Multilingual Education

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Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education

Springer

Multilingual Education

Volume 16

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ISSN 2213-3208 ISSN 2213-3216 (electronic)
Multilingual Education
ISBN 978-3-319-26879-8 ISBN 978-3-319-26880-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016936379

Springer Cham Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Acknowledgments

This volume originated in discussions held in Singapore in 2010 sponsored by the International Alliance of Leading Education Institutions, IALEI, to discuss multicultural education. It arose because several countries, South Korea prominently among them, were debating questions of ethnic, linguistic and faith diversity due to labour-based migration and international marriages and wanted to compare and contrast experiences with other countries. A key participant in our discussions in Singapore was Dr Hiwon Yoon who at the time was Vice President of International Affairs, Director of the Centre for Multicultural Education and full Professor at Seoul National University. We want to thank Dr Yoon for her chairing of the initial meeting, and her promotion of the idea of a continuing discussion after her retirement.

The idea of comparative accounts of multicultural education was essentially, as someone at the Singapore meeting described it, to see how others were 'dealing with difference'. We compared notes and writings and reflected on how vastly different are the contexts within which the idea of multicultural education arises. These different contexts mean that the term we commonly use to describe public education responses to cultural diversity requires a great deal of specification and clarification. Over the intervening years, many of the original participants continued a dialogue and eventually decided to record the accounts in a collected volume, with relatively light editorial structuring so that the contextual and conceptual differences would not be obscured. In this spirit it was further decided to re-cast the tenor of the discussion towards our own growth in understanding, that is our 'learning from difference'. We decided to rename the volume 'learning from difference' and to collect additional material from country settings not initially involved in the Singapore deliberations, hence the chapters discussing China, Thailand, and Turkey.

The long gestation of this project, from initial seminar to published volume, has itself produced rich reflections and discussions. As the considerations have matured all the authors have shown themselves willing to adapt and adjust to new perspectives. We acknowledge and thank them for their keen interest in promoting a conversation about questions that are always engaging and important but sometimes also difficult, intellectually, ideologically and even emotionally. It is clear that something

like ‘difference’ will be a recurring presence in the educational challenges more and more countries will face in the future, and we are confident that these honest and detailed accounts of how nine extraordinarily ‘different’ settings understand and respond to these challenges will be of interest and we trust assistance.

We want to record our gratitude to Dr Hiwon Yoon formerly of Seoul National University, the International Alliance of Leading Education Institutes, and especially our initial hosts, the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. We have received encouragement, guidance and support from Ms Jolanda Voogd, Editor, and Ms Helen van der Stelt, Senior Editorial Assistant, at Springer. A special word of thanks to Dr Andrew Schapper at the Melbourne Graduate School of Education, University of Melbourne, for assistance in pulling together the disparate parts of the volume. Aydin Bal dedicates his work in this volume to Jennifer Bal, Devrim Bal, and Alev Bal for their love, support, and inspiration.

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Introduction: Difference: Its Expansion and Consequences

Aydin Bal and Joseph Lo Bianco

Abstract It is fitting that this volume, *Learning from Difference*, is characterized itself by great internal diversity. The nine national case studies that comprise the bulk of the content are as diverse as could be imagined, drawn from all parts of the world: Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas and Australasia. Altogether, these studies discuss diverse and complex national histories of the construction of differences and multicultural education in national educational systems. These histories reflect longstanding and contemporary immigration as well as responses to the demands and needs of Indigenous populations and take place in post-colonial and non-colonial settings. Configurations of identity fusing race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, and class are highlighted to pinpoint the myriad ways often elaborate and combative identities negotiate social space and institutional life in the container of the increasingly porous nation state.

Keywords Multicultural education • Globalism • Immigration • Diversity • Systemic change

It is fitting that this volume, *Learning from Difference*, is characterized itself by great internal diversity. The nine national case studies that comprise the bulk of the content are as diverse as could be imagined, drawn from all parts of the world: Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas and Australasia. Altogether, these studies discuss diverse and complex national histories of the construction of differences and multicultural education in national educational systems. These histories reflect longstanding and contemporary immigration as well as responses to the demands and needs of Indigenous populations and take place in post-colonial and

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_1

non-colonial settings. Configurations of identity fusing race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, and social status are highlighted to pinpoint the myriad ways often elaborate and combative identities negotiate social space and institutional life in the container of the increasingly porous nation state.

The nine case studies are intended to illuminate a range of contexts in which challenges to 'normal' educational practices arise from representing so called 'different' populations. These include questioning methods of teaching, curriculum development, and public policy against the norms of the particular setting, specifically where diversity can be seen as a problem, or indeed, as a promise. The cases also highlight the absence of one defined trajectory through which all national states will pass in dealing with demands to pluralise their education systems in response to increasing difference in the population. The case studies are not included in some effort to be fully representative of geography or national type, since that would be neither possible nor particularly useful. Our aim is not to produce a taxonomic account, which has been attempted several times to varying degrees of success, but to produce useful and interesting heuristics from multiple perspectives and theoretical and methodological stances.

The case studies also demonstrate that few depictions of the diversity of multicultural education policy and practice currently available pay sufficient attention to what policy analysts have long agreed (Howlett 1991) is the importance of 'national policy style'. This style can be read in terms of culturally and historically situated policy making and implementation. The variation in national responses to *difference* is so great and enduring that we should always locate comparative discussion of policy measures within the specific socio-legal, ideological, and political tradition and practices, as well as within the unequal distribution of power, privilege, and access to education that prevail in different countries. While this volume is conscious of the importance of such specificity, we do not want to neglect the shared learning that can come from identifying common themes, issues, understandings and commonalities of the productive (and destructive) potentials inherent in the accelerating globalization of the contemporary world.

