily, or complain that they are unprepared for the social realities they face in their schools and classrooms as a consequence of that diversity. Some have been resistant to the practices enumerated above, and some question the value of multiculturalism itself.

Challenges to Canada's vision of a pluralistic, multi-nation state

Canada has tried to achieve a balance between the rights of the individual and the rights of the group. Canadians enjoy protection of fundamental freedoms – of speech, association and religion – and recognize group rights. Minority language education rights of French and English speakers are protected. Also protected are denominational, separate and dissentient rights and privileges. Canada's multicultural heritage is valued and mentioned explicitly in the Canadian constitution. Canada seeks to preserve and enhance links to ancestral origins by ensuring that Charter rights are interpreted in a manner consistent with that heritage. Treaty rights of aboriginal peoples, their rights and freedoms enshrined in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and the rights they have obtained (or may obtain) by means of land-claim settlements are guaranteed.

■ **Aboriginal education**

The plight of aboriginal Canadians is evidence that Canada's ideal of an inclusive multi-nation state has not been fully achieved. Canadian public schools have failed the majority of aboriginal students. Their success rates are much lower than those students from other backgrounds. Significantly fewer aboriginal students graduate than do non-aboriginal students. Those who graduate have too often been the recipients of an inferior education. Aboriginal students attend post-secondary education at about half the rate of non-aboriginal students. The situation is a tragedy of enormous proportion.

Efforts are being made to address the deplorable state of education for aboriginal learners with a variety of initiatives. Such initiatives include collecting evidence about aboriginal school performance and monitoring school boards' plans for addressing the gap between aboriginal and non-aboriginal learners, intervening early to prevent a gap from occurring between aboriginal and non-aboriginal learners, including aboriginal perspectives and courses in the curriculum, fashioning 'improving agreements' between aboriginal communities and school boards, etc. Although such efforts seem to have had a beneficial impact, the duration and range of their implementation is too modest to be certain of their effects.

Minority language and bilingual education

Canada has had two official languages since 1968. English is the main language for approximately three-quarters of the population; French, the primary language for the remaining 25 per cent, is spoken throughout Canada. In Quebec, French speakers form a majority, but there are significant concentrations of French speakers in New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba.

Minority language education for French or English speakers has special status in Canada. Section 23 of Canada's Constitution Act protects language rights for French- and English-speaking minorities:

- (1) Citizens of Canada,
 - (a) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or
 - (b) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French

linguistic minority population of the province, have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province.

- (2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in English or French in Canada, have the right to have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language.
- (3) The right of citizens of Canada under subsections (1) and (2) to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of a province
 - (a) applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction; and
 - (b) includes, where the number of those children so warrants, the right to have them receive that instruction in minority language education facilities provided out of public funds.

The purpose of Section 23 is the preservation and promotion of English and French, and the cultures upon which they depend, by ensuring that each language is able to survive in provinces where it is not spoken by the majority of the population.

There are approximately 250,000 minority language learners in elementary and secondary schools in Canada; 100,000 English speakers (Anglophones) attend school in Quebec, and 150,000 French speakers (Francophones) attend schools outside of Quebec.

In addition to minority language programmes, Canadian jurisdictions offer a variety of language - primarily French -

immersion programmes. Such programmes vary in terms of the age at which they begin. Some programmes begin when children enter school in kindergarten. Others are organized to begin when students enter grade 4 or 5; and some begin when the student begins his or her secondary schooling. The programmes also differ in the amount of time that students are immersed. Most programmes begin with complete (i.e. 'total') immersion and gradually achieve a balance between the student's home language and the immersion language. According to the Minister of Canadian Heritage, there are approximately 300,000 French Immersion students in Canada's elementary and secondary schools, an increase from 75,000 in 1981. It is estimated that a quarter of Canadians between 18 and 29 years of age are bilingual.⁸

La 'Charte de la langue française' (Charter of the French language) establishes French as the language of instruction in Quebec from kindergarten to secondary school in all schools receiving support from the province. An exception is made for students whose parents, if Canadian citizens, received their elementary instruction in English in Canada; these students may be instructed in English.

A recent survey⁹ of Quebec residents revealed that a remarkable 81 per cent approved of allowing parents to send their children to either an English-language or French-language school regardless of the language spoken by the child's mother; only 15 per cent of Quebec residents disapproved and 4 per cent did not know. Even a majority (65 per cent) of the separatist Bloc Québécois party respondents

-
8. "French Immersion in Canada". Retrieved 17 May 2003 from: <http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/publications/trousse-kit/EF02c.htm> (Information as of 1996).
 9. The *National Post* newspaper commissioned Compas Inc. to undertake a survey of Canadians. Compas Inc. drew a random sample of 785 Canadians, 18 years of age and older, stratified by province (supplemented by major cities in key provinces) from parameters provided by Statistics Canada from regionalized, gender data on the population for the year 2000. Compas used a Mitofsky-Waksberg random digit-dialling design.

supported the proposition, albeit less enthusiastically than respondents aligned with the federal Liberal Party (94 per cent).

Exploratory analyses of background factors related to support for parental language choice indicate that, as might be expected, Quebec residents who responded to the survey in English, and said they were Protestants and Liberals, were overrepresented among those who favoured according parents such a choice. Persons responding in French, who said they were Catholics and affiliates of the Bloc Quebecois were overrepresented among those who were opposed.

Table 1.1 Background characteristics associated with support for choice of language of instruction in Quebec

	Yes	No	X ² probability [*]
Age	< 30 years of age 30-39 years of age 60 years of age +	40-59 year olds	X ² 50.637 p < 0.000
Education	High school or less College	University	X ² 54.618 p < 0.000
Religion	Protestant	Catholic	X ² 36.097 p < 0.003
Language	English	French	X ² 11.483 p < 0.003
Party affiliation	Liberals	Bloc Quebecois	X ² 27.218 p < 0.002

* Because the exploratory nature of those analyses involved from 10 to 20 background variables, caution should be used in interpreting the results. Dividing the alpha level of p=0.05, a strict application of the simple Bonferroni correction, would yield an alpha level of p=0.005 for 10 exploratory analyses from the same data family and an alpha level of p=0.0025 for 20 analyses from the same data set.

Note: Original analysis of data provided by Compas. Inc., from a survey conducted for the *National Post*.

■ Immigrant acquisition of official languages

Without immigration, Canada's population would shrink rapidly, and the dependency ratio - the ratio of children and retired Canadians to the population as a whole - would become unbalanced. Canada relies on a steady flow of immigrants to maintain its population and ensure a well-educated workforce to pay for the programmes, services, and pensions that Canadians have come to expect.

Approximately 45,000 of the 200,000 immigrants that enter Canada each year are students of school age. Canada has a vital interest in ensuring that immigrants learn English or French quickly and well. The possession of one of Canada's official languages is an essential foundation for schooling and work. In the past, immigrants may have struggled to learn English and French without the benefit of special programmes. Many did not succeed. Even among those who did learn English or French, their lack of fluency limited their educational and employment opportunities.

Today, many jurisdictions provide assistance to immigrant children so they may learn English or French. Debra Clarke, a teacher in British Columbia specializing in students learning English, makes a series of interesting observations. In the past, she points out, in many schools the ratio of fluent English speakers (often mistakenly called 'native' English speakers) to non-English speakers was much greater than it is today. Immigrants of previous generations may have been successful learners of English or French without additional help because English-speaking role models surrounded them. They needed to use English to communicate, and had many opportunities to practise the English they had learned (Kilbride *et al.*, 2000; ESL Consortium, 2002).

According to Clarke, the situation for non-English speaking students in public schools today is very different. In many urban Canadian schools, non-English speakers outnumber English speakers.

As a consequence, there are fewer opportunities to hear and use English. In addition, the need to use English outside school is much less than in the past because the students live in large communities of people speaking the same language.

Clarke says that the widely applied label ESL (English as a second language) may once have been useful shorthand. But today its use is an oversimplification. There is great diversity among learners to whom the label is applied. For example, some students (often from the Republic of Korea, Hong Kong, and sometimes Japan) began schooling as early as age 3 or 4. In their countries of origin, these students attended school from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., five and a half or six days a week. Some studied English. In contrast, some of the other students labelled ESL may have had their schooling interrupted or may have never attended school at all. Some refugee students may have attended school for relatively brief periods (perhaps two hours a day, four days a week), where the language of instruction was neither English, French, nor another language familiar to them (Kaprielian-Churchill and Churchill, 1994).

Clarke also points out that consideration of the need for English- or French-language instruction does not always take into account the children born in Canada to immigrant parents. Many of these children have the same language-learning needs as immigrant children. These children often begin kindergarten without having been exposed to English beyond what they may have heard on television.

Canadian school boards are only beginning to face the challenge of accommodating immigrant students. Clarke says that age-equivalent placement policies are often problematic for students unfamiliar with English or French. A 12-year-old student who has never attended school and does not have even rudimentary literacy in any language may be assigned to a grade 7 classroom.

Clarke points out how the patterns of schooling familiar to Canadians can pose a challenge for students from elsewhere. Canadian schools begin in September. But, Clarke says, large numbers of immigrant students enrol in Canadian schools in the spring because that is when the school year begins in their country of origin.

For Clarke the greatest challenge is that teachers in all subjects and at all grade levels are not aware of the need to teach literacy, or are not well prepared to ensure that students acquire the knowledge they need to become literate. The problem is especially challenging for secondary school teachers. They need to be able to address the literacy needs of immigrant students and ensure that their instruction is relevant to the student's level of maturity. More mature students must be engaged in issues that interest them and that can also be used as vehicles for developing literacy. If both factors are not taken into account and the instructional content does not relate to the learners' lives, older learners turn away from school.

Another fairly recent change associated with immigration is a shift in gender balance. In Canada, in general, family preferences for sons are stronger than for daughters. New Canadian families have even stronger preferences for sons than for daughters. Clarke explains that over the last dozen years there has been a shift in the ratio of male students to female students. It is not unusual for a kindergarten or grade 1 class to enrol a disproportionate ratio of boys to girls. Teachers say this makes a difference in classroom dynamics and management.

Some high school teachers complain that male students raised in strongly patriarchal households do not give female teachers the respect they deserve, though this attitude is not confined to the families of immigrant students. Some teachers also express frustration about families that are content to see their daughters complete school,

but want their sons to pursue professional careers. In a society that values equality, such conflicts can strain relations between schools and families.

■ **Socialization for democratic citizenship**

Some critics of multiculturalism have argued that the policy and associated activities impede integration by encouraging the retention of cultural values at variance with those of Canada (Bissoondath, 1994; Bibby, 1990). One of the assumptions made by those concerned about the socialization of immigrants for democratic citizenship is that their adaptation will be impeded by dissimilarities between the civic cultures of the country of origin and Canada. One index of the degree to which Canadians have been socialized for democratic citizenship is their support for the rights and freedoms to which they are entitled. Direct evidence of the level of support for democratic citizenship is available from the results of the British Columbia Charter Survey, although it was not designed for this purpose (Ungerleider, 1991). The data enable an assessment of how much young Canadians know about their rights and of their willingness to granting those rights to others. The data also permit determination as to whether or not Canadian birth, the speaking of English as a first or home language, or a person's subjective ethnicity have an impact upon knowledge of and attitudes toward the rights and freedoms defining democratic citizenship in Canada. As indicated by the data in *Table 1.2*, students born outside Canada, students for whom English was not a first or home language, and students whose subjective ethno-cultural identification was other than Canadian, knew their rights and valued their rights as much as their Canadian-born, English-speaking and Canadian-identifying counterparts.

Table 1.2 Percentage correct and percentage in agreement with provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms for British Columbia secondary school students by country of birth ($N = 3129$), first language spoken ($N = 3101$), language spoken at home ($N = 3099$), and ethno-cultural group identification ($N = 2909$)

	Correct	Agree	
	Number	Mean %	Mean %
<i>Country of birth</i>			
Born in Canada	2868	61.8	61.8
Not born in Canada	301	63.0	62.9
Level of significance		n.s.	n.s.
<i>First language spoken</i>			
English	2731	62.0	61.9
Not English	340	62.1	62.4
Level of significance		n.s.	n.s.
<i>Language spoken at home</i>			
English	2937	62.0	62.1
Not English	162	61.8	60.3
Level of significance		n.s.	n.s.
<i>Ethno-cultural group identification</i>			
Canadian	1848	62.0	62.0
Not Canadian	1061	62.6	62.7
Level of significance		n.s.	n.s.

■ Conflicting conceptions of the curriculum

Schools are conservative institutions that help to maintain a stable course through turbulent times by focusing on established knowledge, history and tradition. As a consequence, the school curriculum is slow to reflect the broad changes affecting society. Canadian school curricula do not fully reflect the contemporary state of Canadian pluralism.

Some parents are concerned about the increasing diversity in the student population. With the inclusion of students with special

educational needs, a growing aboriginal population, and significant numbers of students of colour among the student population, the altered role of schools concerns some parents. While passing on Canadian cultural values to the next generation has always been a significant role of public schooling, it was less conscious a mission when the similarities among students appeared to outweigh their differences.

Parents and community groups are often resistant to the introduction of controversial ideas and issues in schools. Not long ago, several groups in Nova Scotia requested the elimination of Harper Lee's anti-racism novel, *To kill a mockingbird*, on the grounds that it contained the epithet 'nigger'. They argued that the presence of the word in the book would encourage the use of that epithet toward Black Canadian students. Although the book remains in the schools, the controversy reminds teachers how easy it is to offend parents and other community members.

Some parents seek refuge from the debate about whose culture and heritage public schools transmit. They want to educate their children in schools with a special focus, in private schools catering to particular interests, or through home-schooling. The attempt by a group of parents in Richmond, British Columbia, to launch a proposal to establish a 'traditional' school (Ungerleider, 2003; Gaskell, 2001; Makhoul, 2000; Mitchell, 2001) is illustrative of conflicts arising from different conceptions of the purposes, curricula and methodology, and of the tensions such differences create in some Canadian communities.

For more than five years, a group of parents petitioned the Richmond school board to establish a 'traditional' school - particularly a traditional elementary school. The group was composed primarily of Chinese immigrants who had come to Canada seeking a

better education for their children and better lives for themselves. They were at first unfamiliar, and later uncomfortable, with the informality of the elementary school education their children were receiving. The parents requested that the Board of School Trustees establish a school that focused on reading, writing and arithmetic, and required homework. They wanted an emphasis on 'traditional' values, such as honesty, courtesy and responsibility. They also wanted letter grades used to assess student work, 'direct instruction', and school uniforms. They did not want multi-grade classes.

The parents who supported the programme said: "Rather than expecting a single system to meet everyone's needs, public education should reflect our democratic society and provide choice." The parents argued that other school districts already made provision for a variety of alternative programmes, such as French, Montessori, visual and fine arts, 'fundamental', academic, as well as 'traditional' schools.

Charges of elitism and racism swirled through the community. Newspaper accounts contained claims and counterclaims. Vigorous and often heated debate ensued throughout the Richmond community and in the media. Ultimately, the committee charged with settling the dispute recommended that instead of establishing a single traditional school, elements of the traditional school proposal be incorporated into all Richmond elementary schools.

Although the changes introduced were less dramatic than the ones the parents sought, they have altered Richmond elementary schools. Codes of conduct have been introduced. Teachers have responded to parental concerns about the development of basic skills. Schools are more attentive to keeping parents informed about their children's progress. The subtlety of the changes has prompted some of the more cynical observers to comment, quoting Alphonse Karr, that "the more things change, the more they remain the same".

■ Consequences of increasing school choices

Some parents seek refuge from such conflicts in private schools, by schooling their children at home, or by seeking the establishment of charter schools. Increasing private school enrolments, school choice, and the establishment of charter schools has the capacity to fragment Canadians, reducing the influence that Canadian schools exert on the transmission of common values and diminishing social cohesion and undermining the multicultural aspects of the education system. But, so far, school choice in Canada has not gone as far as in other countries.

In 1999, researchers studied the ethnic composition of 55 urban and 57 rural Arizona charter schools. They found that nearly half of the charter schools exhibited evidence of substantial ethnic separation “large enough and consistent enough to warrant concern among education policymakers”. They observed that students who attend schools segregated along ethnic lines do not get the benefits of integration with students of a rich variety of backgrounds.

Inclusive schools – schools that have a healthy mix of children from the local neighbourhood – enjoy a balance of what they refer to as neighbourhood political support: “Ethnic and class-based separation”, the researchers argue, “polarizes the political interests which look out for neighbourhood schools, which results in further disparities in resources, quality of teachers, number of supportive parents, and the like. Schools without political support struggle, and the students suffer” (Cobb and Glass, 1999).

Unfinished business

There are indications that Canada’s approach to multicultural education is beneficial to the children of immigrants. The mental health of immigrant children is better than that of native-born

students (Beiser *et al.*,1998). Their knowledge of rights protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and their willingness to accord those rights to others is equivalent to those of native-born Canadians (Echols *et al.*, 1991). Worswick (2001) studied the school performance - reading, writing, mathematics and overall aptitude - of the children of immigrants in the Canadian school system using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY). He found that, "on average, children of immigrants generally do at least as well as the children of the Canadian-born along each dimension of school performance". As might be predicted, children of immigrant parents whose first language was either English or French had especially high outcomes. "The children of other immigrant parents have lower performance in reading, writing and composition, but their performance in mathematics is comparable to that of the children of Canadian-born parents." Worswick found that additional years of Canadian school experience were related to improved school performance and that, by age 13, the performance of immigrant students who had come to Canada at an early age was equal to or greater than the performance of the children of Canadian-born parents (Worswick, 2001).

Nonetheless, multicultural education, like multiculturalism itself, is unfinished business.¹⁰ Indeed, it should be no surprise that, in many ways, the business of multicultural education has just begun. While some might naïvely look to education to remake the social order, schools are, after all, creatures of the larger society. There are, nevertheless, a number of ways in which multicultural education and its complement, anti-racist education are helping to achieve a vision of a society in which people may retain their heritage languages and their cultural identifications while enjoying the full benefits of a

10. Canadian Council on Social Development (2000). "Immigrant youth in Canada". Retrieved 9 May 2003 from <http://www.ccsd.ca/subsites/cd/docs/iy/index.htm>

citizenship founded on shared rights, freedoms and obligations. These include: (a) identifying and eliminating barriers to access and outcomes in education; (b) developing culturally relevant and inclusive curricula; (c) taking culturally different ways of thinking and responding into account and adjusting teaching strategies accordingly; (d) teaching students how to address prejudice and discrimination; (e) encouraging students to examine how their cultural background affects their understanding of themselves and others; (f) developing fluency in several languages; (g) fostering the ability to take the role of the 'other'; (h) encouraging critical thought; and (i) teaching for human rights and citizenship. While this is by no means an exhaustive list of the ways that multicultural and anti-racist education contribute to Canada's vision, one would be mistaken to infer that these practices are widespread or well-developed. In most places in Canada, these are embryonic. More work, and more systematic work is needed.

Although the Government of Canada contributes to the development of multicultural and anti-racist education, its efforts are rather modest and lack co-ordination, in part, because of the lack of a national department of education. That lack is one of the consequences of Canadian confederation, a political compromise that deeply influenced the character and development of Canada. The British North America Act, 1867¹¹ – now the Constitution Act, 1867 – was the expression of many compromises. The fathers of Confederation carefully set out the responsibilities of each provincial legislature in Section 93 of the Act, stating that in each province, “the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education”.

Limitations were placed upon the jurisdiction of the provinces to prevent the prejudicial treatment of denominational schools or the

11. Retrieved 19 May 2003 from: [.http://canada.justice.gc.ca/loireg/rapport/en/p1t1-1.html](http://canada.justice.gc.ca/loireg/rapport/en/p1t1-1.html)

diminution of the powers and privileges of the Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools. The fathers of Confederation gave special attention to education in Section 93, because it was necessary to protect the education rights of religious minorities.

Although the provinces were granted exclusive jurisdiction to make laws in relation to education, there is nothing in the Constitution Act that prevents the Canadian Government from using its leadership role and spending powers to influence education in Canada. Whenever the Canadian Government has wanted to influence public schooling, it has not been discouraged from doing so. In fact, the government has supported or undertaken a number of initiatives in the realm of public schooling that are of significance to the promotion of multiculturalism.

The Summer Language Bursary Program¹² is an initiative funded by the federal government (the Department of Canadian Heritage) and administered by the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC) in co-operation with the provincial and territorial departments responsible for post-secondary education. Bursaries are provided to Canadian students to facilitate their participation in a five-week immersion course in English or French at accredited institutions.

The Department of Canadian Heritage's Multiculturalism Programme objectives include improving the ability of public institutions (boards of education, colleges and universities, banks, hospitals and the media) to respond to ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. The programme provides assistance in identifying and removing barriers to, and equitable access and participation in, public decision-making.¹³

12. Retrieved 23 May 2003 from: http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/progs/pbel-slbp/index_e.cfm
13. Retrieved 23 May 2003 from: http://www.pch.gc.ca/index_e.cfm

The Interchange on Canadian Studies is a national organization that receives substantial support from the Department of Canadian Heritage for its work with school-age Canadians. The organization attempts to foster participation of young Canadians in the political, economic, social and cultural life of Canada. It tries to promote their understanding and tolerance towards others as well as an appreciation for Canada's diverse heritage. The organization provides the opportunity for young Canadians to meet and listen to prominent Canadians, and to share ideas and experiences significant to Canada. It has been held in a different province or territory each year since 1972. Each province and territory is entitled to send 10 high school students. Provincial and territorial governments, corporations, school boards and student registration fees fund the Interchange on Canadian Studies.¹⁴ The Department of Canadian Heritage through its Exchanges Canada programme provides travel to the conference.

The Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada (SEVEC) is a reciprocal home-stay exchange programme for groups of young Canadians between the ages of 11 and 18. SEVEC receives substantial support from the Department of Canadian Heritages. The exchange students are typically members of school groups or community youth groups. The federal government, through SEVEC Youth Exchanges Canada, provides transportation costs for participants.¹⁵

The above are all examples of federal government involvement in education, but Canada needs to go further. Canada needs a federal department of education.

Canada must use its leadership position and its spending power to ensure a socially cohesive society. Significant achievement gaps

14. For additional information about the Interchange on Canadian Studies see <http://www.ics.ca/> (23 May 2003).

15. For additional information about the Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada, see http://www.sevec.ca/index_e.htm (23 May 2003).

between identifiable groups detract from the promise of Canada and from the promise of public schooling that the outcomes of schooling should not be impeded by one's background. First and most importantly, Canada must address the education of aboriginal learners. The significant gap between aboriginal and non-aboriginal students is a national crisis requiring immediate co-ordinated attention for which the federal government should provide leadership.

For the same reason, it is important for the federal government to provide co-ordination in the identification of educational achievement gaps between other groups (rural and urban, male and female). It should also provide leadership in identifying strategies to overcome the differences. For example, policy, programmes, and support for students with special needs across Canada are uneven.

The financing of English- and French-language education for immigrants has been a point of contention between the provinces and the federal government. This has been largely, though not exclusively, a matter of concern for provinces with significant immigration. The federal government has used the argument that education is a responsibility of the provinces to avoid providing financial resources for language programmes for immigrant students or students whose parents were immigrants.

Part of making immigrants feel welcome in Canada is providing support for their language of birth or that of their parents. Support for heritage language programmes is consistent with the values that distinguish Canada from other nations. Most Canadians value the principle that people should be able to retain their heritage languages and cultural identities so long as that does not lead to inequalities. In addition to their value in helping to maintain culture, heritage languages are an asset to Canada's economic and diplomatic relations.

Support for the study of Canadian public issues is another area in which the Canadian Government should provide leadership. Canadian students should be able to locate themselves in time and place in relation to other nations. They should be able to appraise the strengths and limitations of the approaches that Canada has taken to the problems of human kind: social cohesion, poverty, international relations, environmental sustainability, etc. Students need to know what makes Canada unique. The Government of Canada is well situated to provide support for the development of material and approaches to the study of Canadian public issues. It is in the interest of all Canadians that it does so.

Canada has developed a unique response to a common question: How much and what kind of diversity can and should Canada accommodate and still preserve its identity and cohesion as a nation? Over the last 60 years, Canada has tried to become a society in which its citizens can retain the characteristics and values of the group or groups with which they identify. At the same time, Canadians enjoy the full benefits of a citizenship founded on shared rights, freedoms, and obligations. In other words, Canadians should be able to retain the characteristics and values of their ancestors so long as that retention does not create inequality.

People develop a sense of who they are, and of what they are capable from the institutions, symbols and myths that reflect their dreams, aspirations and images. Canada's sense of self is relatively weak in comparison with nations such as the United States, Japan and France. As a consequence, Canada is a fragile nation. Canada depends greatly upon its public schools to teach the Canadians about their history, institutions and the values that distinguish Canadians from others. They also teach Canadians how a civil society conducts itself.

Public schooling in Canada is directly connected to the maintenance of a socially cohesive society and the quality of Canadian

life. A recent editorial in the *Globe and Mail* newspaper put it well: "Public schools are the place where children from diverse backgrounds learn to live together as Canadians." The writer's description of a Toronto schoolyard might just as well have been a description of a schoolyard in Montreal or Vancouver. "Walk into any schoolyard ... and you will encounter children from scores of different national, religious and ethnic backgrounds: Vietnamese and Jamaican, Hindu and Muslim, Slav and Tamil, all mingling together as if it were the most natural thing in the world." In public schools children learn to respect one another "by playing and learning side by side."

The lesson for the *Globe and Mail* writer was clear: "A society that accepts as many immigrants as Canada does - and Canada takes more immigrants per capita than any other country - has to have a way to weave the newcomers into the broad fabric of society. That fabric may have many threads and many colours, but it must hold together."

References

- Anderson, S.E.; Fullan, M. 1984. *Policy implementation issues for multicultural education at the school board level*. Toronto: OISE.
- Association for Values Education and Research. 1978. *Prejudice: teacher's manual*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Beiser, M.; Hou, F.; Hyman, I.; Tousignant, M. 1998. *New immigrant children: How are they coping?* Paper presented at "Investing in children: a national research conference, 1998". Retrieved 9 May 2003 from: <http://www.hrhc-drhc.gc.ca/sp-ps/arb-dgra/nlscy-elnej/w-98-24es-e.pdf>

- Bibby, R.W. 1990. *Mosaic madness: the poverty and potential of life in Canada*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing.
- Bissoondath, N. 1994. *Selling illusions: the cult of multiculturalism in Canada*. Toronto: Penguin Books.
- Churchill, S. 1986. *The education of linguistic and cultural minorities in the OECD countries*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Clifton, R.; Perry, R.P. 1985. "Has ethnic prejudice increased in schools? A comparison of Bogardus social distance scales in 1971 and 1981". In: *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 18(3).
- Cobb, C.D.; Glass, G.V. 1999. "Ethnic segregation in Arizona charter schools". In: *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 7(1).
- Coombs, J. 1986. "Multicultural education and social justice". In: J.H. Knoll (Ed.), *International yearbook of adult education*. Vienna: Bohlau Verlag Koln.
- Cummins, J.; Masemann, V. 1985. *Education, cultural and linguistic pluralism in Canada*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Danesi, M.; De Sousa, C. 1995. "Why has the debate on bilingual education been rekindled?" In: K.A. McLeod (Ed.), *Multicultural education: the state of the art - Studies of Canadian heritage* (pp. 1-10). Ottawa: Canadian Association of Second language Teachers.
- Daudlin, B. 1984. *Equality now!* Report of the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, p. 129. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.
- Echols, F.H.; Fisher, D. 1989. "An evaluation of the Vancouver School Board Race Relations Program". Unpublished manuscript.

———; Ungerleider, C.S.; Daniels, L.B.; La Bar, C. 1991. "Student's knowledge of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and their agreement with its provisions". In: *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, xxxvi(1), 1-15.

ESL Consortium. 2002. *Growing diversity: settlement and integration services for immigrant children in a new century: a discussion paper prepared by the ESL Consortium.*

Friesen, J.W. 1985. *When cultures clash: case studies in multiculturalism.* Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited.

Gaskell, J. 2001. "The 'public' in public schools: a school board debate". In: *Canadian Journal of Education*, 26(1), 19-36.

Griffith, B.; Labercane, G.; Paul, J. 1995. "Multicultural education: recognition of the conversational negotiation of self, other and identity". In: K.A. McLeod (Ed.), *Multicultural education: the state of the art - Studies of Canadian heritage* (pp. 152-160). Ottawa: Canadian Association of Second language Teachers.

Jack, D. 1989. "Improving students' ethnic attitudes: a grade three multicultural education program". In: *Multiculturalism*, 12(1).

Kaprielian-Churchill, I.; Churchill, S. 1994. *The pulse of the world: refugees in our schools.* Toronto: OISE Press.

Kehoe, J. 1984. *A handbook for enhancing the multicultural climate of the school.* Vancouver: Western Education Development Group.

———; Segawa, M. 1995. "The effects of antiracist and multicultural curricula on beliefs about First Nations people". In: K.A. McLeod (Ed.), *Multicultural education: the state of the art - studies of*

Canadian heritage (pp. 55-63). Ottawa: Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers.

Kilbride, K.M.; Anisef, P.; Baichman-Anisef, E.; Khattar, R. 2000. *Between two worlds: the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario*. Toronto: CERIS and CIC-OASIS. www.settlement.org

Kymlicka, W. 1995. *Multicultural citizenship: a liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

LaBar, C. 1981. *Introduction to critical thinking: a teaching manual*. Association for Values Education and Research, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia. Mimeo.

Lavender, E. 1986. *A short inventory of multicultural education programs and policies*. Toronto: OISE.

Lundy, J.E.; Lawrence, D. 1995. "Equity access to teacher education: issues for visible minority and First Nations candidates". In: K.A. McLeod (Ed.), *Multicultural education: the state of the art - Studies of Canadian heritage* (pp. 11-22). Ottawa: Canadian Association of Second language Teachers.

Lynch, J. 1987. *Prejudice reduction and the schools*. New York: Nichols Publishing Company.

Makhoul, A. 2000. *Richmond School District builds strong foundation*. Ottawa, Ontario: Caledon Institute of Social Policy.

Martin-Jones, M. 1989. "Language education in the context of linguistic diversity: differing orientations in educational policy making". In: J.H. Esling (Ed.), *Multicultural education and policy: ESL in the 1990*. Toronto: OISE.

- McAndrew, M. 2001. *Immigration et diversité à l'école : le débat québécois dans une perspective comparative*. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- McDougall, D. 1986. "Implementing programs to reduce prejudice". In: R.J. Samuda and S.L. Kong (Eds.), *Multicultural education programs and methods*. Toronto: Intercultural Social Sciences Publication Inc.
- McGregor, J. 1993. "Effectiveness of role playing and antiracist teaching in reducing student prejudice". In: *Journal of Educational Research*, 86(4), 215-226.
- ; Ungerleider, C. 1993. "Multiculturalism and racism awareness programs for teachers: a meta-analysis of the research". In: K.A. McLeod (Ed.), *Multicultural education: the state of the art national study*. Report No.1, pp. 59-63. Ottawa: Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers.
- McLeod, K.A. 1984. "Multiculturalism and multicultural education: policy and practice". In: R.J. Samuda *et al.* (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in Canada*. Toronto: Allyn and Bacon.
- McPhie, J.L.; Beynon, J. 1989. "Attitude change through cultural immersion: a grade four enrichment curriculum". In: *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 21(1).
- Melenchuk, A. 1989. "The effects of a cross-cultural training programme on the attitudes of eighth graders toward prairie Indians". In: *Multiculturalism*, 12(2).
- Melnicer, R. 1986. "How one school division multiculturalized". In: *Multiculturalism*, 9(2).

- Metropolitan Separate School Board. 1984. *Race and ethnic relations and multicultural policy: guidelines and procedures*. Willowdale, Ontario: Metropolitan Separate School Board.
- Mitchell, K. 2001. "Education for democratic citizenship: transnationalism, multiculturalism, and the limits of liberalism". In: *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(1).
- Murray, J. 1977. *Toronto educational governance/multiculturalism case study*. Toronto: Minister of Education.
- Redden, G. 1990. "Multicultural education in Atlantic Canada". In: *Multiculturalism*, 13(1).
- Roberts, L.W.; Clifton, R.A. 1990. "Multiculturalism in Canada: a sociological perspective". In: P.S. Li (Ed.), *Race relations in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Tator, C.; Henry, F. 1991. Cited in: J. Kehoe, E. Mansfield (1993), "The limitations of multicultural and anti-racist education". In: K. McLeod (Ed.), *Multicultural education: the state of the art national study*. Report No.1, pp. 3-8. Ottawa: Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers.
- Triandis, H.C. 1975. "Culture training, cognitive complexity and interpersonal attitudes". In: R.W. Brislin *et al.* (Eds.), *Cross-cultural perspectives on learning* (pp. 39-77). Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.
- Ungerleider, C. S. 1991. "Schooling, identity, and democracy: issues in the social-psychology of Canadian classrooms". In: R. Short, L.L. Stewin, S.J.H. McCann (Eds.), *Educational psychology in Canada* (pp. 197-208). Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd.

———. 2003. *Failing our schools: how we are ruining our public schools* (pp. 83-90). Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart.

Worswick, C. 2001. *School performance of the children of immigrants in Canada, 1994-1998*. Department of Economics, Carleton University and Family and Labour Studies, Statistics Canada.

Zinman, R. 1988. *A multicultural/multiracial approach to education in the schools of the protestant school board of greater Montreal: report of the task force on multicultural/multiracial education*. Montreal: The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.

CHAPTER 2. THE MULTICULTURAL MODEL: THE CASE OF MEXICO

*Sylvia Schmelkes*¹

Introduction

Mexico is a multicultural country. According to the 2000 census, 6,044,547 persons aged five years or older speak an indigenous language, to which we must add 1,233,455 children under five whose parents speak an indigenous language. A little over 1 million Indians age five years or over are monolingual in an indigenous tongue.

To the more than 7 million indigenous peoples of all ages the census adds 1,103,312 persons who do not speak an indigenous language but who consider themselves indigenous.² Thus, the official number of the indigenous population in Mexico is 8,382,314 persons – around 8.5 per cent of the total population in the country. The indigenous population has grown during the last two decades (from 6.4 to 8.4 million), but at a lower rate than the total population.

The indigenous population in Mexico is distributed into 62 distinct ethnic and linguistic groups. The 62 different indigenous languages have approximately 350 dialectal variations. These groups are native of 24 of the 32 federal entities in Mexico. Internal migration has

-
1. General Coordinator for Intercultural Bilingual Education, Ministry of Education, Mexico.
 2. Many studies show that this number is grossly underestimated; 12 million is a more accepted number in specialized circles. Some speak of almost 20 million (one fifth of the population). One reason for this underestimation seems to be the fact that people prefer not to admit that they are indigenous. Another important cause, perhaps more important than this first one, is that those who ask the census questions prefer not to ask. The first cause, in any case, seems to be diminishing.

distributed the indigenous population to all the federal entities in the country. The most numerous group is that of the Nahuas, with a little more than 1.5 million members disseminated in several federal entities. The second group is the Mayas, with almost 1 million members, mainly concentrated in the Yucatán peninsula. Of the indigenous population, 89 per cent live in 12 of the 32 federal entities that make up the country (Presidencia de la República, 2001).

The indigenous population in Mexico is at the bottom of the list of most development indicators. Of the municipalities with 30 per cent or more indigenous population, 88 per cent are classified as municipalities with very high or high marginality.³ Infant mortality among the indigenous population is 58 per cent higher than the national mean. The number of indigenous women who die during pregnancy, while giving birth or during the month after doing so almost triples that of non-indigenous women. Life expectancy among the indigenous population (69 years) is five years less than the national mean (74).

Education: diagnosis⁴

In Mexico, there are 1.3 million primary school-age indigenous children between six and 14 years of age (according to the linguistic criterion). Of these, 215,000 do not attend school (16.43 per cent). For every non-indigenous child that does not attend school, there are two indigenous children. More indigenous girls than indigenous boys are in this situation, and the proportion of girls not attending is much higher among the indigenous population.

-
3. Marginality (very high, high, medium, low, very low) is a composite index that includes access to electricity, water, drainage systems; type of household; mortality and morbidity rates; and educational indicators.
 4. What follows is based mainly on Secretaría de Educación Pública, Coordinación General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe. *Diagnóstico Inicial de la Educación Primaria Indígena en México*. México: In press.

Of the Mexican population 15 years of age and over, 10.9 per cent are illiterate. But this is true of 34 per cent of the indigenous population (according to the linguistic criterion) belonging to the same age group. In some states, the percentage of illiterates is much higher. In Guerrero it is 61.3 per cent, in Chiapas and Chihuahua it is 56.2 per cent. Illiteracy among women is, depending on the state, from three to six times the national mean. While 31 per cent of the Mexican population in this age group has not completed primary education, this is true of 76 per cent of the indigenous population.

In 1979, in part as a consequence of strong pressure from indigenous groups (particularly teachers), a separate modality of primary education was set up to attend to indigenous children in their own language. An important decision was taken at the time: It was considered more important for a person who acted as teacher to speak the language of the child than for him or her to have a professional teacher education - there were very few professional teachers who spoke an indigenous language. Thus, teachers were recruited during the first 15 years or so with 9 years of schooling and at present with 12 years of schooling, trained in a short three-month course, and sent to work in bilingual bicultural schools.

This subsystem has grown considerably in the last 20 years. At present it represents two thirds of the indigenous enrolment in primary schools. It has expanded to non-formal parent education and to pre-school education. It has changed its name (since 1997) to Intercultural Bilingual Education. Bilingual education is its declared objective, but where operational it tends to be instrumental in nature: The mother tongue is only used when strictly necessary and/or in the first two to three years of primary school as a tool for acquiring the written language. The objective is the Spanish language.

There are 8,700 indigenous schools and 31,400 at the primary school level. However, para-professionals with 12 years of schooling

are continually being recruited; they now have the option of following, in open-learning systems, a teaching career in indigenous education through the National Pedagogical University. There are many who have done so, and do so.⁵

However, indicators of educational development are significantly different among subsystems. Due to difficulties in finding teachers and to negative practices on the part of the teachers' union, 12 per cent of the teachers in indigenous schools do not speak the language of the community in which they work. Many of the teachers are not professional, so these children are faced with two disadvantages. There are 15 Indian languages – with a small number of members – that are not yet being taught in schools. Of the indigenous schools, 20 per cent do not offer the six grades of primary school (this is true of 5.7 per cent of schools at the national level); 28 per cent are schools with only one teacher. Both types of schools have decreased in percentage in the last 5 years. Each teacher is in charge of 1.76 groups with 25 students on average (the national means are 1.23 and 27.87 respectively).

Repetition rates are much higher in indigenous schools (13 per cent) than in general primary schools (6 per cent). Almost two out of 10 children who attend indigenous schools either repeat or drop out each year, while the same is true of one out of 10 children in regular schools. Only two out of three children who registered in the first grade of indigenous schools in 1994 finished sixth grade in 2000, while the national mean is 80 per cent. This difference, however, has been steadily decreasing since 1995.

5. Another subsystem emerged in 1998 to give attention to indigenous children in very dispersed rural communities. This system is an adaptation of the well-known Mexican system of Community Courses for dispersed rural communities. This is a multi-level school with a para-professional (9 to 12 years of schooling). In indigenous communities, the para-professional is also indigenous and works with both languages (the native tongue and Spanish) in the classroom. This subsystem is still small but growing very rapidly. I will not deal with this subsystem in this article.

Student achievement in indigenous schools is, in general, much lower than in general schools. A study, carried out in 1991, compares results of a test in basic skills in five contexts (Schmelkes *et al.*, 1996), finds significant differences between indigenous schools and urban middle-class schools (though not in schools in rural and urban marginal areas). The difference is enormous: The mean in the urban middle-class schools is 20 to 25 points higher than in the indigenous schools in the communication skills test, and 11 to 14 points higher in the mathematics skills test. More recently, in a national assessment with a national sample of different types of schools, we found a significant difference in the learning outcomes of indigenous schools with respect to all other types of schools: private, urban, rural and community courses. The disadvantages in Indian schools are alarming: Students are a long way from reaching the national standards in primary schools (Schmelkes, 2000).

It is important to note that secondary education (grades 7 to 9) is considered basic, thus compulsory, since 1993. There is no indigenous secondary education, and indigenous regions are only recently beginning to receive an educational supply at this level of education, mainly through telesecondary schools (58 per cent of the indigenous student enrolment in secondary schools is in telesecondary schools).⁶ However, only 3.7 per cent of the total enrolment in secondary education corresponds to indigenous students in the year 2000 (where the total proportion of indigenous population, following the linguistic criterion, is at least double).⁷ The problem of a lack of

6. Telesecondary schools have operated in Mexico for the last 33 years. They offer TV-aided instruction to small, mainly rural schools with one teacher per grade (instead of one teacher per subject, as in other secondary schools).

