


Appendix I

Arguments Underpinning Intercultural Education

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Introduction

This article describes the international legal context, draws out the implications for any state of that international context and outlines the broad political, economic social and educational responses and developments required for a state to implement the international legal context in its territory.

International Legal Context

There are various conventions, Declarations and Recommendations which are relevant to the implementation of intercultural educational measures.

The post-World War II period and the growth of the United Nation system provides the fundamental international standard-setting instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) is one of the earliest instruments even though it is non-binding it is essential to the concept of intercultural education. It stipulates that “education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality” and would promote tolerance, understanding and friendship among nations, racial and religious groups (Article 26, para 2)

These two principles have been the basis of subsequent instruments on education and reproduced in the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the UNESCO recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974)

These principles are also elaborated in many instruments such as:

The International Convention on the elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (1965)

The Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989)

Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief (1981)

Treaties, Conventions and Covenants are part of the landscape of international legal framework. They are binding for the contracting parties and produce legal obligations. In addition to the two basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which state that education plays a role in the full development of an individual and the promotion of understanding and peace, they also establish other concepts which are relevant to intercultural education. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights (1966) stresses in Article 13 that education enables individuals to participate in a free society. The Convention on Technical and Vocational Education (1989) stresses in Article 3 that technical vocational education should take cognisance of the educational, cultural and social background of the population with regard to their vocational aspirations. In planning to compete in the globalised economic market a society's diversity can be an asset if the different cultural and social backgrounds can be used to harness the human resource of a largely young population.

Such human potential and resource can be largely enhanced if educational and vocational education provision takes seriously the provision in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) Article 29, to take cultural identity, language and values of a child as part of their educational experience.

There are also Recommendations and Declarations which are non-binding in character but are relevant for issues of intercultural education. The UNESCO Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding and Co-operation and Peace and Education for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974) stresses the importance of the study of different cultures (Article 17), a respect for all peoples, their cultures, values and civilizations; skills which include the linguistic diversity which can enhance abilities to communicate and the global perspective in education (Article 4)

The same principle is present in the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (1978) and stresses the necessity to combat racism (article 5.2).

The UNESCO recommendation on Development of Adult Education (1976) has several provisions relevant to the concept of intercultural education. It may be particularly relevant that education of adults helps create an understanding and respect for the diversity of customs and cultures (paragraph II 2) The provision of an active role to a learner so that the vehicle of a culture can enable an adult to be both a learner and a teacher (paragraph II 3) There is also the need to meet the educational needs of internally displaced persons (IDPs) so that they can successfully re-establish, adapt and contribute to life after their return.

The Declaration on Rights of Persons belonging to National and Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic minorities (1992) also provides details of the content of education in situations where there are many communities. Thus the state encourages the knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of all the communities within their territory. Likewise all the communities should gain knowledge of society as a whole (Article 4, paragraph 4) This again involves the necessity for intercultural education among a state population.

However, it is important to stress here that issues of equality of educational provision does not mean the sacrifice of quality of education and training. This issue is addressed by the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) in Article 5.

The above international instruments are relevant to any state structure the provision for intercultural education.

Human Rights are fundamental

This is necessitated by the presence of diversity of groups who need to get along with each other, live in peace and amity to enable a healthy, stable and prosperous society to emerge.

The Political context of intercultural education

The basic assumption of this section of the paper is that education on its own cannot solve all societal problems. Multi-dimensional action is needed to solve ethnic conflicts - political action and economic measures are fundamental to the resolution of such conflicts. What is being suggested here is not the politicisation of education, but the recognition of the broader political context in which education takes place.

The political context of where and how societal inclusions or exclusions in a country is important. Education as a process does not take place in absence of the political system and the decisions taken within it. This has become an all the more critical issue because even in the twenty first century many of the gains of the modern state in the nineteenth century are being reversed: the abolition of slavery and serfdom, the establishment of democracies and the enfranchisement of people, and the establishment of the laws, rules, regulations and constitutional frameworks which guarantee people's human rights. How, one might ask, have these hard won rights and developments been over-ridden by the recent rise of narrow ethnicism and nationalism in many states. In many parts of the world also, seemingly normal national political forces have unleashed violence at various levels neighbourhoods, communities, localities, regions and nations. Civilised and educated polities have turned into jungles. The rise of ethnicised violence in its wake raises a question about why such violence has arisen from within what were considered stable national, educated and civilised states? Conflict and violence in the past few decades has not been between states, but within nation states and herein lies a much more urgent challenge and a delicate task for all citizens and governmental systems within these states. Education systems have a role in inhibiting or exacerbating inter-ethnic conflict within a state.

The loss of capacity by a political state to cope because groups or populations have become superfluous to its needs, or to provide for them, has led to extreme situations. While state systems have tended to impose controls, populations, have either resisted, migrated or been reduced to refugees through civil strife and/or economic reasons. Hence, all sections of young people, especially during this period of globalisation whether wealthy or poor are subject to uncertainty and change. For different reasons young people can act in irrational, erratic and violent ways. There are numerous

examples of wealthy communities and young people being involved for instance in ethnic or football violence. As Hans Enzensberger writes about young people in Western Europe: Youth is the vanguard of civil war. The reasons for this lie not only in the normal pent-up physical and emotional energies of adolescence, but in the incomprehensible legacy young people inherit: the irreconcilable problem of wealth that brings no joy. But everything they get up to has its origins, albeit in latent form, in their parents, a destructive mania that dares not express itself in socially tolerated forms - an obsession with cars, with work and with gluttony, alcoholism, greed, litigiousness, racism and violence at home. If this is the situation in richer communities then the problems in poorer communities where there is despondency and despair, can lead to even greater problems for governmental systems and the educational process to develop hope rather than resistance.

The danger needs to be pointed out here. The ability of a civil authority to govern, and to adequately educate the communities -adults, parents and young people – helps to avoid conflict situations.

At one level the education systems have failed to develop critical faculties as well as analytical powers which can assist the slide into ethnic strife and chaos. Nations use symbols legitimated by education systems of their invented identities which construct 'us' and 'them', 'belongers' and 'strangers'. In any state the education system has a major challenge to play a role in exacerbating or resolving these dilemmas.

The greatest paradox is that national authorities can continue with impunity to violate their own citizens and international interventions in them do little to stop these violations.

Action to alleviate problems of ethnic conflict can be initiated at supra-national, national, regional and local levels. These should all be used by the affected society to stabilise the issues in relation to the ethnic tensions and conflicts.

Definitions and Terminology

The notion of analysing multicultural democratic societies also requires a critical academic engagement. At one level a question can be raised whether societies have become multicultural or if they have historically been multicultural. Historical facts are subject to distortion whether by dominant nationality, or by racial, linguistic or religious dominance. Teaching history as a 'story' has various pitfalls and one way of ensuring that young people acquire a critical understanding of the past is to allow them skills to interpret, analyse historical evidence, narratives or documents. At this level there is a need for an intervention of historians and social scientists to provide a taxonomy of what constitutes a multicultural society. If societies are considered to have become multicultural because of the presence of 'the other' then parliamentarians and policy-makers confront a totally different set of questions and issues than if societies are seen as historically diverse or multicultural. A state needs to avoid the situation in other contexts so that as "borders go down, walls go up" A contemporary discourse has become structured by creating a relationship between crime, drugs, and terrorism, - and the returnees (IDPs) may be seen in this context. Settlement processes involve the structuring of viable legitimate means of earning a livelihood otherwise the perceptions of a chain of equivalence

can not become a reality. If social diversity and migration are subjected to historical analysis then returnees (IDP's) can be seen as merely highlighting what are the underlying and existing features of diversities based on linguistic, religious, territorial and social class diversity. Hence, terms like 'ethnic' 'national minorities' or 'ethnic majorities' necessitate further analysis. Who defines these groups? How are these terms used and by whom? Social diversity is complex and its recognition ought not to start and end with immigrant groups and refugees, normally referred to as 'ethnic groups' especially as dominant groups are seldom recognised as having an 'ethnicity' or ethnic identity. A historical and contemporaneous analytical framework may make it less likely that such issues can be marginalised in a society.

There is however another complexity. Even if a society can be seen as being multicultural, would the state consider itself as being multicultural or socially diverse and what actions might this necessitate at the level of national governments to formulate inclusive (not assimilation) policies? Part of the solution might lie in creating a fair, just, but integrated set of services, including the police services which can protect and safeguard all communities.

The terminological issues also revolve around the nature of the polity, which may have 'ethnic' features as well as constructions based on modern constitutions. The latter should ensure equality, liberty and fraternity in legal terms and relate to questions of citizenship.

Young people need to learn that the polity and a society are complex entities and do not and are not subject to singular or simplistic readings. The failure of many schools to do this is a major cause of ethnically-based exclusions and violence.

Public Policies

Exclusions in socially and culturally diverse societies and nations can in turn breed mentalities of exclusivity. These have led to ethnic conflicts in many areas like parts of South East Europe. All states therefore, ought to safeguard citizenship rights of all groups to ensure not only an equitable resolution of conflicts but to establish prophylactic public and social policies which strengthen democratic ideas. Such public policies ought to bridge ethnic, religious, linguistic and racial differences and negate the rise of narrow nationalism and xenophobia. In the new millennium, civil and political rights need to be validated in all culturally diverse environments to ensure that the civil state is strengthened. In the socially diverse local and national contexts the increased tensions can lead to tribalisation and fragmentation of communities particularly if particular groups are not re-skilled for new jobs. This as Castell has written would lead to the "globalisation of power flows and the tribalisation of local communities".