In all cases, states are 'dealing with diversity' in practices which allows us to learn from diversity. This implies a dialogue, and dialectic, between groups of people conceived in consequentially diverse ways. The most popular way to characterize the groups involved in dialectics of difference is a conversation between a single, normed, mainstream cultural, linguistic, ethnic and/or religious dominant 'majority' population and one or more groups of nondominant people conceived as 'minority groups'. Minorities are usually represented in a sociological and empirical sense by reference to their juridical (or citizenship) status. Alternatively, minorities can be perceived in terms of their spatial distribution within the geographic body of their particular state, or along temporal dimensions of their length of presence in a geopolitical entity, such as a nation, or a state or region within a nation, or jurisdictionally within an institution of such a nation or sub-national entity.

Minorities are also defined and understood with reference to the justification of their presence in the geo-political entity. For example, particular minorities might have either an economic relationship with the state so that they are guest workers or

'temporary' migrants, or recruited permanent settlers. This status relationship usually results in a citizenship connection that is more or less subject to limitations and which is debated in terms of the extension or retention of these limitations. The tentative relationship between nation states and such minorities gives rise to debates about access and restrictions of access to both the symbolic and material resources distributed by the state or institution concerned.

The debate about minorities' access to state resources in multicultural policy makes their presence subject to various kinds of exclusion or partiality. As a result of this process of legal, geographic, social, and economic positioning, minorities are also characterized in deeply ideological ways. The terms minority and majority are transformed into more than empirically established categories of sociology or economics and become ideological groupings. As such, we can speak of minoritized and majoritized subjects and social positions dynamically reproduced in our day-to-day interactions with other people, institutions, and ideologies. Formal schooling has served an important function in these social sorting practices and reproduction of the existing social strata, specifically in the formation of nation states (e.g., defining a national 'us' as 'normal' and afforded privileges through formation of "others" as "different" and excluded from these privileges). The formation of such groups has historically relied on assumptions of homogenous linguistic, ethnic, cultural and religious characteristics or access to power and privilege as the basis for presence in the state. As a result, membership of a nation state means naturalization of artifacts that mediate cultural activities (the privileged ways of being, knowing, and behaving) in that society.

In some modern states, there is a binding central idea of an unproblematized ordinary, pure, and universal mainstream representing uniformity. People with multiple membership – or what Bowker and Star (2000) called *marginal people* – who have multiple cultural and linguistic practices (e.g., speakers of Ebonics in the US or Muslim refugees in Europe) can be constituted as the troubled outsiders if their legal status is vulnerable or 'troublesome' insiders if they are an alienated group with a secure formal legal presence. The representation of the troubled outsider applies to newly arrived immigrant students in schools as seen in Denmark and the US education systems, or with asylum seeker children in Australia. Specifically, the centralization of school bureaucracies has served as a social sorting mechanism to position minority children as certain kinds of students – the normal, able, handicapped, or at-risk. Embedded within such taxonomies are socio-political constructions of race, ability, and language differences from the imagined homogenous norm. This social sorting mechanism and these identification processes have been reified through policies, institutional structures, conceptual models (cultural deprivation, racism, and ableism), and people's participation in their daily activities in schools. In the social sorting practices, cultural artifacts (e.g., achievement and aptitude tests and moral and medical categories) have been used for actions of categorization and standardization in schools. As a result, historically marginalized students whose access to quality learning opportunities and positive social positions are limited have been categorized as at risk, deviant, slow learners, or laggards, segregated from their peers and general education curriculum and placed in remedial classes.

Foucault's concept of governmentality provides an important tool to understand the regimes of power at work in the dynamic discursive processes of subordination, othering, and inclusion/excision in education contexts. Governmentality implies both governing people and selves: 'Governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, the complementarity and conflicts between techniques which issue coercion and process through which the self is constructive or modified by himself" (Foucault 1993, p. 203–204). A state of domination led by the technologies of government comprises categorization, standardization, systemization, and regulation of power relationships and boundaries. Governmentality studies show that the technologies of power should be studied with analyses of the socio-political rationality sustaining them in multiple spatiotemporal contexts (micro, meso, and macro; Lemke 2001).

From the national case studies in this volume we can see that while multiculturalism as a token of debate about how education and other domains of public life should operate originates in the latter part of the twentieth century in mainly Anglophone or generally Westernized contexts, it is now an undeniable presence worldwide. This reality can be obscured by the vastly different ways in which multicultural education is conceived and discussed in different settings. Powerful illustration of this point can be seen in the chapters on Brazil, China, Thailand and Turkey. Multicultural education originated in the socio-political context of ethnic revitalization, decolonization, and civil rights movement, its main goal to improve educational outcomes for minority students (Banks 2009). The multicultural education movement has included activity related to curriculum development, prejudice reduction, innovation in teacher education and pedagogical practices. Its subjects have expanded from racial and ethnic discrimination to gender, sexual orientation, and ability-based inequalities.

However, several prominent educational scholars have criticized a liberal multicultural paradigm that attempts to solve inequalities via anti-discriminatory policy changes. Such approaches are criticized for trying to 'be everything to everyone' but which consequently becomes 'nothing for anyone' (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995, p. 62). These scholars instead argue for a transformative approach that includes critical pedagogy that focuses on the reproduction of power/privilege and challenges larger societal and structural inequalities.