7. That the proportion of indigenous population is underrepresented became clear very recently. Students who present examinations for entry to higher secondary education (grade 10) in urban areas were asked for the first time whether they spoke an Indian language. Of this already selected population, 7 per cent replied in the affirmative! (Ceneval, A.C. Exani, I. 2002).

educational coverage of basic compulsory education is evidently severe among indigenous groups. The educational outcomes of telesecondary school students are significantly lower, nation-wide, than those of students attending the other two types of secondary schools: general and technical (Santos, 1999).

Recent developments

There have been important recent transformations, especially in legislation, in the way Mexico defines itself and its relationships to the Indian peoples of the country. This is mainly due to a much stronger presence of indigenous peoples in Mexican Society, in great part as a consequence of the Zapatista uprising in 1994. Some of these are as follows:

In 1992, following the example of other Latin American countries, and on the occasion of the 500 years of the 'meeting of two worlds', Mexico defines itself in its Constitution as a multicultural and multilingual country. This represents a very profound shift from a history characterized by the imposition of a dominant culture and the struggle for homogeneity in the building of the national state. The implications are very important, particularly for education. A multicultural and multilingual country is obliged to protect and strengthen the languages and cultures that compose it: to do otherwise is to act against itself.

In 1996, the San Andrés Agreements were signed. Educationally, the state agrees to the right of Indian peoples to education in their own language and relevant to their own culture at all levels and to develop intercultural education for the population as a whole. At the end of the year 2000, an opposition party won the presidential election for the first time in 71 years. Among its first decisions was to institute an office depending on the presidency

for indigenous affairs, headed by an Indian woman. The National Indigenous Institute had an Indian director for the first time in its 50 years of existence. The General Co-ordination for Bilingual Intercultural Education was created in January 2001 with the specific objectives of offering culturally relevant quality education to indigenous peoples at all levels and of developing intercultural education for all the population at all levels.

The Constitution was amended in 2002 with the introduction of some - unfortunately not all - of the San Andrés Agreements. Territorial autonomy and collective territorial rights were not accepted, much to the disappointment of indigenous peoples and organizations. However, educational agreements were, in general, respected.

The Law of Linguistic Rights was passed in 2003. Among other things, this law recognized the right of indigenous populations to be educated in their own language (regardless of type of school or level of education), and established the National Institute of Indigenous Languages for the study and promotion of the public use of Indian languages.

These were profound and important transformations in the discourse of the relation between the state and the Indian peoples. Implications for education are strong, beginning with our recognition as a multicultural nation. It is now imperative to translate some of these implications to policy, programmes, and reality. It has never been convenient, but now it is no longer possible to go about these activities without the widespread and real participation of the Indian peoples.

Educational policy regarding intercultural bilingual education: the initial definitions towards an integrated model

- **Some conceptual characterizations: multiculturalism and interculturalism⁸**

We understand that there is an important difference between these two concepts. Multiculturalism refers to the coexistence of different cultures in one same territory. It is a descriptive concept. It does not, however, refer to the relationship between these cultures, and does not, therefore, qualify this relationship. It admits relations of discrimination, marginalization, domination and exploitation, – also a statement of fact, as we tried to make clear in the first part of this presentation.

Interculturalism, in contrast, refers precisely to the relationship between different cultures and qualifies that relationship: It is a relationship on equal footing, based on mutual respect and appreciation. It is not a descriptive concept, but a desideratum.

Multiculturalism and education: Multicultural education implies, as we have said, fostering diversity and strengthening different cultures and languages in a country that defines itself as multicultural.

Intercultural education: Intercultural education is understood to be an education for the construction of an intercultural country. It is education for interculturalism. It also implies, of course, fostering diversity and strengthening the different cultures and languages. But it has to do not only with minorities, but also with the whole national population.

8. This part of the article is based on Poder Ejecutivo Federal, Programa Nacional de Educación 2001-2006. México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2001, as well as on the programme of the Coordinación General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (mimeo), 2001. It refers to declared policy purposes.

Since interculturalism means intercultural relationships based on respect and on equal footing, it is necessary to recognize the existence of severe economic, social and political asymmetries. Policy in general must be oriented towards combating these inequalities.

■ **Philosophy of education for interculturalism**

The struggle against two of these asymmetries is the object of educational policy:

The educational asymmetry

We have extensively described the educational inequalities between indigenous and non-indigenous populations, and the disadvantage of indigenous populations regarding educational services and outcomes has been documented.

This is a challenge Mexico must face directly. It is not possible to speak about intercultural education for all if we are not achieving minimum objectives among our indigenous population.

Some of the causes of educational inequalities are clear, others are not:

- There is clearly an unequal distribution of resources, both financial and human, negatively affecting indigenous populations. More resources are necessary.
- Education has to be made culturally relevant to the different groups. The national curriculum is still seen as inflexible and compulsory by teachers and supervisors, and little cultural adaptation of curriculum is going on in schools.
- Education is not truly bilingual. It must aim towards a balanced bilingualism, and must be achieved as a consequence of basic education. The possibility of writing indigenous languages has to

be developed through the definition of alphabets and grammars that are still not available for almost half the indigenous languages that exist in the country.

- Teachers are not professionals. They cannot read or write their mother tongue. Many of them have been educated in a system that has made them ashamed of being indigenous and of speaking a different language and they portray this attitude to their students.
- Due to centuries of racism and discrimination, parents often reject bilingual education: What they expect from schools is for them to teach their children Spanish and to be able to read and write and to solve mathematical problems. Pressure from communities for teachers and schools to detour from bilingual intercultural educational philosophy is in many cases quite strong.
- Decentralization has, unexpectedly, caused further damage to indigenous education. Combined with a segregated subsystem of bilingual intercultural education, it has in many cases produced de-routing of federal resources and a marginalization of indigenous education authorities.
- The teachers' union has obtained undue prerogatives such as, among others, the faculty for designating teachers to schools. Often it designates teachers who do not speak the language of the communities. It also severely limits the possibility of educational authorities to sanction irresponsible or incompetent teachers. In many indigenous schools teacher absenteeism is high.
- Parents put little pressure on teachers and principals, due to the fact that they themselves did not attend school and have no references as to what they should expect.

All of these causes must be faced in order to radically improve educational quality in indigenous areas. Some steps have been taken: Teachers are being trained, a specialization in bilingual intercultural education is being designed for normal schools, regional state

education authorities are becoming involved in planning for improved indigenous education, materials for the teaching of the mother tongue and of Spanish as a second language are being developed, among other things. Special monitoring of progress is needed, with adequate assessment instruments that do not yet exist. There is still a great deal to be done, and further research is needed to better understand the problems of indigenous education and the reasons why, up to now, policy has failed. Some obscure areas have to do with the curriculum - a more flexible, diversified curriculum is clearly needed, but highly controversial: the training of teachers - what to emphasize, where to start; the relationship of bilingual education with wider-range language policies, etc. Integration of one sole educational system with ramifications for different populations seems convenient and advisable, especially in the light of previous experience of a segregated system combined with a recent process of decentralization, but this faces a strong resistance from the teachers' union, and the teachers themselves. It would seem, however, that it is the way to proceed with higher levels of education.

There are other implications for educational policy derived from combating the educational asymmetry: Further levels of education must be made available to indigenous populations in their own regions. Indigenous peoples must develop ways to participate actively in expressing their educational needs and desires, and in monitoring and assessing educational progress. Also in this respect some steps are being taken: Intercultural institutions for higher secondary and higher education are being designed and developed; some have already been set up in indigenous regions. This is an important field for innovation and experimentation, and it requires both political will and increased resources for education in indigenous areas.

The esteem asymmetry (including self-esteem)

This asymmetry or inequality refers to the existence of prejudices, racism, discrimination and attitudes of superiority among the mainstream population, and its consequence in many indigenous populations regarding their own cultural self-esteem. Some indigenous groups consider themselves inferior to the mestizo population, and are unwilling to maintain exterior expressions of their differences: language, dress, customs and traditions.

Combating this asymmetry is, we believe, a clear educational challenge (although it also has strong implications for other areas of social and development policy). However, the implications are different in three scenarios:

- *The 'homogeneous minority' scenario.* This is the scenario of indigenous communities in rural areas. Policy here should foster the appreciation of their own culture, the knowledge of their language and its mastery in oral and written form, and the achievement of common competencies defined at a national level, including the mastery of Spanish, the official language of the country. The desired result is cultural self-esteem as a basis for intercultural relations on equal footing. From what has been said about the curriculum, the way the system is organized, and the training process teachers have been through, this objective poses an enormous policy challenge. We must recognize that the process for facing it is not clear.
- *The mainstream population.* Racism and prejudice stem precisely from this group. The struggle against them must be carried out with this population. Educational implications include the fact that students have to be informed about the cultural and linguistic diversity of the country in which they live. It is impossible to appreciate what one ignores - and in Mexico the mainstream

population greatly ignores its cultural diversity. An intercultural curriculum that incorporates history, knowledge, art and values of the different cultures that compose our country - as well as of their own culture and other cultures of the world, which they do acquire - is a fundamental part of an educational policy oriented towards interculturalism. Knowledge of other cultures must be reflected across the curriculum, in all pertinent subjects. Knowledge is first; appreciation - which gives way to respect - is next. But appreciation of diversity must be intentionally pursued, since it does not automatically derive from mere knowledge, though it is impossible without it. Profound values of education and moral judgement development seem adequate pedagogical strategies for this purpose. We have made some progress in the design of the intercultural curriculum for pre-school and secondary education, with some participation from Indian groups and organizations, in both the information and the value aspects of curricular development. Our explicit objective is to have these two educational levels ready by 2004, and the primary level by 2005.

- *Multicultural realities.* Multicultural scenarios are rapidly multiplying and growing in our country, due to poverty conditions in the countryside and migration to the cities and to the large plantation-like agricultural extensions in the north of the country. Forty per cent of our indigenous population is urban. Mexico City is the city with the largest indigenous population in Latin America. Monterrey, capital of a state with no native indigenous groups, is home for members of 40 different ethnic groups. However, neither schools nor teachers are prepared to face multicultural realities. Teachers tend to see multiculturalism in school as a problem. Indian students in the cities are often referred to special education institutions because teachers misjudge a language difficulty as a learning problem. The challenge here is to turn this 'problem' into

a pedagogical advantage, as Canada and some countries in Europe have learned to do. In fact, a multicultural scenario is a place where cultural enrichment can be experienced every day. Diversity in education has been discovered by pedagogy as an advantage. Cultural diversity is not only not an exception, but is also a privileged area of diversity for educational (cultural) purposes.

Tensions, dilemmas, questions

We have tried to portray a picture of Mexico as a country facing an important shift in its educational policy regarding its indigenous population and the population as a whole. This is in great part a consequence of stronger and more articulate demands on the part of the indigenous population and its organizations. We cannot say that indigenous education is facing up to the demands for education, participation and development of the Indian population. The challenge is clearly to make it so.

Many of the policy issues that we have defined are entirely new in the country and probably at the forefront of what is being done in most countries with a similar multicultural situation. This calls for intensive innovation and, at the same time, for flexibility and rigorous evaluation. This we are trying to achieve. In doing so, we face both enthusiasm and uncertainties. Some of the latter are as follows:

- *Participation.* It is clear that what we are trying to achieve can best be faced with the participation of the indigenous peoples and their organizations. This is easy to say, difficult to do. Indian peoples are many, diverse and dispersed. Some groups are well organized, while others are not. Still others are politically divided and face deep conflicts that are difficult to surmount. We have asked Indian groups to tell us what they want the Mexican population to learn about them in school. Some of them have given

us very valuable inputs. Most, however, have naturalized their culture and have difficulty objectifying it. Still others do not believe their culture is valuable enough to be taught to others. We are aware that some participation is always better than none. But we are not satisfied with what we have achieved so far. Indian peoples' needs and aspirations are still, to a great extent, invisible to mainstream society.

- *Diversity and quality.* When trying to diversify curricula to fit different cultures and situations, we meet with strong opposition from educational authorities, professionals and intellectuals on two accounts. The first has to do with the fear of dividing and fragmenting the country, which is still fragile as a nation. The second, most difficult, one refers to the question of ensuring a quality education for all. Diversification of curriculum poses a threat to equity in quality of educational results. This is clearly a case in point. However, at the same time, diversification is an evident need in a country with a mainstream mestizo population and 62 different indigenous groups, in addition to other cultural minorities such as the Afro-mestizos and the Mennonites. It is also a strong demand of Indian peoples. We are convinced that both things are possible, but solid, theoretical underpinnings for the definition of a set of common competencies and a leeway for diversity in both contents and methodology are clearly needed. Also, in our quest for an integrated system, we imagine an educational system that admits differentiation but impedes inequality. A national curriculum should be able to admit diversity at both a local and a regional (ethnic) level of decision-making.
- *Financing.* Compensatory programmes have been the way to reach indigenous schools with greater resources. However, compensatory programmes have a strong limitation within this scheme: They are massive, and they seem to be based more on making Indian schools like urban schools than in fortifying their

particular strengths. And they are clearly not sufficient when what is being pursued is affirmative action in order to attain at least adequate levels of equity in quantity and quality of material, financial and human resources.

- *Integrated policy.* Effectiveness of education depends to a great deal on its capacity to articulate with other policy areas. This is especially true in the case of the Indian population which, as we saw, is faced with severe inequalities in the economic, political and social spheres. Even in less complex areas, the effectiveness of bilingual education, for example, depends to a great extent on the existence of a broader language policy that is able to promote the public use of Indian languages. Policy definition and implementation in general, and certainly in Mexico, are strictly sectorial in nature. This clearly limits the scope and possible impact of important shifts in educational policy for Indian peoples. To a great extent, this falls beyond the educational arena. Indian peoples should take it on themselves to press for integration. However, this has important educational implications, mainly for adult education among Indian peoples, which we are not yet dealing with and do not very well know how.

As I mentioned, however, there are also reasons to be optimistic. Some of these are the following:

- *Political conditions.* The presence of Indian peoples and their organizations has grown, strengthened and matured historically, but noticeably during the last decade. This has given way to the development of a political will to develop Indian communities and to listen to the Indian peoples. This is reflected in several areas of policy-making and clearly in education.
- *Teacher availability.* Indigenous teachers react favourably to the philosophy behind what is being developed. They are in dire need

of attention. Training is a felt need. Pedagogical tools for better facing their professional activity are, in general, very well received. Teachers have, for the most part, been left alone in their designs for improving educational results. A little more attention is very well received. Our greater surprise has been with regular teachers. While we expected among them at least the same distribution of resistance as that in society at large, we have met not only with a good reception of the proposal of intercultural education for all, but with an enthusiastic involvement and a rewarding creativity of many of those with whom we have had the opportunity of working closely.

- *Community involvement.* Working with Indigenous communities who have traditionally resisted bilingual intercultural education has been enlightening. The basic human need for identity is very close to the surface. When parents have the opportunity of reflecting on their own culture and its worth and value, and of the importance of having their children recognize and value their cultural origin and the language which voices it, they generally both participate and applaud the school reforms aimed at strengthening languages and cultures. A lot more can be done in this direction.

The need for greater autonomy on the part of schools is, we believe, strongly related to the recognition of diversity in general, and of cultural diversity in particular. Strengthening the professional capacity of teachers, principals and supervisors to creatively face diversity at the local and regional level is a strong assumption behind our model. Integration of an educational system can only be achieved when diversity is recognized and when conditions are placed to respond to it with quality and equity.

References

- Presidencia de la República. 2001. *Programa Nacional de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas 2001-2006*. México: Presidencia de la República.
- Santos, A. 1999. *La educación secundaria en México*. Tesis doctoral. Aguascalientes: Universidad Autónoma de Aguascalientes.
- Schmelkes, S.; Noriega, C.; Lavín, S.; Martínez, F. 1996. *The quality of primary education in Mexico: a case study of Puebla*. Paris: IIEP.
- . 2000. "Education and Indian peoples in Mexico: an example of policy failure". In: F. Reimers (Ed.), *Unequal schools, unequal chances: the challenges of equal opportunity in the Americas* (pp. 318-333). Cambridge: Harvard University.

CHAPTER 3. THE INTEGRATION MODEL: THE CASE OF FRANCE

Jean-Pierre Obin

Introduction

France is one of the countries in which a state preceded the constitution of a nation. So the question of the political treatment of religious, linguistic, social and cultural diversity has been posed for a very long time, even as early as the Middle Ages. In this historical context, the use of the school as a tool of unification and social control to serve this political purpose – the constitution of a nation – appeared at the end of the 17th century along with the concurrence of the Counter-Reformation and the development of schooling. Under these conditions, can it be maintained that the French school ‘model’ of social integration is ‘republican’, as is often asserted, or that it is simply national?

To answer this question, we will examine the approaches and concerns with which this model was created, and what its characteristics and effectiveness are today. In the first, preliminary, part we will clarify the meaning of the concepts generally used: integration, assimilation, insertion, and the multi-ethnic and multicultural society, notably when the fate of populations that come from immigration is dealt with. In the second part, we will analyze how, and to what extent, the various authorities that have succeeded each other since the 18th century have used the school, and also what the ambitions of the reforms were that gradually gave birth to the current system. In the third part, we will examine the current problems of this school model as affected by various factors – notably

the emergence of an urban segregation of the habitat, the progress of utilitarian conceptions of the school, the European comparison of school models, the development of international migrations and the emergence of international law.

The meaning of the words: multiple views on immigration

In France, immigration – and as a consequence, the integration of immigrant populations – is being debated. The French see it as one of the major problems they are confronted with, along with unemployment and fear of crime, a trio of worries that favours amalgams and excesses. The extreme Right has made this question its political stock and trade. The parties of the Right and the Left, when they are in power, are often divided on the policy that promotes the welcoming of immigrants and their acquisition of French nationality. A dispassionate and objective approach must therefore start with a clarification of terms and the way in which they are used.

The word 'immigrant' deserves first to be clarified, as numerous ambiguities, inaccuracies and misinterpretations abound. Immigrants are people living in France, born abroad of parents who are not French. This definition excludes both French people born abroad and foreigners born in France. Some immigrants are therefore of foreign nationality, others of French nationality obtained through acquisition or naturalization. In the 1999 census, France counted 3,260,000 million foreigners and 4,310,000 million immigrants, 1,560,000 million of whom were French. Whereas the foreign population has decreased (-9 per cent since 1990), the immigrant population has increased, although its proportion has remained absolutely stable since 1975 at 7.5 per cent of the total population (Obin and Obin-Coulon, 1999).

As for the word 'integration', it seems no longer to need a direct object to be understood: In the press, on the radio, in everyday language, this term most often designates the fate of immigrants and their children, the place they occupy in society as well as that which their cultures of origin should hold in it, the legal measures regarding their rights and obligations and, more generally, the public policies that concern them. The terminology concerning immigration, however, continues to waver and still does not seem totally stabilized. The term 'integration', like those that complement it, compete with it or have preceded it in the preferences of researchers or politicians - 'insertion' and 'assimilation' - are in fact often invested with moral connotations or are carriers of political projects.

Historically, the word 'assimilation' was the first to be used. Through metaphor, it designates for the demographers and ethnologists the disappearance of the characteristics of certain human groups, through 'incorporation' for some of them, or 'absorption' for certain others. The individuals and their descendants do not disappear physically; but gradually, most often, the cultural characteristics that distinguish the assimilating populations fade, then vanish altogether. Only an exotic surname remains as a witness to foreign ancestry, more or less distant. Assimilation would then tend to designate the irreversible processes of the loss of the distinctive cultural characteristics of an immigrant population, or one having been subjected to an invasion, colonization or dominant cultural influence. This term, however, is controversial because it is burdened with a dual suspicion - moral and political. From a moral viewpoint, wishing to assimilate means trying to make the other person's culture disappear and imposing one's own traditions, standards and values. But in the name of what, one can wonder. Of an implicit or explicit hierarchy of cultural standards that the anthropologist has definitively discredited? Of an alleged supremacy of Western civilization that

served to justify the conquest of America and Africa by Europe and its trail of massacres and deportations? Politically, the term is still marked by the use that the partisans of French Algeria made of it at the end of the Algerian war. However, 'being assimilated' refers to an objective process: the loss of cultural traits of origin; what the sociologists, perhaps with less ambiguity, call 'acculturation': the gradual adoption of behaviours and standards borrowed from the culture of the host countries, losses and loans being very obviously connected. For the sociologist Schnapper (1991), this acculturation takes place gradually, over several generations, beginning with social and public practices and continuing through family and private behaviours. There is a certain amount of reciprocity: A culinary practice such as the preparation of the North African *couscous* has been widely assimilated by French cooks. Lastly, it can be partial or unfinished, as for the Jews, some of whom have been on 'French' soil for at least twenty centuries (in Narbonne), and the Gypsies, who arrived in France over five centuries ago. The demographers, therefore, observe the traits that identify and distinguish, at the same time, the foreign populations integrated into indigenous populations, and their evolution: Family practice of a foreign language, religious, matrimonial, cultural behaviours, etc. From this viewpoint, the conclusions of recent studies tend to show that the assimilating processes continue to function efficiently in France, and have even accelerated for the latest waves of immigration. Only the populations of Turkish origin, marked by a community tradition acquired in Germany, seem to present a certain resistance to assimilation (Tribalat, 1995).

The term 'insertion', which is more neutral, imposed itself in the 1980s with policies concerned with breaking with the colonialist or ethnocentric connotations borne by certain past uses of the term 'assimilation'. Metaphorically, it designates the introduction of a

particular object, which keeps its identity and its characteristics while contributing to the coherence or harmony of a group, an operation that assumes that the process can be reversed. Foreigners or their children can in fact choose to go back to live in their country of origin and, while waiting to do so, continue to practise in France, if they wish, their language, religion and customs. The requirement of a 'right to difference' for immigrants suits the connotations of this term, to the point that it was used almost exclusively for a certain period. Its advantage is that it borrows from both the republican imagination and libertarian ideology. The idea of insertion refers in fact to a certain conception of secularism: a state committed at the social level but neutral in terms of culture, active public policies on education, social security, jobs or housing, but absent in linguistic, matrimonial and religious areas. This also satisfies the libertarian and anti-authoritarian spirit, which was highly developed in France in the 1970s and which, despite an ebb, has remained active on certain cultural fronts like education, immigration and the social status of women. Any social constraint for this trend, especially if it is relayed by the state, appears suspect or even marked by illegitimacy. This obviously poses ethical, political and legal problems. This is the case for the teaching of languages and cultures of origin (ELCO), reserved for children who come from certain emigration countries, criticized on several occasions by official authorities as not satisfying the constitutional principle of equality or the principle of political neutrality because it is sometimes carried out by foreign civil servants more concerned with religious proselytization or political control than with pedagogy (Haut Conseil à l'Intégration, 1997). Not to mention questions that were and still are debated on the moral and legal levels: In the name of respect for the equal value of cultural traditions, must polygamy, the forced marriage of young women or excision be tolerated? Very quickly, it thus appeared that the authorities could not ignore cultural questions, including religious

ones, without letting groups whose political project was basically anti-secular, even anti-democratic, thrive on this terrain. The ideological combat against the partisans of the 'right to difference' has thus contributed little by little to reserving the term 'insertion' for measures that notably affect the professional sphere and social aid. Today the so-called policies of 'insertion' (minimum insertion revenue, insertion contract, etc.) are meant for publics defined more by their position on the margins of society ('exclusion') rather than by their cultural origin, and only partially include groups originating from immigration; precariousness and exclusion not of course being exclusive to these populations.

The word 'integration', whose use was developed in the early 1990s, has other connotations. In the social sciences, the term refers as much to the cohesion of a group or a social system as to the relations that individuals have with it. It is the opposite of 'segregation'. For Durkheim (1991), a group is integrated "to the extent that its members have a common consciousness, share the same beliefs and practices, interact with each other and feel devoted to common aims". Unlike the terms 'assimilation' and 'insertion', which imply a relationship of inequality between the object and the group, that of 'integration' introduces the idea of reflexivity and interaction: The integrated individual is certainly no longer the same, but the integrating group has also changed. Each of them is therefore concerned by how to live together. It is also undoubtedly what the image, very much in fashion, of 'cultural intermingling' gives. The idea of integration therefore refers dialectically to the integrating group and the integrated group. People are not integrated abstractly, but integrate or are integrated into something. We cannot talk about integration without specifying at what level social reality is situated: family, professional, cultural, religious, national, so many forms of sociability and belonging, and so many possible degrees of integration. In fact, the idea of integration

contains two dimensions: The first, more objective, consists of individuals belonging to conditioning institutions, structures and frameworks (the first of which is perhaps the linguistic framework); the second, more subjective, is the consciousness of the existence of shared standards and values, the feeling of belonging to the same social or political group.

The recent evolution of the use of the term bears witness to both the interest in uniting these two dimensions, as well as the semantic sharing with the neighbouring terms 'assimilation' (which now refers more to cultural data) and 'insertion' (which has stabilized on a specifically social plane). It is increasingly the national and political dimension that is designated by 'integration'. An individual who, on one hand, would 'be' French, benefiting from all the rights and fulfilling all the obligations related to citizenship and, on the other, would 'feel' and would claim to be French, would be 'integrated'. Speaking of the integration of immigrant populations would therefore be evoking their entry into a political group that has taken a historical form, the 'French nation'. This semantic clarification must not, however, be too schematic or simplifying. There is not, nicely separated, on one side the cultural (assimilation), on another the social (insertion), and on a third the political (integration). If these three aspects can be distinguished on the conceptual level, in reality, there are many interactions: The fact of having a job and cultural practices accepted by one's neighbours because they are considered 'normal' (meaning in conformity with social standards) necessarily plays a role in the feeling of being French. Cultural, social and political dimensions, even if they cannot be superimposed, are nevertheless connected.

Under these conditions, can French society be described as 'multicultural'? On the one hand, it is unquestionably much less so

than it was a century ago when a variety of 'provincial' languages, traditions and customs was still the rule in a society that was still primarily rural. On the other hand, the migratory flows, which have not run dry, no longer attain the force they had during the 'glorious thirty years' (1945-1975) and especially in the 1920s, after the brutal drop in population due to the First World War. And we must not forget that the enormous diversity of degrees of assimilation, insertion and integration of immigrant populations, or those originating from immigration, makes it virtually impossible to define them today, either uniquely or even principally by their 'culture of origin'; an idea to be handled, moreover, with a great deal of caution, as the immigrant populations have often not had access to the wealth of their culture of origin. For some of them, departure and exile interrupted the process of acculturation; for many of them, social position was incompatible with access to the depth of their civilization. Referring certain groups having trouble integrating to their 'culture of origin' most often amounts to leaving them faced with the violence of dispossession: that of their own tradition. That is why the aspiration to rebuild a cultural identity is growing, for certain young people of the second generation, on the most unconscious elements of a vague 'culture' of impregnation on the ossified fragments of an imperfectly or partially transmitted tradition, which then creates a passionate, even desperate attachment, and functions more as an identity affiliation support than as a sharing of a living culture.

It is on this reality that certain sociologists have forged the curious concept of 'ethnicity', as an identity construction of a group, in a determination to be distinguished from others based on a supposedly different origin; a construction that is often based on a mixture of natural (physical appearance, skin colour, etc.), cultural (foreign or regional origin, religion, tastes in music or clothes, etc.) and specifically social (profession, income, place of residence, etc.)

elements. What does it mean when we speak today about a 'multi-ethnic' society? Are we referring to the existence of ethnic groups, with the meaning that the ethnologists give this concept (a group sharing the same language, the same culture and the same history and living on the same territory), or do we really mean those identity patchworks that characterize certain groups of young people? For France at least, the explicit absence of an answer should encourage us to be wary of using this term, all the more so as the spreading of its use by the media ('ethnic' classes, 'ethnic' art, etc.) can make it, depending on the context, the substitute for 'racial' or the equivalent of 'exotic'.

The French school: a school that is more 'national' than 'republican'

In the French conception, citizenship is a political and not an ethnic idea: One is not born a citizen, one becomes one. It is, according to the tradition inaugurated by Condorcet, less a question of birth, age, or becoming a legal adult than of education. Although it was the Revolution that first turned over the mission of training citizens to the school, the Republic was not the first regime to have given it a political role. This evolution began to take shape in fact in Europe starting with the Reformation, when Luther first assigned schools a political-religious function and sought to control teaching through 'normal' schools that trained teachers in the spreading of his doctrine. The Counter-Reformation then attempted, with the same weapons, to combat this movement. Not only did congregations open schools, but King Louis XIV signed the first text that assigned a political mission to the school 13 years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the edict of 1698, which has remained celebrated because it seemed to define an obligation to provide schooling until the age of 14 (which would only take effect in the middle of the 20th century), the king asked each parish to open a school for boys. This order was in fact

meant for those parishes that had families practising the 'so-called reformed religion'. It was simply a question of eradicating, through the school, Protestantism and putting an end to what appeared to be a state within a state! The consequences of this edict are well-known: The Protestants emigrated or hid, created clandestine schools deep in the woods, 'hedge schools' (*école buissonnière* in French, which has come to mean playing truant). This persecution would give rise to the secular trend and even, for a historian like Le Roy Ladurie, the French Left.

So in a certain way, the Republic contented itself with following the kings of France and adopted as its own the political determination to unify the nation, but with one notable difference being that it made national sovereignty reside in citizenship. It was to exercise this new responsibility that several texts of the revolutionary period put the school in charge of training citizens. The Convention, for example, in the Decree of 12 October 1792, proclaimed that "in the primary schools, knowledge necessary for all citizens will be taught. The people responsible for education will be called *instituteurs*". That is where the title of *instituteur* (primary school teacher) comes from: He is the one who 'institutes' citizenship. The Decrees of 30 May and 6 June 1793 proclaimed: "An *instituteur* is in charge of teaching students elementary knowledge in order to exercise their rights and fulfil their duties, and to administer domestic affairs." In this phrase can be recognized the ideas of Condorcet, for whom 'elementary' education was the condition for exercising the rights of citizens freed from the intellectual guardianship of the privileged, capable of thinking and making up their minds freely. The elementary school represented the very condition itself for the exercise of citizenship.

All the regimes in the 19th century would also consider the school as a political tool. The imperial decrees of 1806 instituting the state's monopoly on teaching indicated that: "All the schools of the imperial

university tend to train citizens attached to their religion, their prince, their homeland, their family.” In 1833, one year after the first worker’s rebellion in Lyon, François Guizot founded the public primary school stating that it had to become the “government of minds”, and that “universal primary instruction is henceforth a guarantee of order and social stability” (Guizot, 1833). “The government”, he wrote, moreover, “must take care to spread, in terms of religion, morality and politics, the doctrines that suit its nature and its management” (Guizot, 1816). Objectives without the least ambiguity! Fifty years later, Jules Ferry and the Republicans pursued this action in two directions. First they secularized primary education by removing its religious dimension, but keeping its moral scope and annexing its political mission. They next opened school to girls because, for them: “Whoever holds the wife, holds everything, first because it holds the children, then because it holds the husband ... It is for that reason that the Church wishes to keep hold of the woman, and it is for that reason that democracy must remove her from the Church ... penalty of death.” (Ferry, 1870) Ferry, because of the mythic weight of the individual, warrants an extra moment’s attention. We often come across rather erroneous representations of his conception of secularism. Let us therefore go back to the texts and notably to what he said to the primary school teachers:

There are two things to which the state cannot be indifferent, morality and politics; because in morality as in politics the state is in its rightful place. It is its domain and consequently its responsibility. You must teach politics because the law makes you responsible for civics, but also because you must remember that you are the sons of 1789, which freed your fathers, and that you live in the Republic of 1870, which freed you yourselves. You have the duty to make the Republic, and the first Revolution, loved.

A little farther on, we read concerning civics books controlled by the ministry: “Can we see in a measure of this kind a violation of the neutrality promised by the government? No, Messieurs, I promised religious neutrality, I never promised political neutrality” (Ferry, 1883). For the Republicans, school secularism was first a political weapon in the service of their cause.

As for public technical education, it would be naïve to think that its creation corresponded to the necessities of technological evolutions or economic growth. Let us first listen to Astier, a radical deputy and promoter of the first law on apprenticeship voted in 1918: “When the state will have taken responsibility for their technical education”, he wrote concerning young workers, “developing in them both the man and the citizen, it is a whole new mentality that will replace the old one. The worker will obey his nerves less than his judgement, the agitators and popular sycophants will have a lesser part in his decisions than his true interest.”¹ The reasons why Carcopino, minister of education of Vichy, opened ‘professional training centres’, ancestors of the French professional high schools, in 1941, are equally clear: It was a question, during the Occupation, less of supplying professional workers to industry than “collecting young people aged 14 to 21 who are unemployed or without a defined trade,” and who, as a result, “find themselves exposed to numerous dangers.” In less veiled terms, Pétain’s objective was to remove unoccupied working-class youths from the temptations of opposition to the regime, by providing them with political supervision and ideological training. Initially, the six-month training programme would moreover be focused on “the moral and political requirements of the national revolution.”

1. Quoted by Lelievre (1990).

The unification of the education system would be the major project of the Fifth Republic. It drew its inspiration from political reflections ripened during the two world wars: In 1918, the manifesto of the Companions of the New University appeared; in 1947, the report of the commission presided over by Paul Langevin, then Henri Wallon, was published. These two texts defined a determination to transform the school, to unify its segregating courses of study, in order to move towards a fairer and more democratic society. But it was necessary to wait for the beginnings of the Fifth Republic to achieve the implementation of these orientations. When the Algerian war was over, General de Gaulle, the President of the Republic, set three priorities for his new Prime Minister Georges Pompidou: "Firstly, prices [...] secondly, worker integration [...], thirdly, national education: It is a major affair, immediately and for a long time to come. It must moreover contribute to little by little eradicating social classes, provided that all the young French enjoy equal opportunities and that its opening to the masses is compensated for by an orientation and an appropriate selection":² a vast political project!

It was the same conception of the relations of the state and society that guided the great school reformers down through the centuries: the role of politics is to control, guide, modify, even reform or 'reintegrate' society, and the school is one of the tools - a privileged one - of this determination. Like religion, it can shape minds, and give a splintered community the feeling of unity that transcends the objective differences of cultural origin and social class, religious beliefs or the political opinion of individuals belonging to the French nation.

2. Council of Ministers of December 12, 1962, quoted by Lelievre and Nique (1995).

This determination does not go as far, most of the time, as claiming social equality: The cohesion of society is conceived most often as the acceptance by all, and primarily by the most disadvantaged, of their condition. Another constant of political thinking on the evolution of the school since the 18th century is in fact to see that school reforms do not unduly disturb the established social order. In this way Condorcet justified the 'natural' inequality *vis-à-vis* the school by the necessity for certain children to work at a very young age. Ferry illustrated his vision of the social and school hierarchy by evocative military metaphors: the 'soldiers', the 'non-commissioned officers', the 'officers' of the Republic respectively trained at primary school, central school and high school; we even find this social conservatism, in a form that is certainly different, in the Langevin Wallon plan of 1947 which stated: "Teaching must thus offer to all equal development opportunities, open to all access to culture, become a democracy less through a selection that separates out the most gifted people than through a continuous rise in the cultural level of the whole nation." For these two fellow travellers of a Communist party strongly opposed to the single school during the inter-war years, mass teaching ought not, above all, lead the most brilliant of its sons to separate themselves from the working class!

From this rapid historical survey, we can undoubtedly glean that the school has had, in France and for a very long time, a political vocation. The result has been that through a whole series of cultural (teaching contents, teacher training, etc.) and structural (courses of study, their structure, student orientation, etc.) effects, the school has integrated political aims and concerns. The French public school tends historically to uproot children from their origin, their community, their family and from all of their particularities, in order to introduce them to something vaster, that it calls the universal, in its cultural and scientific dimensions of course, but also in its political

dimensions. Although legally 'indifferent to differences', as it only recognizes students that are equals in terms of rights and obligations, the French school, on the pedagogical and educational level, is in fact very attentive to differences: Students who have just arrived are integrated as quickly as possible into a normal class, especially if they are French-speaking and have already been to school. The 'students with learning problems' who benefit from various aid, support or individualization systems are in the great majority of cases from the working class, which is very strongly marked today by immigration. It is, however, on the basis of their individual difficulties or the economic or social problems of their neighbourhood ('priority education zones') that they benefit from this 'positive discrimination', never on that of their national origin or 'racial' characteristics.

Today, the French school no longer has plans to eradicate particularities or fight religious obscurantism, but it insists that traditions and religions remain limited to a strictly private domain and that they do not interfere in what is taught in school. This is the area in which the school sometimes comes up against individuals and groups that wish to preserve, even disseminate, these particularities as competing universals. It is felt that compromises could be found when it was a question, for a group, of preserving its attachment to a regional or foreign language and culture of origin; now they are all recognized and taught on the secondary level. It is difficult to see, on the other hand, what school compromises could be made with those who base the claim for particular political rights on religious or cultural specificities, notably concerning the status of women. This is unquestionably where the frontier lies that supporters of a 'national education', the great majority among the teachers and in all likelihood in public opinion, are ready to defend tooth and nail.

A school model in trouble

The effectiveness of the 'Republican' school model in terms of integration has now become, in France, a recurring question. Of course, its effectiveness (the regionalists accuse it of being too effective) is most often acknowledged in the modernization of French society, in the transformation of a rural, peasant, piecemeal and community-oriented society into an urban, economically developed and culturally unified one. But the challenge today seems different: some people wonder to what extent the immigrant populations can still be integrated. Are the new immigrants, who come from the Third World, notably the Muslims, as capable of being assimilated as their predecessors were, Poles, Italians, Spaniards or Armenians, coming from European, or at least Christian countries, themselves successors in terms of integration to the Bretons, and those from Auvergne and Provence? For a historian like Maurice Agulhon, the answer is clear: "The integration of Arabs, French West Indians and Vietnamese, even if it is somewhat more difficult than that of the Occitans or the Alsatians, has some chance of occurring under the same conditions, which are eminently cultural, and which, as a result, are not without precedent or law" (Agulhon, 1989). In other words, for the historian who has a long view, the conditions under which the nation was formed and has evolved over the centuries were so different, and the cultural mechanisms of the integration of populations so similar, that one cannot see why, all of a sudden, when they are placed once again in a new situation, the integrating processes would no longer function. For such a historian, historical continuity lies both in the variability of situations and the characteristics of the populations to be integrated, and in the constancy of the political conditions of integration: "A powerful state has founded a well-defined nation, administered according to uniform rules and frameworks from one end of the country to the other; and in the end it has superimposed on this political construction a consciousness of French belonging

that was accepted by the vast majority of people, and even interiorized" (Agulhon, 1989). One is tempted, however, to contrast this analysis to the particular conditions of our period, in which certain people think that these conditions could really harm the French model of integration.

The first is the development, under the dual effect of economic precariousness and the progress of individualism, especially in the conceptions of the habitat, of urban segregation based on 'territories'. The case of the Parisian region is exemplary: Whereas at the beginning of the 20th century social differentiation functioned on a vertical reasoning - the bourgeois occupying the lower floors, the workers and servants the upper floors - it now operates on a territorial reasoning, working class neighbourhoods being found east and north, around industrial zones, the 'nice neighbourhoods' stretching west and south, protected from pollution by dominant winds, along with office areas. The Republican egalitarian model, with its public elementary and middle schools recruiting their students on a territorial and not social basis, is destabilized by this evolution. The second factor of concern is the 'conspicuous consumer' behaviour of a growing number of families (who turn to private schools or, through various legal or fraudulent means, send their children to schools outside their own school districts), which results in an 'over-segregation' in schools in working-class neighbourhoods. In fact, this behaviour is only one of the effects of a much greater evolution concerning conceptions of the school: From a 'political' school guaranteeing equal access as an effect of the social contract, we seem to be moving to a 'utilitarian' school ensuring the quality of a service defined by a commercial contract. In the end, when these two factors are combined, the social homogeneity of certain schools sometimes appears as the effect of true racial segregation. Obviously, this does not constitute an integration factor.

International models are a last source of questioning, and even concern, for the French school model. On one hand, the context of international migrations has profoundly changed. The development of communications and the freedom of exchanges, both real and virtual, places emigrant populations in a cultural environment that is completely different than before; emigrating is much less of a separation, a rupture: The ease of travel, satellite dishes and the Internet are permanent links with the country of origin and make it possible to envisage maintaining, in the host country, a culturally alive and – why not – enduring ‘community of origin’. On the other hand, the growth of political, cultural and educational exchanges, notably within Europe, is making France gradually emerge from a certain autarchy, and making France’s leaders aware of the country’s isolation: in terms of centralism in system management and human resources management, the separation between contents and teaching methods, the cleavage between instruction and education, and secularism as well. Lastly, the emergence of international law, in the past still seen by the French as the ‘export’ of their Universalist model of human rights, can now be perceived as restraining, sometimes illegitimately, their ‘Republican’ conceptions, especially concerning the school. This is notably the case in the very lively debate that is now focusing on the refusal or acceptance of wearing signs of religious membership, by certain students, in public schools. Two conceptions of secularism are in confrontation: the first more sensitive to individual freedoms and rights, the second more concerned with equality and worried about the dangers of multiculturalism. It is revealing that the two camps draw their arguments from multilateral treaties signed by France, the first based on the European Convention on Human Rights to argue for the impossibility of prohibiting the wearing of the ‘Islamic scarf’ at school, the second leaning on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women to uphold the obligation of prohibiting it.