The limited notions of ideas of a capitalist market require further discussion in terms of social democracies to minimise inequalities and the growth of a large underclass, in society. The development of intercultural public and social policies ought to ensure that no group loses jobs due to the rapid technological changes in society and the rising levels of de-skilling and unemployment which have accompanied these changes. The clear and present danger of certain groups of communities

being made increasingly vulnerable is exceedingly high. The rise of inter-group tensions in this context is likely to be very serious for the whole polity. Integrative policies can obviate a focus on the issue of territorially-based separatism.

Intercultural democratic processes are far from being actualised in most polities. There are a number of problematic and unresolved issues about ensuring equity and quality in most social democracies for all citizens. Provision of equal access, equal opportunity and equality of outcomes is still not an actualised feature of some European societies. The harshness and inequalities in the market economy are more manifest than equality and quality of social and educational provision. These features can acquire even greater force in an emergent and democratic state.

It is also important that in a new state democracy all groups have a “voice” because without a powerfully secular and inclusive demos the reverting back to narrow identities and fragmentation of the polity becomes a more real issue. Education systems have generally so far, not been effective in providing this ‘voice’ to young people and marginalised communities from which they come.

Belongingness

The other issue which should be raised is that of belongingness of all groups in society. This however does present problems because the dominant nationality can construe this society as “theirs” and as encroached upon by “others” who are not seen to belong. There are obviously specificities of different localities, communities, families and groups which provide a different colour, texture and hue to different parts of a state. There are also differences of local politics, economies, histories as well as how these intersect and interact with other local, regional, national, European and global contexts which constitute differences in different areas.

The sharing of spaces by the “dominant” and the “subordinate”, the “minority” and “the majority”, the rich and poor comes together in polities so as to make the functioning of a modern democratic state more complex. This complexity includes the way in which material and social goods are produced and distributed. This production includes: political, economic, literary, cultural as well as the media output. The ‘other’ is no longer out there, but here, and as Chambers’ states: there is an intersection of “histories, memories and experiences”. It is important to develop an agenda for public and social policy and to create spaces where the complexity of the state can be negotiated, both in rural areas and cities. Such an analysis should be inclusive of all groups who live in them. In establishing such a context past and current exclusions would be put right. This, therefore, makes it possible to initiate a dialogue between the various groups. The possibility of interaction and intersection of the histories, the cultures and languages enables the construction of a more realistic understanding of the past and better inform what may be their present, which may in turn have implications for constructing a less biased and a more meaningful future. For instance, the teaching of history can and should include the contributions that all groups and nationalities have made to the states, culture and civilisation. This can include issues of antipathy, conflicts or co-operation.

Communities which constitute populations in many societies are not only situated within their localities but have other identities both at national and supra-national levels, for instance through the displacement and diaspora which lends an enormous range of heterogeneity to the society and its life. The complexity of all this defies a simplistic definition by either a dominant or a subordinate culture.

State like societies as such embody notions of belongingness as well as of alienation. They have both features of a universalistic nature as well as particularisms and local differences. Yet, non-confederal localisms can become parochial, racist, insular, stagnant and authoritarian. There are thick and textured layers of political, social and economic contexts which intersect with histories. These states, therefore provide possibilities and prospects of a stable future, and yet, can render the lives of minority communities lonely and confining. The confederal nature of groups and communities requires that integrative thinking and structures should link individual groups and localities. The challenge for the political and educational system is to develop a shared and common value system, in which inclusive rights and responsibilities will be developed as an outcome of the work of schools, social and political institutions.

The challenges which are posed to parliamentarians at local, regional and national levels are of critical importance in addressing these questions, success in which would ensure the citizenship rights of all groups. Such a political initiative needs to establish broadly-based educational policies, measures, strategies, actions and institutional changes. Without the development of these strategies and analysis of the negative aspects of education systems which do not de-limit ethnic conflicts these issues would continue to simmer. If positive policies and actions to counter ethnic conflicts and genuinely promote them are present, the development of good intercultural understandings and relations in the society would be hastened.

There is an urgent need for the formation of a network of institutions and structures to initiate further work: development of Internet based and other informational networks, disseminating findings, and establishing educational and political strategies for different contexts. The International Association for Intercultural Education and their journal "Intercultural Education" can provide educational institutions in with a network of educators working on these issues in other countries.

Political and Citizenship Education and Human Nature

Politically under-educated or ill-educated members of societies are dangerous because they can misrepresent the complexity of humanity and opt for simplistic solutions based on populist politics which encourage authoritarian and undemocratic solutions to complex societal issues. Therefore, political and citizenship education is necessary to promote intercultural learning. The skills, knowledge and understandings of the political nature of societies are very little understood, by large numbers of people. The purpose of this type of education is not to be political propaganda or to be politically partisan or party political but to enhance an understanding of the complexity of the polities in which we live.

The rationale for not engaging in political education is that ordinary people are not capable of understanding issues and are susceptible to propaganda. Leaders, elites and politicians sometimes suggest that because human nature is largely negative it is better not to inculcate interest in political issues amongst the masses.

The assumptions being made in this paper are twofold. Firstly, that political awareness, knowledge and understanding is necessary for all people to grasp the inherent complexity of society and their rights and responsibilities within it. Secondly, the assumptions about the negativeness of human nature also require scrutiny and comment. Intractable views held by different groups about themselves and 'the others' and their relationships with them are problematic. Hence the importance of exploring Civic Education in the National Curriculum and the processes through which it is communicated.

One issue is that if human nature is considered to be negative then selfishness, conflict and violence are deeply embedded in human consciousness and educational and other socialising influences have no role to play in changing patterns of behaviours and social relations. It was commonly argued that human nature is basically selfish and to expect human beings to be social is an uphill task and that the problem of conflict and violence on ethnic lines is evidence of this.

The contention of this paper is that there is insufficient evidence to suggest that 'human nature' has been extensively investigated or that definitive statements about human nature can be made. Previous political structures and socialization processes may have been responsible for the perceptions about human nature being negative. It is therefore necessary to suggest that in the absence of firm evidence that no firm views about human nature can be made. In other words, human nature may be seen to be neither good nor bad, and human capacity to be social or selfish is an open issue, and capacity and potential for both exists amongst people. Human nature as such may neither be Hobbesian nor Rousseauesque but have the potential, the proclivity and the capacity to be both.

Individuals may hold not only selfish but also social instincts, and nature and nurture can result in social contracts based on equality at individual and group terms. This, however, is not a simple matter because minds are not tabula rasa (empty) and the separate stories of inter-group violence are deeply ingrained in the psyches of all groups. They encode both personal and larger historical legacies which make the issue of equitable socialisation very complex.

The role of political and citizenship education is to enable the establishment of a healthier balance between the selfish and the social, the personal and the public, conflict and peace, by accepting the sanctity and autonomy of the learner. The development of such autonomous learners would enable them to negotiate some of the complexities of societies. The education system with an appropriate citizenship and political education syllabus would enable the emergence of thinking citizens who would be less likely to seek solutions to conflicts through violence. The education of the young also ought to involve the unpacking of the underpinnings of evil in society. However, this is also a broader task of public and social policy and requires an inter-agency approach. This complex approach is necessary because, in as much as truth and veracity are inherently human values, so are lying and deception.

Broader social and public policy measures are necessary to deny the root to evil, lying and deception, and such policies include the curbing of cruel treatment of children.

In educational terms, there is much evidence across the world to show that children's ill treatment and violence against them leads to a lowering of their academic performance, higher levels of truancy, and a drift into criminal and violent behaviour.

The differences between boys and girls and men and women ought to receive the consideration of educators by encouraging higher levels of education of girls. The role of the women's movement in Northern Ireland to develop coalition politics can provide a very important example for developing similar solutions elsewhere. This would optimize not only the life chances of girls and women, but also allow them to contribute fully as a human resource to society. Girls and women can also play a powerful role in establishing mutual and intercultural understandings.

Such general educational and political educational issues raise problems about the levels of academic autonomy which will be allowed by a state to its education system. If it is insecure it will tend to directly control the education system for narrow nationalistic purposes. Regional and international organisations have been playing an important role in ensuring that they can contribute to curbing these tendencies, and that a state is held responsible for the international instruments to which it is a signatory. These have been referred to earlier in this paper.

The particular state education system also has a responsibility to determine the ways and directions in which technology will be developed and used. If technology is rationalised and institutionalised to perpetuate violence; then technology will reinforce the inherent forces of violence and conflict in society. This need not be the case. The role of education and public policies to channel technological developments into peaceful and positive directions is essential to obviating conflict and violence. This is more necessary in some states than in others especially if the global media is to be used positively rather than being used as a vehicle for cheap commercialism and the development of a mindless consumer culture.

Racism, Xenophobia and Education

The need for intercultural education is made powerful at the present time because many education systems have failed to deal with the issues of societal diversity. Even when they have undertaken to do something they have often misconstrued these issues. In this section of the paper a brief interpretation in some of the western countries of what has been called interchangeably as 'multicultural education', 'multi-ethnic education' and 'multiracial education' are discussed. In the 1980 the discourse among educationalists was also fragmented along the lines of those who advocated 'multicultural' policies and those who called themselves 'anti-racist'. While some educationalists maintain that the issue of 'race' tends to be blurred by the term multiculturalism, others hold that it is not a relevant category. This paper assumes that racism and xenophobia are important variables in many societies, and that there is sufficient evidence of the pervasiveness of xenophobia and racism, and that the term 'multicultural' is better used as a descriptive term.