1 Globalism and Multicultural Education

The case studies discuss a range of policy responses to increasing diversity within their respective countries of analysis. Some discussions focus on the intended policy settings of states, others address what is actually implemented, while others analyze what is *experienced* by various actors, majorities and minorities alike, interacting in institutions or in the debates they conduct. Beyond this already forbidding complexity we can identify how multiculturalism is affected by the now ubiquitous

process of economic globalization and transnational activities of population mobility, wars, activisim, and networking and communication technologies.

The creation of progressively more integrated capital and industrial markets has meant that economic interdependency now characterizes the world to a far greater extent than at any time in history. When the pension and retirement incomes of Africans, Americans, Asians and Europeans are dependent on the stock market performance in countries far away and apparently unrelated to the affected individuals we can see how global capitalism is itself a kind of multicultural interaction. Facilitating this globalization are the tools of mass instantaneous communication, such as information and communications technologies and the recreational, personal identity and communication activities of individuals conducted via social networking sites.

All of these denser and internationally exposed activities give rise to new forms of identity beyond the control of national states or traditions. A recent and powerful depiction of this is given in *Arrival City* (Saunders 2010). This work argues that a third of humanity is currently 'on the move' in a series of population transfers that is creating new and denser urban spaces that have become the focal point of contemporary identity constructions. The city takes its place then as a central element of the new modes of identity formation that co-exist not in cohesive but in multiple and even contradictory ways. Urban environments such as these make physical proximity a stimulus for multiculturalism, but alongside this exist the networks of communications technology that facilitate transnational instantaneous contact and social mobility within and between national, cultural, religious, and linguistic borders. Donna Haraway's seminal work, 'A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s' (1992), took the figure of the 'Cyborg' from science fiction and applied it to critical identity studies by using it as an elaborate metaphor to characterize complex, fluid, negotiated, and ever-changing new identity contexts (see Haraway 1992). 'Cyborg…means the intermingling of people, things (including information technologies), representations, and politics in a way that challenges both the romance of essentialism and the hype about what is technologically possible. It shows how blurry the interdependence of people and things and their boundaries have become'.

As technologies transcend physical distance, the question of the spatial distribution of language re-emerges as a point on contention, just as it did in the ideology of the nation state with its bounded territory over which a single standardized language would prevail. In a series of reflections and studies on globalization and its modes of organization Manuel Castells (2000) has identified its links to the economy, especially the 'new economy'. In his 2000 work, 'The Information Age' he identifies three features which characterize the new economy: (1) the distinctive ways in which new economic processes generate information; (2) how the activity of economic production takes on a global scale of organization, arising from the lowering of national boundaries and the erosion of exclusive control of national economies; and (3) how production processes and forms of competition are organized in networks that are themselves located globally.

The new economy occurs in a time of transformation in which local spaces are increasingly populated by more and more diverse cultural groups and within-group diversity becomes greater. Castles and Miller (2009) have documented this increased population mobility in their 'Age of Migration', focusing on the challenge posed to sovereign national states not only of the flows of population which are unprecedentedly greater, but the types and consequences of people movement which are rapidly multiplying. Different populations with divergent compositions of gender, profession, and ages are flowing in different directions, so that nations whose recent image is of emigration are now solidly nations of immigration, Ireland and Italy are classic cases of this, but there are many others.

While the vast transfer of populations is of a highly differentiated nature, Castles and Miller (2009) note six recurring patterns: (1) globalization of migration flows; (2) acceleration of migration numbers; (3) differentiation of migration types; (4) feminization of migration, (5) growing politicization of migration issues, and (6) proliferation of migration transition (pp. 10–12). The effect of these macro-trends of migration is that virtually all parts of the globe are engaged in and affected by the movement of peoples, and that today this movement is seemingly accelerating exponentially. Because modern population flows are so widely differentiated, many different kinds of population transfer can occur simultaneously, albeit for different periods of time, different reasons and under different kinds of legal status (e.g., refugees, asylum seekers, stateless persons, and migrant workers). One major characteristic of this is that a noticeably growing proportion of population flows involve female led and single female movements, which is a significant departure from previous patterns. In response, the idea of migration as well as its rate and numbers have provoked political reactions from planning and integration policies to rejection and hostility.

In the phase of national consolidation most European states experienced extensive internal movements of peoples, as their populations moved away from the country to the city. Rural to urban migration is a precursor to urban consolidation but it is also an antecedent to the establishment of consolidated and dominant national languages. All modern European states have seen these movements of population now supplemented by cross-European mobility and extra-continental migration. In these ways, family links have become distributed across vast spaces so the information networks noted by Castells are supplemented by family networks in cities and communities that transcend national boundaries.

This pattern of pluralization gives the impression that perhaps the majority of people are mobile. However, this is not the case. The majority of people remain rooted in their countries of origin (Castles and Miller 2009, p. 7). The impact of migration is that borders are more porous, but are linked closely to those who have moved, and are themselves engaged in temporary movement of various kinds throughout their lives. In this context, we should highlight the emergence of two types of population movement which are temporary or multi-stage rather than permanent: tourism and study. Migration as a concept is itself problematized by tourism and study, because in many cases, what starts out as one kind of movement turns into another. Both tourism and study increase the globalized exposure to cultural, linguistic, racial and ethnic diversity.

Much of the period of the consolidation of national states involved making internal cultural patterns relatively homogenous. However, the combined effects of the

Age of Migration with the Information Age, both sustained by the demands of the new economy, have produced permanently diverse school populations, and multilingual communication dependent cities that are linked across multilingual spaces.