Whatever the case, France seems to be emerging from its isolation and, without abandoning the belief in the legitimacy of its integration model, is raising questions on its effectiveness in today's open world, with nevertheless, two certainties.

The first is that foreign origin is not (or no longer) now, in France, a discriminating factor in the differentiated academic success of the students. These discriminating factors in academic performance have been the subject of many studies, which came to the same conclusions. These factors are gender (girls do better than boys at every level), region (those geographic inequalities, which set a France comprised of the south and Brittany (regions of academic success), against a France comprised of the north and east (regions of academic failure), have been reduced in the last few years by a policy of intentionally unequal distribution of resources) and social class of origin. Foreign origin is apparently only one inequality factor: In fact, when gender, region of residence and socio-professional category are identical, students of foreign origin globally do as well as their classmates of French origin and even, if a difference could be observed, slightly better (Vallet and Caille, 1996). This differentiated success may be correlated with the expectations of families *vis-à-vis* the school: higher than French parents in parents from a sub-Saharan African country and especially from North Africa, not as high in Turkish and Portuguese parents.

The second certainty stems from the relative effectiveness of integrating communities. The village, the city, the region, which used to play a powerful role, notably thanks to the strength of social and cultural standards that they transmitted, are obviously no longer in a position to do so. Europe is still not, as an entity, integrating for those who have settled there, and we may ask if it will have the means to be so one day. Only the nation remains, even if its integrating power is unquestionably diminishing: the children of Portuguese, Chinese or

Moroccan workers who move to France do not become Bretons, Parisians or Europeans; notably through the school, thanks to the school, they become French. France is a country of immigration. This is nothing new, over a quarter of the population has at least one grandparent born abroad. What is new is the context in which these migratory movements, generally that of 'globalization', are continuing, a context that could propel France in the future, perhaps paradoxically, faced with competition based on the Anglo-Saxon community model, to seek the means of preserving its school model of national, individualistic, secular and egalitarian integration in European co-operation.

Roquefort and Camembert

France has over 300 varieties of cheese. Among the most famous and the most eaten are Camembert and Roquefort. All scientific studies prove it: The academic performances of students whose families prefer Roquefort are better than those of students whose parents are partial to Camembert! Aware of these inequalities, France is hesitating: Should specific classes be created to strengthen the learnings of Camembert eaters or, taking an entirely different approach, should positive discrimination be implemented in their favour?

Naturally, this premise is a joke ... or rather a half-joke, because as Roquefort is made in the south of France and Camembert in the north, and the former is more expensive than the latter, their differentiated consumption de facto covers two discriminating factors in academic success – the region and incomes – and the inequality of performances has every chance of being real!

The parable is obvious. It is meant for those who, on the basis of duly observed inequalities of academic performance between students of different 'races' or 'ethnic groups', rarely raise questions on the relevance and use of these ideas, and do not verify, notably by multi-factor analysis, if these natural or cultural parameters are effectively discriminating or if they conceal real inequality factors.

Question: what would the effects be of a positive discrimination school policy that used criteria that were in fact non-discriminating in the production of academic inequalities? There is obviously no certain answer to this question, but a hypothesis may be risked: Such a policy could well strengthen the stigmatization and prejudices whose beneficiaries are the victims, and stoke the frustrations of those who would be unfairly excluded.

References

- Agulhon, M. 1989. "La fabrication de la France, problèmes et controverses". In : M. Segalen (Ed.), *L'autre et le semblable*. Presses du CNRS.
- Durkheim, É. 1991. *Le suicide, étude de sociologie*. Paris: PUF.
- Ferry, J. 1870 (April). Speech at the Molière Hall.
- . 1883 (3 April). Speech at the pedagogical congress.
- Guizot, F. 1816. *Essay on the history of instruction*.
- . 1833 (18 July). *Letter to primary school teachers*.
- Haut Conseil à l'Intégration. 1997 (February). *Affaiblissement du lien social, enfermement dans les particularismes et intégration dans la cité*. Paris: Haut Conseil à l'Intégration.
- Lelievre, C. 1990. *Histoire des institutions scolaires*. Paris: Nathan.
- ; Nique, C. 1995. *L'école des présidents*. Paris: Nathan.
- Obin, J.P.; Obin-Coulon, A. 1999. *Immigration et intégration*. Paris: Hachette Education.

Schnapper, D. 1991. *La France de l'intégration*. Paris: Gallimard.

Tribalat, M. 1995. *Faire France*. Paris: La Découverte.

Vallet, L.A.; Caille, J.P. 1996. "Les élèves étrangers ou issus de l'immigration dans l'école et le collège français". In : *Dossier d'éducation et formations*, 67. DEP-MEN.

CHAPTER 4. THE PARALLEL MODEL: THE CASE OF CAMEROON

*Maurice Tchuente*¹

Acknowledgements

For the preparation of this address, I received contributions from the following personalities: Madam Dorothy Njeuma, Vice-Chancellor or the University of Buea; Professor Jean Tabi Manga, Rector or the University of Yaounde I; Professor Dominiaue Mvogo, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Higher Education; Professor Guillaume Bwele, Permanent Secretary of the Council of Higher Education and Scientific and Technical Research; Professor François Xavier Etoa, Director of Higher Education Development; Professor Maurice Tadjaju, President of the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees; and Madam Mabou Clarisse, Researcher at the University of Yaounde I.

I express my immense gratitude to all of them.

-
1. It is the entire Cameroonian Nation that is honoured, through my humble self, to participate in the ceremonies marking the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the very important International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). This participation enables me first of all to pay a formal tribute to IIEP for the immense work that it has accomplished under the aegis of UNESCO through the noble educational missions undertaken by this organization and from which the world in general and Cameroon in particular have taken some advantages for their development.

Abstract

It is within this context that we wish to bring, through this presentation, our modest contribution to the reflection on the planning of educational diversity within multi-ethnic and multicultural societies of which Cameroon is one of the typical examples in the world.

In actual fact, from the geographical, cultural and political points of view, Cameroon has always been presented: (a) as Africa in miniature in the geographic calibration of its relief, its climates and its vegetations as well as in the diversity of its peoples; (b) as a multicultural entity with about 260 languages which we consider as national languages; (c) as an institutionally bilingual country, or rather state; and (d) as an example of harmonious coexistence of religions.

My address aims at presenting the dynamism that holds this entity together in view of the successful changes that can be expected thereof, especially on the educational front which is the fundamental vector of other sectors of development, and with regard to the determining incidence of education on Cameroon's move towards modernity.

Introduction

By virtue of its geographical situation, Cameroon is a junction, a real meeting point of cultures. This unique situation, coupled with the history and ethnic landscape of our country make it an 'Africa in miniature', and 'Africa within Africa'. This fact compels the Cameroonian government to progress from ethnic groups to a fatherland by passing through the stage of the nation, which is defined as "a human community that transcends ethnic, religious or linguistic idiosyncrasies, that is vitally conscious of its unity and its solidarity".

In the quest for a permanent cohesion and a constantly reinforced unity of this nation, characterized at first sight by some disparity between the different provinces, between the rural and the urban areas and mainly between the peoples, several strategies have been set up. They aim at managing this extreme diversity through laws and regulations governing types of education, social and cultural activities, research activities and the opening up to the international community.

Education constitutes a priority sector of this management of the diversity in Cameroon. A rational planning of education in this country must take into account linguistic, cultural, geographical, economic and political aspects. This cannot be done without a model, that is, without a coherent vision of the type of society to be built and possibly of the type of the final product of the education system.

Over the years since its political independence in 1960, Cameroon has tried to develop a social model which progressively enables it to come up with sectoral planning models.

This exposé summarizes this emergent social model, after briefly presenting the constituent elements of the extreme Cameroonian diversity, as well as the different strategies put in place to manage the multifarious Cameroonian society.

We draw our inspiration, of course, from the works of numerous specialists, researchers and especially university dons who have devoted high quality studies to the Cameroonian diversity and whose results now facilitate the management of this diversity.

Cameroon in its diversity

Geographical studies show that, by virtue of its physical and human aspects, Cameroon is an embodiment of sub-Saharan Africa. The relief

is characterized by many plateaux. The climates are hot and have various aspects of oceanic and continental climates, such as the vegetation landscapes that contrast with the dense equatorial forest, and the savannas with the tropical bushes. Cameroon is a meeting point of peoples and civilization enriched by its diversity.

■ **Geographical diversity**

Whoever visits Cameroon will not fail to notice its relief contrasted with the low plains bordering Lake Chad, the Mandara Mountains to the north, a vast volcano plateau to the centre, the coastal plains, low plateaux to the south, and volcanic mountains to the west and south-west. Moreover, from the climatic point of view, the tourist or the researcher who visits Cameroon shall be battling with the dry tropical climate (two seasons) north of the eighth parallel and hot and humid sub-equatorial climate (four seasons) of the south. From the point of view of vegetation, our tourist or researcher will, in turn, discover the steppe, the savannah and the dense forest.

■ **Diversity of peoples**

With the exception of the Pygmies of the forest, the Peuls or Foulbés in the Adamawa, and the northern plains, the roughly 207 ethnic groups that inhabit Cameroon may be divided into two large groups based on a linguistic rather than an ethnic classification: tribes of Sudanese origin in the regions north of the Sanaga and tribes of Bantu origin in the south.

The population pattern of Cameroon is very old and the different ethnic groups that make up this population have kept their languages and traditions. But today, these peoples are united within one country, the Republic of Cameroon.

■ Diversity of languages

The results of the linguistic 'Atlas of Cameroon' (1983, 1991) and the subsequent works on the language census show that there are about 267 language units to which should be added the two official languages (English, French). They are unequally distributed over all 10 provinces of Cameroon. The three large language families represented in Cameroon are generally the Chadian languages, the Adamawa-Oubanguian languages and the Bantu languages.

■ Diversity of cultures

Cameroon is rated among the countries that have great tourist potential. It attracts foreign tourists who are enticed by the beauty and the picturesque quality of its natural landscapes. In addition, its fauna, of a great variety, offers many possibilities to amateur safari photographers and to hunters with permits.

The diversity of ethnic groups, each with its own traditions and folklore, gives Cameroon a cultural heritage of exceptional variety. This abundance portrays the extreme richness of civilizations that have developed in this country, which was a meeting-point of peoples. The diversity of crafts and artistic works contributes to the appellation of Cameroon as 'Africa in miniature'.

The periods of independence (1960), reunification (1961), and unification (1972) of Cameroon are the essential landmarks that have shaped the history of this country. They represent the progress of the latter towards the building of a real nation from a very complex socio-cultural situation.

In fact, the peoples have a great cultural diversity characterized by linguistic, religious and axiological pluralism. Linguists have, up to today, numbered more than 260 language units which carry a whole

combination of values specific to their speakers. As for religious beliefs, three great regions are prominent: (a) Christianity (Catholicism and Protestantism); (b) Islam; and (c) traditional religions. Besides its language, each ethnic group has traditions, artistic values and specific myths, which determine its relationship with the world outside.

So, how can such diversity be managed in order to build a nation, that is, “a human community that transcends ethnic, religious or linguistic idiosyncrasies, that is vitally conscious of its unity and its solidarity?”

Management of the diversity

Our objective is therefore to present the different organizational strategies against this multiple and diverse background of management of the educational system. Two types of strategies have been put in place, namely: those of the preservation of the diversity conceived as riches and those of national integration.

Here, we have to mention the legal provisions, the institutional mechanisms as well as methods of teaching and research that the Cameroonian Government has put in place so as to manage this diversity while guaranteeing a framework that allows for the enhancement of the training of responsible citizens in this multi-ethnic and multicultural society. We shall begin by presenting the legal provisions that define the global organization of the system.

- **Legal provisions for a national integration that preserves the diversity**

The Constitution promulgated in January 1996 states in its preamble that:

The Cameroonian people, proud of their linguistic and cultural diversity, which is an element of their national personality that they contribute in enriching but profoundly conscious of the imperative necessity to perfect its unity, hereby solemnly proclaim that they are a single nation committed to a great destiny.

In the specific domain of education which covers the nursery, primary and secondary levels, the Law on the Orientation of Education in Cameroon adopted by the National Assembly and promulgated by the President of the Republic in 1998 states in Section 5 of its general provisions that one of the objectives of education is “the training of citizens deeply rooted in their culture, but open to the world and respectful of general interest”.

We thus have a two-dimensional social model: the vertical model, that is, ethnic or community, and the horizontal model, that is, national. The two dimensions of the fundamental parameters of this social model that can be called the ‘root-taking and national integration model’ is developed by the President of the Republic, His Excellency Paul Biya, in his book, *Communal liberalism* (Biya, 1987: 117), where it is written that:

This double integration has two advantages: at the vertical level, that is, at the ethnic level, it requires each Cameroonian to be involved in the culture of his ethnic group, to reflect on it so as to grasp its quintessence. Each Cameroonian could thus belong to a particular culture, not only by virtue of birth but by virtue of his deep knowledge of the cultural peculiarities of his ethnic group of origin. The cultural quintessence as defined here is what each of us shall present at the national horizontal level, that of the entire community. There is thus a double action of reserve for self-awareness, and opening up to the other.

The Constitution, the Law on the Orientation of Education and the political philosophy of the President of the Republic thus present the general framework of the management of the Cameroonian ethnic and cultural pluralism with a view to national integration.

We will analyze the strategies implemented in the educational system by presenting the following five dimensions: (a) the promotion of a bicultural education system; (b) the promotion of bilingualism in education; (c) the promotion of the teaching of national languages; (d) the adoption of the policy of a democratic school map; and (e) the creation of structures aimed at fostering dialogue, conviviality and the inculcation of responsible citizenship.

■ **The promotion of a bicultural education system**

The peaceful and positive management of diversity has enabled Cameroon to adopt an educational system that incorporates both the French and Anglo-Saxon heritages that have marked its history. While pursuing the common objective of training Cameroonian citizens entrenched in their traditional culture, and open to other cultures and multifarious modernity in an integrated and peaceful society, each French and English subsystem has preserved its specificity, especially at the level of languages of instruction, training programmes and titles of certificates. The certificates can be prepared indifferently by Cameroonians of English and French-speaking backgrounds, provided they respect the norms of each system. These certificates have the same prerogatives per level, as far as admission into educational establishments and job opportunities are concerned. Higher education has a structure that handles comparative university systems and equivalences; its role is not to rule on national certificates which are recognized automatically and by right, but to decide on foreign certificates in conformity with academic norms in force in the country. This prevents the marginalization of Cameroonians who have

studied in other countries of the world. It is not in vain recalling how the Cameroonian educational system insists on the linking up of one system with the other, and the creation of parallel and complementary training cycles aimed at ensuring equal opportunities for products of the two subsystems. This explains how the *Brevet de Technicien Supérieur* (BTS) certificate is now equated to the Higher National Diploma (HND), formerly a foreign certificate, which has, since 2002, become a national certificate issued after two years of post-secondary vocational training.

■ **The promotion of bilingualism in education**

The attention given to the two subsystems is reflected in the importance of the two official languages, English and French. These languages are taught and used equally as languages of instruction at all levels of the educational system. They are applied in proportions according to the dominant components of each system. At the level of higher education, the promotion of bilingualism constitutes one of the missions assigned to state universities. In the last academic year, a formal instruction was given to the University Community to reinforce the practice of official bilingualism. Lectures are given indifferently in French and in English according to the fields of studies and the subjects. The teachers and the learners are free to express themselves in the language they best master. We experience a phenomenon of code switching whereby two speakers converse in two different languages. It is worth mentioning that all examinations comprise questions in English and French.

The project of the promotion of official bilingualism is in force and justified by the necessity for common understanding of citizens living in a linguistic sphere with 243 languages. Despite this fact, the national languages are still being practised. Even if these languages are not taught, research is being carried out with regard to their

promotion in line with models conceived by Cameroonian academicians. Of these models, extensive trilingualism and quadrilingualism appear to be the most promising theories as concerns the safeguard of cultural identity and linguistic partnership. Furthermore, a competition for the best quadrilingual student (two official languages and two national languages) has been instituted as one of the competitive disciplines during the University Festival of Arts and Culture.

■ The adoption of the policy of a democratic school map

The Cameroonian strategy for the management of diversity is also reflected in the constant drive to democratize teaching, education and training by taking educational institutions closer to the population as much as possible, and also by diversifying the training opportunities. Concerning this issue of education for all, the position of the Head of State is clear (Biya, 1987: 74-75):

In fact, we are making great efforts in this area towards democratization. Not only towns, but also remote areas will be provided with better schools so that, according to our principal of equal opportunities, the sons and daughters of those living in the rural areas may receive the same type of education as the sons and daughters of those living in towns. The country is aware of the fact that the technological and cultural revival of our nation requires the participation of each and everyone and that the architects of his revival who are our men and women of art, letters and science must be well trained. The country has accordingly set for itself the goal of encouraging and developing mass education. Appropriate measures will, therefore, be taken to increase effective school attendance as much as possible.

In this regard, from kindergarten to higher education, passing through secondary education, the Anglo-Saxon and francophone-inclined schools where English or French are taught, are being created in the whole country. Concerning higher education, six state universities were created in 1993. Their geographical distribution is eloquent proof of the objectives to be attained. This is further strengthened by the adaptation of professional establishments created in line with the socio-economic and cultural outlook of each university.

It is important to mention that though the state has the prerogative to control the quality of training, it does not have the monopoly of training. Here also, diversity is extended with the opening up to the lay private and denominational sector (that primary and secondary education have been used to), but which is being organized and regulated at the level of higher education. The Law of 16 April 2001 on the orientation of higher education provides for the existence of institutions of higher education created and managed by private proprietors. To date, Cameroon counts 12 institutions of this type located in four of the 10 provinces of the country.

The democratization of training is also expressed by the search for solutions to the problems of all categories of students to be trained. It is in this light that the handicapped and young girls receive motivational treatment.

■ **Forums for consultation and inculcation of responsible citizenship**

Among the strategies used by Cameroon for a harmonious management of diversity, the most important include the setting up of structures, devising mechanisms and the organization of events founded on consultation and inculcation of responsible citizenship.

The major texts governing the various levels of education are the result of open consultations of experts approved by the National Assembly. Such is the case with the Laws on the Orientation of Education and Higher Education currently in force. In the same context, we have the process of designing educational programmes, and the statutory measures to promote higher education. In order to take into consideration the viewpoints of teacher researchers and different trade unions in which the latter are grouped, the Ministry of Higher Education has created the permanent consultation framework whose general mission is to ensure the fostering of frank and regular dialogue, the development of a broad-base partnership between the different actors involved in the task of education, and high-level training for a better governance of the national higher educational system. In the same light, the Minister of Higher Education has created some forums that aim at promoting sports (University Games); culture (University Festival of Arts and Culture); intellectual (Forum of Cameroon State University Students); and Mutual Benefit (Cameroon Student Solidarity Association). Through these annual forums that have been institutionalized, students are able to meet others, appreciate themselves, learn how to accept their differences, and be polite, work for the general good instead of individual interest, to make the best out of the rich national heritage and that of the modern world.

Conclusion

The notion of cultural diversity is very prominent on the international political scene. It is simultaneous with the abrupt emergence of the concept of globalization that entails cultural uniformity, and the dominance of a unique world culture of American inspiration.

For the international French-speaking community, it was only during the Hanoi Summit in Viet Nam that the concern geared towards taking into account diversity was strongly expressed at the political level, but under the form of an opposition to the cultural exception. The notion of cultural exception was then abandoned on a European scale for a general reformation in favour of cultural diversity.

As early as 1997, at the end of the series of conferences aimed at standardizing world trade - widely known as the Uruguay Round - it was a matter of excluding from the commercial nomenclature cultural products or those derived from linguistic and cultural industries, thereby enabling nations to continue to subsidize their cultural industries such as film, publishing, the production of records, the audio-visual and the educational technology industries. This corresponds to globalization with a human face, integrating all cultures and developing a culture of peace and conflict prevention.

Cameroon's situation is perfectly in line with this dynamism. As such, concerning higher education, Cameroon reformed its university map in 1993 with the setting up of other state universities. The obvious aim was not only to bring educational offers closer to learners per region or province, but also to take into account the specificities of each of the regions or provinces in view of integrating them in the teaching and research nomenclature. That is why the University of Buea is of Anglo-Saxon inspiration with the integration of the Anglo-Saxon culture of our English-speaking compatriots.

This perspective is in line with the Law on the Orientation of Higher Education in general which institutes at the education level two subsystems for Anglophones and Francophones respectively; but while enabling these two cultures to interact through the offer of bilingual training.

At the University of Yaounde I, lectures on cultural diversity are offered in the Sociology Department on the lines of political sociology. It is in this light that the negative aspect of ethnicity is no longer regarded but rather its positive aspect is studied to take into account qualities peculiar to each ethnic group in view of building national cultural synergies. With these lectures, we should include others that consider the concept of cultural diversity as an approach to conflict prevention, solutions to conflict and socio-political and cultural crisis for the valorization of the other as an ethnic group likely to enrich the national community.

Moreover, this very university intensifies its programmes on the teaching of national languages in view of their inclusion in our educational system. Similarly, linguistic research is very advanced on the interaction of cultures, interaction between received Western cultures and between national cultures.

Lastly, it is worth adding that key programmes such as the University Games and the University Festival of Arts and Culture fully partake of the recognition and legitimization of cultural diversity through management based on giving priority to dialogue and consultation.

In short, Cameroon's diversity management strategy in the domain of education is based on the political will for national integration as well as a pragmatic vision which takes into account diversity not only as a constraint but also and especially as a source of wealth. It is therefore a positive approach to differences perceived as complementary factors insofar as they contribute in realizing the common ideal of progress and peaceful integration. To this end, it is important to note that the motto of the very first Cameroon State University set up in 1962 was: "Knowledge is a collection in which each person brings in his contribution."

We are in a situation analogous with that of computer system designers: (a) political will corresponds to what system designers term specification (it entails an abstract description of the general behaviour of the system regardless of all implementation constraints); (b) the main dimension envisaged such as the bicultural system and bilingualism correspond to the general architecture of the system, that is all the modules including their functions and interfaces or interactions between modules; and (c) the implementation phase is then carried out taking into account the diversity of material and software platforms.

Thus, the Cameroonian diversity management is in line with a rational approach devoid of artificial contradictions between national integration and diversity preservation.

References

- Biya, P. 1987. *Communal liberalism*. Switzerland: Paul Marcel Faure.
- Mabou, C. 1996. "Rôle des médias dans l'adaptation des langues nationales aux besoins modernes : le cas du Cameroun". Postgraduate (*Maitrise*) thesis in Applied Linguistics. University of Yaoundé I.
- Mba, G. 2001. "Planification et marketing linguistique du bilinguisme L1-L01 au Cameroun". In: *AJAL*, 2. Yaoundé: CLA.
- Mbassi, B. 2002. "Langues nationales et langues officielles : le bilan d'une cohabitation". In: *AJAL*, 3, Yaoundé: CLA.
- Ngueffo, N. 2001. "Enseignement des langues africaines ; nécessité d'un pont entre l'école et la communauté. Le cas de quelques communautés au Cameroun". In: *AJAL*, 2, Yaoundé: CLA.

Sadembouo, M. *Gestion de l'extrême multilinguisme au Cameroun*.
Unpublished.

Tabi Manga, J. 1989. *Francophonie et co-développement*. Paris: CIL.

———. 2000. *Les politiques linguistiques du Cameroun. Essai d'aménagement linguistique*. Paris: Karthala.

Tadadjeu, M. 1985. *Pour une politique d'intégration linguistique camerounaise. Le trilinguisme extensif*. Proceedings of the Colloquium on the Cameroon Cultural Identity. Yaoundé: MINFOC.

——— (Ed.). 1990. *Le défi de Babel au Cameroun. Essai d'aménagement linguistique*. Paris: Karthala.

PART III
CHANGING CONTEXTS – EMERGING CHALLENGES
TO EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

CHAPTER 1. THE VIEW FROM ABOVE (FILLING THE SCREEN): THE (DUAL) IMPACT OF GLOBAL MEDIA

Wadi D. Haddad

Setting the stage

I grew up in a small village in Lebanon. In the 1950s, the village had no electricity, no radios and no telephones. (I remember the excitement and confusion when my father, the schoolteacher, brought a battery radio and demonstrated it to our neighbours.) The villagers knew little about the world outside the village. They knew less about the global world, except for the few things they learned about the United States from correspondence with their immigrant relatives.

Despite its size, the village was composed of very small distinct communities that combined family heritage and religious affiliation – Maronites (Middle Eastern Catholics), Greek Orthodox and Druze (a Muslim denomination). What these communities knew about one another was anecdotal and *ad hoc*. Women and young people sat around the water spring exchanging beliefs, stories and experiences, and men did the same in the market place and the fields, or around a card game. Osmosis of beliefs was occurring all the time: Many Christians acquired from the Druze a belief in reincarnation, and many Druze acquired from the Christians a belief in vows to saints.

Now there is electricity, telephones and running water in the village, but no more chats around the water spring or card game. My brother is connected via a satellite dish to about 100 stations covering

local, regional and world news, movies, television programmes, fashion, food, the environment – from all over the world. Yet his knowledge of the community next door, and the other communities in Lebanon, has probably not improved since the 1950s.

In the early 1960s, I went to Wisconsin for two years to prepare for my doctorate. I learned a lot about American culture, but was appalled by the American misconception about the Lebanese (and Arab) culture. I was nearly cut off from Lebanon, with no access to news, food, literature, or art; I relied solely on mail. I even lost some fluency in Arabic.

Now, I live in the Washington area. Through television and the Internet I have the most up-to-date knowledge of world events, the global economy and international trends. I worry about things happening thousands of miles away because they affect me. Everyday I learn more about different people, societies and cultures, and I gain a deeper understanding of their different facets. At the same time I am well connected to Lebanon: I read the papers on the Internet (before the locals do!); I can watch Lebanese television; I access web sites about Lebanese culture, food, history, geography, people, politics, etc. But, my knowledge of the culture of my neighbours in my Lebanese village or of other Lebanese communities and entities has not improved.

Impact of new media and information technologies

This personal story is only one illustration of the extraordinary developments in global media, including information and communication technologies (ICTs), in a short period of time. They have exposed us in varying degrees to a variety of cultures – dominant, historic, exotic and marginal. They have allowed us to stay connected with our ‘home’ culture and way of life. But they have not

necessarily contributed to a better understanding of our neighbours' culture within a multicultural society.

The contribution of new media and ICTs to the management of cultural diversity and identity transformation is multifaceted – informational, attitudinal and experiential. Yet this contribution, no matter how strong, is only one component in a complicated socio-cultural-political process that governs the dynamics of cultural identity and interactivity.

■ **Dual impact and cultural identity**

Global media and ICTs have the capacity to enhance two cultural developments:

International culture

We are witnessing three major developments: (a) the near-universal availability of a wide range of powerful media including television, literature, cinema, music videos, Internet and other digital technologies; (b) the presence of a strong cultural content to these technologies dominated by rich and powerful entities as manifested by Hollywood, BBC, CNN, Disney and the like; and (c) free global flow of information and culture leading to common concerns, shared values, and enhanced social discernment. These developments are creating a unique international culture that is global in nature, a belonging to a 'global village', and a virtual identity that is seemingly neutral *vis-à-vis* traditional identities (state, ethnicity, religion, etc.). This media-enhanced culture offers people (particularly the youth) the opportunity to come into contact with other cultures without leaving home, and to belong to 'interest communities' without leaving one's own.

Extended home culture

The same technologies have the capacity to enhance and promote dominant domestic cultures as well as subcultures in the home country and abroad. It is estimated that more than 100 million people live outside their country of origin. As a result, the cities all over the world have become multicultural, and the homogeneous population is now experiencing a significant infusion of cultural, ethnic and language diversity. Migration is expected to increase in the years ahead due to the rapid globalization of the economy and the easing of barriers. This mobility is transforming societies and creating diasporas that are struggling with cultural identity. These diasporas can now remain connected to their original cultures through mass media and ICTs.

Experiencing these two cultural developments is exciting and enriching. However, it may lead to an identity crisis created by an apparent conflict between the present cultural identity and the foreign cultural forces and cultures to which one is exposed. Some make a clear-cut decision; they either adhere to their original culture, or resist any influences that they perceive to be in conflict with it, or endorse the dominant international culture in its entirety – or at least in its behavioural manifestations. Most people, however, go through an auto-equilibration process. When they are exposed to new cultural elements, they experience disequilibrium – an internal conflict of ideas and belonging. They then go through cycles of analysis, adjustment, partial assimilation and testing until they reach a new internal cultural equilibrium with which they are comfortable. The result is a new identity mutation.

This process of mutation is difficult in cultures dominated by the concept of unitary identity. In most countries though, multiple-identity is a well-accepted and practised concept. A person does not

belong to one exclusive set, but to an intersection of many sets – state, culture, ethnicity, religion, gender, profession, etc. So there is, for instance, a composite identity of an Arab-American-Christian-woman-lawyer. What is important here is not only the defined boundaries between cultural communities, but also the relative strengths of simultaneous belongings to different communities. In such an environment, the process of auto-equilibration, identity mutation, and even the acquisition of additional identities becomes a lifelong process.

The impact of global media on the process of identity conflict and mutation is moderated and constrained by other cultural sources: local, domestic, regional and transnational. First, global media are not monolithic nor do they promote a single and consistent message; they carry different and conflicting messages. Second, contextual factors such as social pressure for conformity, state structures, economic incentives, communal connections, and societal attitude towards cultural diversity, and education constrain, dilute or reinforce the impact of global media.

■ **Media impact through education**

Global media are impacting the dynamics of cultural transformation and identity mutation not only directly but also through impacting education, which is a crucial factor in this process. Global media and ICTs are transforming educational structures and services:

- Education is no longer a monopoly of the state or a ‘protected industry’. Local and transnational private entities have entered this field by exploiting the potential of ICTs in offering distance and asynchronous educational opportunities. Additionally, this openness is creating international expectations and norms.

- ICTs allow for flow of information and educational services across borders and over geographic and social barriers. Open and virtual universities, and high schools as well as Internet-based lifelong educational programmes, have simultaneously internationalized and decentralized education. Education and training can now be practised by anyone, anytime, anywhere.
- ICTs can have a significant impact on the quality of learning and educational systems. Multimedia instructional materials – whether in school or at a distance – can motivate learners, raise their level of curiosity, and bring abstract concepts to life. Learners can also practise doing science and technology through virtual laboratories, geography through virtual visits to countries, history and culture through multimedia depiction and re-enactment of events, and mathematics through simulations, drills and practice. ICTs can take the learner anywhere in the universe and can bring the world into the learner’s realm. The sky is not the limit anymore – the limit is human creativity and innovation.

This kind of education, made possible by the potential of ICTs, can transform the scope of learning beyond mere acquisition of knowledge, extend the realm of the school beyond the physical infrastructure, broaden the content of education beyond local and national issues and concerns, extend learning beyond the school years, and expand the learner’s horizons beyond the immediate community and culture. This education is bound to have a drastic impact on individual, communal and cultural identities and relations.

How successful can global media be?

The degree of success of the impact of global media depends on the determination of the *desired* cultural impact. There are at least four desired outcomes: (a) a deeper understanding of one’s culture and a stronger sense of belonging; (b) a deeper understanding of

other cultures and a stronger sense of appreciation and acceptance; (c) constructive cultural conflict resolution at the personal and societal level; and (d) emergence of cultural mutations that are comfortable, accommodating and sustainable. There are two models by which global media may approach these desired outcomes:

■ **The accidental model**

The accidental model approaches cultural objectives in an unplanned and casual manner. In most cases, the media are there for entertainment, commerce, business, and promotions. The impact they may have on multicultural issues and dynamics is only a by-product. The medium is there and information is disseminated, but the message is not necessarily thought out and pushed through.

Since the impact is not planned, it can go either way. Thus, the accidental mode can have instances of positive or negative impact.

Instances of positive impact are: (a) reinforcement of elements of cultural identity through promotion of knowledge of different cultural elements; (b) acquaintance (and possibly appreciation) of elements of other cultures; and (c) disequilibrium of one's identity – asking questions and seeking re-equilibration.

Instances of negative impact are: (a) creation of a virtual, disjointed, imaginary and sanitized culture, concentrating on selective parts that can be digitized and transmitted and that fit within the main objectives of the media; (b) reinforcement of cultural stereotypes; (c) amplification of cultural prejudices; (d) disequilibrium of one's identity leading to alienation from both original and prevailing cultures, or adoption of the lifestyle and consumption elements of the prevailing culture; and (e) domination of a certain culture to the exclusion of minority and disadvantaged cultures because there is no commercial, entertainment or political incentive to include them.

■ The intentional model

The intentional model approaches cultural objectives in a purposeful and deliberate manner. The desired impact of global and local ICTs has to do with knowledge, understanding, identity development, behavioural change, social change, social values, individual and cultural transformations – all of which require orientation, education and reinforcement. These objectives are not attained by chance; they are hardly reached after much focused effort.

Global media and ICTs possess great potential to have dramatic impact in multicultural dynamics:

- ICTs have the ability to archive, classify and disseminate information about different elements of cultures such as language, icons, history, art, way of life, geography, environment, literature and music. By doing so, they also preserve endangered cultures (*Example 1.1*).
- Mass-media technologies, such as radio soap operas and television mini-series, may dramatize elements of culture and deal with cross-cultural issues (*Examples 1.2 and 1.4*).
- ICTs facilitate communication and collaboration for consensus building, collaborate actions, and non-confrontational and confidential dialogue (moderated and un-moderated).
- Media allow for presentations to be made by cultural groups themselves and not about them (*Example 1.5*).
- ICTs can draw into the process historically marginalized groups and allow them access to education and political participation (*Example 1.3*).
- ICTs serve as a platform for high-quality broad-based education, and for learning opportunities about one's culture and that of others through, inter alia: (a) multimedia materials; (b) simulations that allow participants to engage in simulated multicultural conflicts

and resolutions, depicting even the most explosive and risky situations; and (c) bringing abstract concepts and historically old events to life, using different perspectives through different scenarios.

■ **Examples of potential of ICTs**

Example 1.1 It brings connectivity to North America's native populations

In a move to help American Indians join the technology age, HP gave a grant to the Southern California Tribal Chairmen's Association, an organization of 18 tribes in the San Diego, California, area. The main component is a high-speed, broadband wireless network between the reservations. Connecting the tribes to the Internet and with each other is meant to help them towards preserving their culture – the language, music, stories and traditions – through audio, video and the Internet.

In a similar situation, Telesat Canada and the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) signed an agreement in 2001, which would help have all First Nations communities in Canada connected by early 2004. Telesat Canada provides expertise and technology, while AFN provides input on what applications and technology are to be provided.

Sources: Wired Magazine and NewsBytes;
<http://www.wired.com/news/school/0,1383,43718,00.htm>;
<http://www.newsbytes.com/news/01/166287.html>.

Example 1.2 Children's television in Macedonia for violence prevention

A consortium of television and conflict-resolution experts launched an educational project that encourages intercultural respect and understanding among the children of Macedonia. After only one brief season, research showed that a children's television series has begun to make real inroads into overcoming deep-seated prejudices and stereotypes.

Developed for children aged 7-12, *Nashe Maalo* ('our neighbourhood' in Macedonian) is a dramatic television series first produced during the Kosovo crisis in 1999, and broadcast as eight half-hour episodes starting in October 1999.

Conflicts such as the recent war over Kosovo have dealt a hard blow to Macedonia's economy and its internal inter-ethnic relations. Two-thirds of Macedonia's population is ethnic Macedonian, with the remainder comprising ethnic Albanians (23 per cent), Turks (4 per cent), and several smaller groups, including Roma, at 2 per cent each. They tend to lead lives rigidly, if voluntarily, segregated by language, residence, and education, and interact with each other only on a superficial level. *Nashe Maalo* is a central element of a systematic approach to building tolerance and understanding across these barriers in this emerging democracy.

The show features children of Albanian, Macedonian, Roma and Turkish backgrounds who live in an imaginary apartment building in Skopje. These kids share a secret that binds them together: Her name is Karmen and, in addition to being the kids' confidante and friend, she possesses a power: She can magically transport them into their neighbours' cultural and psychological milieus. These scenes open the eyes of the characters to other people's ways of thinking and living.

Source: Shochat, L. July/August 2001. *Nashe Maalo: Kids' TV in Macedonia for violence prevention*. TechKnowLogia. Retrieved from www.TechKnowLogia.org. Used by permission.

Example 1.3 The Asháninka community in Peru

Throughout the world, an increasing number of indigenous peoples are effectively using the Internet to promote indigenous peoples' development and indigenous rights. An example of this success has been illustrated by the Asháninka (<http://www.rcp.net.pe/ashaninka/>) one of the largest indigenous groups of the Central Amazon Region of Peru. With the support of the Red Científica Peruana (<http://www.rcp.net.pe/>) and IDRC-Canada, the Asháninka have created a communications network among 43 indigenous communities, as well as between several regional organizations and the Conferencia Permanente de los Pueblos Indígenas (COPPIP) - a national indigenous organization representing the indigenous peoples of the Amazon region (<http://www.rcp.net.pe/ashaninka/coppip/>).

Mino Eusebio Castro, the Asháninka leader spearheading this project sees the Internet as a "unique opportunity to share the richness of our cultural tradition, while strengthening our social, cultural and linguistic capacities". He stresses that "if indigenous peoples themselves are learning how to make use of the Internet, this new medium can become a very important tool for strengthening indigenous communities and cultures rather than undermining them". In an interview in Washington, he emphasized that "through the help of the Internet for the first time, indigenous peoples, who have been traditionally excluded from many services within their nation-states, have the opportunities for improved access to education, political participation and can directly contact international donor agencies, such as the World Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank to present their opinions in policy debates and directly negotiate funding proposals without any intermediation".

Source: Gigler, B.-S. July/August 2001. *Empowerment through the Internet*. TechKnowLogia. Retrieved from www.TechKnowLogia.org. Used by permission.

Example 1.4 A television mini-series for teaching values in Bogotá

The mini-series *Francisco el Matemático* is a concrete example of how to modify the strategy for conducting learning processes of values, presenting an adolescent with a strategy for him or her to build independently, and validate, certain attitudes and behaviour. It uses a tool available to present daily life events in which moral dilemmas emerge, i.e. television in the mini-series format.

Francisco el Matemático was first aired to the public through the private channel RCN in May 1999, at an 8:00 p.m. slot. Based on previous research as a point of departure, the first 20 episodes presented, through the stories of a few teachers and students of a public school situated in Bogotá, problematic situations related to violence inside the family, drugs, sexuality, discrimination, and the image and role of the teacher. The objective was not to present models of behaviour but rather to present ways of dealing with those issues. It showed a down-to-earth image of the teachers and the interplay between their private and professional lives, aiming at leading them to identify themselves by affinity or opposition to the characters. It also showed the students and their issues in the same manner.

The programme was an immediate success in terms of ratings and had an audience of some 12 million. After being broadcast weekly for over a year, it became a daily programme.

A few months after the mini-series was broadcast, the team developed a pedagogical handbook for the teacher on how to use each one of the selected episodes to pose a moral dilemma and encourage discussion among the groups of students.

Source: Chiappe, C. July/August 2001. *Francisco el Matemático: a TV mini-series for teaching values in Bogotá*. TechKnowLogia. Retrieved from www.TechKnowLogia.org. Used by permission.

Example 1.5 Bringing Mayan language and culture across the digital divide

Guatemala is the home of 21 Mayan languages. Their use has persisted despite colonization by the Spanish and a harsh 36-year civil war. Globalization has affected the Mayans too, as Western clothing becomes more fashionable and less expensive than traditional dress. Cable television and international music have made Western pop culture very much a part of the local popular culture, lowering the popularity of the marimba and other traditional instruments.

Bilingual intercultural technology centres have been established, one aspect being the creation of multimedia materials on CDs. Four CDs were produced: (a) local cultural information; (b) an oral tradition collection – with an audio CD of radio programmes; (c) 3,000 clip art images drawn by local Mayan artists and representing basic vocabulary of two Mayan languages; and (d) six digitized books about Mayan language grammar.

Source: Lieberman, A July/September 2002. *Bringing Mayan language and culture across the digital divide.* TechKnowLogia. Retrieved from www.TechKnowLogia.org. Used by permission.

From potential to effectiveness

Global media have great potential to impact cultural developments, but like all ICT applications, the potential is not realized automatically, spontaneously or accidentally. The road between potential and effectiveness is a long road that must be designed delicately, patterned collaboratively and democratically, constructed deliberately, followed and maintained diligently, and evaluated and regulated continuously.