In the context of a multicultural society this necessitates not only a definition of the taxonomic elements of the society but also the nature of the complex set challenges these present for devising social and public policies in the state. There is a need to work out short, medium and long term strategies of how separate levels of institutions for the majority and the minority groups on racial, linguistic or religious grounds may lead to desirable levels of integrative processes to be set in motion – without in any way threatening the group identities of particular communities through either ill thought out policies or practices.

In many societal contexts, while dominant groups might support assimilation, those from minority communities typically favour the cause of autonomy and diversity. This perspective on the part of the latter, allows for the affirmation of values which are other than majority-centric. One justification for this perspective in many other contexts is that the minority communities are often bicultural and bilingual and possess traits of the dominant groups as well as a culture distinctive to themselves. A school which accepts diversity on inter-group terms, presupposes that pupils, parents and teachers have an equal status based on equal power. However, this is not always the case because in institutional and structural terms the dominant groups do not willingly allow power to slip from their hands. Schools, which for reasons of different social class or different languages, confront complex pedagogic issues. This may be more true of schools controlled by local communities or by religious groups. The issues are complicated because different agencies at the national level may through the examination systems, legitimize different kinds of knowledge. Many of these communities may also not have access to political power to be independent of another group. Such separate schools therefore do not necessarily further intercultural understandings or relations between students, teachers, and the local communities located around these neighbourhoods. A major theory of cultural pluralism views integration as racial assimilation, i.e. the socialisation of minority children with children from the dominant or majority community. If and when some elements of majority or minority communities accept this postulation, they might do so on the grounds that if their culture resembles that of the dominant group they may become more acceptable. Conversely such groups may fear that failure to accept the dominant value system would leave them open to oppression and persecution in the future. It involves no changes in the social structure and the content of education, nor does it reflect the presence of diverse cultural groupings. A major proportion of minority communities consequently rejects this form of assimilation or integration.

While the dominant group might support assimilation, those from racial minority communities typically favour the cause of diversity. This perspective on the part of the latter, allows for the affirmation of values which are other than those that conform to dominant norms or values which are only centred around dominant groups. One justification for this perspective amongst minorities and long-settled immigrants might be that they are often bicultural and bilingual and possess traits of the dominant group as well as a culture distinctive to themselves. A school which accepts diversity in racial terms presupposes that pupils, parents and teachers have equal status based on equal power. However, this is not always the case in schools, because in institutional and structural terms the dominant group does not allow power to slip from its hands. Separate schools as such do not necessarily further

intercultural understandings or links between students, teachers, school communities or the communities in neighbouring areas.

Deprivation and Disadvantage Models

The reality of social classes means the existence of assimilation on a class basis and raises issues for those who are poor or 'disadvantaged'. In many social contexts those who are from the lower social classes are considered to be 'culturally deprived' or 'culturally disadvantaged'. The conservatives in this debate tended to argue that inferiority was based on genetic factors. The liberals in the debate tend to stress that the disadvantage is really a result of the past discrimination based on sex, race, class and ethnic or territorial grounds which has resulted in the existence of a disadvantaged section of the community. A combination of these forms of discrimination, so runs the argument, may contribute to family breakdown, which may have led to the inadequate socialization of individuals, accumulated intellectual deficit and a resistance to schooling. Educational researchers and teacher-training courses have used such theories to explain poor performances of students in schools: such explanations have formed the basis of various remedial or compensatory school programmes like the Head Start in the U.S.A. What are the lessons from these?

Psychological Deficit

This issue also raises a further complication so that psychological difference can become construed as psychological deficit. In the United States, Jensen wrote an article from the University of California in 1969. He argued that intelligence was largely (about eighty per cent) determined by genetics and that differences in IQ reflected genetic differences. In this argument he reversed the postwar psychological theory in addressing the problem of compensatory education. He asserted that since intelligence was largely determined by genetics, the efforts to raise the intelligence of people with low IQ scores by compensatory education programmes were bound to fail. Intelligence, as such, was not defined except by reference to intelligence tests.

Education systems need to critically evaluate the negative aspects of the racially-based psychological theories and testing which may inhibit educational outcomes of many students by focusing on the negative aspects of single-factor analysis.

Jensen focused on the racial differences in IQ scores and gave a genetic explanation: that blacks on average do not possess the same innate intellectual qualities as the whites. Such American research was swiftly supported by Eysenck, who till his recent death, was an influential member of the Institute of Psychiatry in London. The arguments found favour with right-wing politicians and those who favoured cuts in educational budgets. This was illustrated by the Black Papers episode in Britain, which brought together practising teachers under the same umbrella. Their conservative stance under the guise of demanding higher standards resulted in a negative appraisal of the liberal curriculum content and urged the withdrawal of financial support.

The whole position is however, suspect, because any psychological analysis which deals with individual differences and ignores ideology as a problem does not provide a fair analysis but compounds issues of disadvantage. Criticisms of Jensen and Eysenck were also made because of the data on which they based their hypothesis. It has been shown that the data of Sir Cyril Burt, on which both Jensen and Eysenck relied had actually been fabricated. Sir Peter Medawar, a biologist and Nobel Prize winner has suggested that 'intelligence' cannot be summarized by a single IQ score. He stated that human capabilities and potentialities are far too diverse for this type of simplification.

The important issue to remember is that Jensen's and Eysenck's work has been picked up without using the details of their arguments. Fascist groups saw these two psychologists as vindicating their racist ideologies. Eysenck's books form part of the reading list of fascist groups like the National Front in Britain and have been widely used in the training of psychologists in many countries. This research has received further impetus from the work done by Murray and Herrnstein which advances these arguments with even greater force.

In fact, the hypothesis of IQ test scores needs to be rejected, as does the so-called rigorous testing and measurements which support this thesis. The groups who are labelled because of the genetic inferiority thesis face disaster in educational and social terms.

As Kamin has argued, the research involving IQ testing is inherently political:

"With respect to IQ testing, psychology long ago surrendered its political virginity. The interpretation of IQ data has always taken place, as it must, in a social and political context, and the validity of the data cannot be fully assessed without reference to the context."

Academics have to critically analyse these theories and after critical reflection reject them since they revive race-science in a milieu which is susceptible to fascist ideology. Psychologists in this sphere are neither detached nor can they claim to seek dispassionate truth because psychologists in the Eysenck/Jensen mould are involved in creating a culture of racism.

The educational implications of such analysis have involved the worsening of ethnic relations with groups because they seem to justify the way poorer groups continue to be marginalised in education systems.

The Social Deficit

The social dimensions of the deficit debate have even wider implications than the individual-oriented psychological theories. It can be postulated that both the liberal and conservative positions in this issue are incorrect and that people are disadvantaged because of present forms of racism, present forms of structural inequalities and present barriers to choice. While older forms of inequality might be removed, new forms of inequality are continually being instituted. Until institutional forms of inequality are removed, the education of those who are considered disadvantaged in many contexts will not improve. Potential for inter-ethnic conflict and demands for separate institutions would therefore continue to persist.

Within other disciplines the anthropological and sociological models of 'cultural deprivation' and the 'poverty of culture' have taken as their evidence the low-level social organizations of minority communities, and an intellectual and cultural resistance to the norms of the dominant group. This emphasis on client behaviour and the need for its modification for entry to middle-class culture is similarly not valid, because basic or causal issues such as elimination of poverty itself are not tackled.

One version of these approaches is that of the environmental deficit model. This stated that lower-class children failed in schools because of lack of literacy and social skills, where the family provided no intellectual or social stimulation. Restricted language codes, lack of books at home, and non-intellectual life-styles had supposedly contributed to stimulus deprivation. It was alleged that in terms of performance at school this led to an inability to delay gratification and sustain attention, resulting in the failure to develop perceptual discrimination skills.

Aspects of special education (including units for 'disruptive children') and remedial education serve to replicate existing racial and class differences and ensure that the above groups have unequal schooling with no paper qualifications to improve their economic status.

In some contexts psychology as a profession has also contributed to this debate by formulating the issue as one of inadequate socialization. Disruptive family patterns, single-parent families and the lack of adequate adult models are held responsible for the supposedly interrupted social growth.

The marketisation of education has further polarised minority groups and the poorer sections of the dominant groups whose educational chances have not improved in many capitalist economies.

The Eugenic Issue

The role of deficit, disadvantage and psychological deficits have their apparently scientific basis in the doctrines of eugenics articulated by Francis Galton which received impetus from authors like Comte de Gobineau. These ideas have survived and been revived for over a century and in educational terms provide a voice which counters the anti-racist statements and work of UNESCO. These eugenicist views were powerfully countered by scientists like the late Stephen Gould.

Groups like the Roma in many European countries have suffered from racist eugenic science. As Marek Kohin states, travellers in western Europe certainly suffer discrimination but nothing like the scale experienced by Roma in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe. The problem for minorities is compounded because many are consigned to special schools by labelling them incorrectly as disabled, using the science of defectology.

The educational implications of such discrimination are compounded by assuming the linearity and singularity of intelligence. In fact, totally different conclusions can be drawn by focussing on multiple intelligences which are favoured by Stephen Gould and used by Howard Gardner in devising complex educational programmes. Focus on both the rational and emotional aspects of education need to be considered.