2 Nine National Cases of Multicultural Education

The nine case studies reflect from a wide range of countries with radically different approaches to dealing with education in multicultural settings. While each country's approach seems to be unrelated, each analysis of the divergent treatments of internal population difference elicits a genuinely global instance of the increasingly shared phenomenon of educational responses to the challenges of cultural difference.

Australia's experience of multicultural education arose in the 1970s when the nation discarded its previous policies of exclusive immigration, represented by the notorious White Australia Policy. The decisive national referendum of 1967 transferred Indigenous affairs from state to Federal government responsibility and signaled a dramatic series of socio-legal changes in Indigenous rights. These culminated in 1993 with the recognition by the High Court of Australia of the prior ownership of the land by Indigenous people in the critical Mabo Decision. Shaped by mass recruited southern European migration, followed by refugee flows from South East Asia and then the adoption of a points based immigration system, multiculturalism policy and multicultural education, became an elaborate series of practices linked to a new image of the nation.

In this analysis multiculturalism and multicultural education are ultimately state projects of response to population diversity. The demographic pluralism that is the prior assumption of policy responses implied in the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education may arise in many diverse ways. Specifically, in the case of Australia it has arisen from two sources: recruited immigration and growing recognition of rights of the original Indigenous inhabitants. Australian multicultural education, therefore, has become a wide-ranging practice, which has included six essential areas of focus, with different emphases over time:

(i) Provision of specialist teaching programs of English as a second language for immigrants and Indigenous children and adults;
(ii) First language maintenance for immigrant and Indigenous learners or as mother tongue maintenance;
(iii) Teaching of community languages, i.e. immigrant and Indigenous languages, as second languages;
(iv) Infusing culturally diverse perspectives across all subject areas of the curriculum, such as history, geography, and citizenship studies;
(v) Parent participation; and
(vi) Active combating of negative and or racist depictions of minority populations.

The first three parts of these six components can be grouped under language policy: provision of specialist English education, the maintenance of the first languages (both transitionally as a form of access to English and the wider curriculum

but also as language maintenance, and therefore as language rights), and then the issue of making such 'community languages', available to the wider population as second languages. Items three to six however, take multicultural education well beyond issues of language, but in the Australian context language education became the central issue and has often served as a proxy indicator of multicultural education in general. The chapter by Lo Bianco traces the trajectory of these moves, showing how over time multicultural education has become identified with, and restricted to, language policy to a considerable degree. Lo Bianco notes the tensions between wide-remit definitions of multicultural education and more nationally economic-based and strategic policies such as 'Asia literacy'.

The Canadian experience is one of the classic case studies of multicultural policy. Here, multiculturalism refers largely to a concern with cultural diversity, thus addressing issues of immigrant integration, cultural identity, racism, and religious and linguistic diversity. In their discussion of Canada's longstanding experience of multicultural education Joshee, Peck, Thompson, Chareka, and Sears, show how it has always been seen as a key to ensuring that cultural diversity was managed properly. The authors exemplify Canadian multicultural education through two discourses: *social cohesion* and *equity of outcomes*. The social cohesion discourse is most evident in the specific policy work on 'Safe Schools' and 'Character Development'. The logic underlying the Safe Schools policy statement is that safety is a prerequisite for fulfilling the academic mandate of any educational institution. The current policy framework for safe schools makes explicit reference to the Policy and Program Memorandum 119 of Ministry of Education (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2006). This document outlines a policy on anti-racism and ethnocultural equity, and puts more focus on violence prevention, while remaining true to the logic of social cohesion. The focus of intervention is on specific individual behaviours, most particularly bullying (Safe Schools Action Team, 2006). The equity of outcomes goal harkens back to what has been called first generation human rights, which grew out of traditions of liberal individualism and focused on redistribution of goods in society. While still recognising systemic inequalities and the need for the state to intercede on behalf of disadvantaged members of society, the key focus is on the relationship between the individual and the state. An important aspect of this approach to addressing inequality is that it tends to lead to remedies on the individual level rather than systemic change (Agocs, 2004).

Very little discussion of China's education policies uses the label multiculturalism or 'difference'. Wang, Ye, and Schapper show how notions of multiculturalism and multicultural education can be identified in Chinese education practice. They explore the historical development of bilingual education policy for minority ethnic groups at both national and provincial levels across the dramatic changes in political events and ideological directions since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, as well as its direct antecedents under the rule of the Nationalist Party from 1905 to 1946. This highly turbulent time produced many innovations in bilingual education involving ethnic languages and Modern Standard Chinese (Mandarin/Putonghua) which differ greatly across divergent parts of the Chinese landmass.

The authors discuss these approaches to bilingual education with special reference to Southwest China and the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and contrast moments of language-based liberalization with moments of centralization and assimilation according to wider political, economic, and ideological developments.

The chapter by Horst takes us to Denmark which represents a complex case of majority and minority interaction in a small, highly developed, long-settled national state comprised of a longstanding, well-respected liberal democracy. Despite these apparently felicitous conditions however, intercultural and multicultural education as professionalized concepts are absent in Danish education policies. Instead there is a close relationship between a political mono-cultural vision for the future development of Danish society and the corresponding mono-cultural policy responses to ethnic complexity in the field of education. Problems in Denmark's approach to difference in education centre on responses which do not tend to remedy general underachievement in any effective way on the one hand, and which on the other hand fail to recognize the presence of ethnic minorities equally. According to Horst, this perceived inequity has involved criticism from the United Nations Commission on Racial Equality, both in relation to minority access to some aspects of education (mother-tongue maintenance) and in failures to represent minority groups in the organization of education more generally. In Horst's analysis, when different research positions, research results and explanations of underachievement are considered, different policy positions result. Two positions clearly emerge based on how research raises questions regarding ethnic complexity: (1) as a social condition for the development of the education system, or (2) as a perspective, which has to be dealt with from within a mono-culturally constructed education system.