The road is about both the medium and the message. Technology is not a panacea. Placing a radio, a television and a computer in every home and classroom, and wiring every building to the Internet, will

not solve the problem automatically. The problem is not strictly technological; it is also educational and contextual. Constraints must be alleviated and conditions met. Experience points to *seven* parameters necessary for the potential of ICTs to be realized:

- *Is the message right?* ICTs do not compensate for the message; they only intensify it, whether it is good or bad. Some messages carried by the media promote glorification of certain cultures, fanaticism and intolerance. For positive impact, the message needs to highlight honesty and fairness, embrace social values of tolerance, diversity, human rights and liberty, and promote the balance between cultural uniqueness and commonality.
- *Is the approach intentional and comprehensive?* Using ICTs to promote intercultural development is a radical innovation and should be treated as such. Innovations require building a solid base of knowledge and commitment, interacting with interest groups, generating and testing different options, experimentation, planning for large-scale implementation, critical mass application, and a mind open to modification and adjustment.
- *Is the content well developed?* Content must be purposefully developed combining the potential of technology with the latest in instructional design, social marketing, collaborative learning and multimedia presentation.
- *Are the technologies available?* Despite dramatic increase in availability of ICTs, there are still many groups that do not have access to these technologies. This situation promotes the isolation of certain cultural groups. The 'haves' will have more exposure and the 'have-nots' will be further isolated and marginalized. Do we wait until everyone has access? Certainly not. We need to be creative in providing access to the poor by developing and applying intermediate, simple and inexpensive technologies such as community radio (suitcase) transmitters (see *Example 1.6*), wind-

up radios, solar-powered instruments, and community telecentres. We also need to promote low-cost Internet connectivity such as Vita-connect, a unique, low-cost, communication and information service developed by the non-profit organization Volunteers in Technical Assistance (VITA). Also a VSAT satellite dish can provide low-cost high-speed Internet connectivity to the school and the community.

- *Are the tools available?* Access to global media and the World Wide Web is not sufficient. People need the tools to make use of these technologies. They include: (a) language: Most web sites and satellite television programmes are in English; there is, therefore, a need to expand and strengthen the teaching of English and other 'international' languages and develop cultural materials in national and local languages; (b) education – users need basic levels of education to comprehend, assess, synthesize and assimilate what they read, hear and see; (c) technological literacy to efficiently access the web, use e-mail to communicate and participate in chat rooms, etc.; and (d) cognitive skills to critically review media content, use information to solve cultural issues, and engage in meaningful dialogue; otherwise users will be brainwashed and drawn into fanaticism by different groups who are taking advantage of the power of the media to promote intolerance and conflict.
- *Is there targeted investment?* The incentive system in a free market works against investment in ICTs for multicultural promotion and understanding. Commercial media are usually after the exotic, exciting, scandalous and outrageous substance; that is what pays off. National governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should invest in the area of multicultural promotion and understanding.
- *Are multicultural studies incorporated into education systems?* To maximize effectiveness and provide consistency, education programmes should reinforce the positive messages and moderate

the negative messages promoted by global media. In school systems, the same technologies can enhance teaching, motivate learning, balance out expectations, and standardize outcomes.

Conclusion

The impact of ICTs on multicultural dynamics can be tremendous. When we observe the intensity of cultural and ethnic tensions and conflicts and the extent of cultural alienation, isolation and confusions, harvesting the potential of ICTs should not be accidental or casual. It should be intentional, purposeful and intense. We get there only if we are willing to fulfil the conditions that propel us from potential impact to actual effective impact. In the process we need to keep two things in mind. First, let us make sure that the content of the media is grounded in reality; we should not create virtual cultures and live in make-believe worlds that do not correspond to reality. Second, we should not get distracted by the spectacular medium and forget about the message.

Example 1.6 Suitcase FM radio station



The Commonwealth of Learning developed an FM transmitting station (in a suitcase). The station configurations range in price from US\$3,000 to US\$5,000 including all elements: antenna, transmitter, console, mixer, microphones and CD and tape decks. The stations can be powered by 12 V DC or 120/240 AC.

A station in its watertight carrying case (on the console starting on the left top the gooseneck microphone, below is the mixer, top right are two tape decks, below are two CD decks). The transmitter and power supply, not pictured, are housed under the console. The console is removed from the carrying case when in operation.



In Apac, Uganda, the station is run entirely by solar power. This would free the project from the constraints of the electrical situation and the tariffs associated with it. Eight solar panels and seven deep-cycle batteries were installed at the station, which now provide lighting and all the station power requirements for

daily broadcasting. The life span of solar installations is over a decade with low maintenance costs.

CHAPTER 2. THE VIEW FROM BELOW (SETTING THE TONE): MIGRANTS WITH MINDSETS

Audrey Osler

Abstract

This article considers the cultural changes taking place at school level in the context of changing school populations. It draws on research that examines how teachers and school administrators respond to learners whose cultural and family backgrounds are different from their own and the impact this can have upon teacher-learner relationships, learners' relationships with their peers and on attainment levels.

Schools can play a part in promoting learning to live together in culturally diverse settings. They can also reflect, and indeed reinforce, violence in the wider society. This article considers the concept of school violence, both structural and interpersonal. It examines how schools can promote learning to live together. In particular, it explores the relationship between democratic practice, discipline and achievement. The article draws on a range of sources including the author's research in the United Kingdom and other European countries. It also draws on literature and research from a range of African contexts. The article presents quantitative and qualitative research data, including research that draws on pupil voice. It considers the relationship between democratic practice, pupil achievement and pupil behaviour.

Introduction

This article examines some challenges faced by education policy-makers concerned with the education of young people within our increasingly globalized world and increasingly culturally diverse local communities and schools. In particular it highlights how the perspectives and values of young people and families from migrant and minority communities need to be addressed by both policy-makers and teachers. Planning for diversity means ensuring justice in education and the participation of all. Policy-makers will need to address gender relations in schools as a central aspect of planning for diversity.

Dominant narratives of globalization tend to focus largely or exclusively on economic developments. Policy-makers and planners have responded to the processes of economic globalization by emphasizing the need for schools to be able to prepare young people for a workforce that is internationally competitive. Yet globalization is political, technological and cultural, as well as economic. Increasingly global interdependence and mobility mean that people living on different continents, who may never meet, are nevertheless members of overlapping 'communities of fate' (Held, 1996). Members of such communities may share common identities (as is the case with diasporic communities) and/or common economic or political interests (such as may be experienced, for example, by fishing communities or indigenous peoples). The perceived need to educate for global competition is in tension with a need to educate for greater co-operation and understanding. Policy-makers recognize the need to educate citizens to live together in an interdependent world and diverse local communities.

Ministers of education, meeting at the 44th session of UNESCO's International Conference on Education in 1994 in Geneva, mindful

of their responsibilities in this field, determined (UNESCO, 1995a: 2.2):

“to strive resolutely ... to take suitable steps to establish in educational institutions an atmosphere contributing to the success of education for international understanding, so that they become ideal places for the exercise of tolerance, respect for human rights, the practice of democracy and learning about the diversity and wealth of cultural identities.”

The following year, the General Conference of UNESCO approved an Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy at its 28th session in Paris, which identified policies and actions to be taken at institutional, national and international levels to realize such education. It states (UNESCO: 1995a: IV. 17):

“There must be education for peace, human rights and democracy. It cannot, however, be restricted to specialized subjects and knowledge. The whole of education must transmit this message and the atmosphere of the institution must be in harmony with the application of democratic standards.”

Education for living together in an interdependent world requires education for peace, human rights and democracy. The intention is that this education should be a mainstream concern and part of the entitlement of every learner.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, and consequent political developments, bring these issues into sharper focus, requiring governments and intergovernmental organizations to re-think their global responsibilities and work co-operatively, and with moral consistency, with regard to human rights, justice and aid. As I

have previously argued, there is an increased pressure for educational responses to globalization (Osler and Vincent, 2002). The Delors Report, *Learning: the treasure within* (Delors, 1996), stresses the importance of education not just as a tool for promoting economic growth but as a means of enabling social solidarity and social inclusion in an increasingly globalized world. Learning to live together is highlighted as one of four pillars of education, not confined to formal schooling, but encompassing lifelong learning. The challenge of learning to live together in a peaceful environment remains a real one for curriculum developers and other educators at the beginning of the 21st century.

Both newly arrived learners and learners from long-established minority communities bring their own perspectives and values with them to their schools. These ways of thinking or 'mindsets' interact and influence the wider society. They may change the perspectives of schools and communities. Yet teachers also have their own 'mindsets'. Educational policy-makers will not only need to take young people's perspectives into account but also consider the impact of teachers' attitudes and professional cultures towards difference and change when drawing up policies and plans. Teachers may need to be encouraged to open themselves to change and to recognize that one of their professional responsibilities is to enable the development of a more inclusive and multicultural society. Educational policy-makers at all levels have a key role in enabling the development of a genuinely multicultural and inclusive society in which all members are enabled to respect difference and cope with change.

Globalization, diversity and citizenship education

Globalization has caused the transformation of a number of major cities in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe; these have become increasingly diverse in their make-up. Many schools have

experienced considerable changes in their populations and some that previously perceived themselves to be relatively homogeneous now have to re-think their approaches as they acknowledge cultural diversity. At the same time, there is evidence of increasing levels of racism and of particular intolerance towards refugees and asylum seekers in a number of European countries. Studies suggest that where there is clear political leadership and an active commitment to the human rights of minorities, individuals who are indifferent or passively tolerant of refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants can be persuaded to become actively engaged in defending their rights (Thalhammer *et al.*, 2001). Education policy-makers thus have a potentially extremely influential role in ensuring that young people are educated in human rights and equality as a means of promoting greater social cohesion.

Education policy-makers and planners are faced with the challenge of responding to the processes of globalization. Most citizenship education programmes place considerable emphasis on learning for national citizenship, with a focus on national identity, and on the roles of citizens within the legal and constitutional framework of the nation. Young people are socialized into the ‘imagined community’ of the nation (Anderson, 1991). This imaged community is necessarily diverse and, in most contexts, multicultural. It is thus inappropriate to educate for one single national identity, but to recognize that young people will identify with a number of communities. It is important to recognize that there are many ways, for example, of being British.

Education in general, and education for citizenship in particular, provide the mechanism for transmitting the core shared values on which just and peaceful democratic societies may be built. Citizenship, in a legal sense, is anchored in the rights and responsibilities deriving from sovereign nation states. However, it also has broader meanings deriving from international law. Migration requires individuals and

groups to develop multiple loyalties and identities. This reality calls into question the idea of citizenship as having a unique focus of loyalty to a particular nation state. The tensions between competing views of citizenship are the site of much stimulating debate. In our research we have sought to confront some of these theoretical perspectives with the realities experienced by young people from a cosmopolitan urban area of Europe. This leads us to propose a re-conceptualization of education for citizenship so as to build on, rather than deny, multiple loyalties (Osler and Starkey, 2003). We refer to this as education for cosmopolitan citizenship.

Since citizenship is a contested concept, education for citizenship is potentially a site of debate and controversy. In cosmopolitan societies, namely those characterized by a high degree of cultural diversity, one crucial area for debate is how citizenship education responds to this diversity and, in particular, the extent to which it addresses the formal and informal barriers to citizenship faced by minorities. Our contribution to the debate is to propose a model of citizenship education that draws on theories of cosmopolitan democracy. Education for cosmopolitan citizenship has the advantage of acknowledging local, national and global contexts and the wide variety of experiences that learners may bring to their education (Osler and Vincent, 2000; Osler and Starkey, 2001, 2003). A number of migrant and newly arrived learners in school may not (yet) have national citizenship status. Not all citizens are able to access their rights on the basis of equality. Citizenship education programmes need to be built on internationally agreed human rights frameworks. They need to examine the ongoing struggle to realize their rights in which women and minorities are centrally engaged. Learners need to learn about the rights and responsibilities we hold towards each other as part of our common humanity, as well as the rights and responsibilities of those who have national citizenship status.

Debates about citizenship and education are not the sole purview of academics, policy-makers or teachers. The fact remains that young people are rarely given opportunities to contribute and yet, as important stakeholders in education and in society, young people have much to contribute to such debates and to the formulation of a relevant and effective education for citizenship. Our research therefore explored young people's feelings about community and belonging, and how they negotiate their multiple identities and sense of belonging within multi-localities in a cosmopolitan city in England. Through analyzing data from interviews and workshop activities with these young people, we have identified key sites of learning for citizenship within their communities. These include families, community and religious organizations, and engagement with public authorities such as the housing department, health services or police. By accompanying, supporting or interpreting for an adult in dealings with public authorities, young people are learning skills of advocacy and presentation and gaining knowledge for participation. Religious and community organizations also provide opportunities for young people to learn skills such as public speaking or organizational or mobilization skills that are critical for active citizenship (Osler and Starkey, 2001).

A major objective of education for national citizenship is to ensure that young people understand their present and future roles within the constitutional and legal framework of the state in which they live. They are expected to learn about and identify with the legal, political, religious, social and economic institutions of the country in which they are being educated (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001). In democratic states, citizens are constitutionally entitled to equal rights to participate in and to influence government. However, in practice, this formal equality is undermined by discriminatory practices and public discourses that exclude minorities or that marginalize them within

the imagined community of the nation. In such discourses the nation is often portrayed as having a homogeneous cultural identity into which minorities are expected to integrate.

In this respect, education for national citizenship often fails to engage with the actual experiences of learners who, in a globalized world, are likely to have shifting and multiple cultural identities and a sense of belonging that is not expressed first and foremost in terms of the nation (Alexander, 1996; Osler, 1997; Hall, 2000). Moreover we suggest that such education tends to prepare young people for future citizenship without acknowledging their experiences and their existing citizenship rights. Young people are frequently presented as citizens-in-waiting (Verhellen, 2000) and youth is often portrayed as threatening yet politically apathetic (Griffin, 1997; Osler and Vincent, 2003). Citizenship education programmes that build on these assumptions may, unintentionally, serve to alienate and exclude. Young people are likely to feel alienated by programmes that overlook their experiences and sites of learning for citizenship within communities. Where public discourse and discriminatory practices serve to undermine the citizenship rights of minorities, education for national citizenship may be doubly exclusionary.

Exclusion, teacher expectations and minorities

The issue of exclusion from school is a significant one internationally. It appears to affect certain groups differentially in a number of international settings. Access to primary education is a basic human right, yet in most African countries, for example, female enrolment in primary schooling lags well behind male enrolment (UNESCO, 1995*b*; United Nations, 1995; Bloch and Vavrus, 1998). Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) make it increasingly likely that girls will drop out of school at a very early age as parents, obliged to pay school fees and make other contributions to their children's

schooling, prioritize the education of their sons over that of their daughters. Struggles by grassroots organizations to improve women's position have tended to focus on adult women, leaving the formal school system untouched. Pressures to achieve cost reduction in education and the increased costs of schooling affect men and women unequally, limiting the education of all girls except those from wealthy families (Stromquist, 1998). This form of exclusion means that girls' opportunities are undermined and restricted.

In England, African Caribbean heritage learners are disproportionately represented among those who are excluded from school for disciplinary reasons. Students from these communities are six times more likely to be excluded from school (Osler and Hill, 1999). A number of researchers have observed that African-Caribbean students in England are likely to experience more repressive discipline than their white peers (see, for example, Wright, Weekes and McGlauchlin, 2000). In New Zealand, the suspension rate for Pakeha (white) students is 10.9 per 1,000, compared with 35.8 per 1,000 for Maori students and 19.3 per 1,000 for Pacific students (Alton-Lee and Praat, 2001). Students with special educational needs are also particularly vulnerable to disciplinary exclusion and students from minority and migrant communities are often overrepresented among those classified as having special educational needs. The classification of minority/migrant students as having special educational needs effectively makes them doubly vulnerable to exclusionary practices. Some students are classified as having special needs as a result of misdiagnosis, for example, when developing bilingual learners are deemed to have other specific learning needs. Teachers may also wrongly classify some migrant children, misinterpreting cultural differences or initial problems in adapting to new circumstances. Sometimes school authorities exclude particular learners in order to access additional resources for them.

Teacher expectations have been highlighted as a key issue in understanding inequalities in the treatment of minority students. Our research shows that teachers may adopt 'racial frames of reference' (Figueroa, 1991) in dealing with black students and that these frames of reference are likely to be gender specific. As one experienced primary teacher explained (quoted in Osler and Hill, 1999: 47):

"The over-representation of African-Caribbean boys [among those excluded] is a very complicated issue, but I think expectations make a big difference, and I think we do tend, however well intentioned, to see a black boy and think they are going to be trouble. A lot of this is down to the curriculum. I think that one of the problems is that after a long period of dependency [on National Curriculum requirements] and I'm thinking of new teachers now, there is a whole generation of teachers who came in to schools without the grounding of making decisions about what is appropriate."

Not only is this teacher acknowledging the ways in which teachers operate within racialized and gendered frames of reference, but she is arguing that, since the late 1980s, teachers in England have not been trained to engage in curriculum development. Consequently, although national curriculum guidelines have been revised, allowing for increasing flexibility, many teachers are unprepared and inexperienced in selecting materials which are inclusive of all students. Although the most recent guidelines stress the importance of inclusivity, and the importance of recognizing and accepting diversity, there has been limited public debate about the role of education in countering racism and other anti-democratic forces through education (Osler and Starkey, 2002).

Widespread overrepresentation of learners from minority groups among students classified as having special educational needs or

subject to disciplinary exclusion suggests institutional or structural failure to recognize and respond to diversity. Exclusion from schools is recognized by policy-makers as being linked to longer-term social exclusion (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998). A society that fails to address the problems within a system in which certain ethnic groups are disproportionately represented among those excluded from school is thus storing up longer-term problems and threatening future social cohesion.

Differential achievement: the case of England

Our research, carried out on behalf of the Department for Education and Skills in England, set out to analyze the plans of 151 local education authorities (LEAs) in relation to the achievement of learners from minority ethnic groups (Tikly *et al.*, 2002). It also examined data provided by LEAs to central government on attainment at ages 11, 14 and 16 over a three-year period. The research produced the first national picture of attainment by ethnicity at the end of primary schooling. At age 11 the overall improvement rate from 1998–2000 in the proportion of pupils achieving level 4 (the expected level) and above was 11.9 percentage points in English and 14.9 percentage points in mathematics. Chinese and Indian heritage pupils are the highest achieving groups in both subjects. In both subjects the rates of improvement were greater for Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils. Rates of improvement for African Caribbean heritage pupils are slightly lower than average in English. Examination results at age 16 also show Chinese and Indian heritage pupils as the highest achieving groups, followed by White, Bangladeshi, African and Pakistani heritage pupils. African Caribbean pupils' achievements were significantly lower, with 27 per cent achieving five or more A+–C grades in 2000 compared to an overall average of 48 per cent. There were considerable differences in the relative achievement of each ethnic group across LEAs. For example, African Caribbean

heritage pupils achieving five or more A⁺-C grades ranges between 16 per cent and 59 per cent, depending on the LEA.

The research shows that although nationally there is a direct correlation between those groups with the lowest levels of achievement and those vulnerable to exclusion, the 'underachievement' of certain groups is not a given. LEAs that have directed specific resources at underachieving groups and adopted specific strategies, have seen the achievement gap narrow. Targeted interventions by education policy-makers and planners can make a difference. Those able to address the achievement of specific groups set out to work with parents and community members of the group in question.

Schools and violence

Schools often reinforce and reflect the conflicts, inequalities and violence of the wider society. Alternatively they can seek to develop as model communities, based on human rights principles of peace, justice and democracy. This section explores the notion of institutional violence. It discusses reactive pupil violence and the frustrations generated by an inappropriate curriculum. It also highlights the gendered nature of violence in and beyond the school.

The Gulbenkian Foundation's Commission on Children and Violence defines violence as "behaviour against people liable to cause physical or psychological harm" (Gulbenkian Foundation, 1995: 4). The Commission observed that: "In general, children are far more often victims of violence than perpetrators." (Gulbenkian Foundation, 1995: 1). Most importantly, the Commission noted: "Schools can either be a force for violence prevention, or can provide an experience which reinforces violent attitudes and adds to the child's experience of violence" (Gulbenkian Foundation, 1995: 139).

Although the term ‘violence in schools’ is now widely accepted, there was, until the late 1990s, a preference among many academics and practitioners to use terms such as ‘anti-social behaviour’ to identify the problem, and terms such as ‘the promotion of safety in schools’ to describe the strategies needed to tackle this problem (Debarbieux, 2001). Such terms focus attention on the individual or group thought to be ‘antisocial’. A focus on individuals (be they teachers or pupils) and on behaviour problems prevents consideration of the schooling system itself as problematic. It invites solutions which address the individual, without due consideration being given to the school as an institution or to the whole system of schooling. Violence in schools is a real issue requiring policy responses which address schools as institutions and which address the specific needs of minority and migrant groups within those schools.

A study of schools in nine countries in Africa, Asia and South America concluded that levels of institutional violence in some schools were so high that (DFID, 2000: 12-13):

“It is almost certainly more damaging for children to be in school than out of it. Children whose days are spent herding animals rather than sitting in a classroom at least develop skills of problem solving and independence while the supposedly luckier ones in school are stunted in their mental, physical and emotional development by being rendered passive, and having to spend hours each day in a crowded room under the control of an adult who punishes them for any normal level of activity such as moving or speaking.”

This is not to suggest that the goal of universal primary education is inappropriate. Rather, that alongside efforts to extend access to schooling, efforts are needed to ensure that schools offer an appropriate curriculum that enables learners to actively participate

and develop. Unless schools are able to demonstrate to parents and communities that they can offer an appropriate curriculum and benefits to learners, it is unlikely that all parents in low-income countries will wish to send their children to school. The development of a learning environment in which young people are encouraged to develop their skills is critical to the realization of universal primary education. Equally importantly, policy-makers need to attend to the conditions in schools in higher-income countries. They need to ensure that children in these schools are not “stunted in their mental, physical and emotional development by being rendered passive ... under the control of an adult who punishes them for any normal level of activity such as moving or speaking”.

Institutional violence in schools may be expressed in a number of ways. In England, as we have seen, exclusion from school is used as a sanction to control unruly behaviour of various sorts. The British Government has expressed concern about the high levels of permanent exclusion from school. Around 10,000 pupils each year are subject to permanent disciplinary exclusion from school, and those who are excluded from secondary school often fail to return to mainstream education. In effect, a form of institutional violence is applied to young people who are experiencing problems in school. We know that disaffection and poor behaviour in school are often linked to learning difficulties, that is to say, young people who cannot cope with the curriculum because they lack the basic skills become frustrated and cover up their problems by causing trouble.

There are also examples of young people being excluded from school following bereavement or other traumatic events, such as family breakdown or separation. We have also uncovered examples of refugee children who have experienced trauma and violence, finding themselves excluded because they then exhibit violent behaviours in school (Osler, Watling and Busher, 2001). In one tragic

case, a 10-year-old child committed suicide after a dispute between his mother and his head teacher led to him being excluded (McVeigh, 2001).

Disaffected young people are removed from the classroom and many have little to do except wander the streets. Links have been made between exclusion from school and juvenile crime (Graham and Bowling, 1995). Those who are excluded may suffer longer-term social exclusion since they may have been denied the chance to gain basic qualifications.

The sanction of exclusion is not only violent and ineffective. There are also concerns that it may have short-term and longer-term effects which undermine social cohesion and community well-being. For example, in England, it has been observed that the typical profile of a white child excluded from school is one who has a history of behaviour problems, trauma and, often, special educational needs. By contrast, the study found that excluded children from a Caribbean heritage family were more likely to be of above average ability and less likely to have a history of behaviour problems than their white peers (OFSTED, 1996). The ways in which the sanction of exclusion is applied unequally across different ethnic communities suggests discriminatory practice and institutionalized racism.

Richardson and Wood (1999: 33) provide a useful working definition of racism in education, exploring how it can become institutionalized:

“In the education system there are laws, customs and practices which systematically reflect and reproduce racial inequalities ... If racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs and practices, a school or a local education authority or a national education system is racist whether or not individual teachers,

inspectors, officers, civil servants and elected politicians have racist intentions ... Educational institutions may systematically treat or tend to treat pupils and students differently in respect of race, ethnicity or religion. The differential treatment lies within an institution's ethos and organization rather than in the attitudes, beliefs and intentions of individual members of staff. The production of differential treatment is 'institutionalized' in the way the institution operates."

If this definition is adapted and applied in a variety of national contexts we may see how institutional racism, which is a form of institutional violence, exists in many forms. In Rwanda, where genocide took place in 1994, schools are identified, by the present government, as having contributed to the violence (Woodward, 2000). The education system, based on a colonial model, prepared a small minority to run the country. The massacre of Tutsis by Hutus was based on total dehumanization of the other (Prunier, 1995). The violence in schools was not limited to separate schooling and indoctrination. During the genocide: "Schools could not be places of refuge either and Hutu teachers commonly denounced their Tutsi pupils to the militia or even directly killed them themselves" (Prunier, 1995: 254).

A number of writers have questioned how well-educated people have, in various contexts during the 20th century, been involved in acts of genocide and in crimes against humanity (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998: 16):

"The role of well-educated persons in the conception, planning and execution of the genocide requires explanation; any attempt at explanation must consider how it was possible that their education did not render genocide unthinkable. The active involvement of children and young people in carrying out acts of

violence, sometimes against their teachers and fellow pupils, raises further questions about the kind of education they had received.”

Reactive violence may be expressed to various forms of institutional or interpersonal violence which individual children experience during their schooling in various national contexts. It may arise from the curriculum of schools. For example, children whose cultures and experiences are not reflected in textbooks and teaching materials, or who struggle to cope with schooling in a language in which they are not competent, may become disaffected or may fail. Frustration and anger, when experienced over a period of time, may lead to violence. This may take the form of violence against other pupils, for example bullying or fighting, or, more rarely, violence against teachers. It is possible that some children from minority and migrant communities find themselves in trouble as a result of behaviour which is a response to a long history of ‘everyday violence’ against them. Some disciplinary exclusion may result from reactionary expressions of frustration and anger to institutionalized violence, for example, when learners are subject to an inappropriate curriculum and are unable to cope with the demands placed upon them.

Another type of violence against children, which is less often talked about, is the child sexual abuse and rape to which some young people at school are subjected. This makes many schools unsafe places. Fear for the safety of girls, both at school and in travelling to school, has been cited as a reason why some parents are reluctant to send their daughters to secondary school in some low-income countries (UNICEF, 1996). Ethnographic research in Ugandan schools showed that although students were well informed about AIDS and AIDS transmission, this did not necessarily affect their behaviour. Men and boys exercised power in school both informally and through organizational structures such as prefect systems. Boys were in a

position to dominate sexual encounters and decide whether or not to use condoms (Mirembe, 1998).

Gender equality in school is not just a question of ensuring that textbooks and teaching materials show non-stereotypical images of girls and boys, women and men. It must involve a change in public cultures (and appropriate sex education) so that girls act confidently and recognize that their worth is not measured by the interest which adult men, including teachers, may show in them. At a minimum this is likely to require programmes in which young people are able to address questions relating to sexuality, power and self-esteem. Such programmes should not be aimed exclusively at girls. In South Africa the Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) identified violence as a major problem of schooling, and recognized that boys and young men are particularly vulnerable to violent attack. GETT advocated responses which “went further than protecting women and providing better rehabilitation and trauma facilities” (Morrell, 1998: 107). Morrell argues that if we are to challenge violence and create more democratic schools, then schools and communities need to develop the means by which boys are empowered to change the ways in which they construct their identities (Morrell, 1998: 105): “Without gender justice, democracy is impossible. To achieve gender justice we need to address gender relations in the school and without, and to pay attention to the ways that masculinity is constructed or, in other words, to gender subjectivities.”

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (CRC) reaffirms children’s right to an education in human rights. It also asserts that the State has an obligation to protect children from abuse, neglect and all forms of violence (CRC, Article 19):

“State Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms

of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardians or any other person who has care of the child.”

Writers reflecting on the genocide in Rwanda have drawn our attention to the part that teachers and children played in the genocide and have highlighted the need for new approaches to schooling based on human rights principles (Aguilar and Richmond, 1998: 123):

“For those preparing educational responses appropriate to the post-genocide situation, it was clear that Rwanda’s education could never be the same again; it was evident that such themes as peace, reconciliation, human rights and tolerance would have to figure in the ‘values education’ of all Rwanda’s children and young people in the future.”

Democratic practice, policy and research

My own research has sought to incorporate children and young people’s voices into research design wherever possible. I propose three reasons why children’s views and perspectives should be incorporated into educational research, scholarship and practice. These correspond to what we might call ‘three Ps’, namely, principle, policy and pedagogy. First, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (CRC) sets an important international standard on the participation rights of children and young people and has wide-ranging implications for education policy and practice (see, for example, Newell, 1991; Lansdown and Newell, 1994; Osler and Starkey, 1996; Verhellen, 2000). Young people’s voices need to be incorporated in keeping with the principle of their participation in decision-making, as outlined in the CRC.

Secondly, research projects that have drawn on the voices of young people from marginalized groups, such as children with special educational needs or girls from specific ethnic minority groups, have sometimes challenged the assumptions of education professionals concerning those groups (Osler, 1989; Tisdall and Dawson, 1994). Such approaches may provide policy-makers with the opportunity to hear and take into account the voices of otherwise marginalized young people. In a sense we may even claim that these young people are enabled to influence policy and practice. By seeking out the views of children, researchers may uncover how social processes and educational practices operate to exclude or discriminate against certain groups (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Connolly, 1998).

Thirdly, research and consultation with children may also inform teachers seeking practical solutions to everyday challenges facing schools. For example, researchers have shown how such consultation processes inform and strengthen school improvement strategies and support schools in addressing questions of discipline (Ruddock *et al.*, 1996; Osler, 2000). Young people from migrant and minority communities provide us with a key perspective: Their voices are essential if we are to understand 'the view from below'. Young people have a role to play in resolving pedagogical questions and influencing policy-making at classroom level.

My research into children's understandings of school discipline suggests that there is a direct link between more democratic schools, where children's rights are respected and their voices heard, and better disciplined schools (Osler, 2000). Young people themselves made a strong link between being given opportunities for participation and the realization of effective systems of behaviour management. Not only did young people in the study express a strong wish to take a more active role in school, they showed a strong sense

of responsibility and a willingness to contribute to the well-being of the school community. School councils and class councils, and other representative structures, were much appreciated by pupils and recognized by some head teachers as a means of realizing a more orderly school. Such structures had a symbolic role in reassuring pupils that theirs was a listening school.

Conclusion

This article has sought to highlight the links between inclusion and achievement. There are also links between democratic practices, discipline and a sense of belonging. While I do not present evidence for a direct link between achievement and democratic practice, I argue that a sense of belonging is a prerequisite for the inclusion and achievement of young people from minority communities.

Teachers face a number of challenges in preparing their students for citizenship and participation in a fast-changing world. In particular, they face the challenge of teaching for equity, justice and solidarity in contexts where their students are only too aware of inequality and injustice, both in their own communities and in the wider world. Human rights education is seen as vital in overcoming violence and inter-ethnic conflicts. Consequently, human rights have been incorporated into the curricula of schools in post-conflict societies. All schools need to implement a curriculum that addresses the needs of learners, respecting their identities, languages and cultures. International human rights instruments, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, have been agreed upon and endorsed by the international community. They provide us with a universally agreed set of principles that can be applied in multicultural and multi-faith societies. Human rights principles also provide us with a framework within which we can develop schools

as model teaching communities that are free from violence and that promote equality and respect diversity. These principles need to be embraced by curriculum developers, but they also need to be adopted by all educators, including advisers and inspectors, and those who are responsible for the day-to-day management of schools and for children's learning and welfare.

References

- Aguilar, P.; Richmond, M. 1998. "Emergency educational response to the Rwandan crisis". In: G. Retamol, R. Aedo-Richmond (Eds.), *Education as a humanitarian response*. London: Cassell.
- Alexander, C. 1996. *The art of being black: the creation of black British youth identities*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Alton-Lee, A.; Praat, A. 2001. *Questioning gender: snapshots from explaining and addressing gender differences in the New Zealand compulsory school sector*. Wellington: Ministry of Education, Research and Evaluation (Internal) Unit.
- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined communities*. London: Verso.
- Audit Commission. 1999. *Missing out: LEA management of school attendance and exclusion*. London: Audit Commission.
- Bloch, M.; Vavrus, F. 1998. "Gender and educational research, policy, and practice in sub-Saharan Africa: theoretical and empirical problems and prospects". In: M. Bloch, J.A. Beoku-Betts, B.R. Tabachnick (Eds.), *Women and education in Sub-Saharan Africa: power, opportunities and constraints*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Debarbieux, E. 2001. "Scientists, politicians and violence". In: E. Debarbieux, C. Blaya (Eds.), *Violence in schools: ten approaches in Europe*. Issy-les-Moulineaux: ESF.

- Delors, J. 1996. *Learning: the treasure within. Report of the International Commission on Education for the twenty-first century*. Paris: UNESCO.
- DFID (Department for International Development). 2000. *Towards responsive schools*. London: DFID.
- Figueroa, P. 1991. *Education and the social construction of 'race'*. London: Routledge.
- Graham, J.; Bowling, B. 1995. *Young people and crime*. London: Home Office.
- Griffin, C. 1997. "Representations of the young". In: J. Rocher, S. Tucker (Eds.), *Youth in society: contemporary theory, policy and practice*. London: Sage.
- Gulbenkian Foundation. 1995. *Children and violence*. London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- Hall, S. 2000. "Multicultural citizens, monocultural citizenship?" In: N. Pearce, J. Hallgarten (Eds.), *Tomorrow's citizens: critical debates in citizenship and education*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Held, D. 1996. *Models of democracy*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Home Office. 1999. *Stephen Lawrence inquiry: home secretary's action plan*. London: Home Office.
- Lansdown, G. Newell, P. (Eds.). 1994. *UK agenda for children*. London: Children's Rights Development Office.
- Macpherson, W. *et al.* 1999. *The Stephen Lawrence inquiry*. London: The Stationery Office.

- McVeigh, T. 2001. "Tragic suicide for a boy aged 10". In: *The Observer*, 10 June, p.10.
- Mirembe, R. 1998. *AIDS education and gender in Uganda*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham.
- Morrell, R. 1998. "Masculinities and education for democracy in the new South Africa". In: C. Harber (Ed.), *Voices for democracy: a North-South dialogue on education for sustainable democracy*. Nottingham: Education Now; in association with the British Council.
- Newell, P. 1991. *The UN convention and children's rights in the UK*. London: National Children's Bureau.
- OFSTED. 1996. *Exclusions from secondary schools 1995/1996*. London: OFSTED.
- Osler, A. 1989. *Speaking out: black girls in Britain*. London: Virago.
- Osler, A. 1997. *The education and careers of black teachers: changing identities, changing lives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Osler, A. 2000. "Children's rights, responsibilities and understandings of school discipline". In: *Research Papers in Education*, 15(1), 49-67.
- Osler, A; Hill, J. 1999. "Exclusion from school and racial equality: an examination of government proposals in the light of recent research evidence". In: *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 29(1), 33-62.
- Osler, A.; Starkey, H. 1996. *Teacher education and human rights*. London: David Fulton.

- ; Starkey, H. 2001. “Young people in Leicester (UK): community, identity and citizenship”. In: *Interdialogos*, 2(01), 48-49.
- ; ———. 2002. “Education for citizenship: mainstreaming the fight against racism?” In: *European Journal of Education*, 37(2), 143-159.
- ; ———. 2003. “Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people’s experiences”. In: *Educational Review*, 55(3).
- ; Vincent, K. 2002. *Citizenship and the challenge of global education*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.
- ; ———. 2003. *Girls and exclusion: rethinking the agenda*. London: Routledge/Falmer.
- ; Watling, R.; Busher, H. 2001. *Reasons for exclusion from school*. London: Department for Education and Employment.
- Prunier, G. 1995. *The Rwanda crisis of 1959-1994: history of genocide*. London: Hurst and Company.
- Retamal, G.; Aedo-Richmond, R. (Eds.). 1998. *Education as a humanitarian response*. London: Cassell.
- Richardson, R.; Wood, A. 1999. *Inclusive schools, inclusive society: race and identity on the agenda*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.
- Ruddock, J.; Chaplain, R.; Wallace, G. 1996. *School improvement: what can pupils tell us?* London: David Fulton.
- Social Exclusion Unit. 1998. *Truancy and school exclusion*. London: Cabinet Office.

- Stromquist, N. 1998. "Agents in women's education: some trends in the African context". In: M. Bloch, J.A. Beoku-Betts, B.R. Tabachnick (Eds.), *Women and education in Sub-Saharan Africa: power, opportunities and constraints*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Thalhammer, E.; Zucha, V.; Enzenhofer, E.; Salfinger, B.; Ogris, G. 2001. *Attitudes towards minority groups in the European Union: a special analysis of the Eurobarometer survey*. Vienna: European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.
- Tikly, L.; Osler, A.; Hill, J.; Vincent, K. 2002. *Ethnic minority achievement grant: analysis of LEA action plans*. London: Department of Education and Skills.
- Tisdall, G.; Dawson, R. 1994. "Listening to children: interviews with children attending a mainstream support facility". In: *Support for Learning*, 9(4), 179-83.
- Torney-Purta, J.; Lehmann, R.; Oswald, H.; Schulz, W. 2001. *Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries: civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.
- Troyna, B.; Hatcher, R. 1992. *Racism in children's lives*. London: Routledge.
- United Nations. 1995. *Human Development Report 1995*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization). 1995a. *Declaration and integrated framework of action on education for peace, human rights and democracy*. Paris: UNESCO.
- . 1995b. *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1995*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNICEF 1996. *The state of the world's children*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Verhellen, E. 2000. "Children's rights and education". In A. Osler (Ed.), *Citizenship and democracy in schools: diversity, identity, equality*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.

Woodward, W. 2000. "Learning united". In: *Education Guardian*, 19 December.

Wright, C.; Weekes, D.; McGlaughlin, A. 2000. *Race, class and gender in exclusion from school*. London: Falmer.

PART IV

WHERE CAN PLANNERS MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

CHAPTER 1. PAYLOAD AND ACCESSORIES: THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION

*Cecilia Braslavsky*¹

Introduction

As we all probably know, the 21st century began under the impact of the paradoxes of globalization (UNESCO-IBE, 2003*a*). In fact, never before have human societies had such potential for development, and yet such great potential to destroy those capacities. Never before have human societies witnessed such a rapid increase of scientific knowledge and technologies, and at the same time such a slow process of applying the same: With knowledge and technology enough to guarantee access to drinking water, sanitary facilities, a clean environment and health for everybody, 968 million people do not have access to drinking water, 2.4 billion do not have access to sanitary facilities, 2.2 million die each day of causes associated with environmental pollution and 34 million contract HIV/AIDS each year (UNDP, 2000, 2001, 2002). Furthermore, 1.2 billion people have to live on less than US\$1 a day (World Bank, 2001). The great majority of people suffering under these conditions are from very diverse cultures in the southern part of the world. They are also part of those threatened by cultural aggression and deprivation, affected for instance by the process of disappearance of more than 90 per cent of the 6,800 current existing languages (UNESCO, 2000; Worldwatch Institute, 2001).

1. With special thanks to Massimo Amadio, Nina Madsen, Nhung Truong and Duncan Wilson for their contributions to the research and editing for this article.

These paradoxes are at the origins of reinforced phenomena. Population movements are increasing. Today there are at least 175 million 'expatriates' in the world, twice the number in 1975 (IOM, 2002*a*). An important percentage of these are moving around the world, without any precise direction: from the South to the North, but also from the North to the South. Some of them are what might be termed genuine immigrants, trying to integrate in the countries of destination. But many others are 'job nomads' (Englisch, 2001), trying to make a living in some cold or very hot countries, as different as Finland and Saudi Arabia, motivated to move by new economic situations and opportunities, but keen to maintain strong linkages with their countries of origins where they left family and children, sending US\$100 billion back home (IOM, 2002*b*). These people are trying to live together with the inhabitants of their countries of temporary or perhaps long-term residence, and wanting at the same time to defend and promote their cultural practices. This idea of attachments to more than one culture or place has been defined by Beck (1993) as 'topopolygamy', *topoi* being the Greek plural of place, and polygamy suggesting multiple marriages or attachments.

This situation is challenging education. Education developed for many reasons, but one of the most important was to promote a sense of religious or national imagined societies (Anderson, 1991). In the past, the purpose of education was not to promote multi-ethnicity or multiculturalism, but to invent and promote national homogeneity: one land, one religion, one language, and one history. The result was frequently war and conflicts. These occurred in Europe, but also in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Arab world, throughout the 20th century. We all know of the holocaust and the Second World War, the bi-faced role of education during colonialism, the recent 200,000 human deaths that occurred in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995 and the half million people who died in Rwanda because of an 'ethnically legitimized' war.