Different Approaches

The negative psychological focus on notions of the person and the eugenic continue to deflect attention away from the larger social system as a determinant of social inequality. In other words, the concentration is on individuals and families in powerless positions which do not address issue of powerlessness itself. Because of this, cause and effect are not clearly demarcated. It can be argued that in the pursuit of “equal” opportunities for education through compensatory and remedial programmes, the more we do, the worse the students get! This only compounds and further entrenches the powerless of subordinate groups.

For instance, one could argue that the various deficit theorists on whose theories, educational policies have been based, have deflected their analysis from the real issues and, as a result, resources have been misdirected. Rather than schooling a population to accept a lower status in social terms, the real issue is how to educate a society that no longer requires a disadvantaged class of people, especially if the economy is to compete in the global and competitive market. The structures of the school and the institutional practices should minimise some of the inequalities between different groups of children. The curriculum could be used to analyse the reasons for disadvantage and offer proposals to redress the present forms of inequality. In some cases the schools have a measure of autonomy which would allow educators who recognise diversity to alter the curriculum. On the critical issue of racism in education, it is important to look at it in terms of dynamics between dominant and subordinate groups, and racism as such would then be seen to be a problem for the different groups, at different moments in time and in different societal contexts. Obviously educators as well as teachers in society have to expect conflict in these heterogeneous contexts. Teachers have to expect that racist feelings are derived out of direct experiences; for example, the limited opportunities for employment result in stress in areas which are already under pressure. Similarly, housing problems and cultural or racial conflict as a result of geographical proximity in the inner city worsen opportunities and prospects of education. This in fact means the acknowledgement of class diversity in a society without a unified value system, and the affirmation of the values of the local communities and their cultures.

Schools are not very good at validating the cultures of the oppressed and subordinated groups, even from the poorer elements of the dominant groups. The implicit denigration of these cultures leads to reactions by children which may be irrational, exclusive and violent. How can schools avoid these situations since they are inimical to good education? The education of young women in many communities may be better than boys, yet because of poverty in these communities they may still end up doing low paid jobs and be consigned to a life of prostitution.

Social tensions between those men from subordinate groups, and those from poorer groups, among dominant communities leads to communities living in fear. Only holistic solutions to correct these imbalances and inequalities can change the situation in these disunited poor Albanian, Serb and other minority communities.

The Community and the School

In many contexts of the school and community links have been undermined much to the detriment of the weak, the marginalised and isolated families, particularly if they or their children are traumatised. The dominant groups in many contexts argue that individual behaviours, and personal values are part of the problem and that severe law and order policies are required to deal with these problems. A more appropriate argument is that many current problems arise from multiply disadvantaged communities and that these need sound social policy initiatives and not only policing. If anything, impoverished communities themselves need protection against crime: communities are caught by the twin dangers of poverty and violent crime. Governments cannot ignore effective programmes for urban and rural areas and let the raised expectations remain unfulfilled and dominant values ignore sub-cultural and oppositional groups. These are places where the poorest and the most disadvantaged gain a sense of belonging by bullying and victimising those below them. This raises serious issues of community safety and security.

Community participation in urban and rural areas is part and parcel of community involvement in schools. Impoverished communities face multi-faceted problems which require a multi-agency approach to deal with their regeneration. However, measures need to be targeted to ensure desired educational outcomes.

The School and its Community

Moving from these larger societal issues to the focus on the school and 'the community', there is a certain problem in usage of the term 'ethnic minorities'. Those who use it assume that these groups have some cohesive and consistent characteristics. Yet, schools need to make policies which engage all parents, in fact - whole communities in which schools are located, and this can include the education of adults along with the children.

There should be a consistency about parental and community involvement across cultural lines which needs to be soundly based within the community. At one level issues were highlighted by the violence perpetrated by young males in poor rural and urban areas. But we need to ask, what are the dynamics of girls increasingly participating in gangs and taking part in bullying and violence?

Schools should develop a common strategy to link schools and communities. This is particularly the case because peer group culture based on exclusivity is not healthy. If adolescents are marked off as a separate group, the influence of adults on the behaviours of the younger generations is reduced. The youth are vulnerable to the negative aspects of globalization: for instance, autonomous youth cultures which become increasingly addicted to mindless consumerism, the video and computer games which detract from learning cultures, and the international music cultures which bear no relevance to the realities of life in a particular society. While this issue raises complex responses in educational terms the importance of situating the youth within a community cannot be underestimated.

Parents and adults especially need to be educated, if they themselves are in a position to undermine the good intercultural education in schools.

An African expression states “it takes a whole village to educate a child”. Hence, education should not only be considered as a concern of parents and their own children. Parents as such do not own their children although they are obviously responsible for them and their welfare. To educate adults and children in the widest sense is potentially a concern of the whole community. Children also have rights through the UN Convention of Children’s Rights, a fact which acquired significance during the recent 50th Anniversary of the United Nations and UNESCO’s “Year of Tolerance”. The way in which adults deny these rights is a complex issue necessitating parent and adult education.

The school has a basic task of getting to know the community around the school. In an earlier period schools were familiar to parents and they could understand how schools functioned, but those parents who have been educated in schools in different cultural contexts cannot understand contemporary schooling because schools have changed dramatically.

Also if a parent comes from a village, or a single teacher school, or a school in a different cultural contexts, they now observe their children attend a different or complex institution and this raises difficulties for parental participation. Different as well as complex modern schools are also unrecognisable with so many changes that even many teaching and support staff may have difficulty to understand them. This may especially be the case if there have been dramatic changes within the school and education system because of conflicts in the given society.

Many small and major initiatives can ensure the involvement of communities and parents in the lives of the school. It is obviously much easier to involve parents of children attending school, than the wider community. Yet, even from amongst the parents the ones in greater need and those who are less literate may remain excluded from the life of the school, the learning and educational process in the school and the community as a whole:

In some contexts action can lead communities to feel:

- (a) that they are needed and that they can play a positive role in the educational and learning processes of the children;
- (b) that adults can make their views, aspirations and feelings known to the school and staff and these will be taken seriously.
- (c) that in multicultural rural or urban communities their linguistic, religious and cultural backgrounds are valued and seen as being of positive value;
- (d) that schools and communities are organically linked. This however is easier in the early years of a child’s education and more difficult in secondary school as peer group culture becomes powerful, and for the young people the school becomes more distanced from the home and community.

Adults in poorer areas may themselves not be confident of their own ability to help in the process of education of their own children. In the aftermath of conflict and feeling of lack of security, women and mothers particularly may feel more isolated. Their isolation can be reduced by themselves being

involved in learning within the school with other women, especially in rural and/or patriarchal communities. Some families may have a totally different set of unmet needs and concerns which can be developed within the common schools or on sites where they live.

School and Community Partnerships

Partnership with a school requires that communities do not feel alienated from it. For cultural reasons many adults may think that education is the job of teachers and children in the formal school. It is seen not to concern them as lay adults. There is the additional issue of cultural differences because adults may not understand the differences between continuing education, informal pre-school and formal education in which schools are engaged. In multilingual communities such links are further exacerbated if languages other than dominant ones are not in common usage.

Professionals generally (doctors, lawyers as well as teachers), find it difficult to share skills, decision-making or accountability. This position normally detracts from mutual understanding and a partnership between schools and communities, adults and schools. Given this complex situation and the gaps between schools and complex and diverse communities, links may be enhanced by:

- regular and effective communication
- sharing of information
- consultation on curriculum as well as assessment issues of children and adult education
- ensuring that adults and teachers have similar or shared goals
- visible manifest respect of adults by the school as well as readiness to explain and listen to adults
- approachability and ability to negotiate, as well as sharing responsibility while child and adult learners at the centre of the educational process. At the wider level, nevertheless general community involvement is important
- equal opportunity policies / intercultural policies should be made clear to all elements in the community

These dimensions ought to particularly emerge at the school level within:

- (a) Community school associations
- (b) Governing Bodies of educational institutions

Adults who either speak another language or are partly literate find it difficult to follow communications through the written word. Therefore, other ways of communicating messages maybe necessitated.

Therefore, personal links between adults and staff are important, because through informality meaningful links can be made. This is not a substitute for “social events” or formal meetings - which some adults from marginalised communities may find difficult to understand or follow, or empowered enough to contribute to. Schools need to explore ways of enhancing the adult community ‘voices’ in the social events, formal meetings and in learning contexts for adults.

The formal meetings for educational institutions particularly the governing bodies are intimidating and many adult learners have neither the skills, confidence nor information to take part. Ways of structuring meetings to allow adult learners to discuss their needs should be found, as well as the elimination of the use of jargon which normally inhibit their participation. Also where the agenda is determined by a professional clique, lay members or adult learners who maybe members are inhibited from participating because they feel disenfranchised. The openness of agendas and meetings can help to bridge the home-school and community-school links.

Community Involvement and Resistance to Multiculturalism

In multicultural school settings there is a need to avoid the dangers of bullying particularly since adults themselves may be “living in terror” and unable to be involved in their own education and that of their children. The schools therefore, need to understand the complexities and the delicacies of the situation to ensure that both the children, adults and isolated members of the community feel safe within the school. This issue yet again highlights the role of school - community links and one which is not restricted to links with parents. The school also needs to deal with exclusionary mechanisms and incidents sensitively, so that no learners are left feeling insecure and vulnerable. Positive strategies for teaching of languages, and curriculum to children and adults can be developed to meet complex learning needs especially in disenfranchised rural areas. In one village the payment of high bills for electricity were a cause for a great deal of anxiety.