Multicultural, intercultural, and bilingual education research offers other developments based on quite different positions, including recognition of ethnic and linguistic complexity as a social condition in the development of educational change. In this analysis, Horst highlights the critical role of academic knowledge production in influencing changes in the education system and in the organization of education, which reflects the actual ethnic complexity in society, or its multicultural character (Parekh, 2000; Banks, 2004; Sleeter and Grant, 2003). By contrast, recognition of general educational theory in relation to ethnic complexity argues that what is supposed to be important for ethnic majority children must be equally important for cultural and linguistic minority students. This is not only a question of equal access to the education system but also relates to the way in which the education system and the organization of education recognize the situations of all children equally.

Writing about Brazil, Chamilian, and Kowalewski discuss multiculturalism in the context of an especially complex and fraught history of minority-majority interaction. The characteristics and formative historical background of the Brazilian demography is marked by the miscegenation among white, indigenous and black people, as well as other ethnic groups. In other contexts such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, when minorities claim affirmative actions, there is an emphasis on the difference, substance or essence of each culture and its intrinsic value globally as well as nationally. Brazil, owing to its history of greater intermixing

elicits different approaches. Through two educational documents the chapter explores these questions, including matters related to cultural diversity in Brazilian curriculum policy. The documents under analysis are the transversal theme 'Cultural Plurality' in the National Curricular Parameters and the National Curricular Guidelines for the Teaching of the Ethnic and Racial Relations and for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture. *Cultural Plurality in the National Curriculum Parameters* is the first national document in which the theme of Cultural Plurality is promoted as a curriculum guideline. The *National Curriculum Guidelines for the Education of the Ethnic and Racial Relations and for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture* is the first specific educational guideline about the theme of Brazilians of African descent. These documents highlight what the authors describe as 'pervasive peculiarities' and represent a major point of learning from difference, the theme of this book, that demonstrates the deep impact of historical circumstances on how 'difference' itself is perceived, named, and negotiated in education policy.

In South Africa similarly, the meaning of multicultural education is determined by its specific socio-historical context, both post-colonial and post-apartheid. As Soudien and McKinney show, multicultural education needs to be understood within the broader national context of racial redress following apartheid. As such, a broad characteristic of multiculturalism is the struggle to achieve access to quality education for the majority to whom this was previously denied. This is a reversal of majority/minority relations where the demographic majority is the socialized minority. Communitarian and egalitarian aspects of South Africa's past are linked to Canada's, in that both had two rival colonial powers struggling in a constrained space. South Africa's colonial disputes where articulated by all other differences being subordinated to Afrikaans and English rivalry for domination of state institutions, just as new arrivals in Canada were subsumed into the debates over French-English bilingualism. South Africa's retention of English and white institutions is temporally interesting, because they have prior experience of African decolonisation. Dual issues in multicultural education are inclusion and exclusion in quality schooling and the infusion of democratic values in schooling for all. A specific priority of the South African experience is the profound link between linguistic diversity and meaningful access to the general curriculum. It also relates to linguistic ideologies common in South African schools and society which frequently continue to privilege monolingual English (and thus 'white') ways of knowing, being, and speaking. Addressing issues of difference, as well as the democratic values enshrined in the constitution, are not seen as a current priority in redressing inequality in the South African schooling system while addressing the politics of difference and democratic values may seem justifiably backgrounded in the context of a system struggling to provide quality education. In Soudien and McKinney's analysis, the meaning of multicultural education in South Africa is, therefore, post-apartheid national reconstruction. Issues of inclusion/exclusion contrive to create the curriculum around the minority white population. Linguistic diversity, access to the curriculum and instruction, are conceived around constructing a white-conceived black nation. Even when attempts are made to deconstruct the white-black dichotomy,

efforts made in educational policy seem inexorably wedded to white systems of epistemology and ontology. Hence, multicultural education cannot be understood without reference to colonial experience.

Özsoy and Bilgi's discussion of the 'possibilities and dilemmas' of multicultural education in Turkey is grounded on a recent 'dramatic increase' in scholarly reflection on the meaning and relevance of its key concepts, theoretical, philosophical, and pedagogical principles. The authors subject the critical terminology of multiculturalism and multicultural education to scrutiny, exploring how in contemporary debates key meanings are not probed in depth and the key terms are sometimes 'fetishized' rather than understood and applied critically. The authors look for 'emancipating potentials' in the field through an exploration of 'Turkish modernization' and notions of the 'ideal citizen', 'republicanism' and 'democratism'. Is multicultural education a right or an opportunity? Does it have a distinctive pedagogy? Are its notions positivistic or relational? Through such questioning, the chapter opens up dilemmas and quandaries in the discourse of multiculturalism that go well beyond its specific Turkish manifestation and show how, in keeping with the aims of our book, reflections on multiculturalism are an opportunity for 'learning from difference'.