How is it possible to further transform the need for people to emigrate, into real potential to mutually benefit both their places of origin and their places of residence? How can the risk of a new Middle Age with widening communication gaps between poor and rich countries be avoided? How can the world truly accept and integrate work nomads instead of persecuting them? One way could be through the building of new 'glocal' identities in a multi-ethnic world and a multicultural society: the global one. However, success will very much depend on the characteristics of those 'glocal' identities and 'topopolygamic' appurtenances, in other words experiences of more than one culture that will enable each person to have a richer personality and a 'glocal' and 'multi-local' identity.

The creation of 'glocal' identities worldwide requires a new concept for worldwide multi-ethnic and multicultural education promoted through a new 'glocal' curriculum that is able to deal with global and local challenges at the same time (Braslavsky, 2003, inspired in Beck, 1993). In the following pages we will try to present the way this new challenge appears or not in the reasons provided by governments to change curriculum, some needed characteristics of a 'glocal' curriculum and some preliminary trends on the way the existent curricula are or are not evolving in line with that need. Finally we will try to open some questions concerning the promotion of such a 'glocal' curriculum.

Some trends in cultural and socio-economic development and the need for multi-ethnic and multicultural contents

In the middle of the 19th century the purpose of education was "to transmit the culture of adult generations to younger generations" and promote social cohesion through the promotion of cultural homogeneity and the embedding of socio-economic and political stratification. Lying behind these aims are many hypotheses that are

no longer held by many of us. One of these is the hypothesis of cultural stability and homogeneity (Braslavsky, 2000).

The hypothesis of cultural stability and homogeneity involved all generations of every culture and was linked to a belief in the ideas of the 'nation state' as a 'shared imagery' worth dying for (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1962), and to the representation of knowledge as perfected and objective packages, independent from the culture that develops it.

On the socio-economic side, the pyramid created in the 19th century and developed in the 20th century is being replaced by a new socio-economic organization that is more similar to two still interconnected circles, the one including families integrated in the new economies and the second including workers excluded from those new economies and condemned to exclusion from most of the benefits of the world economy. The first can be localized or de-localized. The second tends to be only localized. An important percentage of the 175 million people moving around the world are part of the partially de-localized 'new economy', although the majority might be part of their weakest components. This 'new economy' seems to be at the same time strongly 'mono-cultural' and 'intercultural'.

In fact the new economy is strongly mono-cultural because it is massively influenced by the Anglo-Saxon, and especially North American, culture. Its language is a sort of low-grade English, its places are airports, ports and migration bureaus and its food is mostly MacDonald's and Pizza Hut (Lesourne, 1993). But it is also strongly 'intercultural' because it depends on the capacity to incorporate advanced products and processes from other cultures, such as Nokia, Ikea and African Blues, and also people in movement. Let us introduce two examples.

In the Arab countries of the Gulf region, inclusion into the new economy is highly dependent on the capacity to attract 'expatriates'; 50 per cent of the population of some of the countries of that region are 'expatriates'. Though the educational policy in those countries is not aiming to incorporate them – and the so-called expatriates do not want to be incorporated – such a massive presence of many different nationalities has an important impact on socio-economic and cultural processes and imposes new demands on the peoples in both the countries of origin and on the recipient countries of the new nomads. I remember, for instance, a conversation with a waiter in Kuwait who had changed work places. When I asked why, his answer was “because at this hotel there are colleagues from only six nationalities and at the other one we were from more than twenty. It was too difficult for me to understand how each one communicated and what each one wanted to say”. He spoke English but was not able to speak Arabic. His native language was not necessarily an asset. Also, he explained that his religion changed when he moved to a different country; in Kuwait he was a Muslim but in the Philippines he was a Christian.

In the Andean countries in Latin America, especially in Peru and Bolivia, the possibility of being included in the more dynamic sectors of the economy or of articulate local production within national or global markets is highly dependent on the capacity to speak the national language (Spanish) and also the international one (English). However, the educational reform in Bolivia has paid particular attention to teaching in the aboriginal languages: Quechua, Aymara and Guarani. A new tension has thus emerged. This tension lies between the need to promote diversity in the sense of respecting the cultural and also the pedagogical right to learn one's own language, and the demand for some key linguistic knowledge and skills required to integrate into the more dynamic economic sectors or to adapt traditional practices to new market realities. From the point of

view of the aboriginal population, to learn Spanish and English is to become multicultural. But the process seems to be unilateral and the risk of damaging existing cultures and promoting only homogeneity is strong, because very few Spanish-speaking people rise to the challenge to learn aboriginal languages.

What seems to be clear today is that the need for multicultural education has at least three sources and at least two risks. The three sources are: (a) recognition of the need to respect each individual's personal right to diversity; (b) the existence of a variety of cultures that should be understood and recovered in order to enrich humanity; and (c) the fact that integration or articulation with the more dynamic sectors of the world economy demands intercultural knowledge, skills and values. The risks are to paradoxically promote the 'Westernization' or 'Northern-Americanization' of the world or, on the contrary, to devote a lot of time to a 'romantic folk-oriented' teaching and learning of cultures through what may be a superficial incorporation of folk songs, regional food and similar elements.

Education can be a powerful tool for exploiting the opportunities and avoiding the pitfalls of the new scenario. This will not be the case if education is essentially the same as it was in the 19th century. That form of education has offered all that it could in the integration of diverse ethnic and cultural groups, almost at the price of losing diversity and impoverishing 'periphery' cultures. It was mostly 'national' education, without a capacity to integrate local components and only in some few cases able to promote worldwide visions, values, contents and skills.

Heterogeneous reasons for curriculum change and isomorphic results

Nowadays the conceptualization and reality of curricula are changing fast. But two important questions are why and in what direction are they really changing?

Concerning the reasons provided by different ministries of education to promote curricular change it could be stated that they are varied, but that they neither take complexity nor globalization into conscious consideration. The analysis of the country reports presented at the 46th International Conference in Education in 2001 shows for instance that only 12 countries out of a sample of 52 refer jointly to international/internal socio-political and economic reasons and pedagogical reasons to legitimate changes. Furthermore, it also shows that only 16 of these sample countries clearly refer to the existence of a globalization process, while the other 36 do not include this dimension by legitimating its processes of curriculum change. The overwhelming majority do not take the increasingly intercultural and inter-ethnic interactions or conflicts into consideration (*Table 1.1*; Rosenmund, 2003).

Notwithstanding, it is amazing to discover that, although the way of thinking on curriculum change seems to be quite diverse, the structure, contents and methods of the new emergent curricula are quite similar. Likewise Meyer asserts that since societies around the world differ enormously in economic resources and in cultural arrangement, education systems should vary similarly. Research has shown pronounced similarities (and isomorphic changes) among diverse countries, and it seems that educational systems are built for imagined (now world) societies more than real ones, and these imagined forms of progress are similar around the world. Recent decades show the impact of globalization in new developments in curricula that are based on a new imagined society that is now global

in character. Curricula in many countries have dropped more nationally-oriented approaches in the place of more globally-oriented approaches to culture, language, history, art and even science. And new curricular models celebrate global human rights, ecological principles, and notions of a world of equal cultures and societies in interdependence (Meyer, 1999).

In this context there seem to be new opportunities in multicultural and inter-ethnic education, through the promotion of some specific characteristics of the new emergent 'glocal' curriculum. These are to be seen in the forthcoming section of this article.

Table 1.1 Motives for curriculum change in a comparative perspective (by 2001)²

Country	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	II.1	II.2	II.3	II.4	III.1	III.2	III.3	IV	Total
Algeria													-
Andorra													-
Argentina							x						1
Australia							x			x		x	3
Austria						x							1
Barbados			x	x		x		x	x			x	6
Belarussia													-
Benin				x		x		x				x	4
Bolivia													-

2. Rosenmund, 2003. I.2 shortcomings of the existing curriculum; I.2 incongruence between curriculum and learners needs/demands or teaching approaches; I.3 incongruence of curriculum and education system; I.4 performance of education system. II.1 Incongruence between educational content and social reality; II.2 social problems; II.3 society's adaptation to social transformation; II.4 support of social development; III.1 globalization/internationalization; III.2 adaptation to global development; III.3 exchange with/integration in the international system; IV secular change (features of general social change not related to I, II or III).

Table 1.1 (continued)

Country	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	II.1	II.2	II.3	II.4	III.1	III.2	III.3	IV	Total
Brazil													-
Bulgaria			x	x			x	x		x	x	x	7
Canada				x							x	x	3
C.Africa													-
Chad	x	x	x	x	x	x		x					7
Colombia							x					x	2
Congo		x	x		x								3
Congo Rep.					x		x					x	3
Corea	x	x			x								3
Croatia			x										1
Cuba					x			x	x			x	3
Cyprus		x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Denmark	x	x		x			x				x	x	6
Egypt				x			x					x	3
Ethiopia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						7
Finland			x				x						2
Germany			x		x		x		x	x	x	x	7
Guatemala							x						1
Honduras					x				x			x	3
Hungary	x		x			x	x		x	x	x	x	8
Ireland													-
Kyrgyzia													-
Liberia													-
Lybia	x					x						x	3
Madagascar		x				x	x	x				x	5

Table 1.1 (continued)

Country	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	II.1	II.2	II.3	II.4	III.1	III.2	III.3	IV	Total
Malaysia	x			x									2
Mali													-
Mauritius				x		x		x	x			x	5
Moldavia													-
Namibia								x					1
Norway	x	x		x			x					x	5
Peru		x	x						x	x	x	x	6
Portugal													-
Russia													-
Romania													-
Rwanda				x			x	x					-
Slovakia	x	x					x						3
Slovenia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		9
Sudan			x	x					x			x	4
Surinam		x					x	x					3
Swaziland				x									1
Sweden			x			x	x	x		x		x	6
Switzerland		x		x			x		x		x	x	6
Total issues	10	13	13	17	8	11	22	12	10	8	8		
Total levels	53	53	26	18									

Pillars of 'glocal' curricula for inter-ethnic and multicultural education

In fact, the new emergent curricula seem to be founded on five pillars for inter-ethnic and multicultural education: global comprehensiveness, openness to local needs, novel approaches in

specific subjects, some new emergent cross-cutting issues and methodologies, and ownership. The first four pillars refer to the structure and content of the curricular framework and the last one to the characteristic of the processes of curriculum-making.

■ **Global comprehensiveness**

In the 19th century the curriculum aimed to differentiate among different population groups early on to prepare them to enter into different types of work and to promote a unitary national background and not necessarily a 'glocal' identity for them all.

Nowadays a combination of sound general education, including a wide-ranging balance of cultural, esthetic, ethical and spiritual aspects (Diene, 2001), as well as humanistic, scientific and technological components, with teaching methodologies enabling the adaptation of content to a variety of contexts, represents the more frequently chosen alternative which will enable all children, teenagers and youth to access 'glocal' multiculturalism, which can guarantee a better quality of life, including access to jobs that will require capacity for thought as well as for action. Thus all possible educational tracks should involve humanistic and technological components to be used in a web of contexts where problem-solving capabilities can be developed mobilizing resources from different cultures. This combination will help all students to achieve thinking-and-doing competency while aiming to live together in peace. In fact, empirical evidence from around the world seems to suggest that teaching practices that combine cognitive and practical learning experiences give better results in both, allowing new solutions to currently unresolved problems to be identified. However, those cognitive and practical learning experiences can be provided without promoting the values of living together and peace. As well, values of living together in peace can be promoted without the needed cognitive

and practical learning experiences that enable known and unknown problems to be solved.

The isomorphic emergent global curriculum tends to be comprehensive. In fact all over the world languages, mathematics, art, social sciences, values education through religion, moral or civic education, and natural sciences are being promoted for all. One quite new trend in the framework of this comprehensiveness is the spread of English as a predominant modern foreign language subject (Cha, 2003).

As stated by Cha, English emerged as a regular curricular subject during the early 20th century. But, the proportion of non-native English-speaking countries that incorporated English as the first foreign language in the primary curriculum during the 1900-1919 period is only 5.4 per cent (two out of 37 countries in the sample). During the 1970-1989 period, however, the proportion of countries teaching English is 62.4 per cent (68 out of 109 countries). In the period 1990-2002 this proportion is 79.3 per cent out of 116 countries. A detailed analysis of the process of inclusion of English seems to suggest that English instruction in primary schools is increasingly becoming an institutionalized routine, independent of idiosyncratic national characteristics (Cha, 2003) and an in-depth thinking on the processes of globalization and of the effectiveness of the teaching and learning processes, done often at the cost of the national, official or local languages.

Other aspects of changes in the curriculum structure towards globalization and, at the same time, localization, are the local openness of many of them on the one side and the inclusion of disciplinary subjects or cross-cutting approaches related to world issues, such as environmental education and the renewed interest in the universe, on the other side. A review of time allocated to school subjects in

some selected cases show that at least nine of the 24 considered cases allocated time to interdisciplinary subject areas that attempt to address those humanistic global issues. In Germany, for instance, approximately 24 per cent of the time from grades 1 to 9 are allocated to 'discovering the world'; in many Spanish states, as in Valencia, around 10 per cent of that total time is allocated to 'understanding the environment'; and in Finland, Ghana, Japan, Mexico and Sudan, the word 'environment' is mentioned in one area in some or all of those years.

■ Local openness

Many countries are witnessing the appearance and development of child and youth subcultures built on community identities and on the production and consumption habits in use outside the school environment. The uniform school model is not suitable to the characteristics of the new cultural groups and sectors now attending schools and, given the scarce consideration of the particular needs and demands of each group, this has become a cause of school drop-out and low learning results.

As a consequence, if children and youngsters of diverse cultures are to attend schools, stay inside them and learn something valuable, they will have to find opportunities for playing a leading role and participating in a wide variety of practices that enable them to consider their schools as environments where they can live (UNESCO-IBE, 2001*a*; UNESCO-IBE, 2001*b*).

Last, but not least, the revolution in communications has paved the way for the development of new expert systems which generate and deliver information in a much more effective way than the educational system does through schools (Pallof and Pratt, 1999; Harasim *et al.*, 1998; Brunner, 2001).

Therefore, educational institutions need to consider the risks and opportunities offered by local communities on the one side and by these new expert systems on the other side, to be open to them and to promote their intelligent use. In fact, the structure of the new emergent curricula tends to offer the opportunity for local and school-based decisions. A recent review of 23 school timetables from different regions of the world show 15 countries that include some time that can be devoted to options, elective subjects or school-planned activities (UNESCO-IBE, 2002). Those countries are as different as Canada, the Republic of Korea, Egypt and Mexico and the amount of time devoted to these local and school-based decisions vary from 17.9 per cent in Canada to 1.2 per cent in Mexico (*Table 1.2*). Some of the countries that do not include this time of prescription are now intending to do so.

Table 1.2 Total amount of hours and average percentage of time devoted to options, elective subjects or school-designated time in years 1-9³

Country	Total hours	Average % of time	Description
Canada (Quebec)	1,584	17.9	Non-distributed time and options
Republic of Korea	927	14.2	Autonomous activities and extra-curricular activities
Australia (Queensland)	1,000	13.6	School-designated time
Indonesia	1,172	13.2	Local content
Finland	570	9.0	Elective subjects
Sweden	382	5.7	Elective subjects (student options)
Czech Republic	371	5.7	Optional subjects and additional lessons
Norway	337	5.3	Compulsory additional subjects and free activities.

3. UNESCO-IBE, 2002.

Table 1.2 (continued)

Country	Total hours	Average % of time	Description
Japan	350	5.2	Elective subjects
Hungary	320	5.2	Elective subjects
Egypt	383	4.4	Additional subjects
Spain (Valencia)	210	2.7	Elective subjects
Denmark	120	1.7	Optional subjects
Germany (Berlin)	84	1.3	Options
Mexico	100	1.2	Additional subjects

Note: Ranked from the highest to the lowest average percentage of time.

Lesson timetables in Algeria, Ghana, Jordan, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia do not include ‘school-designated time’, options or electives. However, in this case the effectiveness of this inclusion in order to promote multicultural and inter-ethnic education is not clear. In some countries, for instance in France, the time allocated for school decisions is frequently used by schools to offer reinforcement in the national language and to promote a better national integration, although in some other schools it is used to promote the languages of origin of some selected groups of immigrants.

■ Novel approaches in individual subjects

Some changes included in the new curricula refer to novel approaches for teaching individual subjects. For example, many countries in all continents have made improvements in the teaching of languages through communicative approaches. In the field of mathematics, the old proposals emphasizing algorithms have given way to the inclusion of topics such as probability, statistics, problem-solving in real contexts, and the use of mathematics for building

scientific models. Because of the importance of religious education and history in the promotion or obstruction of multicultural and multi-ethnic education we will try to provide some examples of those two subjects in more detail.

Religious education

Religious education seems to have increased its presence in school timetables worldwide and is in the process of analysis. According to the information provided by the fourth edition of *World data on education* (UNESCO-IBE, 2001c), the 2001 series of national reports on the development of education, as well as various documents and recent reports published by ministries of education, and national institutions, departments or services responsible for the curriculum, Rivard and Amadio (2003) have established that (Table 1.3):

“... in seventy-three of them (51.4 per cent) religious education appears in the timetables on at least one occasion during the first nine years of schooling – whether as a compulsory or an optional course. In a large majority of these countries religious education does appear as a compulsory subject on the official timetable. For the other sixty-nine countries (48.6 per cent) religious education does not appear on the timetable either as a compulsory or an optional subject. One must, however, consider the fact that not finding religious education in the timetables does not necessarily mean that no religious contents are taught throughout the school curriculum.”

Table 1.3 Time allocated to religious education (first nine years of formal education)

Country	Total amount of hours (nine years)	Average % of time
Saudi Arabia	1,755	28.2
Yemen	1,671	25.7
Oman	981	16.5
Qatar	630	14.9
Iraq	999	12.5
Malaysia	988	11.9
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	767	11.9
Morocco	858	9.9
Jordan	770	9.8
Palestinian authority	709	9.1
Kuwait	559	9.1
Poland	627	9.0
United Arab Emirates	608	8.8
Ireland	683	8.7
Ghana	720	8.5
Malta	624	8.5
Norway	522	8.3
Bahrain	567	8.2
Austria	570	7.6
Syrian Arab Republic	544	7.4
Egypt	612	7.1
Mauritania	720	7.0
Chile	513	6.3
Panama	432	6.0
Spain (Valencia)	455	5.7

Table 1.3 (continued)

Country	Total amount of hours (nine years)	Average % of time
Tunisia	420	5.5
Greece	368	5.2
Indonesia	450	5.1
Iceland	328	5.0
Finland	314	5.0
Namibia	416	4.9
Brazil	360	4.9
Algeria	360	4.6
Denmark	300	4.3
Canada (Quebec)	360	4.1
Turkey	264	4.0
Lithuania	248	3.9
Niger*	243	3.5
Sweden	221	3.1
Rwanda	198	2.7
Burundi	217	2.6
Cyprus*	162	2.1
Slovakia	143	2.1
Croatia*	68	1.0
Mean	553.7	7.7

* Niger and Cyprus begin from the seventh and Croatia from the ninth grade.

The listed education systems dedicate an average of 553.7 hours to religion, which is 7.7 per cent of the total teaching time, in the first nine years of schooling (primary and lower secondary, or comprehensive education, according to the specific educational structure of each country).

When Cha, Wong and Meyer (1992) analyzed the amount of time allocated to the teaching of religion only in primary education, they observed that in a sample of countries that had been compared for the period 1920-1944 and the period 1945-1969, the average proportion of time dedicated to religious education decreased from 5.4 per cent to 4.3 per cent. When comparing the periods 1945-1969 and 1970-1986, the proportion of time declined from 5.2 per cent to 4.2 per cent. However, according to recent UNESCO-IBE data referring to the end of the 1990s, the average proportion of time dedicated to this subject would now be 8.1 per cent.

As mentioned above, the lack of allocation of specific time for religious education does not mean that religion is not present in schools. On the contrary, many laic countries are introducing history of religion or other approaches in the framework of social sciences (Estivalèzes, 2003). Furthermore, it is important to note that in federal countries such as Brazil, Canada, Germany or Switzerland, decision-making powers on education are decentralized. Thus, religious education can appear in the official timetables of certain administrative regions of these countries, while in other regions it does not. The examples selected here for Germany and Switzerland do not include religious education in their lesson timetables – whilst other cantons and states of these same countries do include them.

Although so far it has not been possible to analyze a representative sample of programmes on religious education, there are some indicators of the efforts made in many different countries of different confessions to open the vision on religion to other than only their own and to supervise more strongly the quality of its teachers, especially in some Muslim countries, such as Pakistan (Zia, 2003).

History

Unfortunately, so far we have not made historical comparative analyses on the percentages of timetables devoted to history over the years as with religious education. In recent data collected by the International Bureau of Education, it is apparent that there is a great variety in the time devoted to the teaching of history (*Table 1.4*).

Table 1.4 Total amount of hours and average percentage of time devoted to the teaching of history (or social studies including history) in years 1-9

Country	Total amount of hours	Average % of time	Notes
Sweden	885	13.3	Refers to geography, history, social sciences and religious studies taught in grades 1-9
Norway	547	8.7	Refers to social studies taught in grades 1-9
Japan	550	8.3	Refers to social studies taught in grades 3-9
Republic of Korea	527	8.1	Refers to social studies taught in grades 3-9
Bahrain	554	7.4	Refers to social studies taught in grades 1-9
Oman	405	7.1	Refers to social studies taught in grades 1-9
Brazil (average)	490	6.7	Refers to history taught in grades 1-9
Mexico	540	6.5	Refers to history taught in grades 3-8 (440 hours or 5.3%) and to history of Mexico taught in grade 9 (100 hours or 1.2%)
Qatar	387	6.1	Refers to social studies taught in grades 3-9
Denmark	420	5.9	Refers to history taught in grades 3-8 (270 hours or 3.8%) and social studies taught in grade 9 (150 hours or 2.1%)
Germany (Berlin)	309	4.7	Refers to history/social sciences taught in grades 5-9
Hungary	278	4.6	Refers to history and civic education taught in grades 5-9

Table 1.4 (continued)

Country	Total amount of hours	Average % of time	Notes
Morocco	396	4.5	History, geography and civic education are taught in grades 5 and 6 (99 hours or 1.1%). Include social studies taught in grades 7-9 (297 hours or 3.4%)
Kuwait	299	4.4	Refers to social studies taught in grades 4-9
Finland	257	4.1	Refers to history taught in grades 1-6 (86 hours or 1.4%) and to history and social studies taught in grades 7-9 (171 hours or 2.7%)
Spain (Valencia)	315	3.9	Refers to social sciences, history and geography taught in grades 7-9
United Arab Emirates	270	3.8	Refers to social studies taught in grades 4-6 (135 hours or 1.9%) and to history taught in grades 7-9 (135 hours or 1.9%)
Yemen	240	3.7	Refers to history taught in grades 5-9
Libyan A. J.	233	3.6	Refers to history taught in grades 4-9
Saudi Arabia	203	3.3	Refers to history taught in grades 4-9
Canada (Quebec)	288	3.2	Refers to general history taught in grade 8 (144 hours or 1.6%) and social sciences in grades 5 and 6 (144 hours or 1.6%)
Malaysia	228	2.8	Refers to history taught in grades 7-9
Tunisia	198	2.6	Refers to history taught in grades 4-9
Czech Republic	228	2.6	Refers to history taught in grades 7-9
Ghana	203	2.4	Refers to social studies taught in grades 7-9
Sudan	164	2.1	Include Islamic world taught in grade 7 (47 hours or 0.6%), contemporary world in grade 8 (47 hours or 0.6%) and history and social sciences in grade 9 (70 hours or 0.9%).
Algeria	135	1.8	Refers to history taught in grades 5-9
Jordan	114	1.4	Refers to history taught in grades 6-9

Notes: Preliminary analysis carried out on the basis of information included in the 2003 curriculum dataset being compiled by UNESCO-IBE.

In history, teaching processes based on the effective use of information sources have gained ground over the mere transmission and memorization of information; multiple perspectives and controversy are two important new guiding principles and national history seems to have become at the same time more global and local and less national.

What remains for further analysis is the importance of the different curricular patterns in the processes of intercultural education. This is demonstrated in the examples of Austria and Guatemala, where intercultural values and skills have been incorporated as objectives in religious education and social studies respectively.⁴

In fact, quite different curricular patterns have been found in Finland, Norway and Sweden, three Scandinavian countries where young people seem to have similar mindsets and often more open attitudes towards foreigners. A recent comparative study carried out by OECD and the European Commission showed that in Finland and Sweden between 30 and 45 per cent of the youth agreed with the expression: "I am happy with the fact that there are foreigners living in our country" and less than 5 per cent agreed with the expression that "All the foreigners have to be sent to their countries of origins" (European Commission, 2000). In comparing the above tables of time devoted to the teaching of religion and of history, we find that Sweden devotes significantly more time to history whereas Finland and Norway devote slightly more time to religious education.

The Scandinavian situation should be seen as a result of successful policies and practices aiming at intercultural education in quite different subjects and of political and economic development. But it

4. For more information, see the syllabi for religious education in high school, Austrian Ministry of Education [<http://www.bmbwk.gv.at/start.asp>] and MINEDUC, General Framework of the Basic Curriculum Reform for Primary Education (Guatemalan Ministry of Education, 2003: 56, 57, 96, 97).

is also an indicator of the need to increase efforts and renew the ways of promoting intercultural education, because we all know that inter-culturalism is a must if humanity wants to reduce wars and, especially, to avoid culturally legitimized wars, genocides and different forms of violence.

Cross-cutting issues and methodologies

In addition to the trend in curriculum organization and time allocation and on specific subject-related changes, in many countries multicultural education is emerging as a so-called 'cross-cutting issue'. That means that it has become an issue that has to be addressed through some or all of the subjects and in some cases within the framework of the options and/or has some special time allocated to it.

One typical case of introduction of multicultural education as a cross-cutting issue is the one of Bolivia, where the aboriginal population is varied and important. The crosscutting issue of multicultural education was the second major change in the last curriculum reform of that country. The challenge was afterwards to train the needed teachers through a special programme on 'intercultural and bilingual education'. Apparently this reform is now having some problems in being implemented. This shows, once again, the difficulties of combining the local component with globally oriented multicultural and multi-ethnic education.

Finally, many of the new emergent curricula are opening alternatives to initiate students in negotiation practices and for the non-violent handling of conflicts, both based on multi-perspective approaches. In some southern countries this is done in the framework of transfer of some methodologies prepared in the United States of America or in other developed and rich countries. These

methodologies seem to be difficult to introduce in a universal way. There are many programmes and projects run by different NGOs who promote them. However, the scope of these programmes tends to be up to some dozens of schools and are not always carried out in the most needed environments.

Furthermore, the majority of these programmes and projects seem to be linked to the “... rapid celebration, in both mass and elite education, of individualist and participatory forms of knowledge and methods of instruction, [that] ... reflects the dominance of progressive line of thought in more individualist societies” (Meyer, 2002) and which might be completely ineffective in communitarian ones, with different religious and cultural traditions.

Therefore, once again, the problem is not only to analyze what has to be introduced in the intended curriculum, but also how it is taught and how the curriculum-making and development processes have to be promoted in order to guarantee a ‘glocal’ learned curriculum suitable for multicultural and multi-ethnic education.

Ownership

Study plans and syllabi used to be produced by teams formed of a small number of experts. The underlying assumption was that the whole process was legitimate because expert teams had been chosen by political authorities and possessed expert knowledge in the fields of the academic disciplines and teaching methodology.

However, the increasingly broad spread of education and growing dissatisfaction with the poor matching of educational needs, demands and processes, led authorities in charge of curriculum development to design new strategies for establishing guidelines. New curricula try to deal with several of the current challenges, for example the

fact that many types of knowledge are at present the result of material or symbolic production via such entities as business corporations, spiritual groups, musical movements, all of which lie outside the academic world. Also, in relationship with intercultural education, cultural sensitivity can better addressed if all the cultural and ethnic groups have a say in the curriculum-making and development process.

This kind of participative process for updating and making curricula is more frequent where political legitimacy is too weak to support expert teams appointed by the public authority, or where the need to get away from old educational traditions is strongly felt, and the dominating point of view is that highly important educational decisions cannot be left only in the hands of the teachers.

For these reasons, a number of 'countries in transition' coming out of authoritarian or totalitarian regimes – for example Argentina (Braslavsky, 1998) and Slovenia (Strajn, 2000) – have designed complex consultation processes including businesspeople, students and church leaders, among others. The outcomes of these curriculum-making processes are often reasonably stable, incorporating an attractive balance between knowledge updates and the inclusion of social values, but it is still not known the extent to which they can help to promote intercultural education in daily life in schools.

For similar reasons, a number of 'societies emerging from civil strife' have also often promoted the participation of representatives of the different cultures and minority groups in the curriculum-making. The engagements of the minority groups of the former hegemonic leaders seem to be difficult and fragile. In the process of curriculum development in Kosovo, for instance, the United Nations transitional authority (UNMIK), UNICEF and UNESCO-IBE have promoted the participation of all minority groups. In other cases of societies coming out of long internal conflicts such as Bosnia and

Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Sri Lanka, some promising participation has taken place in the curriculum-making process (UNESCO-IBE, 2003*b*).

However, in many cases the processes of renewing educational content and methods in order to promote multicultural and inter-ethnic education have taken place without the involvement of representatives of the minorities, but have had some real impact on schools because of the characteristics of the curriculum development processes. Some examples of the above seem to be Austria, Bolivia, Germany and some other European countries.

Final remarks

The curriculum development processes are those linked to the real use of a given curriculum framework and syllabi. Its importance is such that it cannot be adequately addressed in only a couple of paragraphs. It includes the relationship between curricular policies, textbook producers, teachers, students and families. It is also so important that some educational sociologists and politicians and researchers state that the intended curriculum is superfluous. However, it should not be forgotten that the intended curriculum is the law, the contract that the educational stakeholders have to respect. Without law or with a xenophobic one, multicultural and inter-ethnic education will not be able to flourish. With a multicultural and inter-ethnic curriculum there is no guarantee that ownership, capacity and the socio-economic and political conditions to promote real multicultural and inter-ethnic educational practices will flourish, but they will at least not have to remain as marginal, or even unaccepted.

References

- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined communities*. 2nd ed. London: Verso Press.
- Beck, U. 1993. *Die Erfindung des Politischen* [The invention of the political one]. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Benavot, A. 2003. *Educational globalization and the allocation of instructional time in national education systems*. Presented at the International Meeting on Curriculum-making Products and Processes, IBE, Geneva, 1-3 April.
- Braslavsky, C. 1998. "El proceso contemporáneo de transformación curricular en la República Argentina" [The contemporary process of curriculum transformation in the Republic of Argentina]. In: D. Filmus (Ed.), *Democracia, desarrollo e integración* (pp. 365-402). Buenos Aires: Ed. Troquel.
- . 2003. *The challenge of intercultural education in an increasingly interdependent world*. Presented at the opening session, UNESCO Conference on Intercultural Education, Jyväskylä, 16 June. Jyväskylä: UNESCO.
- Brunner, J.J. 2001. "Globalization, education and the technological revolution". In: *Prospects*. Paris, 31(2), 131-148.
- Cha, Y.K. 2003. *Foreign language teaching in the primary school: the spread of English as a predominant modern foreign language subject*. Geneva: IBE. Presented at the International meeting on curriculum-making products and processes, IBE, Geneva, 1-3 April.
- Cha, Y.K.; Wong S.K; Meyer, J.W. 1992. "Values education in the curriculum: some comparative empirical data". In: Meyer, J.W.; Kamens, D.H., Benavot, A. (Eds.), *School knowledge for the same*

masses: world models and national primary curricular categories in the twentieth century, pp. 139-151. Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Diene, D. 2001. "Quelle citoyenneté aujourd'hui dans un contexte multiculturel?" [What kind of citizenship for today in a multicultural world?]. In: *Le mois à l'UNESCO*, January-March, 40, 15-18.

Englisch, G. 2001. *Job-nomaden* [Job-nomads]. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Estivalèzes, M. 2003. "Teaching about religion in the French education system". In: *Prospects*, 33(2), 179-190.

European Commission. 2000. *European report on quality of school education. Sixteen quality indicators*.

Frank, D. *et al.* 2000. "What counts as history?" *Comparative education review*. Chicago, 44(1), 29-53.

Goodman, P. 1956. *Growing up absurd*. New York: Vintage.

Illich, I. 1970. *Deschooling society*. New York: Harper.

Harasim, L. *et al.* 1998. *Learning networks*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Hobsbawm, E.J. 1962. *The age of revolution: Europe 1789-1848*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

IOM (International Organization for Migration). 2002a. "A sneak preview of IOM's world migration report". In: *IOM News*, December, 2-3.

———. 2002b. "Trends and issues in labour migration". In: *IOM News*, December, 6-7.

- Lesourne, J. 1993. *Educación y sociedad: los desafíos del año 2000* [Education and society: the challenges of the year 2000]. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- McEaney, E.; Meyer, J. 1999. "The content of the curriculum: an institutionalist perspective". In: M. Hallinana (Ed.), *Handbook of sociology of education*. New York: Plenum.
- Meyer, J. 1999. *Globalization and the curriculum: problems for theory in the sociology of education*. Presented at the International Symposium, University of Lisbon, November, Lisbon.
- Pallof, R.; Pratt, K. 1999. *Building learning communities in cyberspace: effective strategies for the online classroom*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rivard, J.F.; Amadio, M. 2003. "Teaching time allocated to religious education in official timetables". In: *Prospects*, 33(2), 211-217.
- Rosenmund, M. 2003. *World trends in curricula change: content analysis of national reports on education*. Presented at the International Meeting on Curriculum-making Products and Processes, IBE, Geneva, 1-3 April.
- Strajn, D. 2000. *Comprehensive school reform in Slovenia: a brief account*. Paper presented at the Intensive Training Workshop on Curriculum Development in Kosovo, IBE, Geneva, 1-10 December.
- UNESCO. 2000. *Informe sobre las lenguas del mundo*. [World languages report]. Paris: UNESCO. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/unescoeh/informelenguasdelmundo/Informe_lenguas.html
- UNESCO/International Bureau of Education. 2001a. *Education for all for learning to live together: contents and learning strategies – problems and solutions* (ED/BIE/CONFINTED 46/3). Geneva: IBE.

- . 2001*b*. *Education for all for learning to live together: contents and learning strategies – problems and solutions*. Conclusions and Proposals for Action arising from the Forty-Sixth Session of the International Conference on Education (ED/BIE/CONFINTED 46/6). Geneva: IBE.
- . 2001*c*. *World data on education*. Geneva: IBE. CD-ROM edition also available at: www.ibe.unesco.org/International/Databanks/Wde/wde.htm
- . 2002. *A review of time allocated to school subjects: selected cases and issues*. ABEGS-IBE collaboration on time-related factors in schooling. Geneva: IBE.
- . 2003*a*. *Learning to live together: have we failed?* Geneva: IBE.
- . 2003*b*. *Curriculum change and social cohesion in conflict-affected societies*. Working document presented at the UNESCO/IBE Colloquium, Geneva, 3-4 April 2003 (UNESCO/IBE/03/CPB/SocCo/CWD).
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). 2000. "Human rights and human development". In: *Human Development Report 2000*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2001. "Making new technologies work for human development". In: *Human Development Report 2001*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2002. "Deepening democracy in a fragmented world". In: *Human Development Report 2002*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wong, S.Y. 1991. "The evolution of social science instruction: 1900-1986". In: *Sociology of Education*, 64(1), 33-47.

- World Bank. 2001. *World development report 2000/2001: attacking poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press. See online version (PDF format), section "Documents & Reports": <http://www.worldbank.org/>
- Worldwatch Institute. 2001. "Matters of scale: unspoken words". In: *World Watch Magazine*, 14(3). Available online at: <http://www.worldwatch.org/pubs/mag/2001/143/mos>
- Zia, R. 2003. "Religion and education in Pakistan". In: *Prospects*, 33(2), 165-178.

CHAPTER 2. SPLIT TONGUES OR LINGUA FRANCA: LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Mamadou Ndoye

Introduction

Multilingual situations involving traditional languages are to be found almost everywhere in Africa. Where the national contexts determined by colonial borders are concerned, three categories of countries are generally observed. In the first category are multilingual countries where no major language comes to dominate domestic communication. In the second category, the countries are also multilingual, but have one or two dominant languages of communication. The third group consists of virtually monolingual countries. Despite what some would have us believe, this secular multilingualism is not in itself a source of conflict, on grounds of either identity or ethnicity.

The 'problematic bilingualism' of the title does not refer to the various linguistic groups that make up African societies today. Rather, this expression refers to the situation brought about by the invasion of Africa by Western languages driven by colonization.

What were the relations between these Western languages and cultures and those of African societies? What problems of identity arose from these relations? How have linguistic and educational policies resolved, or failed to resolve, these problems? What impact may these policy options have on the future in terms of educational and development challenges?

Effects of the colonial ideology: alienation and the search for identity

Issues of identity have three principal referents: language, culture and history. It so happens that education plays a major role in transmitting all three of these fundamental components. When the colonizing powers assigned schools the role of extending and consolidating the domination obtained through wars of conquest, they determined that the history of the cultural and linguistic encounter between Africa and Europe would unfold within a relationship of conflict. The example of French colonial practice is particularly instructive in this respect. The ideology that officially shaped colonial education in France's colonies went through three stages. The first, characterized by the 'taming the savages' argument, considered African societies as cultureless wildernesses where it was necessary to sow the seeds of Western civilization. This stage of denial was followed by a second, marked by the notion of 'assimilation'. The existence of African cultures was now recognized, but they were underestimated and reduced to the level of folklore, just as African languages were regarded as mere dialects. The goal of education was thus to raise African children out of this inferior state to the benefits of Western civilization, which was considered to be universal. They were forbidden to speak their languages on the school premises, and their teachers were not supposed to wear African clothes. In the last stage, the argument of 'Franco-African' association sought to promote the idea of a cultural blending, to which we shall return below. In short, each period – the destruction of Africa's social and cultural structures, the establishment of a colonial administration and the pre-independence period – was accompanied by a corresponding ideology of colonial education. What did not change, however, was the aim of dominating and subordinating Africans, which is precisely what placed this meeting of cultures under the sign of conflict. Although English colonial practice is said to have shown more respect

for African cultures and languages than the French, its substance and its impact were similarly steeped in conflict and left a lasting imprint on Africans. The outcome of this process of alienation was a traumatic experience for Africa.

In the African mind-set shaped by the ideology of colonial education, Western culture is identified with modernity and science, while African culture is associated with the past and magical thought. This cleavage, brought about through an opposition between Western schools and African society and by a primary identification, creates a dichotomy that captures the African personality produced by colonial education. Whether we consider this personality as an individual or from a collective standpoint (families, communities), it is torn by conflicting feelings both in its vision of the world and in its daily experience. For example, what attitude should be adopted with respect to disease? The contradictory interpretations and behaviours derived from one culture or the other collide head-on: go to the hospital ('modern medicine') or rely on occult practices ('animism'). The same conflict arises in addressing other vital problems: nutritional quality, the environment, family planning, efforts to improve performance, etc.

This 'schizophrenic' personality is reflected in certain African literary figures in search of their identity. The first two, who are based on the irreconcilable nature of the two cultures, seek an acultural solution. Repressing both cultures, which nevertheless remain present, they try to bury themselves into a process of debarment. The 'Negro turned white', as depicted by Fanon (1952), the author of *Peau noire, masque blanc*, changes the colour of his cultural skin and denies his African culture. The other side of the coin is represented by Samba Diallo, the hero of Kane's (1961) *L'Aventure ambiguë* who, traumatized by the shock of the meeting with Western

culture, plunges into a state of withdrawal into Africanism and self-sufficiency, symbolized in the end by madness and death.

In contrast, at least apparently, to this radical figure who resists any compromise are the characters engaged in a search for a cultural synthesis, or acculturation. The works of Senghor (1991), the champion of *negritude*, attempt to promote the figure of the cultural hybrid, whose historical referent is the ideology of French-African association. The problem is that this cultural mixing does not escape from the domination/subordination relationship that informs the conflict of the two cultures. It may be said instead to exalt the union of a rider and a horse, because the hybrid has a Western father, 'Reason', which is ostensibly 'Greek', and an African mother, 'Emotion', which is supposed to be 'black' in nature.

The last figure, although Senghor also portrays it, is more forward-looking: the precursor of a mutant produced by the dialogue of cultures in tandem with the renewal of African generations. The African mutant would achieve a kind of Hegelian synthesis: overcoming, integrating and transcending the two cultures in a new symbiosis with other mutants who also stem from multicultural societies - in short, new citizens of the world, produced by globalization.