So a “collective school ethic” which includes all the school staff to develop whole school practices is important. If it is a ‘safe school’ with a positive ethos it will spill over into the community. This is a difficult issue if the staff are part of a complex institution. Such developments may be easier within primary schools, and more difficult at secondary school level because they are more difficult to manage. Communication within schools is essential because, for instance, good work in classrooms can be undone by school support or welfare staff if, there is no coordination between two different parts of the school. Adults who remain unconnected to the educational process can also disrupt the positive advantages of education.

Given the changes in the nature of any society and role of families within it, as well as work patterns, adult and parental involvement in children’s education is important. This might entail parental and adult education to contribute to their own and the continuing educational process within the community and to ensure learning across age groups.

Modern schools have to accept not only the diversity of cultures but also different parental and family life styles. The conventional privileging of the two parent nuclear family tends to pathologise the rest, particularly as female-headed families may have increased in all communities. In the aftermath of conflict and violence many male heads of families may not be around and this necessitates the school to give legitimate recognition to the single parent family as a norm.

Issues of cultural diversity and their impact on schools go beyond issues of political correctness. Hence, schools have a complex role which is not only a cosmetic one.

Young People and School Culture

As children grow older there is a natural desire to keep their parents away from school, particularly in teenage years as school culture can be different from family culture. Youth and peer group cultures assume a more powerful role whether in social relations or in terms of language use, styles, musical tastes and consumer tastes. The critical role of the media cannot be underestimated in marginalising local and family values. Rituals of inclusion and exclusion in the playground are part of developing more insular and autonomous peer group cultures. These rituals include ways in which both physical and verbal harassment exacerbate other levels of marginalisation. Children use images, jokes and commonsense prejudices, and exclusions based on these are passed from older to younger children. Is the growth of autonomous young peoples cultures partly the result of failure of education to successfully socialise children and resulting from the 'dumbing down' of young people through a consumerist global culture? If so, what can the school do to educate the child about these issues.

Teachers and schools therefore face greater problems of dealing with youth who have other pre-occupations, such as consumer goods, games, style, music, sex and perhaps a pressure to become anti-academic. This is further enhanced by mobile telephones and the power exercised by the rapidly changing electronic media. The school exclusions of youth from certain minority communities because of the greater cultural gap presents major problems for some schools. The tripartite relationship of parents, school and community are important to ensure that disproportionate exclusion rates from certain groups are kept at a minimum level. Excessive rates of exclusion, particularly from specific groups, are an indication of bad relations between schools and disadvantaged groups. Issues of teacher perceptions of behaviours (for instance, bad pupil behaviours and disruption) require institutional policies, because teachers perceptions may not be well informed. This is especially the case if the teachers are from dominant communities and either do not understand the cultural norms of those from the minority communities or would like children from minority communities to accept dominant values and norms

Even after the ending of conflict there may be an increasing problem in schools of the rise of extreme politics. Rights and responsibilities not only of children but of all citizens require urgent consideration. The rise of extreme right politics has raised a reaction in terms of "Politics of Recognition" and of separatist demands by subordinated or marginalised groups. If the mainstream society and dominant groups ignore minorities there felt need to by such groups to be recognised in their own right. In religious terms the rise of narrow nationalism and fundamentalism is an example of this. It is therefore even more imperative at these times that the schools create spaces for dialogue with parents and communities to have an actual 'voice' in education. This can help in avoiding the polarisation in communities particularly if parents and disenfranchised communities feel that reaction and further separation from other groups are the only solution. The rise of narrow identities and reactions

(whether nationalistic, 'ethnic', religious or racial) obviously requires commitment on the part of the education system as a whole. The role of the school in strengthening civic culture as well as public values, is something that may have been weakened during the conflict and require strengthening, especially as there are high levels of unemployment and erosion of social policy provision can further lead to higher levels of cynicism amongst ordinary people.

Community Links, Imaginations and Belongingness

There are no clear and demarcated borders between the school and the community and good and bad messages travel in both directions because school walls are permeable. This must be one of the more powerful lessons following conflicts. Violence in the community can affect life in the school. The school gate is therefore not the end of schools' role or policies. Schools can obviously control children's behaviour through school policy. However, children's positive and negative imaginations are something that the schools need to be cognizant about.

The negative phenomenon of racism and narrow nationalism as an issue requires action by the media, teachers, youth workers and community. In other words unless there is a multi-agency approach to deal with issue of negative imaginations the behaviours of young people are likely to stay very negative.

The confederal nature of communities in villages, towns and cities requires integrative thinking and structures which link individual groups and localities. This is probably equally true in rural areas, as rural economies change and social structures and communities are fragmented.

The differences between any one neighbourhood and other parts of a city or the rural areas after the return of internally displaced persons (IDP's) mask the myriads of ways in which there are criss-crossings which make the distinctions between localities quite bewildering. For some, this maybe the opening of new futures and new vistas, while for others it may represent closures. For some new identities are formed, and syncretism is the order of the day, for others there is an activation of 'siege mentalities' within siege communities. The latter kinds of development can reinforce patriarchies and allow racism, narrow nationalism and fundamentalisms to take root. Unless schools take cognisance of these issues, and positive policies, practices and measures are implemented ethnic conflicts will simmer and break out into the open.

One of the main concerns of this paper is about educating adults and children, within the framework of community education. While identities of adults are already formed those of children are in the process of being formed. Hence, the issue of belongingness as well as that of exclusion should be part of this educational concern and process. Such an educational process should enable students to transcend narrow definitions of identity.

Children are able to construct a broader understanding of life based on their own personal concerns and experiences. Therefore schools need to take account of these and strengthen choices that affect young peoples identities.

Continuing education of adults could ensure that they do not undo the good work of the school.

There is the issue of belongingness for all groups in localities in our respective countries. This however does present problems because certain dominant nationalities see these localities as “theirs” which are encroached upon by “others” who are aliens and not seen to belong. There are obviously specificities of different localities, communities, families and groups which provide a different colour, texture and hue to different parts of many localities. There are also differences of local politics, economies, histories as well as how these interact with national, regions and global contexts which constitute differences in urban areas. Hence, for instance an urban school in one country may have more in common with an urban school in another country than with schools in smaller towns or rural areas in the country in which it is located. It is worth considering how to develop projects which incorporate good practices from a school in one national context to another.

Playgrounds, Games and Styles

Organised games can provide discipline and rules can help intercultural relations. However, informal interactions in the playgrounds may reinforce racist practices. This is especially the case where play is beyond the influence of stabilising adult cultures. Much of young peoples and peer cultures revolve around oral cultures, music as well as styles.

Clothing and fashion are also complex issues which carry deeper meanings than is ascribed to them. These meanings may have political messages. Education of undisciplined child soldiers carrying out savage crimes with powerful weapons are not lost on children in other contexts. Camouflage clothing may work as a symbol of political rebellion as well as of reactionary stability. The role of organised military or oppositional clothing becomes style for young people. In diverse polities the meaning of battledress jackets, combat trousers may reflect notions of an “urban guerrilla” or the “commando chic”. Dr Klaus Martens boots developed in post-war Germany have become a craze in Britain as Doc. Martens in 1960 and were manufactured by R. Griggs and Co. These became an international symbol of fascistic young people as the rebellious skinhead’s red “bovver boots”. Would these styles become respectable as the ‘hoodies’ produced for the mass markets are becoming a sign of resistance, rebellion or ignoring authority in many European countries.

The masculine underpinnings of much of this fashion, and its implications for racist, fascistic and intercultural relations amongst young people; is an unresearched question and may also increasingly apply to girls. It is also something which many schools disregard and therefore exacerbate ethnic relations in poorer schools in poorest areas.

The role of education in teaching games and sports as a way of ensuring fair play and rules of play is of critical importance. This has become very apparent in many communities especially as it relates to football. Football and the game itself are used as symbols of war and play has become secondary to nationalistic considerations. Young people’s violence largely on an ethnicised or nationalistic basis

subverted the positive and intercultural dimensions of the game. The role of educators in turning to the rationale for games and sports and to use them for intercultural relations is extremely important.

Schools are also obvious sites where the stereotyping of certain groups with certain kinds of sports also needs to be dealt with. The focus on bodies and the labelling by young people constrains the development of inter-cultural sports.

Connected with games and sport are the hidden meanings represented by local or national teams. The development of molecular violence in the context of civil society away from the especially by young men requires urgent attention. This is especially the case where powerful weapons used by disciplined professional soldiers may have been used by irregular resistance groups. These may now have left a legacy of nurturing negative and violent imaginations of young people who do not have any disciplines, rules or constraints of those who are in formal armies. Inter-ethnic and random violence unleashed in many localities represent failure of successful socialisation by parents, families, communities and other state institutions including education. The authoritarian aspects of social institutions which lend themselves to hatreds of “others” require attention at an early age so that children’s experiences and behaviours are nurtured in positive directions. The role of sports, games and supervised play can have an effective role in forming intercultural bonds. However, re-socialisation and education of child soldiers is an extremely complex matter also requiring urgent attention.