Bal's chapter on the United States shows how the long and intricate US experience with multicultural education from the early twentieth century 'pulls in two directions', one towards a celebratory stance on difference and diversity, and the other towards a 'culturally unifying' national curriculum that acknowledges pluralism. Policy making in the United States is located within a socio-cultural matrix that Kagan (1991) characterizes as '*adversarial legalism*'. This notion holds that American public policy is conditioned by the expectation that ultimately recourse to legal resolution is likely and often probable. No such expectation operates in other English speaking settings but the size of the US experience produces influential writing, theory and analysis of multicultural education. This body of writing and theory often assumed that the US approach to 'rights' policy making and legal practices in relation to social and education change, is the normal practice in international settings. If we add the idea of adversarialism to the distinctive American practice of what Hawkesworth (1988) calls '*atomistic individualism*', which can best be described as the notion in the civic identity and democratic practice of public life as separate and bounded units, then a uniquely litigious approach to education policy emerges. Bal discusses the tradition of policy analysis that characterizes many US school districts, as a belief in the so-called evidence-base, a 'culture-blind' highly standardized mode of policymaking, curriculum and instruction.

Multicultural education in the US was fuelled by the civil rights movement and was led by African American and Latino/a activists and scholars in the 1950s and 1960s. Civil rights struggles resulted in a series of anti-discrimination litigations such as racial desegregations of schools and educational policy changes for historically marginalized students such as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) for free and appropriate education of individuals with disabilities. However, the author demonstrates multiculturalist anti-discrimination policies do not ensure educational equality and do little to distrupt social injustice. Moreover, such policies may have resulted in further marginalization of minority students.

Special education formally prohibits the exclusion of students with disabilities from public education. However, it has been reported that the special education placement might also stigmatize students, segregate them from their peers, expose them to low expectations and a weak curriculum, and limit post-school outcomes such as employment options, income level, and access to higher education (Donovan & Cross 2002).

The third phase of the development of multicultural education is that of 'multiethnic studies in a global era'. This phase identifies the international or globalised context of the contemporary world as the current framing of multicultural education. Demographic projections show that in less than a decade more than half of the student population in the US will self-identify as non-white suggesting that domestic rather than global questions, or rather the link between domestic local and global, and therefore glocal realities will shape future development of this field. The author discusses the potential contribution of sociohistorical theory for the international multicultural education movement, whose ultimate aim should be to transform education systems and enduring inequalities to facilitate expansive and inclusive learning opportunities and outcomes for *all* children.

In recent years the Kingdom of Thailand has been discussing modification to its traditional forms of public education that affirm unifying values and institutions (Thai Language, Monarchy and Buddhism). Lo Bianco and Slaughter show how successive governments of Thailand have promoted a homogenous, uniform, united, and cohesive image of the Kingdom as a secure, bounded un-colonized nation state. The purpose of this curriculum affirmation has been to enshrine a harmonious cultural depiction in sharp contrast to several of Thailand's neighbours in Southeast Asia which have expressly acknowledged linguistic and cultural diversity in educational practices. Both subnational pressure (violent insurrection in the Deep South and political agitation in other border areas) and supranational pressure from economic and security integration via the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have led to non-government agencies, international bodies and minority interests pressing for a more pluralistic vision of Thai society to be acknowledged. Lo Bianco and Slaughter's analysis links the practices of anticolonial defensiveness in the transition from a mandala system Buddhist concept of state to a mapped, bounded and defined modernist concept of the national territory. An enclosed 'geobody' tends to foster practices of governmentality, whereby actions of the state organ homogenize language and culture. In response to violent reactions against this from Muslim Malay speakers in Thailand's south and from other proximal ethnicities in the north and elsewhere, the nation is slowly recognising multicultural education's role in diffusing violence and fostering social cohesion. The effects of economic globalization is making Bangkok and other Thai metropoles, great centers of urban culture and new pressures for a more pluralistic, multicultural, and multilingual Thailand are becoming more insistent.

While all of the authors have chosen to focus on widely divergent educational contexts, the global span of their analyses elicits insight into the potential of critical

approaches in dealing with the problems facing increasingly multicultural societies. By analyzing different approaches to policy in different situations, this book aims to illustrate the various successes and failures of policy enactment on the world stage. By isolating both the differences and similarities in the unique geopolitical and socio-historical contexts of the countries investigated here, we hope to expand the range of settings, experiences, epistemologies, ontologies and practical experiences that are typically encountered in discussions of multicultural education. All societies are in some way 'dealing with difference' – our hope is that this volume helps us to widen the scope of reflection thus facilitating increased, global 'learning from difference'.

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Multicultural Education in the Australian Context: An Historical Overview

Joseph Lo Bianco

Abstract Australia's experience of multicultural education, in its various phases arose at the intersection of the nation-shaping circumstances of British-loyalty, Indigenous-oppression and reconciliation politics, geographic anxiety, mass settler-recruiting immigration, the US Alliance, Asia-literacy, economic crisis and rejuvenation, educational experimentation and innovation. These elements are discussed chronologically from the inception of multicultural discourses in the early 1970s to the tenuous and contentious position of the multicultural interpretation of Australia today, and can be organized under wider themes of demography, geography and economy.

Three phases of Australian 'learning from difference' in education are discussed in the chapter, a phase commonly known as multiculturalism, a replacement phase called 'Asianism' and neo-liberal based education reform called 'economism'. These are discussed in the chapter in relation to three points of reference: (i) language policy; (ii) the prevailing political ideology; (iii) the focus on Asia in public debate and in each case reference is made to questions of geography, demography and economy.