At this point, we must ask ourselves about the capacity of African cultural, linguistic and educational policies to address these challenges and to drive processes that will bring African answers.

Post-colonial linguistic policies

Four major policy trends may be observed in the post-independence period.¹ Some governments adopted a *laissez-faire* or wait-and-see attitude, taking no significant initiatives, which *de facto* means that they confirmed and continued the colonial policy. The colonial language retained its monopoly over official affairs – the government, the parliament, the courts, etc. – and remained the only medium of instruction in the formal education system. Various rationales were offered for the maintenance of this status quo: cautious political management of a complex multilingual situation, scepticism as to the capacity of local languages to serve as the medium for quality education, the need to stay connected to what is happening and moving in the world, and so forth.

Other governments took steps to create opportunities for African languages without questioning the privileged status of the colonial language. They adopted legislation to grant African languages the status of national languages and media of instruction, thus opening up opportunities for them in the official sphere. They experimented with the use of these languages in schools. Research and linguistic adjustments were undertaken with a view to the transcription, stabilization and conceptual enrichment of these languages, which play a considerable role in adult literacy and non-formal education programmes. This slow, one-step-forward one-step-back policy was based on an expectation of slow change whose direction was, for lack of firm options, not yet sufficiently visible, often for the same reasons as above.

1. Halaoui (2003a) characterizes the first three linguistic policies as follows: the policy of facilitating communication of transmitted knowledge, the policy of nationalizing the language of instruction and the policy of satisfying nationalist claims.

The third category consisted of governments determined to transform the colonial policy. They reduced the use of the colonial language in the official sphere, making way for African languages, which were also designated as official languages. These changes were reflected in the public use of both languages on signs for street names, buildings and so forth. In addition to non-formal education, African languages were used as the medium of instruction in both public and private schools. In short, bilingualism was promoted in all aspects of the country's life.

Lastly, a few government policies attempted a radical break with the colonial policy, seeking a revolutionary transformation. The aim was not to promote bilingualism but to replace the colonial language with African languages. These experiments generally did not last long because they were obviously unrealistic.

On the whole, embracing bilingualism as a strategy – either in policies aimed at transformation or in a more modest step-by-step policy – seems to be the most productive policy in terms of bringing about substantial changes with respect to the colonial policy. It will thus be useful at this point to examine a few experiences with a view to their impact and the possibilities they offer for the education of young Africans.

Educational experiences with a strategy of bilingualism

This brief review considers the experiences and results recorded in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Zambia.

An experiment in bilingual primary education, known in French as *pédagogie convergente*, was launched in 1979 in a single region and using a single African language. It was then gradually extended, and now covers eight regions and eleven languages. As shown in *Table 2.1*,

students in the bilingual model are consistently more successful than those in the monolingual model (traditional schools using French only), and other assessments confirm this finding.²

Table 2.1 Pass rates on entrance examinations for the fifth primary year in Mali

Year	Pass rate for pupils in bilingual schools (%)	Pass rate for pupils in traditional schools (%)
1994	56.52	40.62
1995	37.64	42.34
1996	75.75	54.26
1997	50.0	36.89
1998	71.95	48.30
1999	78.75	49.13
2000	68.57	52.34

Source: ADEA Working Group on Education Research and Policy Analysis, IDRC,³ 1997.

The same observation, with a few variations, may be applied to Niger, as indicated in *Table 2.2*. The pupils of bilingual (experimental) schools in Niger outperformed, or performed at least as well as, those in monolingual schools (traditional schools using French only), not only in mathematics but also in French, even though they had had less time to learn French, having begun in an African language.

2. See the country case study commissioned by the ADEA (2003) for its study.

3. IDRC: International Development Research Centre.

Table 2.2 Test results in Niger

Test version	Subject	Grade	Bilingual schools	Traditional schools
French	Language (total)	CE2	6.8	5.6
	Language (total)	CM1	10.1	9.4
		CM2	12.8	14.0
National language	Language (total)	CE2	14.2	5.2
		CM1	13.3	7
		CM2	14.7	9.9
French		CE2	4.8	2.7
		CM1	5.7	4.5
		CE2	6.4	6
National language	Reading	CE2	5.9	2.6
		CM1	6.2	3.3
		CM2	6.3	4.0
French	Mathematics	CE2	5.7	5.8
National language		CE2	7.8	7
French		CM1	6.8	8.5
National language		CM1	9.8	9.2
French		CM2	2.9	2.9
National language		CM2	4.3	3.5

Note: BS = bilingual (experimental) schools; TS = traditional French-only schools. CE2 is the third year of elementary school, CM1 the fourth year, CM2 the fifth year.

Source: ADEA Working Group on Education Research and Policy Analysis, IDRC, 1997.

In Burkina Faso, bilingual schools were launched in 1994, with primary education being cut to four years. Comparative evaluation shows that in addition to their success in terms of learning, they can achieve much better performance than traditional schools in terms of indicators of cost-effectiveness.

Table 2.3 Indicators of internal output and the cost of traditional and bilingual schooling in Burkina Faso

Nature of indicator	Bilingual schools	Traditional schools
Chance of success in obtaining the CEP certificate	72%	14%
Normal duration of the cycle	4 school years	6 school years
Average duration to earn a CEP certificate	6 pupil years	37 pupil years
Cost increase coefficient	1.47%	6.16%
Internal output rate	68%	16%
Annual production cost of a student:		
Real	FF 77,447	FF 104,962
Ideal	FF 58,994	FF 79,205

Source: ADEA Working Group on Education Research and Policy Analysis, IDRC, 1997.

In Zambia, the bilingual educational programme improved reading levels in primary school classes from 30 per cent to 60 per cent in various regions of the country. In the same vein, an appraisal of the experiment launched in Nigeria in 1970 notes: (a) enhanced cognitive capabilities on the part of pupils; (b) a stronger interactive relationship between the school and its environment; and (c) a socialization process having its roots in local cultures.

The outcome in terms of cognitive capabilities is not surprising, because the fact that pupils begin learning in a language they already speak rather than a foreign language they do not speak makes it much easier to transmit knowledge. As for learning the second language, it seems that the reading and writing skills acquired early on in the first (African) language serve as effective foundations for the development of the same skills in the second language (French or English). Two conditions must be met, however: Skills in the first language as the medium of instruction need to be consolidated for about two to three years, and the second language must be introduced orally early on as a subject of instruction, before the later transition that makes it the medium of instruction.

The other factor of success is teaching-related. The pupils tackle their subjects with greater confidence, can take the initiative and participate actively in knowledge acquisition because they speak and understand the language of instruction, and this is conducive to the promotion of participatory teaching methods in the classroom.

Although its effectiveness in the classroom is ample justification for bilingual education, this option offers other, equally important educational, cultural and socio-psychological advantages. Written transcription of the local language, its use in school and the written compositions arising from its use enhance the value of local culture in the eyes of pupils and the population as a whole, in that it both conveys and produces knowledge. These processes take up local knowledge and facilitate linkage between it and academic knowledge, thus ensuring that there is at least some continuity and interaction between the education provided by families and communities on one hand and that provided by schools on the other. Socialization at school works in tandem with knowledge of and respect for cultural values and the local heritage, thus promoting the social and cultural integration of young people into their environment. Furthermore, all this prepares the younger generations to strike a balance between schooling and African society and to appreciate bilingualism and biculturalism as factors that enrich their lives. A development of this kind in African education would be compatible with the education of the new type of human being: the mutant.

Obstacles and risks

This optimistic view of bilingual education in Africa today must not lead us to disregard the problems involved, nor underestimate the difficulties.

First, there are several aspects that raise scepticism, justified or not. Education in African languages is still regarded as being in opposition to education in the official language, whereas in fact the aim is to promote a functional complementarity between them. The multilingualism of African countries is often cited to arouse irrational fears, because it is possible to choose the wrong policy option. In the adult literacy programmes and primary education we are concerned with here, there is no question of imposing an African language; rather, the aim is to seek and to create conditions in which all children begin basic education in the language they already speak, so as to be better prepared for learning the official language. The Democratic Republic of Congo, Namibia, Zimbabwe and many other countries use two or more African languages in their education systems.

Cost-related problems are another source of concern. Research and experience⁴ have shown that these problems are not insuperable, given the possibilities of desktop publishing and the savings realized elsewhere due to the reduction of repetitions and academic failure. This improvement in the internal output of education systems also serves as an answer to those who wonder what the point of learning African languages is. But it can be no more than a partial answer, and must be supplemented by policies to foster communities that are literate in African languages, whose ability to read and write these languages allows them to keep themselves regularly informed, to continue to acquire new knowledge, to use public services and to cope with the necessities of daily life. The question of teacher recruitment, training and deployment becomes quite complex when it is combined with the requirement that provision of bilingual

4. See the publications of the ADEA Working Group on Books and Learning Materials. See also Halaoui (2003b).

education must encompass the diversity of multilingual societies. Experience indicates that decentralization is a first step towards a solution, as it enables these problems to be approached at what seems the most appropriate level: the local level.

It would be impossible here to discuss all the controversial issues raised by the use of African languages in education, and particularly in the formal school system. The main thing is to be aware of the obvious and latent problems created by the colonial educational model and of the need to find appropriate solutions if African populations, notably the rising generations, are to develop Africa's endogenous potential by harnessing it to the progress of humanity as a whole and resolving the painful antagonism between past and future, between tradition and modernity, between the local and the global, to lay the foundations of sustainable development. Educational reforms that make a strategy of bilingualism would seem to be a promising step in this direction. If such reforms are to succeed, however, a number of preliminaries and conditions of implementation are required: (a) linguistic research and development to arrange, enhance and codify written communication in African languages; (b) development of curricula, textbooks, dictionaries and learning materials to support bilingual education; and (c) promotion of a national environment conducive to the use of acquired skills in these languages, both in the official and public spheres and in private life.

The fulfilment of all these conditions can open up new horizons if it enables education systems to move from a transitional bilingualism, in which African languages are used as a stepping-stone to effective learning of the official language, to a well-balanced bilingualism in which the school accords equal value to the two languages, so that those whom it educates are at ease in both cultures.

References

- ADEA. 2003. *The challenge of learning: improving the quality of basic education in sub-Saharan Africa. / La pédagogie convergente comme facteur d'amélioration de la qualité de l'éducation de base au Mali*. Paris: ADEA.
- Fanon, F. 1952. *Peau noire, masque blanc*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Halaoui, N. 2003a. In: *L'utilisation des langues africaines: politiques, législations et réalités*. Paris: ADEA.
- . 2003b. "L'appréciation des coûts des manuels en politique d'intégration des langues africaines". Document commissioned by the ADEA for its study, *The challenge of learning: improving the quality of basic education in sub-Saharan Africa*. Paris: ADEA.
- Kane, C.H. 1961. *L'Aventure ambiguë*. Paris: Julliard.
- Senghor, L.S. 1991. *Négritude et civilisation de l'Universel or Négritude et humanisme*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

CHAPTER 3. THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

*Anne Hickling-Hudson*¹

Introduction: the ethnocentric curriculum and the challenge of intercultural teaching

In what contexts are teachers taught how to address racism and other forms of oppression in schools and society? How do we develop culturally relevant pedagogy for all students, in the interests of equity and social justice? And when teachers do receive such training, what might it look like and how do we evaluate it?

It has been suggested that debate about multicultural education tends to take place against a background of social stability and shared debate of the kind that characterizes the wealthy countries of the 'North' (Morrow, 1996). Yet it should be at the forefront of discussions in all societies seeking to teach for social justice, global perspectives and equity. Discussions of issues and strategies in multicultural teacher education seem, in the literature, to be addressing mainly the context of the white-dominant countries. Many compelling teacher education experiments in developing intercultural knowledge and skills are described, but the literature also suggests that an engagement with these issues is the exception rather than the rule.

1. My grateful thanks to Roberta Ahlquist for her constructive critical comments on drafts of this essay.

Most teacher education courses carry out only minimally their rhetorical goals of preparing teachers to practise 'inclusive' education. Various subjects introduce the concept that teachers must strive to contribute to equity in the learning experiences of different ethnic, gender and ability groups. However, in Australia, Canada, Sweden, United Kingdom, the United States and other countries very few courses make it compulsory for all student teachers to do a systematic and critical study of how such equity can be promoted (Hickling-Hudson and McMeniman, 1996; Ghosh, 1996; Tomlinson, 1996; Zeichner, 1996). Across the globe, most teacher education courses, like most school curricula, are still founded on a model of cultural hegemony characterized by a narrowly Western ideology shaping the content, structures and processes of learning. As Willinsky (1998: 11) points out, it would be surprising, after five centuries of the educational mission that was a part of Europe's period of global domination, if schooling did not carry forward this cultural hegemony in former colonies and colonial powers alike. An ethnocentric Western curriculum is standard fare. It is hegemonic because it teaches no critical view of culture which would enable students to see that we are part of a global village, that all cultures need to be affirmed, that diverse cultures enrich our understanding of the world, and that people in all cultures have human strengths and weaknesses and operate within particular epistemologies. It is true that ethnocentric approaches to curriculum are increasingly being challenged, but they continue to dominate the educational scene (Coulby, 1997; Churchill, 1998; Hatton, 1996; Willinsky, 1998; Sleeter, 2001; Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist, 2003).

Multicultural teaching is not necessarily the antidote to this hegemonic curriculum. A 'soft multicultural' approach to curriculum and pedagogy might in fact promote it by trivializing or ignoring non-dominant cultures. But a 'critical multiculturalism', which I prefer to

call 'interculturalism' to emphasize the mutual interrelatedness of cultures, could lead to teaching and learning that is challenging, wide-ranging, socially critical and activist (Nieto, 1999; Sleeter and Grant, 2002). The conceptual map of emphases in multicultural research and teaching proposed by Bennett (2001: 175), includes four 'genre clusters': curriculum reform, equity pedagogy, multicultural competence and societal equity. Across these clusters, a post-colonial intercultural education has to work out how to help students and teachers recognize and overcome the harmful effects of the tribalist ethnocentrism, social stratification, 'ability' streaming and tracking, racism and gender oppression perpetuated by so many educational institutions.

At any level, educators striving to promote an intercultural philosophy and environment for students face complex tasks. They must apply their intercultural perspectives to re-fashioning the concrete curricula and assessment systems in their discipline areas – language and literature, history and the social sciences, mathematics, science, the arts and physical education. This means that they must be able to recognize racism and cultural ethnocentrism, counter it in their teaching, and design new curricula that deal creatively with the controversies between shared values versus plural ways of seeing the world. They must provide students with opportunities to become multilingual, that is, fluent in the dominant language of the society, but retaining their mother tongue and learning other languages. Particular skills will be needed to counsel students and teachers in how to surmount their inter-ethnic conflicts and achieve harmonious social relations. Further, educators cannot operate effectively without multiple partnerships. These enable them to draw on the skills of parents and the community to assist in diversifying the curriculum, affirming diversity rather than ignoring or devaluing it (Nieto, 1999), and improving social relations between students. They would involve

working with national or local ministries or departments of education and many other providers to develop their intercultural skills through professional development programmes.

Preparing teachers for cultural diversity is only one of the many goals of teacher education, but it is an extremely important one in the context of the harrowing ethnic conflicts and the changing ethnoscapings of our globalizing era. Exploring the continuum of ethnic discourses which may inform teacher education, ranging from ethnocentrism to critical interculturalism, is necessary in order to evaluate the stage of development. The objects of study are not only the course and its various components, but also the partnerships between the course and the various organizational stakeholders. My article describes strategies and comments on factors that could make a multicultural difference in the following spheres:

1. The content of the course of study ('course' here refers to the entire degree or diploma, while 'programme' or 'subject' refers to the component parts of the course).
2. The way the course is organized into experiences that promote or neglect intercultural knowledge and perspectives.
3. Training the trainers: the graduate research programme.
4. The partnerships between teacher education providers, schools, government departments and other agencies in the community and how they promote or neglect intercultural understanding.

To lay a foundation for understanding how various dimensions of intercultural education could look, my article now discusses approaches related to these categories.

Course content: life histories and the student teacher

Most teacher education institutions prepare teachers by requiring them to study the social context of teaching, psychology, curriculum theory, and one or two specialist disciplines. They spend a substantial minority of their course in field studies called ‘the practicum’, where they carry out practical teaching in local (and sometimes also international) settings, systematically learning how to put their chosen pedagogical theories into practice. One of the problems with many teacher education courses is that they require students to concentrate on ‘education’ subjects narrowly conceived as promoting technical skills, and neglect an interdisciplinary approach which would insist that contextual/philosophical knowledge is inextricably bound up with technical skills in any educational enterprise. Aspiring teachers who have left high school with an inadequate education have no guarantee that their gaps of cultural understanding will be adequately addressed in their teacher education courses, since these courses do not always provide for the general knowledge of a ‘liberal’ education. A high-quality teacher education course intertwines educational and cultural theory and praxis, or reflective action on these theories.

Subjects specializing in intercultural teacher education go part of the way in helping student teachers to develop systematic and anti-racist intercultural pedagogical skills. However, as pointed out above, these subjects are often elective, taken by only a small proportion of students, and given only a small amount of time in the four-year undergraduate or one-year postgraduate teacher-credentialing course. Multicultural subjects typically require students to reflect on ‘life histories’ in reflective autobiographies or biographies, followed by a study of how schooling is affected by issues of ‘difference’ – ethnicity and ‘race’, gender, social class, religion and disability prejudice.

Autobiographies shape the future stories of educators. They can be effectively used as part of a strategy of encouraging students to increase self-knowledge as a foundation for increasing their understanding of themselves in relation to other cultures. As Pinar (1981: 84) points out, “our life histories are not liabilities to be exorcised but are the very preconditions for knowing”. They allow us to reflect on what forms of education and experience encourage the development of some ideologies and not others, and on how experience can be channelled into the practice of teaching. Depending on how it is set, the process of writing life histories helps students achieve three sets of insights. First, it interprets the power that schooling exerts over our lives. Second, it “identifies moments when we lived outside of the educative norm of accomplishments, grades, awards, and punishments” and third, it leads us to “review and interpret our memories as part of a larger history” (Rousmanière, 2000: 89).

In one undergraduate course described in a United States university by Kate Rousmanière, the class was set such an assignment in the following manner. “For the first half hour of each class, students write an in-class response to one stimulus question about their elementary or secondary educational experience. Describe your favourite teacher. Recall a good lesson. Explain the role of friendships in your experiences as a student.” These short pieces of in-class writing are not graded, but the professor collects, reads and comments on them. When she returns them to the class, she talks generally about the themes that the articles raised. For the final course project at the end of the term, students review their informal ‘thought pieces’ and write a 10 to 15 page autobiography. “This final project is a synthesis and analysis of the shorter writing assignments and is graded pass/fail” (Rousmanière, 2000: 91).

In the writing, students bring up themes that are vitally important in their reflections on what makes for good teaching and good learning experiences. These include stories of the emotional effects of school buildings and environments on student learning, of the characteristics of the best and the worst teachers, of how stereotyped masculine and feminine gender roles were embedded in curricular assumptions about course content. Through the autobiographies, the students wrestle with expressing how they have experienced issues of race and class. Rousmanière observes that many of her students start this section by thinking that these issues are not relevant to them since most went to all-white schools in a similar socio-economic area. Further reflection, however, opens up their understanding. For example, “it suddenly occurs to one student that all the black kids went to a school across town.” Students remember the power of the cultural biases that their learning showed when their plays portrayed the pilgrims as important and articulate versus the natives who were dumb and undifferentiated. They remember learning, through Black History month, “that African American issues were raised in one month only”. And they remember terrible moments “of racial harassment, teasing or stereotyping in class and responses that were or were not made by the teacher” (Rousmanière, 2000: 93-94).

Helping student teachers in Australia to link self-knowledge to an increasing understanding of their culture is also my aim in teaching the fourth-year undergraduate subject ‘cultural diversity and education’. In former years I taught this subject at my university as an in-class elective, but it is now only available as an open learning, online elective which may be selected by students in the fourth and final year of their Bachelor of Education. My approach is to set the autobiographical task in three sections. First, students do a short review (600 to 700 words) of different authors’ concepts of culture

in order to arrive at their own definition, linking this discussion to how issues of race and ethnicity have been played out in Australian culture over the past two decades. Next they write a cultural autobiography or biography (2,000 words). The major focus is on experiences of ethnicity, and attention is also paid to how issues of social class and gender intersect with these experiences. They conclude with a short section (200 to 300 words) reflecting on the significance of this reflective cultural analysis to them as teachers. A set of printed subject guides take them through the readings, and they are given six weeks to complete the task. In spite of what I see as the disadvantage of not being able to teach them on site, most of the students still experience this exercise as an eye-opening and powerful one.

Throughout most of the educational experience, a superficial treatment of culture has encouraged students to look outward, seeing ethnicity as belonging to groups other than themselves. Doing this essay has led many to conclude that it is vital for them as educators to deepen their understanding of culture by doing the opposite. In the words of one student, “for students of Anglo-Celtic origin, looking inward and exploring one’s own culture and whiteness is perhaps more pertinent to an appreciation of cultural differences and the power relationships that occur within Australian society” (Hickling-Hudson, 2002 – Student Essay 1). Many students similarly considered for the first time the privileges of ‘whiteness’ and its relation to education stratification. Schooling provided an Anglo-Australian curriculum which particularly neglected or distorted Australia’s indigenous cultures. It was no wonder, observed one student, that she “spent years breezing through school without much effort at all because the curriculum and testing instruments were geared to my mainstream culture” while failing to provide for culturally different others, thus consigning them to a ‘vicious cycle of disadvantage’. This

student's reflections enabled her to see that whiteness could not be regarded as just another ethnicity:

“Every day, white privilege confronts us both personally and socially. When I was at school, I was Margaret, not ‘the white girl’”. We might hear news about the crimes of ‘Lebanese Muslims’, but not about the crimes of ‘White Christians’. A label can speak a thousand words of condemnation, and the privilege of ‘white’ is the privilege of going unlabelled (Hickling-Hudson, 2002 – Student Essay 2).

Some students recalled how they were socialized from childhood to fear, ignore or abuse aboriginal people, and the extent to which these prejudices followed them through adulthood.

One student recalls that as a young child in north Queensland she was brought up to believe that indigenous people were cannibals – dirty, primitive, frightening people. “If we hit a ball into our Indigenous neighbour’s yard, that was where it stayed. Nobody was brave enough to venture into the yard, lest we be killed and eaten” (Hickling-Hudson, 2002 – Student Essay 3). This sounds extreme, but several students who were children in the 1970s and 1980s recall learning extremely negative views of indigenous people. There was a sense of hope that things were changing, however, and that there were now at least a few multicultural schools in which children could be socialized differently.

One aboriginal woman interviewed by a student recalled the contradictions she experienced between school and home, telling her interviewer (Hickling-Hudson, 2002 – Student Essay 4):

It did affect me. When you’re in grade 3 or 4 you look at your teachers and think that they know everything, that they’re never wrong. Then when you go home you’re told different things by

your parents and it's hard to know who or what to believe, but of course I believed my parents before anyone else. I remember doing an assignment in Primary school and taking a book home and showing Mum and Dad. Dad said "What are you doing?" I said "I'm doing an assignment on aborigines and our culture". He got angry. "You don't get it out of this book, that's all rubbish, it's all lies." "But the teacher said ..." "I don't care what the teacher said, you don't get things out of this book. You've got to go and listen to your elders, and listen to our stories that we tell you, that's the truth!"

Ethnic minority students who were recent migrants reflected on the everyday racism which they encountered from peers and the school, and pondered on their attempts to come to terms with this (Hickling-Hudson, 2002 – Student Essay 5):

In those days hyphenated or hybrid ethnicity did not exist, or I had not heard of them. It took me a while to get over the fact that I would not truly belong to any ethnic group. I am not totally Vietnamese and I could never be truly 'Australian' as people judge me by my skin colour. My ethnicity is a mix of cultures. My Vietnamese side brings with it a rich history while my Australian side brings with it innovation and youthfulness.

As these examples suggest, the educational autobiography and biography comprise a journey into ways in which we have been shaped by culture, schooling, history and our lived experiences in society. Setting this as an assignment is effective for both graduate and undergraduate student teachers as long as the students are taught how to analyze their lives or the lives of others in the framework of carefully structured reading addressing anti-racist and intercultural social concepts, and as long as they are required to explore how this

analysis links with concrete issues of race, social class, gender and other identity markers in education.

Designing the overall programme to promote a critical study of education in social context

If the overall teacher education course is not arranged to promote intercultural as well as gender and social class awareness and pedagogical competencies, most teachers will continue to graduate with few or no skills in culturally and linguistically relevant, global, intercultural pedagogy. To guarantee that student teachers are immersed in intercultural education, universities would have to make intercultural subjects compulsory to allow for intensive written work in the subject, and to link them with field experiences in schools, as has been done in the secondary teacher-credentialing course at the California State University at San Jose. This one-year course is taken after the completion of a four-year degree and includes thirty units of credential coursework for prospective high-school teachers. Issues of culture, ethnicity, language, gender and ability are integrated into each of the subjects taught in the course. Each subject is grounded in a multicultural approach to teaching and learning.

One such subject, 'multicultural foundations of education', developed with faculty support and taught by Professor Roberta Ahlquist, is one of roughly eight to 10 compulsory subjects. An example of one of the required subjects, this multicultural foundations class is taught for 45 hours over one semester and is worth four credits. It requires a substantial amount of reading and analytical writing from the students. A central goal of this programme is to guide students into first identifying, and next evaluating the taken-for-granted lenses through which they have learnt to judge their own worth and the worth of others. To evaluate these lenses, they must identify the effects of ways of seeing on subordinate and

dominant groups. They learn to look critically at the ways that their own schooling has shaped them to be colour-blind; to see ‘difference’ as invisible, racism as an insignificant individual problem, and ‘whiteness’ as the norm. Most believe that racism is a thing of the past. Many think that poverty is an insignificant problem in the United States – not knowing that in California, for example, one third of the children under 17 years old live in poverty. They go through a sometimes painful and cathartic process of peeling off the layers of blindness, so that they can develop ways to challenge institutional racism in the interests of social justice and equity, and become allies with students who are on the downside of power (students of colour, working-class students, women, people from non-dominant native language backgrounds, gays and lesbians, people who are disabled). Secondly, they consider how learned ideas about cultures affect their relationships with students, parents and home communities, and how these ideas shape their teaching. Thirdly, they demonstrate developing culturally relevant curriculum and teaching in ways that counter injustice, building alliances across differences to construct “a more just and joyous future for all” (Ahlquist, 2003*b* – Interview).

The core of the programme is a book of photocopied readings (over 470 pages), which the professor has carefully selected, and updates each semester, on issues of culture including ‘race’ and racism, ethnicity, language, social class, sexual orientation, and gender. Students are expected to read from 50 to 70 pages each week in preparation for attending one class for four hours a week, or two classes twice a week, (four hours weekly, adding up to 45 hours). The professor supervises many of these students on teaching practice placements. Their nine assessment projects are multi-faceted and demanding, as the following list shows:

1. A journal which is part of their portfolio of work, added to every week of the semester, with reflective responses to specific readings and what they learned from the class discussions each week.
2. A cultural autobiography reflecting on personal experiences of race, racism and ethnicity.
3. A social class autobiography describing how they learned what their position was in the class hierarchy, and how this class position affects their views of the world.
4. Papers, to be shared with classmates, discussing how a beginning teacher could respond to difficult issues brought up in selected readings, including two major books on diversity issues which change regularly (most recently, *Schoolgirls*, by Peggy Orenstein (1995), and *Nickel and dimed*, by Barbara Ehrenreich (2001)).
5. Interviews with people of ethnicities different from their own, reflecting on the significance of what they learned for their teaching about what parents want teachers to address and teach to their children.
6. Leading, in pairs, a critical and creative class discussion on one chapter of the book that critiques the ways in which history is mistaught, *Lies my teacher told me*, by James Loewen, presenting “a critical look at the dominant culture mythology that pervades U.S. history textbooks”.
7. A multicultural unit plan (done in pairs) with a rationale for why one is teaching the specific content, comprising lessons over five days in a particular subject area.
8. An audio-taped self interview at the beginning of the semester in which the students talk about their experiences, feelings, concerns and emotions about the significance of race, racism, and ethnicity in their lives.
9. A journal entry at the end of the semester analyzing this self-interview together with the semester’s work, reflecting on what

they have learned and in what ways they have changed or not changed and why.

What is notable about this particular class, and others like it in this course, is how it links three foundation aspects of what teachers need to study to prepare for their career. It has students do a self-analysis, which is structured in stages. Starting with the audio-taped self-reflection interview done at the very start of the semester, the students later write and share with peers, sections of their cultural autobiographies emphasizing their personal experiences of race, racism, gender and social class. Their writing is informed by their study of a wide range of readings to which they have to make a written response each week. This links a deepening of self-knowledge with an ever-increasing understanding of social culture. But it goes further – it connects all of this with practical teaching. Students, in pairs, develop a multicultural unit plan in their subject area. Then they are individually supervised and evaluated during their teaching practice. They learn how to act on the theory they have studied. Their engagement with the book by James Loewen, *Lies my teacher told me*, makes it likely that they will be highly aware of the biases and distortions that can be pushed through the school curriculum. They are expected to act on this knowledge about social justice issues, including race, class, gender and language differences, and to teach lessons that encourage their students to think critically as well as act themselves around the crucial issues of racism and other forms of oppression in school and society (Ahlquist, 2003b – Interview).

Another example of a multi-faceted multicultural education subject within a graduate teacher-credentialing course is provided by Mary Black of the University of Texas at Austin (Black, 2000). The course designed by this professor links reading and self-reflection with information from guest speakers and field studies of a variety of locations in the city. The whole class together shares and discusses

some of the field trips, and then individual students select additional field trips to do in their own time from a menu of over 60 options developed by the instructor. The field trip options include: (a) on-campus resources such as Latin American or Asian study centres; (b) community resources such as local ethnic organizations, museums, libraries, festivals and places of worship; (c) commercial resources such as an internationalized supermarket and import/export businesses; and (d) performance and visual arts options, including performances, shows and city murals.

The students are required to write two five-page essays on topics linking readings and field trips to personal reflections, and a final 15-page essay. The synthesis of readings and experiences enable students to discuss their own personal biases and attitudes (Black, 2000: 347).

“For example, the Islamic guest speakers provoked much dissonance and personal growth among the students. In their articles, many students discussed changes in their opinions towards particular ethnic groups, and their previous lack of exposure to people of non-European descent.”

In the final writing project, students were asked to grapple with a difficult question central to multicultural education: Does it work? (Black, 2000: 347-348).

The whole country was shaken by the vicious hate crime in Jasper, Texas in 1998, when a black man was dragged to death. Striving for authentic, relevant curriculum, the assignment asked: “Can multicultural education prevent tragedies such as Jasper, Texas? If you do not think so, explain. If you do think so, explain how this might work.” Several students commented afterwards that this was the hardest question they had ever had to answer. It certainly

made them think deeply about the power of education versus ignorance and hate.

The goal of preparing student teachers with a wide range of intercultural skills and knowledge would be well served by programmes in the style of 'Comparative and international education', yet, in Australia at least, this is not offered at the undergraduate level in most education faculties. Indeed, so insular is the tradition of education studies that only a handful of the nation's 37 universities offer international education subjects even in their postgraduate master's and doctoral courses. It is my view that until this situation improves, student teachers should be required to take global studies subjects offered in other faculties. One such undergraduate subject at QUT is 'Introduction to international and global studies', offered by the School of Humanities and Human Services. This school is not in the Faculty of Education, so most education students do not take this subject. This is unfortunate, since it can be seen from these extracts from the subject's rationale that such a subject would be extremely useful for student teachers seeking to develop their intercultural knowledge and skills (Queensland University of Technology, 2003):

An awareness of the positions and contemporary contexts of diverse regions and cultures around the world is essential knowledge for those likely to be working in international environments... This unit provides students with the opportunity to critically examine the origins of contemporary internationalization, the major global institutions, and the effects of these agencies on societies in different world regions. Further, the unit introduces students to a range of analytic perspectives in social science that are useful in understanding the characteristics of international and global social change.

Training the trainers – the intercultural research degree

Teacher educators are usually required to have a research-based postgraduate degree in some aspect of education. The Western-style university specifies for the doctoral and master's thesis a highly structured and standardized written format. The thesis must justify a particular process of research which shows that it has been based on a thorough review of relevant literature, and then it develops this research in sequential chapters and distilled conclusions. These requirements have become so typical of the research degree that they could be called 'globalized'. What is troubling about the whole process is that it is often steeped in unexamined positivist, modernist and ethnocentric assumptions characteristic of a traditional style of Western learning. Students from the 'South' who study at Western-style universities, either in their own countries or in the 'North', are usually expected to draw on these assumptions to inform their thesis. For them, as well as for many indigenous students in white-dominant societies (Morgan, 2003):

This bicultural experience forces them to live between two worlds where they do not belong in the Western context and where their education often means that they cannot belong in their own culture either – it having become the 'other'. The resulting cultural paradox needs to be resolved.

A substantial number of teacher educators from indigenous communities in Asian and Pacific countries and in Australia have chosen to pursue their research masters or doctoral studies in the Institute of International Education of the Flinders University of South Australia. Many are attracted there by the responsive approach to cultural diversity in educational research training, developed by a team led by Bob Teasdale. The starting-point of the alternative approach is a deep conviction of the harm done by the globalized

postgraduate curriculum that insists on the complete assimilation of international students, who are expected to discard the epistemologies, the deep values and the learning styles that they have brought with them from their own cultures (Teasdale, 2002).

The intercultural research degree in Education at Flinders University is built on helping international/indigenous students to negotiate their intellectual journey between the culture of learning typical of the Western university, and the cultures of their primary identity. Teasdale and his team help the postgraduate students understand the globalized Western requirements of the research process, yet negotiate and modify them in ways that both respect and explore their own deep local values, identities and years of experience. He explains this process as one of creative tension between the global and the local – not the tension of the conflict model, which expects students to choose ‘globalized’ learning and reject ‘local’ learning, but the tension that holds the two in creative balance, constantly re-tuning them to produce the resonance of meaningful scholarship (Teasdale, 2002). Describing some examples of research output produced from this creative tension shows why the approach suggests powerful ways of negotiating issues in the training of teachers for cultural diversity.

Teasdale outlines the unusual and artistic Master’s degree in Education done at the university by Helen, an indigenous student from Western Australia, after her first degree in visual arts. Helen had remarkable visual capacity, both conceptually and expressively. Ideas flowed far more powerfully from her paintbrush than from her speech or writing. The Flinders team allowed her to ‘paint’ her thesis. Helen carried out her field research in her community, a remote area of Western Australia, where she talked to her age-mates and those who had brought them up (Teasdale, 2002):

Then she came back to her studio and painted. Her studio became a laboratory where she tested and expressed her ideas. She prepared dozens of big canvases. And as she painted she talked into a tape recorder. As ideas developed on canvas, so she was able to express them in words, and to capture those words. She subsequently used edited transcripts of the words along with the pictures as the text of the thesis. The end result was an original and very powerful research report on the education of young Indigenous Australians.

Teasdale (2002) also describes the doctoral studies of two of his Ph.D students, Wani and Paulus, both from small, remote communities in Papua New Guinea. Encouraged to blend the global and the local in their theory building, each in their field of research explored with the older adults in their home villages the oral literature and history of the community. Their literature reviews drew on these interviews as well as on printed material and so brought together both global and local perspectives. Teasdale observes that:

“Wani and Paulus bring a spiritual, or metaphysical, dimension to their thinking and writing. Unlike the western with its quite narrow focus on the empirical and the rational, they are comfortable with the subjective, and with spiritual explanations of reality. Like many indigenous peoples, they have a tolerance for ambiguity. One of the important lessons for me, as I seek to accommodate to their epistemologies, is to accept this ability to hold two seemingly incompatible ways of thinking at the same time.”

Paulus developed for his thesis a conceptual framework based on an explanatory device – a kind of metaphor – that his people have used traditionally to understand the processes of their children’s growing up. But he expanded and developed this through an

exploration of Western theoretical perspectives. Wani used storytelling as her primary method of analysis, blending it, where appropriate, with Western modes of thought. Her theoretical chapters began with the telling of a story, a story that provided the conceptual framework for her thesis. The issues were not separately identified and dealt with in a linear or sequential way. Instead, Wani approached her research question by ‘walking around it’ in ever-decreasing circles, using a holistic or integrated approach, and regularly coming back to her central story. At various stages other stories were used to clarify or explicate (Teasdale, 2002):

“The end result of Wani’s work was a very dynamic fusion of the local and the global. The syncretism of the two was somehow more powerful than either could have been on its own. And Wani certainly benefited in terms of affirmation of her own deep cultural identity.”

Partnerships – with government, schools and community

Many agencies in the community facilitate the business of educating teachers. Government departments provide the policy framework of state-endorsed equity goals that should inform a teacher education degree or diploma course. Schools are important partners in the teacher education enterprise, for they provide the setting in which trainees practise and develop their pedagogical techniques and are a source of requests for postgraduate and professional development programmes. Community agencies such as institutions for adult literacy enter into partnerships with universities to enable them to provide students with opportunities to practise their pedagogy or conduct research in non-school settings. Multicultural teacher education can make a difference in all of these contexts.

Professional development programmes for classroom teachers are delivered not only by university schools and faculties of education through their research degrees, but also by other providers including the government and teachers' unions. A government-union partnership is working effectively in the current Labour-controlled regime in Queensland, a state with a reputation for one of the most racist histories in Australia. Queensland's State Department of Education (known as Education Queensland) has a section responsible for 'Inclusive education' which develops concrete policies and strategies to counter racism in schools. The department's highly skilled and experienced team produces print and audiovisual materials and uses these in anti-racist seminars and workshops for teachers in schools throughout the state. Since the government found it too expensive to keep financing such workshops, the teachers' union stepped in to fund them, paying for two-day anti-racist workshops for all teachers in the state.

An example of the materials developed and used in the workshops is *Under the skin* (Education Queensland, 1999), a kit comprising a video with an accompanying video guide and worksheets for seminar participants. Additional material used in the seminar is a nationally developed information booklet (*Racism: no way. A guide for Australian schools*). Each workshop consists of 25 participants, usually including at least three or four teachers from one school to make it more likely that they will collaborate in making school changes after the workshop. The workshop starts with a sharing of experiences in which participants talk about racism which they have suffered or witnessed. This establishes a sense of group focus that is built on with collaborative exercises. The video shows real incidents of racism, particularly in the social context of Queensland, and gives insight into how these affect people.

Through the booklets and questions on the worksheets, participants learn to deconstruct and challenge concepts, myths and stereotypes associated with the various kinds of racism – that directed against non-European migrants, and that directed against indigenous Australians, the aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people. Participants make detailed notes and comments about the schools shown in the video – one primary and three high schools. They then critically examine the features of a supportive school environment, and discuss how they can improve these features so as to involve and benefit staff, students and the community. They end with an action plan for countering an aspect of racist behaviour that may be occurring in a particular school site. Such workshops are particularly important given the problematic situation caused by inadequate intercultural education in most of the teacher education courses (as well as general education courses) available in Queensland. Teachers who realize that their pre-service preparation was inadequate to cope with the multicultural reality of their classrooms can start to develop their knowledge in these non-university professional development programmes. Education Queensland also provides much practical guidance to teachers trying to deal with students who are ‘at risk’ of poor learning outcomes, including refugee children (QPASTT, 2001).

These hands-on programmes can become part of a holistic learning experience if they collaborate with the kind of systematic courses of study delivered by universities such as the California State University at San Jose, discussed above. Partnerships can also be effective in launching new programmes that provide classroom teachers with in-service course options in intercultural studies. One such Australian partnership in which I was involved in 1998 and 1999 launched ‘Teaching about Asia’, a teacher education postgraduate level programme. The partnership was a consortium consisting of the Asia Education Foundation, based at Melbourne University, the Brisbane-

based Queensland University of Technology (QUT), Education Queensland and the Association of Independent Schools in Queensland. A team of four QUT academics which I co-ordinated developed course materials and piloted their use with a group of fifteen classroom teachers over two months of weekend workshops. After the materials were finalized, they were made available electronically to universities across the nation. In the succeeding three years, 15 Australian universities adapted the materials as the foundation for their own postgraduate programmes of 'Teaching about Asia'.

Conclusion: taking a postcolonial turn

Teacher educators arguably need to have a vision of the future that will promote programmes of lifelong learning to help students and teachers deal creatively with the changes of a globalizing era. A postcolonial view of educational institutions would see them as outdated and dysfunctional because of their ethnocentrism and structures clinging to an older era (Aviram, 1996; Coulby, 1997). From a postcolonial perspective I would argue that even if an intercultural philosophy is embedded throughout the culture of schools and teacher education programmes, they might still be operating in a constrained way that limits the intelligence and creativity of students with subject-divided timetables, rigid age-grading, gender divisions and other hierarchies. The most fundamental aspects of traditionally organized education – structure, content, epistemology, bio-regimes, selfish individualism and hierarchical practices of gender, class and ethnicity – are being challenged by post-modern and postcolonial thinking and circumstances. There is increasing recognition that the 'good life' cannot be based on unbridled consumerism, gender antagonisms and social irresponsibility (Ellyard, 1999). Exploring and developing new paradigms of educational change will be more likely

to tackle both cultural and economic problems than the old paradigms of 19th-century education.