Children’s and Human Rights

This is an extremely important area for schools and for education systems. Yet, from a survey conducted in Northern Ireland, India, Botswana and Zimbabwe for The Commonwealth Ministers of Education Meeting in Botswana (July 1997), the researchers were able to establish the weak understandings most students have of these issues. If human rights education is treated in a marginalised manner or is not seen as being genuine universalistic then it loses its meanings to young people from different sections of the population. In many cases a human rights education is perceived and constructed in purely “western” terms, it is liable to be rejected by “others” who assert oppositional Islamic or non-western values. In the south east European region, for example, western values may themselves be based on falsely constructed notions of an ethnically purer past which their advocates seek to activate in educational contexts. The overwhelming diversities within the states which are members of the United Nations system present their educators with an opportunity. How can they make use of the constitutional, democratic and modernizing principles which are now being put in place in this region?

In fact the issues raised in such diverse societies are relevant to most other societies, whether they consider themselves secular or theocratic, and neither effective human rights teaching, nor educational use of the international human rights instruments, are yet common in most schools.

Many children still learn in separate schools, although they will have to live later on as adults in a complex society. There is a need for more inter-group and interfaith contacts between young people.

Educational institutions need to promote the intercultural values of respect, equality, and acceptance and toleration of different groups, based on genuine inter-group and public values.

It has been also stated that the greatest need was for political stability and economic development and that issues of human rights were a west European luxury that many states could not afford. From their point of view these issues would be an impediment to the political unity. Policy makers cannot ignore the important issues raised by the sceptics of human rights or the rationale and the need for the general strategies which enhance ideas of human rights while strengthening processes of democratisation, political stability and economic development. At the level of educational institutions it is the task of educators to explore how best to enhance universal rights by drawing the underlying basis of such values from different cultural traditions, and demonstrating that universal rights are often locally rooted. Such work must also take account of the rights and needs of the marginalised, oppressed students from both the majority and minority backgrounds in the society.

Hence the context for human rights education is an intercultural one, affecting the experiences of youngsters at school. There are also issues of access: because access to education itself is a human right for all children in both rural and urban areas.

The absence of safety and security to attend school, bullying, indiscipline and gender discrimination present further barriers to the actualisation of this right.

Work undertaken in Northern Ireland, under the aegis of Education for Mutual Understanding is an important development. Paradoxically many children there are not aware of their rights as compared to children in India, for example, who understand these rights. Better understanding of the rights by Indian children is partly explicable because there is a wider understanding of the Indian constitution and the rights which accrue to Indian children as future citizens of India. It however, remains to be said that even in the Indian context it is the media and not the school which provides information about the Rights of the Child. There are perhaps ways in which the new and emerging constitutional tools in a state can be used to inculcate similar values amongst state children and which both the school and the media can help to deepen within the institutional context.

Finally, ethnic conflicts and children and human rights cannot be seen as abstract concepts about which schools can teach through didactic instruction. The process of education, teaching and learning as well as the way in which schools function as institutions, in children's eyes and their experiences within them carry their own powerful messages. Democratic, participative and inclusive schools are an important part of the process of the education of children as well their experiences within a democratic school.

Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE)

The development of bilingual education which has facets of being intercultural need to be considered for academic reasons. Intercultural bilingual education (IBE) may also help to obviate some of the tensions between linguistic communities.

IBE has relevance for most societies for both majority and minority linguistic communities. It can play the role, firstly to equip all groups to participate as citizens of the society, and secondly to support them in their right to practice and empower their own communities. IBE presents them with the knowledge and means to defend their interests against the wider encroaching forces like monolingual globalisation, as well as revitalising and strengthening the vibrancy of various linguistic communities. IBE paradoxically is not about destroying but about developing and enhancing linguistic diversity and repertoires of the various linguistic communities.

If IBE is made to constitute the basic structure and content of formal education process it gradually brings in thematic areas from the dominant culture in non-conflictual and non-substitutive way this can assist the process of intercultural understanding. More importantly in the context of majority/minority, dominant/subordinate relations: all the groups would benefit from intercultural bilingual education. The need for a serious consideration of this issue cannot be underestimated because the roles of all the communities have either been changed or reversed.

The societal response in teaching the national language to the exclusion of minority or subordinate languages on the grounds that to do otherwise would lead to less political unity, or separation does require examination. The enormous resources or skills required to teach other languages may also constitute an impediment. The following rationale is therefore worth considering:

(a) avoidance of language loss as mentioned above; (b) first language provides the child with the best medium to learn at early stages: hence literacy in first language precedes literacy in the second; (c) acquisition and development of first language, assists in successful acquisition of second (dominant, national, minority or majority language). Hence, first language enhances and does not detract from learning second language; (d) IBE enhances the sense of belongingness of a group, its knowledge and values in a school. The use of first language is useful in developing an inclusive ethos. It is less likely to produce a marginalisation of children with other languages, cultures, histories than those from the school and its curriculum, if its languages and cultures are used in the school.

In general, linguistic dominance prevails and is a major cause of ethnic tensions amongst groups whose languages are being excluded from the educational process. An international collation and replication of good IBE practices can be drawn upon by educators to obviate conflicts between linguistic communities while enhancing good educational outcomes for all the linguistic communities.

Historical distortion and dis-arming history

All children have a right to know and understand their own personal 'story'. This is an important enough issue, because when children do not have access to their parents, family or community history they become obsessed by it. Young people not only need access to these stories but to be able to read them critically. This entails young people being able to critically analyse historical information facts and documents. These historiographic skills would be invaluable to young people in evaluating stories and histories.

Members of societies generally think that their understanding of history of their own and other societies corresponds to the reality of events which have taken place. Yet, the norm is that we generally have notions based on falsified histories. Part of the problem lies in the way in which descriptions of events even by participants is by definition partial. As historians become more removed from historical events or periods their narrative becomes more removed from historical realities. It is however, possible to devise certain narratives that are more accurate than others and to remove the excessive levels of ethnocentrism. Since any society is located in time and place the experiences of those who are part of this society have socially centred views of themselves, the 'others' and of the world. At one level they have notions of 'centrism' based on their ethnic community, or as a group which is narrowly defined by its culture. At a supra-national or regional level such cultural entities may traverse over a number of states. At a macro international level such ethno-centrism can include notions of narrow identities as diasporic groups. Individuals and groups may therefore have access to competing versions of history from personal, familial, community and national and even supra-national levels.

While ethno-centrism may focus on culture it can be distinguished from racism, which is largely dependent on the attribution to biological heredity of the cultural peculiarities of a group which has highly distinctive physical features. Ethnocentrism as a phenomenon may have an older history and have preceded racism, because racism became more pronounced in the eighteenth century. The subsequent rise of nationalism has complicated matters further. Political organisation and the use of force have provided the ultimate sanction, especially if the political entity has been able to define its territory and those who belong to it or are excluded from it.

The political system and educational institutions can help to normalise internal group relations. This process of normalisation is capable of being used very narrowly as the Nazi German state was able to demonstrate. Ordinary Germans and those who worked in state institutions internalised rules of exclusion of groups like Jews and the Roma. Education systems legitimised the most appalling events as normal and ordinary people accepted these authoritarian rules. The role of the educational processes to legitimise these actions and to accept gossip as fact cannot be under-estimated. Authoritarian systems can generally bypass the critical functions of education. The best defence for an educational process with a critical edge is within democratic schools and systems, where people do not have to obey rules without questioning them.

Omissions and distortions of history play a major role in allowing gossip or stereotypes to become crystallised. The presentation of various histories by its absence, especially if there is a dominant and subordinate past is an important element in the construction of exclusions: a people without a history or a past. The use of the similar exclusion by dominant group can exacerbate the problems of mutual recognition as has been the experience of groups in various other societies lessons need to be learnt from these. Additionally, heroes in history are largely warriors and victors of dominant groups. The heroes of peace and their histories are far more rare and this needs to be recorded so that history can be used to dis-arm history and not to re-arm it.

To develop more universalised understandings of history the underlying hypotheses and implicit theories of writers need to be unpicked. An epistemological and methodological break could lead to developing more widely acceptable histories which not only include written sources but also the oral understandings of certain groups. Since school level understandings of history vary so vastly not only between the countries but also within each society that abstract solutions cannot be suggested here. Nevertheless, in general: notions of civilisations, the evolutionist schema, the impact of stereotypes, re-voicing and re-imaging invisible and subordinated groups do merit attention. The development of critical understandings of teachers, development of appropriate teaching materials and textbooks based on new research and developmental work deserve immediate attention.

For example, Preiwerk and Perrot have carried out a critical analysis of 30 textbooks in use in the education of diverse institutions in Kosovo and this has formed a basis for their own analysis. They conclude:

In short, it is not enough to recognise in ethnocentrism a factor which distorts images on the level of social knowledge, but to see on the level of the specialists knowledge the fundamental epistemological problems of plausibility of the epistemic subject.

Their work can be used as a basis to develop other initiatives which critically analyse historical texts.

The usage of terms like 'tradition' or 'modernisation' as applied to study of history have their own parochialism and linearity. Cultures and histories of groups which either become minorities or powerless get constructed as traditional while the dominant and the powerful perceive themselves as the acme of modernity. Such notions detract from the development of a more universalised or global approach to understanding history. Liberating the notion of the modern from the 'centric' straitjacket can help in notions of modernity being universalised. Many studies provide grounds for reappraising the writing of newer historical texts and to tackle other historical 'centrism'.