Keywords Multicultural education • Language policy • Literacy • Citizenship • Ethnic diversity • 'Asianism' • 'Economism' • Australia

1 Introduction

Each national account of educational responses to diversity, understood here mainly as the co-existence of cultural, religious, linguistic and personal kinds of difference within a given state, is particular to the national and educational characteristics of the polity concerned. These cultural, religious, linguistic and personal characteristics are typically constituted as variations from existing and privileged norms. The

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_2

latter involve characteristics, identity and behavioral practices which derive privilege because they coincide with the characteristics and interests of dominant groups.

Demands on behalf of minority groups are therefore invariably located within a contested space, since their advance necessarily involves lessening, removal or problematizing the ready association of one set of privileged characteristics with the wider social norms. These demands for reconstituting the extant social order can be identified along a continuum of amelioration to radical change. Amelioration involves reducing levels and kinds of marginalization, exclusion or inequality, but imply minority acceptance of the extant order of social privilege.

Change premised on amelioration is often imagined to be gradual, incremental and progressive, change by process and negotiation. Demands for radical reordering of prevailing norms and practices typically takes the form of reconstitution of the entire extant social order, and its replacement with collective, neutral or hybrid norms. However, commonly we also see justice-based demands for redistribution of privilege within the wider social and economic setting.

Change premised on radical reordering is usually imagined to be disruptive, rapid, and rupturing of previous arrangements. What is notable from the above, from both kinds of change, is the absence or weakness of class-based social analysis and a failure to theorize its role within the demands for pluralization.

The last quarter of the twentieth century can be seen as the historical period during which, at least in western developed industrial and post-industrial society, the demands for recognition of difference, either for amelioration of disadvantage, or for more radical redistribution of privileges, were most insistent. As noted, such changes do not align directly or comfortably with politics of class exclusion and political theories of economic inequality. Instead, multicultural education demands tended to rely on a language of inclusion, advocating educational change by seeking "presence" or "visibility" in the curriculum (such as teaching a particular language or including the historical experience or interpretation of events in civics or history subjects, or systemic changes to the ways schools or higher education operate).

2 The Chapter

Australia's experience of multicultural education, in its various phases, progress and regress, arose at the intersection of the nation-shaping circumstances of British-loyalty, Indigenous-oppression and reconciliation politics, geographic anxiety, mass settler-recruiting immigration, the US Alliance, Asia-literacy, economic crisis and rejuvenation, educational experimentation and innovation. These elements are discussed in the body of this chapter which proceeds chronologically from the inception of multicultural discourses in the early 1970s to the tenuous and contentious position of the multicultural interpretation of Australia today, and can be organized under wider themes of demography, geography and economy.

Three phases of Australian 'learning from difference' in education are discussed here, a phase commonly known as multiculturalism, a replacement phase I call Asianism and neo-liberal based education reform which I call economism (see Lo Bianco 2004 for an extended discussion of the policy phases). These are discussed here in relation to three points of reference: (i) language policy; (ii) the prevailing political ideology; (iii) the focus on Asia in public debate and in each case reference is made to questions of geography, demography and economy.

3 Sources of Population Diversity

Australia's cultural and linguistic pluralism has two main sources, original Indigenous diversity and immigration, so that the present population is one of the world's most linguistically and ethnically diverse, as described by the data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2014, i–vi).

4 Immigration Context

The formal origins of multicultural education in Australia can be traced to the movement for electoral enfranchisement of recently arrived immigrants in the early 1970s via appeals to equal educational opportunity for their children, growing subsequently into a new vision for a culturally transformed nation itself absorbing and embracing change due to immigration. These moves are most strongly associated with the Whitlam Labour Government of 1972–1975, continued and extended by the Fraser Coalition Government of 1975–1983. This transition meant that a relatively bi-partisan approach emerged, and so in its Australian manifestation, multiculturalism was spared some of the bitter controversy which has characterized it in other settings. Nevertheless, immigration policy, and especially refugee and asylum seeker policy, have remained major issues of ideological dispute, as has the wider question of the purposes and extent of multiculturalism in general, and at times in the more recent past these have represented sharp political divides.

The initial policy measures of the Whitlam-Fraser era have clear functional antecedents which can be traced to the 1947 Post-war Migration Program, and specifically its adoption of the AMEP - Adult Migrant Education Program (Martin 1999). The aim of the AMEP was to teach English to all adult immigrants recruited to Australia, including large numbers of displaced persons from Eastern and Southern Europe. As such, multicultural policy was invested from its earliest manifestation with an immigration-servicing character and multicultural education was a direct outgrowth of these orientations in public policy. The overarching policy can therefore be seen as a form of *pragmatic settlement policy* since immigration in Australia was always planned with the dual objectives of increasing population and producing a larger domestic workforce and economy. Other measures to accompany

settlement lent the program an overall ethos of facilitating citizenship and social participation.

In the late 1960s research showing persisting difficulties and educational inequality among immigrant children meant that the adult focus of the AMEP was extended to children in programs teaching specialist English as a second language. From such programs focused on specialist provision of English, initially for adults and subsequently for children, emerged a more wide-ranging set of policies and programs which can properly be called multicultural education. The essential aims of this expanded understanding of the consequences of immigration produced changes to the entire society, and not just measures to enable immigrants to adapt to the new social, educational and economic environment of the host society. This move to foster widespread recognition of cultural diversity proved more controversial than measures for English teaching.

5 Indigenous Context

While Indigenous cultural and linguistic rights have particular circumstances and a separate historical development, there are also parallel developments with immigration-servicing policies. A critical move was the 1967 referendum which transferred responsibility for Aboriginal policy from state governments to the Federal (Commonwealth). Education to support Indigenous culture and language maintenance, while far short of any robust notion of recognition of language rights, has a long history of struggle and demands, finding support at government level for the first time under the Whitlam and Fraser administrations of the early to mid-1970s.