The intercultural experiments taking place in teacher education have to be evaluated in a framework of the problems and possibilities brought about by globalization. From a postcolonial perspective, teachers arguably need to be prepared for ‘planetist’ concerns that put the health of the planet above narrowly conceived goals of the nation. As Willinsky (1999: 101) observes: “The schools ... have worked so hard at helping the young imagine themselves within a world of nations, cultures and races, they now need to afford the young a place to stand apart from this legacy of divisions and boundaries.” In a globalizing future, we are likely to become less and less confined within these constructed and limiting boundaries.

Postcolonial/post-modern perspectives in the educational curriculum would rework multiculturalism (Hickling-Hudson, 2003). Teachers and students alike would learn to look at and engage in issues from multiple perspectives (Bean, 2004). Student teachers and their supervisors would not only take a collaborative journey into socio-cultural critiques and activism, they would also learn how to embrace a new global reality as part of their identity. As Luke, Luke and Mayer put it (2000: 9):

“The challenge is to move teaching and teacher education outside of the walled space of the modernist classroom, asking it to intellectually relocate itself in relation to other civic and community, real and imagined worlds, directing it into a critical engagement with the mass civic pedagogies that regulate those worlds, and making it a motive force in the reconstitution of those worlds.”

References

- Ahlquist, R. 2003a. *Course materials for 'Multicultural Foundations of Education'*. San Jose: California State University.
- Ahlquist, R. 2003b. E-mail interview.
- Aviram, A. 1996. "The decline of the modern paradigm in education". In: *International Review of Education*, 42(5), 421-443.
- Bean, T. 2004. "The role of multicultural literature as a counter force to the literary canon". In: A. Hickling-Hudson, J. Matthews and A. Woods (Eds.), *Disrupting preconceptions: postcolonialism and education*. Flaxton, Brisbane: Post Pressed Publishers.
- Bennett, C. 2001. "Genres of research in multicultural education". In: *Review of Educational Research*, Summer, 71(2), 171-217.
- Black, M. 2000. "Using your city as a multicultural classroom". In: *Teaching Education*, 11(3), 343-351.
- Churchill, W. 1998. "White studies: the intellectual imperialism of US higher education". In: C. Willette (Ed.), *Theorizing multiculturalism: a guide to the current debate*. Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Commonwealth Government of Australia. 2000. *Racism – no way. A guide for Australian schools*. Available at www.racismnoway.com.au
- Coulby, D. 1997. "European curricula, xenophobia and warfare". In: *Comparative Education*, 33(1), 29-41.
- Education Queensland. 1999. *Under the skin: combating racism in Queensland schools*. Brisbane: Education Queensland Publishing Services.
- Ehrenreich, B. 2001. *Nickel and dimed*. New York: Metropolitan.

Ellyard, P. 1999. *Ideas for the new millennium*. Carlton South, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Ghosh, R. 1996. "Multicultural teacher education in Canada". In: M. Craft (Ed.), *Teacher education in plural societies: an international review*. London: Falmer.

Hatton, E. 1996. "Dealing with diversity: the failure of teacher education". In: *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 17(1), 25-42.

Hickling-Hudson, A. 2002. *Opening up dialogue: pre-service teachers reflect on educational life histories*. Unpublished report on student essays shared with open learning students of QUT subject 'Cultural Diversity and Education', CLB 401, Queensland University of Technology, Australia. (Cited are extracts from student essays 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5).

———; McMeniman, M. 1996. "Pluralism and Australian teacher education: a case to answer?" In: M. Craft (Ed.), *Teacher education in plural societies*. London: Falmer Press.

———; Ahlquist, R. 2003. "Contesting the curriculum in the schooling of indigenous children in Australia and the USA: from Eurocentrism to culturally powerful pedagogies". In: *Comparative Education Review*, 47(1).

Hickling-Hudson, A. 2003. "Multicultural education and the postcolonial turn". In: *Policy Futures in Education*, 1(2), 381-401.

Luke, A.; Luke, C.; Mayer, D. 2000. "Editorial: redesigning teacher education". In: *Teaching Education*, 11(1), 5-11.

Morgan, D. 2003. "Appropriation, appreciation, accommodation: indigenous wisdoms and knowledges in higher education". In:

- M. Bray (Ed.), *Comparative education: continuing traditions, new challenges and new paradigms*. London: Kluwer.
- Morrow, W. 1996. "Teacher education and pluralism in South Africa". In: M. Craft (Ed.), *Teacher education in plural societies: an international review*. London: Falmer.
- Nieto, S. 1999. *Affirming diversity*. New York; London: Longman.
- Orenstein, P. 1995. *Schoolgirls: young women, self esteem and the confidence gap*. New York: Doubleday.
- Pinar, W.F. 1981. "Whole, bright, deep with understanding: issues in qualitative research and autobiographical method". In: *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 13(3), 173-188.
- Queensland Programme of Assistance to Survivors of Torture and Trauma Inc. (QPASTT). 2001. *Students from refugee and displaced backgrounds – a handbook for schools*. Brisbane: QPASTT; Queensland Health; Education Queensland.
- Queensland University of Technology (QUT). 2003. *Unit outline: introduction to international and global studies*. HHB110. Brisbane: QUT School of Humanities and Human Services.
- Rousmanière, K. 2000. "From memory to curriculum". In: *Teaching Education*, 11(3), 87-98.
- Sleeter, C. 2001. "Preparing teachers for culturally diverse schools: research and the overwhelming presence of whiteness". In: *Journal of Teacher Education*, March/April 2001, 52(2), 94-106.
- Sleeter, C.; Grant, C. 2002. *Turning on learning: five approaches for multicultural teaching. Plans for race, class, gender and disability*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Teasdale, G.R. 2002. *Tensions between the local and the global: the challenges for international educators*. Keynote presentation at the 13th annual conference of ISANA. International Education Association, Launceston, Tasmania, 5 December.
- Tomlinson. 1996. "Teacher education for a multicultural Britain". In: M. Craft (Ed.), *Teacher education in plural societies: an international review*. London: Falmer.
- Willinsky, J. 1998. *Learning to divide the world: education at empire's end*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 1999. "Curriculum, after culture, race, nation". In: *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 20(1), 89-112.
- Zeichner, K. 1996. "Educating teachers for cultural diversity in the USA". In: M. Craft (Ed.), *Teacher education in plural societies: an international review*. London: Falmer.

CHAPTER 4. MAPS AND BLUEPRINTS: THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS

Henry M. Levin and Clive R. Belfield

Abstract

This article sets out evaluative criteria that planners must consider in organizing school systems, and applies them to systems where student populations and communities are diverse. Specifically, school systems should allow for families to exercise some degree of freedom of choice in what schooling options they take; but they should also be efficient, be fair, and promote the social good. To apply these criteria to education systems characterized by diversity, it is necessary to understand what diversity entails. Diversity will impact in terms of curricular or pedagogical changes, but its most fundamental effect will be in the way students group with each other, i.e. the formation of peer groups according to ethnicity, learning need, religion, family wealth, or social status. Thus, these evaluative criteria need to be considered in the context of peer group diversity. Three key policy instruments may be used to influence how peer groups are formed. These instruments are: eligibility (which students, which schools, and which curricula are to be permitted within the school system); financing (what resources should be allocated to different types of students); and support services (what information, transportation and adjudication services are available for students). This allows us to draw lessons for planning and influencing peer groups. We draw on examples from the United States, contrasting the system of decentralized local financing with targeted programmes to enhance school choice; from the United Kingdom, where public

school choice is extensive; from Chile, where a large-scale voucher programme exists; and from New Zealand, where school-level peer effects are explicitly identified in the funding formula.

Introduction

The development of multi-ethnic and multicultural societies has significant implications for national education systems. Schools have always been charged to serve broad social purposes (Guttman, 1986); but these purposes have historically been defined in terms of nationhood, and with populations that were somewhat varied, along only a few dimensions (for a description of the 'golden age' of secondary school expansion in the United States as an example, see Goldin, 1999). However, with mass migration and recent cultural and demographic shifts, the purposes of schooling have now become more equivocal, at the same time that populations are more varied across more dimensions (Fukuyama, 1999; Putnam, 2000). To take linguistic diversity in the United States as an example, by 1990, 8 per cent of households did not have a family member over the age of 14 who spoke English well; and figures for the year 2000 indicate that 18 per cent of the population do not speak English at home (Schuck, 2003: 116). In addition, many immigrants tend to be young, and with young families, placing further demands on educational resources.

The resulting challenges for planning education systems are immense and complicated. Most discussions of multiculturalism, including the present articles, set out two phases. First, each society must set goals for addressing the educational needs of diverse populations, whether a strong centralized and integrationist perspective, or one that permits decentralized solutions. Second, the implementation of these goals can be largely satisfied through curriculum, textbooks and pedagogy. Indeed, most educational

discussions of multiculturalism focus on what will happen in classrooms. Of course, incorporating values and perspectives from immigrant cultures into the national education system is not a simple matter. Indeed, countries (such as India, but also in some African nations) may have many different languages, sometimes within a context where no 'official' educational system that reflects a dominant cultural perspective has been established. Nevertheless, a conventional approach to understanding diversity is to consider its curricular and pedagogical implications – and responses to diversity will be governmentally designed.

In this article we suggest that the mixture of students in the classroom and the school is, in itself, an important determinant of educational outcomes. We focus on a dimension that is often missing from the discussion of diversity, that of 'peer effects'. The basic component missing from the conventional description of the challenges of diversity is that families – given their particular and diverse characteristics – exercise choices, and these choices have wide ramifications. Family choices – either of school (public or private), school district, or community – determine the peer groups that their children face. The strength of these pressures for choice and the peer effects they generate may overwhelm any palliative to diversity through changes in the state mandated curriculum.

In the second section we offer a framework for understanding these peer effects, an analysis of how such diversity is manifest, and we consider some possible strategies for educational planning. We outline four criteria that may be used to understand the challenges of diversity, within the context of existing school provision. At this general level it is possible to offer some indication of the impact of diversity, and the overall trade-offs that planners will face. To better understand how diversity influences education systems, it is

necessary to investigate other, more fundamental inputs into the education process.

In the main section we investigate directly how schools can be organized to address issues of diversity by focusing on the key input of peers. By peer formation, we mean how student peer groups are formed through the enrolment choices of families. Characteristics of peers which may influence parental choices include: gender, socio-economic status (SES) or family income, race, religion, learning needs/interests, language, culture and political affiliation. Given the overall importance of peers, they are likely to play a central role in parents' choices of schools. Once parental choices are understood, we can then consider the possible consequences of different peer groupings in terms of efficiency, equity and social cohesion. In the following section we consider how planners may influence the formation of peer groups, or offset any adverse consequences therein. Such influence may be obtained through the use of three policy instruments: the setting of eligibility requirements, the financing of schools, and the amount and resources made available for support services. To illustrate the arguments, we draw on examples from the United States, contrasting the system of decentralized local financing with targeted programmes to enhance school choice; from the United Kingdom, where public school choice is extensive; from Chile, where a large-scale voucher programme exists; and from New Zealand, where school-level peer effects are explicitly identified in the funding formula. A final section offers some conclusions about planning to accommodate diversity at the school system and school site level.

Criteria for evaluating education reform

■ Four criteria: choice, efficiency, equity and social cohesion

Education systems must satisfy multiple goals, beyond educating students in particular academic subjects. For simplicity, we evaluate education systems using four basic and mutually exclusive criteria: freedom of choice, efficiency, equity, and social cohesion (for an extended discussion see Levin, 2002).

‘Freedom of choice’ has long been recognized by economists as having value *per se* (Friedman, 1962). Parents have a fundamental right to decide what is in the best interests of their children; in the majority of cases, their incentives are most closely aligned with those of their children.¹ This freedom may extend to choice of school, of curriculum, of pedagogy, and (absent compulsory school laws) choice of the amount of education. Such freedom may be particularly important if the society is diverse. Without such freedoms, many parents will be dissatisfied with their schools, either because standardized provision does not sufficiently match their preferences or because educators impose an alternative cultural or religious belief system on to students.

‘Equity’ is an important attribute in evaluating education reforms. By giving all children an adequate education, we are ensuring that everyone has at least a reasonable opportunity to be successful and obtain a tolerable standard of economic well-being. However, identifying and redressing inequities in the education system is not straightforward. There is no clear agreement about what the equity principle for funding and organizing education should be. In

1. Freedom of choice is important for a second reason. Where parents directly express their preferences for the most appropriate type of education, they are signalling to schools their desired educational needs. Thus, the school system may be more directly accountable and responsive.

particular, to what extent should the education system offset differences in socio-economic circumstances, or family background or cognitive ability? Giving an answer to this question is fraught with difficulty: Much of the debate (both in political and academic circles) implicitly assumes that the equity principle is paramount, and that no trade-off exists between this and other evaluative criteria.² Nevertheless, some allocations will be more equitable than others and educational professionals must balance competing claims in allocating funds.

A third criterion to consider is that of 'efficiency'. Education systems absorb substantial resources and involve many years of investment. It is therefore imperative that they are efficient in how resources are deployed to meet educational objectives. For the education sector, efficient allocations may be difficult to determine because few of the inputs to learning (such as student time, community resources, etc.) have market prices. Standard economic notions of internal efficiency must therefore be interpreted cautiously. Nevertheless, taxpayers will demand that a public education system is efficiently managed and that government officials and education professionals are held accountable for the allocations of funds.

Finally, 'social cohesion' is needed from education systems. Such systems are publicly funded, so that they can meet society's rather than private individuals' needs. These public needs include education to promote and preserve social order, as well as to enhance civic

2. One exception is Roemer (1998), who argues that the equity principle should be to "reward effort but neutralize circumstances". By neutralizing circumstances, individuals face equal opportunities to succeed. By rewarding effort, individuals face incentives that encourage them to work hard. Unfortunately, Roemer's equity principle is not easily applied in practice – to what extent and how is family background a circumstance that should be neutralized? Moreover, calculations as to the resource re-allocation needed to satisfy such a principle would entail drastic changes. In the United States, for example, Roemer estimates that resources for disadvantaged groups should actually be more than three times the amount spent on those with advantages.

engagement. This is the fourth criterion for evaluating a school system: Does it promote social cohesion? So, publicly-funded education should be directed to producing a healthy, tolerant, and law-abiding population, as well as an academically able one. Such social cohesion may be difficult to prescribe in detail (Manski, 2000), and may depend on many other factors such as well-functioning legal, government and financial systems. But, this should not negate the important role of schools. A universal public school system may be the best method for producing social order: schooling is an activity that all individuals participate in; and an educational setting is the most appropriate way to learn the cognitive behaviours needed to generate social cohesion (e.g. understanding what tolerance means, learning the historical patterns of civic unrest, etc.).

■ Trade-offs across the four criteria

Each of the above criteria is important in evaluating how schools should be organized to reflect diversity (Gill *et al.*, 2000). However, improving educational quality along one criterion may impair the attainment of another criterion: It is likely that there are trade-offs to be made when meeting each criterion. These trade-offs are particularly important when we consider how schools must cope with the diversity of the student population.

One way to cope with diversity is to allow families more freedom of choice in which schools they can enrol at. (Where there is no diversity in the population, freedom of choice will be largely irrelevant: and if there is no difference between schools, parents will not be especially interested in which school they choose.) Freedom of choice can either be modest or expansive. A mild multicultural model would support bilingualism and other methods of teaching that are culturally sensitive within the public sector and permit further alternatives in the private sector, as in Canada (Ungerleider, 2003). A

strong multicultural (parallel) model would accommodate different school types according to cultures, religions and ethnicities within the public sector, as in the Netherlands (Walford, 2001). Another alternative, the universalist model applied in France, essentially forecloses freedom of choice: To live in a nation is to accept the pre-existing national culture and common language. Yet, given the many forms of diversity, education systems must chart a difficult path between these models. It may be inappropriate to give families either no choices or completely unfettered choices: That is, the denial of basic choices on the one side or the expression of some choices on the other side may impact adversely in terms of efficiency, equity or social cohesion.

Thus, unfettered choices will influence the efficiency of the school system. A more diverse system is likely to be more complicated to manage; it will require more resources to develop curricula and assessments that reflect the diverse needs of the students (see the requirements for multicultural education in Canada outlined by Ungerleider, 2003). The expectation for educational outcomes is less clear, and accountability frameworks cannot be easily implemented when schools have diverse missions (Kane and Staiger, 2002). More resources will be needed to adjudicate between schools and students as to what instruction is appropriate. More resources will be needed to provide information services to families as to what schooling options are open to them (Levin and Driver, 1997). Perhaps, most obviously, more resources will be needed for programmes that are a direct consequence of diversity, such as bilingual education. Yet, intolerance of diversity and denial of choice may also be inefficient. Matching of students to preferred (diverse) schools might enhance students' motivation and raise efficiency in learning or reduce drop-out from school.

Similarly, a more diverse system makes the identification of inequities more difficult. One well-established definition of an equitable system is where students who are alike are treated in the same manner, and students who differ are treated differently (vertical and horizontal equity). In a diverse system, by definition, there will be more students who need to be treated differently, and this raises the issue of how differently they should be treated. Also, even where there are choices, only some students will be able to take advantage of the selection (e.g. if only some faiths are allowed to operate schools). Indeed, policy-making over bilingual education in the United States has been marked by issues of equity for immigrant communities (Schuck, 2003). Similarly, establishing equitable treatment across religious and ethnic groups has been highly politicized. Yet, the absence of any accommodation to reflect different educational needs may also be inequitable. For example, immigrant students may be at a disadvantage in learning the national language, and the denial of sufficient educational resources may be considered inequitable.

Finally, allowing a diverse school system to develop may impact on the social cohesion produced by an education system. It may be more difficult to generate social cohesion amongst diverse groups where these groups voluntarily separate themselves, as would occur under a strong multicultural model. As students and communities cluster together according to a particular characteristic (e.g. income or race), then social 'bridging' is reduced (raising crime, social friction, etc.). This may be the case even when these voluntary separations appear benign; it is the very act of separation – by failing to even consider accommodation of diversity – which undermines social cohesion (Levinson and Levinson, 2003: 110). It may also be more difficult to produce public goods when there is diversity: Ostrom (2000) identifies collective action as depending on the amount of agreement within the population as to what is an

appropriate action, and as to who are the accepted leaders of the community. Where there is diversity, it may be more difficult to identify an appropriate action or to accept a particular community leader. Accommodating diversity, however desirable, may therefore impair the ability to act collectively. In contrast, by precluding expressions of diversity in schooling, societies may lose many opportunities for communities to 'bond' together for a common and locally defined purpose. More adversely, factions may arise when a society undermines their educational and cultural freedoms, and social tensions may spill over (e.g. when indigenous peoples are not granted rights of self-determination over schooling).

Overall, and at a general level, the diversity of the education system can be understood in terms of each criterion. Of course, the optimal amount of accommodation to diversity may be difficult to establish, and each nation must wrestle with this decision in response to its own social and political pressures. Yet, one conclusion is clear: The choices that families exercise in terms of school, school sector, district, or community will determine the type of diversity that exists within the education system. And, it should not be assumed that government agencies would be able to control all aspects of the education system: Choices will 'happen', even in a highly regimented system.

But another important conclusion can be drawn from this discussion of the impact of diversity. Specifically, dealing with diversity is not simply a matter of choosing the 'right' curriculum for teaching in schools (or of choosing the 'right' way to train teachers, on which see Hickling-Hudson, 2003). This is the conventional approach to thinking about multicultural education, i.e. to set the curriculum, texts, teacher training, and pedagogy that are instrumental in addressing the (newly diverse) goals. However, such an approach does not recognize that with whom students go to school

might have as much or more influence on learning, aspirations and values than the formal curriculum. Dealing with diversity is not simply an issue of what is the appropriate pedagogy, but it has much more profound implications for the organization of the education system and the social organization of schools. This depth of influence comes from the fact that, in a diverse education system, the formation of peer groups is critical.

Peer groups and diversity

■ How peer groups are formed

We can think of educational diversity as being reflected specifically in the composition of the students of different characteristics within schools and within school districts. As a general term, these compositional aspects are called ‘peer effects’. Student characteristics that may be relevant are: gender, socio-economic status (SES) or family income, race, religion, learning needs/interests, language, culture and political affiliation. Two approaches can be used to analyze peer effects. A descriptive approach would consider how peers are formed across the education system (e.g. the percentage of all-white schools, or Christian schools). An analytical approach would focus on how peers influence each other in generating educational outcomes.

It is increasingly clear that peers or fellow students have an important influence on student aspirations, values and learning. Students learn from their peers, and how much they learn will depend on who their peers are. Families will therefore seek to enrol their children in schools where the average ability level is high, so as to take advantage of learning spill-overs for their own children. There is reasonably compelling evidence that high-ability peers have a positive educational effect on an individual student’s education, as

measured in test scores (Zimmer and Toma, 1998; in McEwan's (2003) empirical study of Chile, average classroom ability enhances an individual student's own achievement). Peers may contribute to one's enjoyment of schooling (and to more general concerns, such as school safety). At a more basic level, learning for special needs and bilingual education is only possible under certain peer groupings – and, in a system where there is uniform government funding across all students, then one's choice of peers is one of the few ways a family can gain an advantage.

Peer effects need not be restricted to the classroom, but may also reflect residential and community characteristics. High-quality peers may generate more 'social capital' and community resource – such capital is enjoyed not only in terms of the education of students within schools, but also in terms of the public goods available to parents within local neighbourhoods. Parents may regard local communities as a valuable resource for other public goods (e.g. friendships with other parents, family services, and law and order). Indeed, residential peer-group sorting may precede (and determine) within school peer-group sorting: Families choose neighbourhoods that mirror their values (or SES, ethnicity or religion), and they see these values reflected back in the school system. Segregation may therefore be strongly linked with the homogeneity of the school.

Community values also influence how well students do in school; the expectations and aspirations of peers will have a strong influence on one's own approach to learning (for a critical description of community pressures on African-American students in Ohio, see Ogbu, 2003). For all these reasons, therefore, parents will try to reap strong 'peer effects' when they are given freedom of choice.

Accordingly, peer effects are an important dimension to consider in setting policy in a multicultural setting. Such peer effects can be described in terms of each of the four criteria.

Freedom of choice is linked to peer groups

When making choices about schooling, many families seek appropriate peer groups for their own children. In fact, specific peer groupings will be formed wherever the education system allows freedom of choice, so as to exploit 'peer effects'. Such freedom of choice may mean that parents can opt out of the public sector entirely and enrol their children in the private sector. Private sector schools are often subject to only light regulations, and so such choices may allow for peer groups to form across any of these characteristics of diversity. A more limited form of freedom of choice allows families to choose between schools or school districts; in most cases, this requires families to move residence. Residential choice will therefore lead to segregation of peer groups. Finally, freedom of choice may be restricted to choice over which school to attend within a district.

The extent to which the education system allows such freedom of choice will determine how peer groups are formed. In Western (particularly Anglo-Saxon) societies, the idea of choice – and the opportunity for choice – has been relatively strong. In the United States, for example, peer sorting according to religious adherence can only be obtained by exiting the public sector. In the United Kingdom, some government schools have religious affiliation; families that exit the public sector are doing so because they seek peers of a higher socio-economic status, not of a different religion. In Chile, families are free to choose any private or religious school as part of a universal voucher programme: Both religious and SES peer sorting takes place across publicly-funded schools (as well as sorting into the elite private schools that do not accept vouchers). Critically, peer formation is not restricted to choosing the 'best' curriculum, but it includes choices of community and social setting and, consequently, all the values developed within that community. Peer-related choice is an optimal behaviour by families: Peers are important in

influencing the experiences students have in schools and their educational outcomes, and this is especially so in diverse societies. Therefore, the pressure for choice will increase as societies become more diverse, even in those nations where choice is less well accepted.

Peer groups will influence how equitable the education system is

If students are allowed to form peer groups according to ability and/or according to income, without any mediating intervention by government, then there are likely to be substantial inequities in both inputs and outcomes from schooling.

As a result of peer sorting, schools become more polarized in terms of average ability and in terms of average socio-economic status, as measured at the school level. The consequence of this partitioning is that high-ability individual students will obtain the largest enhancements from their peers, and low-ability individual students will obtain the smallest enhancements from their peers. Thus, strong peer sorting will polarize students according to academic achievement, leading to inequalities in outcomes across student types. Similarly, peer effects may also be strong when there is sorting according to family income, as in the United States. Families will congregate in schooling zones or territories, and these zones may be used as the tax base on which to fund local schools. Thus, a high-income zone will have a high tax base from which to fund its schools, and so these schools will obtain more funds than schools in low-income zones.³

Ability and income sorting appear from studies of voucher programmes in the United States (Witte, 1999), and within

3. This disparity may be substantial: the public school at the 95th percentile of funding in the United States obtains at least 2.5 times the funding of the public school at the 5th percentile (Murray, Evans and Schwab, 1998).

programmes such as bilingual education (Martinez, Godwin and Kemerer, 1996). It is also apparent across various European countries, and international evidence on the effects of allowing greater school choice show reasonably consistent results in terms of partitioning into less diverse peer groups. For the United Kingdom, Bradley, Johnes and Millington (1998) find partitioning according to occupational status and income, although they describe it as small (but see Gorard and Fitz, 2000). In a study of Scottish schooling, Willms (1996) also found greater polarization across family education levels. For Belgium, Vanderberghe (1996) found more choices across schools led to more ability dissimilarities between schools and across grades. For the Netherlands, Karsten (1994) found two effects from increased freedom of choice: Both existing schools became more polarized and new start-up schools were more likely to be ethnically homogeneous (typically with a religious orientation). Finally, in Chile, where a nation-wide voucher programme is in place, Carnoy and McEwan (2001: 159) report the average monthly household incomes for students across six types of school: Private non-voucher schools enrolled students where the household income was almost seven times higher than for students in municipal schools; for Catholic schools, household income was double that in municipal schools.⁴

Sorting according to peer group characteristics may also impact on the amount of social cohesion produced by the school system. The ability and income educational inequalities will produce lower

4. However, schools may enrol students across each characteristic (gender, SES, race, ability), and more generally to encourage diversity of the student body. Some peer characteristics may be traded off against each other, with schools enrolling some students according to willingness to pay (income) and some according to ability. Here the school is exploiting the peer effects of education – low-income but high-ability students are ‘teaching’ high-income but low-ability students and the former obtain a ‘tuition subsidy’ from the latter (Epple and Romano, 1998). This exchange improves the welfare of these two groups but it also widens the gap between the low-income and low-ability group and the rest. Such peer effects are only possible in an education system where students can be treated differently. In an integrationist public system, schools have less motivation to trade-off peer ability and willingness to pay.

social cohesion through widening disparities in economic status. However, a similar polarizing effect is likely to occur if students sort according to other peer characteristics. For example, where students sort according to a religious preference that will allow the respective religious schools to offer education that has even more faith-related content.

The most striking effects of peers on social cohesion relate to the racial (and religious) composition of a school (Gill *et al.*, 2001). There is reasonably strong evidence that parents – given more schooling options – prefer enrolment at racially homogeneous schools (either directly or because racial composition is a low-cost proxy for other characteristics). A ‘diverse’ society may therefore be a segregated society, in terms of the educational system. Wealthy families may cluster together in exclusive territories; they will choose different schools because they have: (a) more resources to decide on their school; (b) more household resources to contribute to their child’s education; (c) access to transportation; and (d) habituation to choice through supportive social networks. The result is likely to be families of one type in one school, and families of another type in another school.

This conclusion can be drawn both from direct investigations of family preferences (Schneider, Teske and Marschall, 2000) and from actual enrolment patterns in response to changes in the demography and ethnicity of the local community (Weiher and Tedin, 2002; Fairlie and Resch, 2002). One example is based on the study of reforms in New Zealand, conducted by Fiske and Ladd (2000). After a period of school choice reform during the 1980s and 1990s, Fiske and Ladd (2000: 189) report the change in the share of minority students in schools ranked into deciles according to socio-economic status. These changed figures show some ethnic partitioning: The numbers of minority students increased in decile one (the bottom 10 per cent)

and decile schools, fell in decile seven schools, and rose in decile 10 schools. Thus, the spread of minority students across the education system broadened, with increasing numbers in both the highest and lowest decile schools. Such peer groupings are likely to have a strong impact on the social goods that are produced through the education system. Where peers are grouped according to race (or religion), as in highly segregated systems, social cohesion will be sharply reduced.

The formation of peer groups will influence how efficient the school system is

If there are strong peer effects, then school systems should try to harness these, either to raise achievement levels or to offer appropriate instruction to students whose first language is not the national language, or to allow students with special learning needs to advance. (Indeed, raising achievement through more efficient peer group sorting is often held as an advantage of private schools, see Epple and Romano, 1998.) Typically, this efficiency gain is thought of as a matter of planning the 'right' curricula. However, peers influence the productivity of many of the inputs into schooling.

Another efficiency gain may arise indirectly from allowing more freedom of choice: Families will be able to exit more easily from low-performing schools. In their review of competition between schools in the United States, Belfield and Levin (2002) find that where families have more choices, average outcomes are higher (for a similar directional effect for the United Kingdom, see Bradley *et al.*, 1998). In New Zealand, reforms to enhance school choice were intended to encourage families to leave the lowest performing schools, and thus provoke those schools into improving their quality (or closing down); and there is some evidence at least that enrolments at the lower quality schools fell. A third efficiency gain would occur as families sort themselves into territories expressing different preferences for

education; families who want high [low] quality education can live in territories which vote for high [low] taxes for public schools (or vote according to different preferences for schooling). This residential sorting allows for multiple preferences to be satisfied. Overall, therefore, a degree of choice – unavoidably leading to sorting – may be efficient for school systems.

In summary, peers appear as an important input into the education system, with implications for choice, efficiency, equity and social cohesion. Such influence is particularly important when students are diverse, and peer groups can be formed according to racial, social, tribal, or religious preferences. For education planning, therefore, it is necessary to identify ways to influence the formation of such peer groups.

■ **Planning and influencing peer groups**

Given the importance of peer groups to the organization of the school system, and their strong relationship with issues of student diversity, it seems plausible that planners would seek to shape these peer groups. Based on a framework set out by Levin (1991), we consider how such peer groups may be shaped by the use of three policy instruments. To emphasize, our approach assumes that families ‘exploit’ the choices that they have within the current education system to obtain particular peer group characteristics. The planner therefore has several tasks: first, to understand which peer groupings are being formed under the current system; second, to identify a more desirable formation of peer groups taking account of the criteria considered above and aligned with the integrationist, mild or strong multicultural model of the state; and, finally, to use the three policy instruments to create these peer groups. Such decisions may be easier for education planners in education systems that are more decentralized, because there will be fewer types of diversity to

manipulate. Under either centralized or decentralized systems, however, the accommodation of diversity will be challenging for educational planners, and will require use of all three policy instruments.

Student eligibility across schools

Planners can set the terms of who is eligible for government support and for access to particular schools. The decision over student eligibility will be important, because some students should be eligible for differential treatment. By setting these eligibility terms, students are being valued differently as peers. In the United States system, for example, there is considerable dispute over what constitutes a disability that qualifies for special education resources in a separate setting (Parrish, 2000). Setting eligibility terms may be delicate, either across race (such as de facto segregation, or requirements for Native American students) or political divisions (such as means-testing of eligible students); and decisions about eligibility – of students and of school types – are not merely a technical or pedagogical matter. Schuck (2003: 109-114) describes the politics of, and legal reforms associated with, bilingual education programmes in the United States. Approximately 75 per cent of foreign-language homes in the United States are Spanish-speaking, and so bilingual programmes have on the whole served Hispanic communities. After several federal initiatives during the 1960s and 1970s, and further intervention by states, bilingual education programmes became an issue of political strength and recognition for Hispanic populations. By 1974, discrimination on the basis of language was legally equivalent to discrimination on the basis of national origin. Efficacy claims – about the relative educational merits of bilingual education over English-language immersion – have largely been supplanted by arguments as to whether education in one's own language is a civil and cultural right. The United States experience may be contrasted with a more pragmatic approach with

the mild multicultural models (e.g. in the United Kingdom, or in voluntary after-school 'heritage language' programmes, as in Canada) and with a categorical approach in integrationist models (e.g. in France) where bilingual education is not sanctioned.

Eligibility rules can be set at multiple levels to accommodate diversity. One eligibility rule would be to introduce programmes that are targeted at students in the lowest performing schools. This approach would mix peer groups, by rewarding schools that take these students; and it would reduce the gaps between students in high-quality and low-quality schools, by allowing students to exit the low-quality schools more easily. (United States federal 'No Child Left Behind' legislation may be interpreted in this light). Another eligibility rule is to use lotteries to allocate places: Random allocation of applicants would even out the influences of peers. An example of this approach is the large-scale voucher programme introduced as part of the 1992 Decentralization Bill in Colombia (Carnoy and McEwan, 2001): Only students from low-income families who had previously been enrolled in public schools were eligible to participate. And, in municipalities where there is excess demand for vouchers, a lottery is used to allocate places. In the United States the Florida Opportunity Scholarship Program is restricted to students in failing schools.

Eligibility also refers to which students gain access to which schools. Public and private schools are typically charged not to discriminate on race, national origin or ethnicity. But, in most education systems, schools have some flexibility to set their own eligibility rules. In the decentralization reforms in New Zealand the schools could devise their own 'enrolment schemes' for selecting students. A universal voucher programme - such as the one in Chile - allows students to sort according to whichever peer characteristics they consider desirable. Some schools may seek to 'counsel' particular

types of students away from enrolment, such that it may be difficult to enforce full non-discrimination. Also, some communities will seek to enforce exclusive territories, such that students from outside the territory are not eligible for their schools (for examples of such behaviours in the United States, see Ryan and Heise, 2002).

School eligibility may be an important way to influence diversity. A generous programme would allow for many types of school to receive government funding or government accreditation; and it would not place any quotas on the mix of peers in a school. Types of school may include religious schools, schools with different pedagogical approaches, or independent private schools (as in Chile). In a society where there are multiple religions, and where a multicultural model is adopted, planners may consider that it is appropriate to permit schools of different religions, so as to accommodate diversity. In a society where there are multiple languages, or where there is a significant proportion of non-native speakers, then it may be appropriate to offer schooling in alternative languages. In an integrationist model, in contrast, fewer variations of school types will be eligible for support.

Alternative schools may be encouraged by changes in the organization of school systems. In the United States there are now over 2,000 charter schools that are on contract to provide education to students; many of these schools differ from publicly-run schools in terms of their mission. (Other approaches that may integrate schools involve changes in pedagogy, such as magnet schools, career academies, or theme academies.) In the United Kingdom, however, a similar approach to encouraging independent schools that receive public funds ('grant-maintained schools') was curtailed after a new Labour government was elected (Walford, 2003). In Chile, the universal voucher system fully separated provision of schooling from the funding of schools; this system significantly opened up the types

of school (including those for-profit) that were eligible for government funds.

Funding

Peer groups may also be influenced by the education funding system. The absolute amount of funding may influence peer groups: If public schools are generously funded, then this will reduce the desire of families to seek educational alternatives in the private sector, and so reduce sorting according to peer groups. Thus, the Chilean voucher programme was augmented in the 1990s with a programme targeted at the 10 per cent of lowest-achieving primary schools (Carnoy and McEwan, 2001). This P-900 programme involved direct allocations of funds for basic infrastructure improvement and teaching materials to these primary schools. By almost equalizing students' capacities during primary school, the P-900 programme reduces the incentives for parents to sort according to family income (or ethnicity).

More significantly, peer group formation may be influenced by how education is funded (on formula funding, see Ross and Levacic, 1999). In the United States, funding for education is mainly obtained from local taxes, with lesser amounts being provided at the state and federal level. Local funding encourages families to sort into territories - which serve as tax bases - according to their educational preferences. This in turn encourages peer sorting according to family income or other peer characteristics. Thus, one way to reduce the amount of sorting according to peer characteristics is to centralize the funding of education. One example in the United States is the funding of charter schools, which - in the majority of cases - is determined at the state level. By obtaining state mandated funds, resources for charter schools are equal across territories. Another example is special education, which is heavily funded at a federal level.

A second policy decision which will influence the formation of peer groups relates to the taxation of education expenses in the private sector. In many countries, private schools are tax-exempt, because they are non-profit agencies. However, in recent years a number of states in the United States have increased the amount of tax relief that families obtain when they enrol in private schools: 13 states have tax deduction schemes, and another six have tax credits (Belfield, 2002). These tax relief policies encourage families to seek private schooling, and so promote sorting according to particular student characteristics.

If peer effects are particularly important, however, it may be appropriate to condition funding allocations directly on the characteristics of peers. This conditioning may be done through the calibration of funding for low-income students, by setting the increment for free/reduced-price lunch at a higher amount. This is an approach used in the United Kingdom, where students receive additional funds if they are from low-income families, and in the Netherlands too (Ritzen, van Dommelen and de Vijlder, 1997). If peer sorting generates inequities, then additional funds for low-performing schools may be introduced. Certainly, funding systems should not be calibrated such that high-performing schools receive higher funding amounts, or that funding is simply apportioned per student, as these approaches exacerbate any sorting effects.

A funding mechanism which explicitly takes account of peer effects was implemented in New Zealand. Schools were separated into deciles, based on the average family income of the students who attended the school (Fiske and Ladd, 2000). The schools in the lowest deciles received additional amounts of funds, to compensate for peer effects. In theory, this compensation should not only offset the existing peer effects but it should persuade parents not to search for higher-quality peers: Any gains from having higher-quality peers

would be compensated for by lower relative amounts of funding. In practice, however, these adjustments are difficult to make: First, the amounts of resources needed to compensate for peer effects were underestimated; second, the resource compensation is received at a later date by the schools involved. (An equivalent example in the United States involves magnet schools.) Thus, the peer effects were not completely offset.

Support services

There are three ways in which peer groupings can be influenced in terms of support services. The first is relatively simple and relates to transportation to schools. Where parents face high transportation costs, they are likely to enrol their children in the neighbourhood school, and this will increase clustering of students according to locality. Differences in community characteristics will therefore be reinforced. Thus, a publicly-funded system of transportation may encourage families to use different schools and so dampen any peer effects. Bussing students across school districts to meet desegregation requirements has been utilized in the United States (on its contentious history and politics, see Patterson, 2001). In New Zealand and the United Kingdom, however, school choice reforms did not include financing of transportation in urban areas. Families with lower incomes therefore found it harder to choose a school other than in their local neighbourhood (Fiske and Ladd, 2003: 57).

A second approach is for the education system to offer an information and adjudication service to parents. The information service would indicate which schools students are eligible to attend (reducing the covert selection of students according to peer characteristics). Examples of countries where such systems have been recently upgraded are the United Kingdom and the Netherlands (Walford, 2003; Ritzen *et al.*, 1997). An adjudication service would

allow parents who feel that they have been discriminated against when seeking enrolment to contest such a decision. Such information and adjudication systems can be set up within the public school system, or they can be set up so that the information is provided directly to the parents.

A third approach for planning peer characteristics is to set school accountability systems. To increase accountability, the education system may include standardized testing for all students even if these students are in schools with diverse missions. These tests would allow parents to compare the quality of individual schools and so to make informed decisions about which school to choose. Where diversity and peer sorting produces schools of unacceptable standards, then this too will be detected. Two contrasting approaches to accountability are those in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. The United Kingdom has a set of nationally comparable tests applied across almost all schools; this system has the disadvantage that students' educational goals must be modified to conform with the national tests. New Zealand has no compulsory national tests, with the disadvantage that accountability rules are difficult to apply consistently and judgements about relative school quality are hard to make (Fiske and Ladd, 2003).

Creating desirable peer groups

There are various approaches to regulating school systems which allow diversity – and the peer formations that develop – to be controlled. The above policy tools suggest that planners have some influence over how peer groups can be formed. However, given the strong pressures that parents will exert to choose a school that has 'desirable' peers, it may be difficult for planners to clearly effect change in an obvious direction.