The complex and conflictual encounters of the local and the global in economic and cultural terms provides further clues to notions of development of markets, as well as the resistance, retrenchment and development of siege communities. The undemocratic features of the globalised and global economies in many contexts has led to the erosion of good local values, stable and sustainable communities as well as local skills and economies. The consequent ethnic conflicts and tensions present complex problems. At cultural levels other complex issues are presented.

There are also cultural syncretisms which have taken place as a result of interactions which are cooperative as well as conflictual within the Balkan and the Mediterranean region. As Raymond Grew writes the development of a global history can be a product of our own time which:

Offers some historical insight into contemporary concerns and therefore into the past as well, and it will do so while substituting multicultural, global analysis for the heroic, national narratives on which our discipline was founded.

Teachers and schools need to explore the viabilities of syncretic understandings and histories which may exist at local levels to help bring about intercultural learnings and understandings.

Inter-state and Group Relations

Inter-state conflicts for example within the Balkans have the potential to de-stabilise not only the states in question, but also the Mediterranean region as a whole. The over-arching historical links based on shared histories of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empire need to replace the current negative views of these neighbouring states.

The role of education systems within any state in constructing notions of an imagined and glorious history which excludes its 'neighbours', disregards the foundation of these notions in curricular fictions which reinvent the past. There is a need to avoid a curricular narcissism which fuels inter-ethnic conflict.

Textbooks, Maps and Monuments

The historical misrepresentations in textbooks are very difficult to correct because of vested political interests and the complication of the financial arrangements which involve publishers. The problem is increased especially if the governments or the dominant groups want to stress singular identities because this is seen as legitimizing loyalty to that society. In general people do have more than one identity and this does not in general detract from their loyalty to a particular society. What role can the state education system play in legitimizing notions of multiple identities as being normal and not necessarily a reflection of an aberration or a proof of disloyalty? Educators may need to explore ways of giving force to these heterogeneous identities because these are a norm for many people. Both individuals and groups may have levels of identities which maybe based on religion, ethnicity, territorial location, gender and nationality. The textbooks are one aspect of this issue because the curriculum for which they are written is another related matter which requires consideration. Hence, while literacy is an asset, it can also be misused because of the way it can enhance propaganda which a government needs to put across rather than educating people.

In addition to the representation of histories which are supported by textbooks, subjects like geography and the way in which maps are used can also exacerbate ethnic and racial conflicts. Military conquests and political conflicts can lead to the change of names of places by the conquerors. Likewise heroes in conflicts and those who excel in sports can lead to intercultural understandings which can be used for opposite purposes. Hence, the ways in which heroes within public spaces and squares really represent triumphs of one group over another requires a reconsideration. Victory columns are largely about the victors in conflicts rather than those who are vanquished. Routes of conquest and war are also routes of trade and art and these dimensions have a greater mileage for exploration in education systems. The latter issues can become routes of peace and messages of peace rather than war can be disseminated. In complex societies where there are conflicting meanings given to different sites, ways need to be found on how to find meaning which bring groups together rather than highlight conflict. To build a new state there is a need to view the enemy as an ally.

Some of the educational basis of the previous conflicts need to be addressed by educational institutions because subordinated and excluded groups in the post-conflict period are not likely to accept inequalities in the new and changing state. They not only expect equality but also would use their democratic powers to gain equality. It is no longer the case that groups would 'know their place in society.' They are more than likely to question this and take measures to bring about equality.

Conflict and violence are not results of ignorance and parochialism but of deeply entrenched views about 'the other', their past, their history and their position in society. To a certain extent equitable political solutions which are seen to be transparent would also allow educators to develop peaceful educational provision.

The above measures about teaching history, textbooks, maps and monuments need to be seen a part of a strategy of dis-arming history and the de-mystification of fictive pasts. The American writer Barbara Ehrenreich states that the very passions which lead to war can be used to struggle against war and that there is a place for courage and solidarity which can help in reversing the role of bloody institutions of conflict, violence and war. Educators however, cannot do this alone, they are only part of the solution.

Teachers and Pedagogies

One of the problems which occurs within education systems is the increasing gap and distance between teachers and students. The cultural gaps between teachers and students can have various features and issues of different social class, language, religious, age difference as well as different views about education. The situation will have many local manifestations and therefore the solutions to these gaps need to be locally resolved. Hence, urban teachers working in rural areas need to be able to understand not only the rural or village culture but the aspirations and dreams and the realities that students confront to actualize these aspirations and dreams.

Teachers from dominant communities need to ensure that they do not reinforce the existing discriminatory attitudes and behaviours against those from minority communities. In this respect schools need to develop policies and action plans which enhance teachers' professionalism by enhancing their competencies.

The issues for teachers in general and the intercultural dimensions are twofold: one is what teachers need to know, which has knowledge dimension; and secondly, what teachers are able to do, which has a skills dimension. If teacher education is of high quality then the teachers understanding of knowledge issues and skills is necessarily going to be of a higher order. This is obviously and primarily a role for teacher education institutions.

Those who join the profession ought to bring from their earlier education a sound academic background.. This would especially be possible if those who join the teaching profession have an undergraduate degree and that teacher education is a postgraduate qualification where teachers can become good professionals through a systematic study of teaching and learning. These studies and

especially their intercultural dimensions need to be closely supervised and monitored. Many so called teacher training courses in fact, fail to educate teachers to function effectively as professional teachers in complex school environments. These processes entail not only a command of the subjects taught but also a sound grasp of techniques in teaching these subjects. They also need to have information on research into teaching and an understanding of children's growth and development. In complex classrooms children would have different learning needs and learning styles. If teachers are also their own researchers they would be able to deal with these issues systematically.

The status of teacher-education institutions, and their structure is critical for the role of teacher education itself. If teacher educators are seen as previous school teachers with no higher order skills and knowledge which includes understandings as well as the educational sciences and their research skills which are not of a higher order, then teacher education institutions and the profession will be perceived as having a low status.

Teacher education should essentially be an integral part of the university system and have good established links with schools in the same way as medical schools have good links with hospitals. This situation would create the possibility of cross-fertilisation of ideas from other knowledge systems, and developments within the educational sciences which are firmly located in school practice. The intercultural dimensions of such teacher education would be also help in the nurturing of the continuing educational provision of education and help to raise the educational standards amongst all children. One of the criticisms of intercultural education in some western countries is that it 'waters down' educational outcomes and process. In other words, equality compromises quality. Here, the paper would like to highlight that equality and quality go hand in hand.

The structuring of teacher education

Teacher education in many contexts at the present time is poorly placed to implement effective intercultural policies and measures. Part of the problem in most contexts, is that teacher education institutions which offer postgraduate courses, which are research oriented and have close links with other faculties in the university and schools are few and far between. In terms of dealing with intercultural issues in a substantive way teacher educators themselves need to be re-educated to deal with the new challenges in this field.

In higher education institutions where teacher education has a lower profile within the system then teacher educators would not have access to academic disciplines to raise the status of intercultural issues. If such issues are only dealt by a few members of staff who are interested in such issues without making any structural changes to implement a for more integrated approach within teacher education institutions, such issues would remain marginalized. Each subject area has to acquire and develop its own expertise and this can then lead to inter-disciplinary and cross-institutional frameworks to implement such changes. These measures therefore require not only a few interested educators but institutional mechanisms and structures to ensure that the required changes will take place.

Changes within teacher-education institutions are necessary because they have customs, procedures and practices which either directly or indirectly discriminate. Such discriminatory practices may not be evident on the surface and can only be eliminated if institutional structures are examined to bring about greater levels of openness to their operationalisation. These discriminatory practices may not only have relevance to intercultural education, but for educational equality, including inter-group and gender equality.

Any policies for intercultural teacher education cannot be effective unless they have support of all staff, and involve measures on (a) student admissions; (b) staff recruitment and promotions; (c) and an initiation of research and curriculum development.

Such changes require an evaluation of their effectiveness, and cannot be of a tokenistic nature. Hence, the implementation of any strategies need to be properly monitored. While teacher educators can themselves initiate changes these need to be supported by the institutions themselves. This institutional commitment includes the systematic organisation of staff development, so that teacher educators can update their knowledge, skills and understandings in the field of intercultural education.

Education of Interculturally Competent Teachers

Teacher-education institutions ought to ensure that the intercultural competencies of teachers include both their personal and professional development. Such competencies should include academic expertise in their subject as well as competencies and skills to teach these. The different learning capabilities in diverse classrooms and the necessity to organize classrooms to meet these complex needs form an integral part of teacher education.

Teacher education therefore has theoretical as well as practical dimensions and this ought to be viewed as an issue of creative tension in educating interculturally competent teachers. This can enhance teachers professional competence and narrow the cultural gap between the teachers and students in the classroom. Both in complex classrooms and complex schools, teachers can become their own researchers, who have a greater understanding of differences between teaching and learning.

Knowledge and the Curriculum

Knowledge and curricular issues are critical to the way in which a society constructs notions of itself. Inclusions and exclusions of knowledge have implications for ethnic conflict, peace and stability in a society. For this reason it would be useful to consider ways in which formal and informal curriculum can be modified or changed to meet the current needs of a complex society. For instance, if history is studied from one or another nationalist perspective, rather than from an inclusive paradigm of historiography, the curriculum and the values of those studying it will remain trapped in the trammings of a narrow nationalist tautology. This type of perspective would raise the incidence of racism, xenophobia and of narrow ethnicisms. Curriculum and the educational process in general will have propaganda but not educative value. Hence, educators within the higher education institutions,

teacher education institutions as well as curriculum and textbook planners in general would need to consider alternative definitions of knowledge before planning courses, research or other interventions. The curricular question therefore is how to liberate the curriculum from a narrow focus to a more inclusive and intercultural one.

In teaching and devising of the curriculum therefore educationalists should consider several alternative definitions of knowledge before planning courses, research or other interventions.

The dominant-marginal perspective in educational discourses needs to be constantly challenged and often redrawn. The issues being presented here are historically significant and of the gravest importance for the future of education as well as the political and social structures of most nations. They require a combination of pedagogical patience and persistence. There has to be a constant and fundamental reappraisal of the histories and narrowly defined national identities into which we have all been inducted with such care.

To reinstate 'this voice' of the disenfranchised would require a great deal of delicacy, diplomacy and sophistication, particularly if the desired changes are not to be relegated to the margins of academic life. Reactive, rhetorical and rebellious responses in curricular terms are not only inadequate but counter-productive.

Positive Discrimination or Affirmative Action?

The polarisation in a society can pose an extremely dangerous threat in developing democratic agendas within a liberal society and its conciliatory and reconciliatory gestures between the different groups. These new polarities cannot be resolved by an uncritical liberal response, but requires rigorously argued and sustained position(s), which is (are) able to make a difference to greater equalities not only of opportunity but also of educational outcomes in education and employment for all groups, however this is defined. Advantaged children (or those from dominant communities) and their education needs to advance in tandem with the improvements and advances in the education of the disadvantaged (or from the minorities). Yet, the disparities of differential cultural capital that children bring to the school continue to lead to differential outcomes, unless schools take effective measures in schools to improve life chances of all children. Here the paper will try to draw upon experiences in other countries, such as the United States and India – where some of the above measures have been implemented.

The continued emphasis on market principles based on mythical level playing fields can only exacerbate ethnic and racial tensions. There has recently been violence in many French cities by youth from largely North African background. In Britain and the U.S. Watts, Detroit, Brixton, Birmingham and Liverpool riots are examples of the ways in which young people who have limited or no education and have few chances of getting jobs have burnt cars and cities. However, at the present time does the argument of the uprising of the oppressed and the 'burning of the cities' have any social basis? Educationally disadvantaged and unemployed groups experience high levels of tension and

alienation within society and they can turn on other groups in their midst. Many governments have strengthened their police forces, armies and other paramilitary forces which deal with disorder.

Violence directed against oneself or ones' own community may not be seen a major security threat to the dominant group or the society. Yet, what about inter-ethnic violence amongst different subordinated groups? Communal violence has a way of escalating into inter-communal and spilling into society in general. It therefore may not be containable and ought not be considered as such by the dominant groups.

In attempting to implement the affirmative action agenda, or positive discrimination, issues of social justice and individual rights need to be balanced. This is particularly important at the present time because of the previous failures and critiques of affirmative action. One of the options is to institute preparatory or access courses for affirmative action students to ensure that they acquire the required qualifications and that their formal entry is based on academic credentials. This would obviate the high drop-out rates of such students at the present time. Secondly, institutions cannot implement affirmative action programmes without reappraising what goes on inside them. The customs, practices structures, pedagogies and curricula ought to be critically reviewed to ensure their relevance for all students. This should be done to ensure a more effective and rigorous but also universally relevant curriculum, so that there can be a genuine possibility of learning across cultures. Such measures can help counteract the criticism that the quality of education would be lowered. These measures would also ensure that larger numbers of students learn effectively and acquire competencies and matriculate.

An effective affirmative action ought to ensure that members of disadvantaged groups can function in all professions, no matter how rigorous or demanding these maybe. Hence, access courses are essential to ensure that cognitively demanding jobs are within the competence of all sections of society. Many minorities complain that only 'soft option' careers are open to them and that 'glass ceilings' operate in good academic institutions, high status professions as well as in places of work.

Another criticism of positive discrimination in India and affirmative action in the US is that the dominant liberal and bourgeois blacks and Schedule Castes benefit from it and assimilate within the existing social structures. In both contexts there are accusations that there are vested interests within such groups to perpetuate affirmative action. These accusations further state that gaps between the few who benefit and the large numbers of underclass who remain marginalised have widened. Despite criticisms of other programmes like Head Start, these may bring social gains which are, acknowledged even by the parents. In the US life chances of children have improved and nearly a million children and parents have acquired a better quality of life. Hence the role of projects to improve numeracy, literacy and general education of children and adults is important. The policy announced by the Government of India to make primary education compulsory for all children is an important development although whether these will meet the criteria of the UN Education for All targets remains to be seen.

How can such policies be made to work effectively and lead to greater levels of race and caste equality and ultimately lead to the dismantlement of these affirmative action systems? This is a complicated question because in the US the Hispanic, Blacks and Schedule Castes groups are not homogeneous categories. These groups do not constitute a single undifferentiated stratum of society and only a coordinated effort in all areas of economic and social policy would lead towards greater levels of equality. Targeted action which is well constructed to deal with specific disadvantage is important. However, action in one area, say education, may not be effective if other disadvantages are not alleviated through a long-term strategy and a multi-agency approach. This is therefore, not just a matter of politics but also one of public policy and which has implications for the public domain. An effective affirmative action would therefore not only be a matter for private institutions which rely on private funds but would call for public funds which are used in an atmosphere of political consensus.

The paper would like to suggest that educational authorities carefully re-appraise the policies of affirmative action and positive discrimination in other countries and try to learn how they have either succeeded or failed.

In the prevailing climate of liberalisation in a global context internationally, it is necessary not to preach to the converted but to formulate an agenda which will lend weight with those who are critical and sceptical. How can affirmative action programmes be realised in the current climate on the basis of collective obligations, compensations and redress? On what grounds can one reinstate the idea of 'society' and negate the role of the market place in the educational discourse and advocate that such policies have a relevance when the liberal globalisers rejects notion of 'society' and asserts that notions of an egalitarian and pluralistic society do not exist? This negates the role of the government in solving social problems. The denial of the existence of 'society' can deal a further blow to issues of social justice in societies which need to develop educational systems and provision which can bring greater levels of equalities. The acceptance of the context of 'society', within which social justice is important can ensure that the legacy of unequal treatment in the past and at the present time can form a basis for providing positive and equal treatment to disadvantaged, which would lead to greater equality.

The position of women, who constitute virtually half the population in most societies, in being enabled to acquire competencies in a whole range of areas is of paramount importance in most societies. This is where the market philosophy fails. If such groups have to rely on the operations of the market, those who are poor will never acquire even the simplest of freedoms or access to social goods or education on their own. The acquisition of skills, knowledge and competences and academic and professional credentials are required to create equality in the life chances and careers of disadvantaged groups. Evidence in the United States suggests that women, black and Hispanics who were enabled to be educated and obtain jobs by affirmative action policies did not lead to lower productivity. Although most of these studies were for clerical and blue collar jobs, the numbers of women as managers doubled between 1966 to 1978 because of affirmative action. The Equal Opportunity Commission in the US estimated that in 500 corporations between there was no lowering of profit margins because of those appointed through affirmative action.

These gains obviously mean that the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's did benefit some people from disadvantaged communities and the corporations they worked in, but it did not bring about a greater cohesiveness or consensus in American society. Instead it has led to greater divisions and differences in society, some of which can be attributed to economic decline. The need for political and educational institutions to build a consensus on this issue becomes more evident, because affirmative action programmes as a corrective of past inequalities are not enough on their own. These measures on their own are not able to deal with economic and cumulative disadvantages in society.

The value of the public domain and the strengths of a civil society requires a renewal. This is particularly necessary because of rapid advances in technologies which increase competition and unemployment. The rationale for new technologies and their potential connections with the 'common good' requires consideration. This ought to involve a more imaginative perspective on education, training and employment for all groups in society especially since it is now being suggested that while 20% will benefit from new technologies and be employed, 80% of the population will become surplus to the needs of the economy. Obviously the potential for inter-ethnic conflicts given that the 80% (are likely to include vast numbers of ethnic groups in many societies) unemployed are enormous.

In many parts of the world, such as South-East Europe, these economic and structural shifts could lead to higher levels of civil strife, violence and even the dismantling of the institutions within society as has been experienced in the old Yugoslavia thus undermining social stability and order within the South East European region. The whole issue deserves action at the broadest public and social policy to provide critical interventions and targeted action (to ensure critical interventions and targeted action) to ensure greater levels of equity in society.

This paper has briefly discussed the complexities involved in the way in which education may exacerbate or contribute to ethnic conflict and violence. Paradoxically education also has the potential to help in the resolution of conflicts.

The rise of tensions and violence between ethnic groups may partly be embedded in inequalities in societies in which education systems operate. In as much as education systems reproduce these inequalities they exacerbate and help to perpetuate conflicts.

It is essential to stress the role of education in minimising the notions of 'otherness' within communities and societies and as essential to maintain peace. Its role in ensuring the belongingness of all groups to a society present great challenges to the school. These challenges about educating for inclusion in a democratic context, which ensures citizenship rights to all cannot be ignored.

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- *Interculturalism*; London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd. (2000)
- *Intercultural Europe: Diversity and Social Policy*; (Ed) Prof J Gundara and S. Jacobs (2000)