Even when it is possible to compensate for peer effects across a region or school district, there will be substantial differences

between schools within regions, and further differences within classrooms. (In the United States, for example, there is greater within-state variation in funding than there is between-state variation, Murray *et al.*, 1998). Also, some peer sorting may be benign, and have little impact across the four criteria. For example, sorting schools by gender may be relatively more benign than sorting schools by race. Also, sorting may be more apparent than real: Many families attending private Catholic schools in United States inner-cities (e.g. as in Chicago) are not Catholic (Sander, 2001). Instead the Catholic school is performing a social mission by supporting educationally disadvantaged families. Finally, it may be difficult to measure the extent of diversity across the schooling system, because many measurements will be sensitive to the level of aggregation, or to the particular populations included. On average, private non-sectarian schools in the United States show reasonably high proportions of minority students; but this is largely because many of these schools are for special education students, not because minority students are spread through the independent sector (Levinson and Levinson, 2003). In other cases, peer sorting will occur across multiple characteristics at the same time: Many religious schools, for example, draw students from congregations of only one ethnic group. That these complexities exist gives further weight to our claim that diversity cannot simply be resolved by modifying the curriculum or pedagogy. In many circumstances, however, educational planners may welcome diversity where it appears, rather than actively seek to create and affirm a diverse education system as a goal in itself.

Conclusion

The challenges to education planners facing diverse education systems are substantial: Not only are school populations more diverse, but there is an increasing pressure to recognize these diversities

throughout all dimensions of education provision: access, curriculum, pedagogy, teacher and material resources, governance and assessment. It is therefore essential to establish a comprehensive framework for evaluating diverse education systems. To offer specific guidance on planning, however, it is necessary to focus on how diversity is manifest. The conventional approach is to assume that diversity can be addressed through an instrumental modification of the curriculum or pedagogy, according to students' needs. This approach conceives of diversity in a very narrow frame, and fails to account for the more fundamental ways in which diversity is manifest. Specifically, diverse schools reflect diverse communities, created through the preferences and choices of families, and diverse schools can be understood in terms of how peer groups are formed within these communities. The next step is to explain how such peer groups can be strategically managed through regulations on eligibility, funding, and support services. This will allow planners to work, in systems of great diversity, towards the goals of the education system as a whole.

References

- Belfield, C.R. 2002. *What do we know about tuition tax credits?* Working paper. Available at www.ncspe.org
- ; Levin, H.M. 2002. "The effects of the competition in education: a review of the evidence". In: *Review of Educational Research*, 72, 271-341.
- Bradley, S.; Johnes, G.; Millington, J. 1998. *School choice competition and the efficiency of secondary schools in England*. Lancaster: University of Lancaster (mimeo).

- Carnoy, M; McEwan, P.J. 2001. "Privatization through vouchers in developing countries: the cases of Chile and Colombia". In: H.M. Levin (Ed.), *Privatizing education. Can the marketplace deliver choice, efficiency, equity, and social cohesion?* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Epple, D.; Romano, R. 1998. "Competition between private and public schools, vouchers, and peer-group effects". In: *American Economic Review*, 88, 33-62.
- Fairlie, R.W.; Resch, A.M. 2002. "Is there 'white flight' into private schools? Evidence from the National Educational Longitudinal Survey". In: *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 84, 21-33.
- Filer, R.K.; Munich, D. 2003. "Public support for private schools in post-communist Central Europe: Czech and Hungarian experiences". In: D.N. Plank, G. Sykes (Eds.), *Choosing choice: school choice in international perspective*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Fiske, E.B.; Ladd, H. 2000. *When schools compete*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- ; ———. 2003. "School choice in New Zealand. A cautionary tale". In: D.N. Plank, G. Sykes (Eds.), *Choosing choice: school choice in international perspective*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Friedman, M. 1962. *Capitalism and freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fukuyama, F. 1999. *The great disruption*. Basic Books: London.
- Gill, B.P.; Timpane, P.M.; Ross, K.E.; Brewer, D.J. 2001. *Rhetoric versus reality. What we know and what we need to know about vouchers and charter schools*. Washington, DC: Rand Education.

- Goldin, C. 1999. "Egalitarianism and the returns to education during the great transformation of American education". In: *Journal of Political Economy*, 107, 65-94.
- Gorard, S; Fitz, J. 2000. "Investigating the determinants of segregation between schools". In: *Research Papers in Education*, 15, 115-132.
- Guttman, A. 1986. *Democratic Education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hickling-Hudson, A. 2003 (June). *Teacher education for cultural diversity*. Working Paper. IIEP Policy Forum on Planning for Diversity.
- Inglis, C. 2003 (June). *The changing map: from nation states to multi-ethnic and multicultural societies*. Working Paper. IIEP Policy Forum on Planning for Diversity.
- Kane, T.; Staiger D.O. 2002. "The promise and pitfalls of using imprecise school accountability measures". In: *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16, 91-114.
- Karsten, S. 1994. "Policy on ethnic segregation in a system of choice: the case of the Netherlands". In: *Journal of Education Policy*, 9, 211-225.
- Levin, H.M. 1991. "The economics of educational choice". In: *Economics of Education Review*, 10, 137-158.
- . 2001. *Privatizing education. Can the marketplace deliver choice, efficiency, equity, and social cohesion?* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- . 2002. "A comprehensive framework for evaluating educational vouchers". In: *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 24, 159-174.

- Levinson, M.; Levinson S. 2003. "Getting religion: religion, diversity, and community in public and private schools". In: A Wolfe (Ed.), *School choice. A moral debate*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Manski, C.F. 2000. "Economic analysis of social interactions". *Journal of Economic Literature*, 14, 115-136.
- Martinez, V.; Godwin, K.; Kemerer, F. 1996. "Public school choice in San Antonio: who chooses and with what effects?" In: B. Fuller, R. Elmore (Eds.), *Who chooses? Who loses? Culture, institutions, and the unequal effects of school choice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- McEwan, P.J. 2003. "Peer effects on student achievement: evidence from Chile". In: *Economics of Education Review*, 22, 131-141.
- Murray, S.E.; Evans, W.N.; Schwab, R.M. 1998. "Education-finance reform and the distribution of education resources". In: *American Economic Review*, 88, 789-812.
- Ogbu, J.U. 2003. *Black American students in an affluent suburb. A study of academic disengagement*. New Jersey: Laurence Erlbaum.
- Ostrom, E. 2000. "Collective action and the evolution of social norms". In: *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14, 137-158.
- Parrish, T.B. 2000. "Restructuring special education funding in New York to promote the objective of higher learning standards for all students". In: *Economics of Education Review*, 19, 431-446.
- Patterson, J.T. 2001. *Brown versus board of education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Putnam, R.D. 2000. *Bowling alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

- Ritzen, J.M.M.; van Dommelen, J.; de Vijlder, F.J. 1997. "School finance and school choice in the Netherlands". In: *Economics of Education Review*, 16, 329-335.
- Roemer, J.E. 1998. *Equality with opportunity*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Ross, K.; Levacic, R. 1999. *Needs-based resource allocation in education via formula funding of schools*. Paris: IIEP-UNESCO.
- Ryan, J.; Heise, M. 2002. "The political economy of school choice". In: *Yale Law Journal*, p. 2043.
- Sander, W. 2001. "Religiosity, competition and Catholic schools". Working paper. Available at www.ncspe.org
- Schneider, M.; Teske, P.; Marschall, M. 2000. *Choosing schools. Consumer choice and the quality of American schools*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Schuck, P.H. 2003. *Diversity in America. Keeping government at a safe distance*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap and Harvard.
- Ungerleider, C. 2003, June. *The multicultural model: the case of Canada*. Working Paper. IIEP Policy Forum on Planning for Diversity.
- Vandenbergh, V. 1996. *Functioning and regulation of educational quasi-markets*. Ph.D thesis. Université Catholique de Louvain.
- Walford, G. 2001. "Privatization in industrialized countries". In: H.M. Levin (Ed.), *Privatizing education. Can the marketplace deliver choice, efficiency, equity, and social cohesion?* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- . 2003. "School choice and educational change in England and Wales". In: D.N. Plank, G. Sykes (Eds.), *Choosing choice: school choice in international perspective*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Weiher, G.R.; Tedin, K.L. 2002. "Does choice lead to racially distinctive schools? Charter schools and household preferences". In: *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 21, 79-92.
- Willms, J.D. 1996. "School choice and community segregation: findings from Scotland". In: A. Kerchoff (Ed.), *Generating social stratification: toward a new research agenda*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Witte, J.F. 1999. *The market approach to education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Zimmer, R.; Toma, E. 1998. "Peer effects in private and public schools across countries". In: *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 19, 75-92.

PART V

CONCLUSIONS: LEARNING TO PLAN TOGETHER

CHAPTER 1. DIVERSITY AND THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE

*Hans N. Weiler*¹

I start out with three observations:

1. The issue of ‘diversity’ goes even further than discussed at this conference. Specifically, we tend to underestimate the importance of knowledge as a basic factor in diversity – both at the national and at the international level.
2. We will understand diversity much better if we understand it as diversity of ‘knowledge cultures’, i.e. as diversity in the concept of knowledge, in the institutional arrangements for the production of knowledge, and in the structures of access to knowledge.
3. Understanding diversity as diversity of knowledge also helps to highlight the hierarchical nature of diversity, i.e. the fact that diversity is rarely, if ever, a setting of equally valued components. The world of knowledge consists of knowledge hierarchies where there is privileged and less privileged knowledge – an ‘asymmetry of esteem’ in Sylvia Schmelkes’ terms or, as more forcefully put by Anne Hickling-Hudson, ‘epistemic violence’.

These observations require a few explanations: (a) ‘Knowledge cultures’ are characterized by their own epistemology, their own ‘rhetoric’ (or verbal code for the communication of knowledge), and their own organizational structures for the creation of knowledge;

1. The author is Professor Emeritus of Education and Political Science at Stanford University and Professor Emeritus of Comparative Politics (and former *Rektor*) of Viadrina European University at Frankfurt (Oder). He was the third director of the International Institute for Educational Planning (1974–1977). See also <http://www.stanford.edu/people/weiler>

(b) we are able to think in these terms because we have been liberated from the fiction of a ‘unified theory of knowledge’, and have reached a point where we can be much more comfortable with a notion of knowledge that is culturally and socially constructed (i.e. ways of knowing vary with culture, with gender, with social class, and with periods of history), reflects structures and relationships of power, of domination and subordination, of inclusion and exclusion (in the sense that knowledge – just as ‘schools’ in M. Obin’s presentation – is ‘*un outil politique*’, a political tool); and (c) the key question that this notion of diversity as diversity of knowledge raises is the question that Guy Gran asks in the title of a remarkable article: “Whose knowledge matters?” (Gran, 1986).

In listening to the contributions to this Policy Forum, I have been struck by two seemingly contradictory impressions: (a) Nobody talks about knowledge; and (b) everybody talks about knowledge. In other words: The agenda of the diversity of knowledge runs through virtually all of the presentations – and yet it receives very little explicit and systematic attention. Some of the particularly obvious examples include the following:

1. Cecilia Braslavsky speaks of the ‘paradoxes of globalization’, which consist of more and more scientific knowledge being produced, while access to it becomes more and more unequal – what I have elsewhere called “a new division of labour in the international knowledge system” (Weiler, 2003).
2. Anne Hickling-Hudson writes in her article that “people in all cultures ... operate within particular epistemologies”.
3. Audrey Osler speaks of the particular ‘mindsets’ of migrants and minorities.
4. Both C.J. Daswani and Mamadou Ndoeye speak of the conflict surrounding the issues of bilingualism and multilingualism –

because inasmuch as language is both the main access route to knowledge cultures, and one of their prime manifestations, the choice between language strategies is also a choice of how to deal with the diversity of knowledge, and it is not at all surprising that these are politically contested choices.

When Charles Ungerleider postulates that “cultural, religious and linguistic differences will be both understood and appreciated”, I submit that this will not be possible without understanding the different cultures of knowledge on which these differences are based. And when Christine Inglis asks “What is culture?” – one important answer is: Cultures are ways of knowing.

The examples could go on. This forum, as many other gatherings of its kind, are rich sources for substantiating the claim of these remarks that diversity is, in a particularly profound and consequential way, diversity of knowledge.

What does all of this have to do with the topic of this concluding session – with ‘learning to plan together’? First, and rather generally, it means that planning education under conditions of diversity should be more cognizant to this underlying dimension of ‘knowledge cultures’. More specifically, however, this perspective highlights the need to organize ‘planning for diversity’ in such a way as to pay much more attention to higher education.

Educational planning (including this venerable Institute) has always had a rather difficult time dealing with higher education – which does not quite fit the conventional tools and concepts of the craft of educational planning. Against this tradition, I would argue that a more conscious recognition of diversity as diversity of knowledge cultures could open up a new and interesting window on the planning of higher education. After all, it is first and foremost

within institutions of higher education that knowledge cultures are generated, sustained and challenged. It is the institutional framework for the creation and dissemination of knowledge in higher education – including the increasingly important question of “the governance of science” (Fuller, 2000) – that may well become one of the more important frontiers for the further development of educational planning.

References

- Fuller, S. 2000. *The governance of science: ideology and the future of the open society*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gran, G. 1986. “Beyond African famines: whose knowledge matters?” In: *Alternatives* 11(2), 275-296.
- Weiler, H.N. 2003. *Knowledge and power: the international politics of knowledge production and the future of higher education*. Lecture at the New Europe College, Bucharest, 12 June 2003. Available at www.stanford.edu/people/weiler/Lecture'NEC

CHAPTER 2. PANEL INTERVENTION

Jacques Hallak

Introduction

First, continue to reflect: The richness of interventions and the fact that certain presentations ask more questions than they answer calls for the pursuit of the exchange of experiences, comparative studies and research and debates on ideas. My comments will be divided into four points:

The approach

Educational planning in multicultural societies is not possible without the participation of (and the appropriation by) various protagonists. As Sylvia Schmelkes' presentation on Mexico shows, the challenge is that participation more easily affects the groups that are the best organized – therefore the ones that generally have access to information and the decision-making process – than the others. Organizing the participation of an unorganized community (and ethnic minorities) is an extremely complex task; doing it successfully is a crucial condition for ensuring the relevance and effectiveness of educational planning. This assumes, in particular, that participatory structures are put in place for curriculum development, teacher training, etc. This also assumes that the rules of the game are set down and accepted by taking the contributions of the different protagonists into account. Lastly, this assumes that the coherence of the 'from top to bottom' approach backed by the participatory approach is ensured.

The field

As Canada's experience has shown, the effectiveness of educational planning in multicultural societies assumes that it is complemented by social policy measures intended to correct the inequalities that certain ethnic groups sustain in terms of education and after school is completed. From this viewpoint, the diagnosis of the educational sector must explicitly integrate the effects of other sectors (demand and offering) and the changes in the international environment, e.g. the specific demands caused by globalization.

Concerning priorities and choices, the time required for social change in order to reach the 'living together' objective by means of education fits into the long term; that of concrete programmes and actions into the short and medium term; that of the protagonists' expectations - especially those of disadvantaged groups - into the here and now. For this reason, educational planning cannot do without reliance on a vision, a social project, on hypotheses on how progress is to be made. Unfortunately, experience shows that in many countries, educational planning does not fit into a vision, a project 'carrying along' and opening perspectives on the 'living together' formula selected.

Educational planning cannot ignore the question of contents (Braslavsky), or that of organizing the school offering (Levin) or political options on organizing social life in a multicultural milieu (integration, assimilation, communitarianism, etc.) and even if it does not, it cannot propose short-term solutions with structural tensions due to certain ethnic groups' rejection of the social consensus in force; the example of the difficulty in enrolling daughters of immigrants in school in a region in Spain mentioned by Henry illustrates this problem.

The problem

The meeting demonstrated the richness of the array of problems and tensions that decision-makers confront. I will limit myself to the following questions:

Diversity/equality. Optimists would like to believe that these two criteria will lead in the end to convergent solutions. This is not what the experiences to which the participants referred during the seminar show. In this regard, everyone noticed that the hypotheses of Canada and France were very different: Should the decrease in economic inequalities or the protection of diversity be targeted as a priority? When does segregation in the name of diversity begin? Is it true that integrating models focused on the decrease in socio-economic inequalities have failed? And so on. There are many convictions but few answers that elicit unanimity.

Basic skills/other skills. Because of financial constraints, choices must be made. Two observations may be formulated on this tension: (a) study programmes are overloaded and not everything can be done; (b) basic skills are not equivalent to what is called 'good skills', relevant for multicultural societies but that do not protect them against conflicts (as the educational profile of the 11 September actors showed).

Education for all. The first follow-up report published by UNESCO is very instructive because it clearly poses the problems of choice; there is the quantity/quality choice; there is the one between the different dimensions of the quality of education, for example, quality may mean: (a) the acquisition of 'life skills' that comes under the 'learning to be' principle; (b) the acquisition of skills for living in a 'globalized' world, which is part of the 'learning to learn' and 'learning to do' principles; and especially (c) learning to live in cultural and

ethnic diversity (Canada, India, Mexico). The Dakar follow-up report showed the constraint of resources and the difficulty in attaining the 2015 objectives for many developing countries. This leaves these options 'open'.

Action strategies and perspectives

In conclusion, I would like to propose a few promising focuses for educational planning, inspired by the debates: (a) the central role of research and comparative studies, notably on the follow-up of reforms under way; (b) the priority given to the development of institutional capacities affecting the following areas: preparation and organization of consultations and communication; taking in charge of plans at the decentralized level including at the school level; organizations that represent the protagonists, notably teachers' unions, parent associations, ethnic groups, etc.; (c) the renewed emphasis, in a multicultural perspective, on the questions of skills evaluation, school mapping and information systems (as an indispensable base for planning and participation and social monitoring); and (d) questions on the implementation of educational plans - a few examples: production and distribution of textbooks and didactic materials; training scheduling and teacher management; drawing up of protocols on the division of responsibility between the state and the partner organizations.

To sum up, the seminar was a privileged occasion for formulating in new terms the questions now being asked on educational planning and for outlining a few focuses for the updating and definition of its mission.

CHAPTER 3. LEARNING TO PLAN TOGETHER: FROM DIVERSITY TO UNITY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Teboho Moja

Introduction

My contributions to the policy forum are formulated as a response to the proceedings of the last two days and are drawn from personal and professional experiences in a country in transition, South Africa. First, I would like to add to the contribution by Inglis (2003) on the changing context of diversity. Not only is the context of diversity changing but also our own understanding of the concept needs to be broadened so as to recognize the limitations of how we often define and use diversity as a concept. There is need to include other forms of subtle discrimination in our discussions such as racism, ethnicity, gender, ableism (physical, mental, cognitive and sensory disabilities), and sexual orientation. Another related issue often ignored is that of people with mixed heritage/biculturalism. For example, education programmes aimed at celebrating students' heritage have in some instances alienated students of mixed heritage who do not necessarily align themselves with one heritage. Osler's (2003) reference to the tendency to focus on mono-cultural citizenship when we talk about citizenship is another indication of that form of exclusion.

Policy development and planning in South Africa aimed at 'undoing' the apartheid model of education. The Apartheid ideology which meant 'separateness' of different races and ethnic groups

contributed to attaching a negative connotation to the concept of diversity. The concept of diversity emphasizes differences and acceptance and respect of those differences in a positive way. In the South African context, apartheid was about embracing differences in a negative way, justified through religion, and implemented through an education system designed for the white population and referred to as the Christian National Education. Diversity was used to affirm white supremacy, the notion of a chosen nation, and the inequalities of races as defined by the colour of their skins.

The new constitution aims at extending the right of participation to all South Africans. As a result the current democratic government has embarked on a nation-building process through a range of activities that would contribute to an understanding of the connection between diversity (respect for difference) and unity (common citizenship). The phrase 'Rainbow Nation' first used by Desmond Tutu, and now more commonly used, symbolizes different colours (races) in harmony with one another.

What are the implications of nation building and an extension of rights to all South Africans for education planning and implementation? The planning required in this instance is planning that would encourage the citizens to embrace respect of difference. Daswani (2003) talked about the societal perceptions of diversity that are reflected in education strategies adopted to address diversity issues. He placed the strategies on a 9-point scale ranging from a positive point such as integration/tolerance to a negative point of aggression/intolerance. Implementation of new integration policies in education in South Africa have led to behaviours that ranged from tolerance to intolerance.

South Africa has undergone a lot of transformation in education and as part of my comments I will focus on four areas that address

issues of diversity. Diversity issues have been addressed through the adoption of policies that encouraged integration of schools, a new language policy, the recent adoption of a new policy on religious education, and transformation of the curriculum.

Racial integration in education

The government adopted a policy of desegregating schools as one of the earlier transformation strategies. As a result many black students were admitted to former white schools. The process was relatively easy in terms of increasing access opportunities for students previously excluded from full participation in education but true integration became a problem. The first comprehensive national study on racism in schools was conducted five years after the new policies were implemented. A report entitled *Racism, 'racial integration' and desegregation in South African public secondary schools* was released in 1999 by the South African Human Rights Commission. The report revealed that despite the government's efforts towards racial integration in schools, white supremacist belief systems still continued to affect interracial schooling in South Africa. Racism and intolerance were largely based on stereotypes and the belief that black people were naturally and scientifically inferior to whites.

At higher education institutions the opening up of doors for black students led to cultural clashes, physical clashes and conflict on many campuses. Racial intolerance in residences resulted in some white students opting to live off campus rather than sharing residences with black students, a phenomenon often referred to as 'white flight'. One university in South Africa, the University of the Free State, opted to resolve the problem by letting students vote on residential arrangements. The outcome was that students opted to have separate residences based on racial classification. Racial tensions continue on

many campuses that were racially divided and are now becoming integrated. To change the apartheid landscape the Department of Education has opted to propose a merger of institutions and the process is unfolding.

To address the problems raised by the Human Rights Commission, the Department of Education hosted a workshop to discuss strategies to resolve the problem and the Human Rights Commission hosted a conference where it was decided that one way of addressing the problem was to set up a structure that would enable policy-makers, researchers and practitioners to share ideas and develop common strategies and interventions. A consultative forum has been set up and continues to develop strategies on how to resolve problems of racial integration in education.

Language policy

Constitutional¹ language stipulations are that all 11 South African languages are official languages, and from that stipulation it is clear that all students have the right to be taught in the language of their choice. The right to choose the language of learning and teaching is vested in the individual. This right has, however, to be exercised within the overall framework of the obligation on the education system to promote multilingualism.

The language in education policy was adopted following discussions and debate with a wide range of education stakeholders and role-players to implement constitutional provisions and to take the realities of what is possible into account. The Department of Education in implementing its language policy aims at promoting multilingualism, the development of the official languages, and

1. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

respect for all languages used in the country, including South African Sign Language and the languages referred to in the South African Constitution.

At higher education institutions the government has left it to the governing bodies to determine their own language policies that would ensure that multiculturalism is embraced. Different universities, such as the University of South Africa and the University of Witwatersrand, have been adopting new progressive language policies. The aim of the latter university's policy is to develop and preserve one African language in line with the Education Ministry's higher education language policy by requiring that students and staff learn the chosen language.

Policy on religion education

There has been an ongoing debate between the state and major religious groupings on the new policy that would address issues relating to religion and education as South Africa transitions from an education system that was based on one religion to a system that would embrace the existence of a diversity of religions in the country. The new policy was finally adopted in September 2003 and encourages schools to embrace diversity and find creative interaction between schools and faith while protecting learners from religious discrimination and coercion. It is different from policies implemented in countries which have opted to draw a sharp line between the state and religion such as the United States or countries that legislated a particular state religion like the former South African Government. Religion education in South Africa aims at striking a balance between affirmation of students' spiritual identities and students' informed appreciation of the diverse religious identities of others.

Curriculum transformation

A new curriculum, referred to as Curriculum 2005, was introduced in South African schools in 1998. A new curriculum needs to address deficiencies of the past, for example, the revised and more inclusive history of South Africa, current needs and new emerging needs. Changes in policies on language and religion, as well as racial integration policies, also have a bearing on ensuring that the curriculum continues to be transformed to address emerging needs. The result of introducing a new policy on religion requires the introduction of religion education as a new curricular programme in schools. The aim of that programme would be to teach and learn about religion and religious diversity in South Africa and the world. The same applies to the teaching of languages and the need to develop programmes that would ensure the development of appreciation of other cultures and promote multiculturalism. Issues of multiculturalism also need to be addressed through the curriculum to smooth the process of racial integration.

In concluding, I would like to mention that education reform in South Africa has been a success, but there are still challenges to be addressed. For example, integration policies have led to more equitable access to the system of education, but have not solved the problems of racial harmony within and outside schools. Students do come together at school but outside school there is not much integration amongst the students. There is ongoing debate as to whether inclusive and integrated schools should cater for the disabled within the regular school so that those students are taught in an environment that resembles the environment within which they live. Counter arguments are based on the special needs of those students given the current demands on teachers due to heavy workloads.

The proposed changes and ongoing changes in education have direct implications for education planning and implementation. Some of those are the new needs for teacher training to help them in the implementation of new policies and the need for the development of new teaching materials.

Unity and diversity are not at opposite ends but rather complement one another. The issue to be addressed by education planners is that of ensuring that education contributes to the creation of a society that embraces diversity. A question was raised during discussions as to whether education programmes designed to address diversity issues are ever assessed for their impact on society. Are those programmes effective? What is needed to make them effective? To address some of those issues requires a re-examination of the overall purpose of education. We need to rethink the missions of our education systems so as to include some of the emerging issues in a changing context. I would like to underscore the point raised by one of the participants, Carlos Malpica: that we need to be clear about the model of society we need before we decide on the kind of education our societies need.

References

Daswani, C.J. 2003 (June). *The impact of education on societies facing diversity*. Working Paper, IIEP Policy Forum on Planning for Diversity.

Inglis, C. 2003 (June). *The changing map: from nation states to multi-ethnic and multicultural societies*. Working Paper, IIEP Policy Forum on Planning for Diversity.

Osler, A. 2003 (June). *The view from below (setting the tone): migrants with mindset*. Working Paper, IIEP Policy Forum on Planning for Diversity.

CHAPTER 4. PANEL INTERVENTION

*Faiza Kefi*¹

The Institute deserves our thanks for having tabled this topic for our consideration at the very moment when UNESCO is initiating a fundamental debate on the framing of a convention obliging Member States to respect cultural diversity as a universal value that, unlike market values, is not subject to the rules of the WTO.

In so doing, IIEP shows that a process of continuous upgrading, which takes account of new or emerging trends in international thinking, and forms part of its methodological approach. There is nothing surprising about this, since the Institute is open to all cultures, and imparts to its trainees the values of respect for difference, exchange of experience and openness to new ideas in education, as well as how to integrate all of these aspects into planning.

This approach has allowed IIEP to build a truly international network of education planners who speak the same language, and are trained in the same methods, based on the same values. This network exists in my country, Tunisia. It was developed in the 1970s and has helped to establish a national, regional and local planning system that takes account of the distinctive features of the Tunisian education system.

Tunisia is indeed unique in that, on the one hand, it is the product of the intermingling of the many civilizations and cultures that have passed over its territory, and on the other, it is today a homogeneous country, both in demographic, cultural and ethnic terms, and in

1. Tunisian Ambassador to France and permanent delegate to UNESCO.

belonging to Arab Muslim culture. These civilizations and cultures have all contributed to the making of modern Tunisia, producing a country that is open to the outside world, steeped in the values of tolerance and moderation, and that welcomes contact and dialogue with other cultures as a means of enriching its own.

The purpose of educational planning in Tunisia is to implant and develop these values (openness, tolerance, moderation) in young Tunisians, while at the same time strengthening their awareness of national identity. This twofold purpose is emphasized in the law on the education system (Act 91-65 of 29 July 1991), the first article of which provides that “the purpose of the education system is to achieve, *within the framework of Tunisia’s national identity and of Arab Muslim civilization*, the following objectives”, and among these objectives we may note in particular:

To offer young people, from their earliest childhood, what they need to learn in order to *become firmly aware of their national identity*, develop a sense of civic responsibility and *the feeling of belonging to national, North African Arab, and Islamic civilization*, and become increasingly *receptive to modernity and human civilization*.

To ensure that students become proficient in at least one foreign language (in addition to Arabic, their national language) so that they have direct access to the products of general and technical thought, to both scientific theory and human values, and to prepare them to keep abreast of and contribute to change in this body of thought, so as to *enrich their national culture and ensure that it interacts with human culture as a whole*.

To offer students the right to construct their own personalities and to help them attain maturity by themselves, so that they are brought up with the *values of tolerance and moderation*.

Young Tunisians are initiated into 'openness to the outside world' and 'dialogue with other cultures and civilizations' through:

1. Learning French as their first foreign language, beginning in the second year of basic education, and beginning to learn English as a compulsory subject in the first year of secondary education, along with the opportunity to study a third foreign language as an optional subject.
2. History and geography curricula that have been renovated to offer students the possibility of thinking for themselves about the broader course of history and the rapid changes observed in the era of globalization.
3. Two principal subjects, Islamic education and civic education,² the curricula of which have been revised so as to emphasize the values that make Islam a religion of tolerance and love for others, a religion that seeks the happy medium and rejects any notion of extremism.
4. Tunisia's openness to global human culture is, moreover, a fact of daily life for Tunisians, who have access to foreign culture through the thousands of literary, film and other works imported each year, as well as the some 700 foreign magazines and newspapers available at newsstands every day.

2. Civic education programmes are designed to instil in young Tunisians, from their early childhood, republican values such as respect for freedom, basic human rights and the institutions that establish and embody the state of law and the separation of powers. Children also learn the values of solidarity, mutual assistance and tolerance that the state and society have the duty to promote, in order to guarantee in practice the right of each and every person to dignity and a decent life – key values which were incorporated into our constitution at its latest revision and which are among the main reasons for the social cohesion, political stability and economic growth that Tunisia enjoys today.

5. For Tunisia, the booming growth of the new information and communication technologies is another window on other cultures. With the widespread use and falling cost of satellite dish antennas, the satellite channels of the entire world now reach into Tunisian homes, even in the most isolated areas of the country, and for that very reason constitute a principal means of learning about and exploring other cultures and civilizations. The same is true of the Internet, which is developing at breathtaking speed in Tunisia owing, among other things, to its promotion by the government. The country has over 500,000 Internet users today, with connection rates of 100 per cent in the universities and senior secondary schools, 40 per cent in middle schools and 10 per cent in primary schools.

Educational planning in Tunisia means preparing an educational future for all young people in which considerable importance is attributed to universal human values, to the feeling of belonging to a culture of openness, moderation and respect for other civilizations, which it is our duty to study so as better to understand them. It means planning in such a way as to give all children, boys and girls alike, the chance to acquire dignity and to shape their own personalities. It means planning to give young Tunisians the ability to cope in a world of fierce competition, played out in the field of knowledge, science and technological prowess, where everything is moving at a faster pace owing to the globalization of information and the extraordinary development of communications.

In this context, Tunisian educational planners have had to develop and grow in order to incorporate all these factors into the planning process. They are obliged to adapt continually to the requirements of the education system, which itself is constantly being transformed, but is strongly attached to a few constants: the dialectic between identity and diversity, equity, gender equality.

The IIEP, therefore, has a prominent role to play in training planners for the era of globalization and developing methodological instruments to help them determine the requirements of an education system in which cultural diversity is an omnipresent and modern component.

To this end, IIEP should review its guide for educational planners, which was developed a number of years ago and served as an excellent *vade mecum* for planners the world over.

IIEP should also make its technical assistance and expertise available to the United Nations and UNESCO with the aim of bringing about our common aspiration to cultural diversity, peaceful coexistence and a culture of peace, and in so doing, of preventing and forestalling a shock of civilizations in any form.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. PROGRAMME

19 June 2003

Session one: Presentation and discussion: Opening statements

Chair: Gudmund Hernes, Director IIEP

9.00-10.00

The ‘general picture’

The changing map: from nation states to multi-ethnic and multicultural societies

Christine Inglis, Associate Professor and Director of the Multicultural Research Centre, University of Sydney, Australia

Presentation and discussion

10.00-11.00

‘For better or worse’

The impact of education on societies facing diversity

C.J. Daswani, Professor at the NCERT, New Dehli

Presentation and discussion

Session two: Panel – organizational strategies for coping with diversity: three ‘ideal’ types

Chair: Carl Lindberg, Deputy State Secretary, Sweden

11.30-12.15

1. The multicultural model: the case of Canada

Charles Ungerleider, Professor, Former Deputy Minister of Education of British Columbia University of British Columbia, Canada

12.15-13.00 **2. The multicultural model: the case of Mexico**
Sylvia Schmelkes, Professor, National Polytechnic Institute, Mexico

14.00 **An audiovisual presentation of IIEP (English)**

14.15 **An audiovisual presentation of IIEP (French)**

Chair: Juan Carlos Tedesco, Director IIEP Buenos Aires

14.30-15.15 **3. The integration model: the case of France**
Jean-Pierre Obin, General Inspector of National Education, France

15.15-16.00 **4. The parallel model: the case of Cameroon**
François-Xavier Etoa, Director of Higher Education Development, Cameroon
Presentation and discussion

Session three: Changing contexts – emerging challenges to educational planning

Chair: John Daniel, ADG Education Sector UNESCO

16.30-17.15 **The view from above (filling the screen): the dual impact of global media**
Wadi Haddad, President, Knowledge Enterprise, Inc., United States
Presentation and discussion

**17.15-18.00 The view from below (setting the tone):
migrants with mindsets**

*Audrey Osler, Professor and Director of the
Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education,
University of Leicester, United Kingdom*
Presentation and discussion

20 June 2003

Session four: Where can planners make a difference?

Chair: Françoise Caillods, Deputy Director, IIEP

**9.00-10.00 Payload and accessories: the content of
education**

Cecilia Braslavsky, Director UNESCO/IBE
Presentation and discussion

**10.00-11.00 Split tongues or lingua franca: language,
identity and achievement**

*Mamadou Ndoye, Former Minister of Education,
Senegal*
Executive Secretary, ADEA
Presentation and discussion

Chair: Trond Fevolden, Director General, Norway

**11.30-12.30 The training of teachers for cultural
diversity and social justice**

*Anne Hickling-Hudson, President, World Council
of Comparative Education Societies, Faculty of
Education, Queensland University of Technology,
Australia*
Presentation and discussion

- 14.30-15.30** Maps and blueprints: the social organization of schools
Henry Levin, Professor, University of Stanford, United States
Presentation and discussion

Session five: Conclusions: learning to plan together

Chair: Gudmund Hernes, Director, IIEP

- 16.00-17.30** **Panel discussion – synthesis**
Gudmund Hernes, Director IIEP
Hans Weiler, Professor, University of Stanford, Former IIEP Director
Jacques Hallak, Former IIEP Director and Former ADG Education
Faïza Kefi, Ambassador of Tunisia to France Tunisian Ambassador and Permanent Delegate for UNESCO
Teboho Moja, Professor of Higher Education, New York University

- 17.30-17.45** **Final remarks and conclusions**
Gudmund Hernes, Director IIEP

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Africa

Cameroon

François-Xavier Etoa
Director of Higher Education Development
Yaoundé, Cameroon

Joel Moulen
Président de la Commission nationale de l'enseignement supérieur
privé
Ministère de l'enseignement supérieur
Yaoundé, Cameroon

South Africa

Teboho Moja
Professor of Higher Education
New York University
School of Education
New York, United States

Tunisia

Faïza Kefi
Ambassadrice Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire de Tunisie en France
Déléguée permanente auprès de l'UNESCO
Paris, France

Wacef Chiha

Conseiller

Délégation permanente de la Tunisie auprès de l'UNESCO

Paris, France

Asia

India

C.J. Daswani

Executive Director

Remedia

New Dehli, India

Malaysia

Dato' Asiah bt. Abu Samah

Chairperson of IIEP Governing Board

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

America, Canada and Australia

Australia

Christine Inglis

Professor

Director, Multicultural Research Centre

Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific G12

University of Sydney

Sydney, Australia

Anne Hickling-Hudson

Professor

Queensland Technological University

Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

Canada

Charles Ungerleider
Professor, Sociology of Education
Department of Educational Studies
University of British Columbia
Vancouver
British Columbia, Canada

United States

Wadi Haddad
President
Knowledge Enterprise, Inc.
Virginia, United States

Henry Levin
Professor of Economics and Education
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, United States

Hans N. Weiler
Professor
Stanford University
California, United States

Latin America

Peru

Carlos Malpica
Coordinator
Presidential Commission for Education
Lima, Peru

Mexico

Sylvia Schmelkes
General Coordinator for Intercultural Bilingual Education
Secretaría de Educación Pública
Deleg. Alvaro Obregon
Mexico D.F.

Europe

Denmark

Uffe Toudal Pedersen
Director-General
Education Authority
Danish Ministry of Education
Copenhagen, Denmark

Estonia

Peep Ratas
Secretary General
Ministry of Education and Research
Tartu, Estonia

Finland

Simo Juva
Education Specialist
Permanent Delegation of Finland to the OECD
Paris, France

Tuomas Takala
Professor
University of Tampere
Department of Education
Tampere, Finland

France

Marie-José de Fornel
Chargée de Mission
DRIC-B3
Ministère de l'éducation
Paris, France

Jacques Hallak
Former Director, IIEP
Paris, France

Philippe Méhaut
Deputy Director
Centre d'études et de recherches sur les qualifications (Céreq)
Marseille, France

Jean-Pierre Obin
Inspecteur de l'Éducation nationale
Ministère de l'Éducation nationale
Paris, France

Germany

Klaus Hufner
Professor
Berlin, Germany

Hungary

Voldemar Tomusk
Programme Manager
Higher Education Support Programme
Open Society Institute
Budapest, Hungary

Norway

Trond Fevolden
Director General
Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs
Oslo, Norway

Sweden

Carl Lindberg
Deputy State Secretary
Swedish Ministry of Education and Science
Stockholm, Sweden

United Kingdom

Audrey Osler
Director
Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education
The University of Leicester
School of Education
Leicester, United Kingdom

UNESCO, Paris

John Daniel
Assistant Director-General
Education Sector
UNESCO
Paris, France

Linda King
Chief A.I.
Education Sector for Universal Values
UNESCO
Paris, France

UNESCO/IBE

Cecilia Braslavsky
Director
International Bureau of Education
UNESCO
Geneva, Switzerland

UNESCO/IIEP

Gudmund Hernes
Director

Françoise Caillods
Deputy Director

Khalil Mahshi
Programme Specialist

Michaela Martin
Programme Specialist

Ken Ross

Senior Programme Specialist

Chris Talbot

Programme Specialist

Estelle Zadra

Assistant Programme Specialist

Florence Appéré

Assistant

Christine Edwards

Assistant

UNESCO/IIEP Buenos Aires

Juan-Carlos Tedesco

Director

Buenos Aires, Argentina

ADEA

Mamadou Ndoye

Executive Secretary

ADEA

Paris, France

IIEP publications and documents

More than 1,200 titles on all aspects of educational planning have been published by the International Institute for Educational Planning. A comprehensive catalogue is available in the following subject categories:

Educational planning and global issues

General studies - global/developmental issues

Administration and management of education

Decentralization - participation - distance education - school mapping - teachers

Economics of education

Costs and financing - employment - international co-operation

Quality of education

Evaluation - innovation - supervision

Different levels of formal education

Primary to higher education

Alternative strategies for education

Lifelong education - non-formal education - disadvantaged groups - gender education

Copies of the Catalogue may be obtained on request from:
IIEP, Communication and Publications Unit
information@iiep.unesco.org

Titles of new publications and abstracts may be consulted
at the following web site: www.unesco.org/iiep

The International Institute for Educational Planning

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) is an international centre for advanced training and research in the field of educational planning. It was established by UNESCO in 1963 and is financed by UNESCO and by voluntary contributions from Member States. In recent years the following Member States have provided voluntary contributions to the Institute: Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, India, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

The Institute's aim is to contribute to the development of education throughout the world, by expanding both knowledge and the supply of competent professionals in the field of educational planning. In this endeavour the Institute co-operates with interested training and research organizations in Member States. The Governing Board of the IIEP, which approves the Institute's programme and budget, consists of a maximum of eight elected members and four members designated by the United Nations Organization and certain of its specialized agencies and institutes.

Chairperson:

Dato'Asiah bt. Abu Samah (Malaysia)

Director, Lang Education, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Designated Members:

Carlos Fortín

Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Geneva, Switzerland.

Thelma Kay

Chief, Emerging Social Issues Division, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), Bangkok, Thailand

Jean Louis Sarbib

Senior Vice-President, Human Development, World Bank, Washington DC, USA.

Ester Zulberti

Chief, Research, Extension and Training Division, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Rome, Italy.

Elected Members:

José Joaquín Brunner (Chile)

Director, Education Programme, Fundación Chile, Santiago, Chile.

Zeineb Faïza Kefi (Tunisia)

Philippe Mehaut (France)

LEST-CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, France.

Teboho Moja (South Africa)

Professor of Higher Education, New York University, New York, USA.

Teiichi Sato (Japan)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and Permanent Delegate of Japan to UNESCO.

Tuomas Takala (Finland)

Professor, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland.

Raymond E. Wanner (USA)

Senior Adviser on UNESCO Issues to the Senior Vice-President for Programs, The United Nations Foundation, Washington, DC, USA.

Inquiries about the Institute should be addressed to:

The Office of the Director, International Institute for Educational Planning,
7-9 rue Eugène Delacroix, 75116 Paris, France.