However, Indigenous rights recognition accelerated with a critical series of important legal cases, culminating in the landmark ruling of the High Court of Australia (HCA 1992), commonly known as Mabo Decision, recognising native or Aboriginal land title for the first time. This recognition was a consequence of the High Court's rejection of the doctrine of *terra nullius* one of the ways (others being conquest or cession of territory) in which international law recognises as '…effective ways of acquiring sovereignty' (HCA 1992, clause 33) for the British settlement of the continent. Formal acceptance that native title pre-exists British occupation of Australia through 'traditional connection' to the land, has served to make issues of unextinguished land tenure partially dependent on Indigenous language, culture and law. While linking language and land in this way suggests that Indigenous language policy might have broken through to a robust series of legal supports this has proved disappointing. The most important consequences of Mabo were in fostering legal recognition of traditional land ownership, and Australian law still offers little support for the unique languages of the continent. While never far from the news Indigenous bilingual education re-emerged from a long hiatus as a lightning rod issue on 14 October 2008 when the Northern Territory then Minister for Education and Training, Marion Scrymgour announced that all schools would

be required to devote the first 4 h of lessons for all Indigenous students exclusively in English, contravening Federal Government policies supporting Indigenous languages programming in schools.

Indigenous education and immigrant education measures are radically different in their socio-political and demographic contexts, but both represent claims to modify the mainstream curriculum of public education on behalf of the presence of domestic minority populations. Both have advanced when they have coincided with wider socio-political reformism, and have receded when countervailing pressures reasserted themselves.

6 Social Reformist Origins

The chronological account begins with the election on 2 December 1972 of the (short-lived) Whitlam government, the first non-Conservative Federal administration in almost three decades. Inheriting several pragmatic experiences in settlement policy, especially the AMEP and its extension in the late 1960s to children through the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP), the Whitlam government proclaimed that it would change the national character in deep ways, legitimizing diversity and experimenting with how to represent national pluralism in the public imagining of the nation. Its new way to talk about the nation has had an enduring effect.

As a measure to foster occupational integration of newly arrived immigrant adults into the national economy the AMEP offered assistance to newcomers to acquire the national language but, as the historical record suggests, it was also intended to assuage mainstream concerns about the emergence of unassimilated minority populations. Over time, the AMEP was bolstered by evidence from labor market research that English proficiency is a predictor of social and occupational opportunity. We can consider this therefore 'pragmatic' multiculturalism in which national interest considerations prevail, where a body of policy reasoning was extended to children by Federal initiative between 1969 and 1970. However, under the Whitlam administration a new and radical aspect of pluralism emerged. This involved the first recognition that immigrants were also changing the host society, that this change was potentially positive, and that it ought to be encouraged.

Whitlam's first Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby, talked about the 'family of the nation' and introduced a discourse of both cohesion (like the AMEP had fostered) and the new element of positive recognition of diversity. This was a way to mark difference as normal and central to the newly emergent nation and extended to many policy fields (Lo Bianco and Gvozdenko 2006).

These years also saw the beginnings of the community languages movement as a central element in multicultural education and the most tangible of all policy interventions in multiculturalism. Other Whitlam innovations were the creation of telephone based professional language mediation in health and medical situations, in courts of law and in policing, and the beginnings of professionalism for community interpreters.

The Whitlam government massively boosted funding to public education under the rationale of equalization of educational opportunities, incorporating education for ethnic minority and Indigenous children within this logic, thereby supplying the first orientation in multicultural education, that of equalization and of social and educational opportunities. This essentially assumed a class analysis of society, and the place of minorities within it, based on the sense that public authorities have the responsibility to remove obstacles to equal participation in education and the social and economic opportunities it affords.

The early work of the Schools Commission, created by Whitlam to implement these new orientations in public education policy, regularly invoked the situation of language-defined urban immigrant populations and Indigenous people associated with separate language and cultural traditions, all enveloped in a discourse of social and economic opportunity. This served as a discursive preparation for what emerged in 1975 as the first political activism around notions of 'language rights'. While this was a successful project for the social reformist side of politics, the emergent political consciousness among immigrants and Aborigines, bolstered by citizenship access and compulsory voting, sparked concern among conservative political forces.

7 Conservative Innovation

The increasing politicization of immigrant policy and the popular success of multiculturalism pushed conservative political parties to conduct analysis of the association between the aspirations of immigrants (due to their greater numbers and urban locations than indigenous groups) and political allegiance to the Labour party (Lo Bianco 2004).

The result was an interpretation of the problems and place of immigrants in society, and also of indigenous people, which sought to substitute cultural differences for social class. Labour's stress on educational interventions for ameliorating social disadvantage came to be replaced by this conservative emphasis on cultural dissonance between home and school, and between communities and other public institutions and authorities, so that disadvantages faced by minority populations were to be sought in individual and cultural explanations and not in socio-economic positioning. This, then, was the second, and also lasting, stream of ideologizing about minority populations (Lo Bianco 2004).

For much of the next two decades multicultural debate oscillated between these two schools of thought, a class versus a culturalist analysis of minorities, their social position and aspirations. The former identified discrimination and disadvantage as the sources of inequality and advocated major social change; the reaction celebrated cultural diversity, stressed the expectation of overriding commitment to a unified polity and located disadvantage as a transitional, and marginal, experience of individuals.

During the middle of the 1970s, after the Fraser Liberal-National government replaced Whitlam, two critical developments were to shape multicultural policy.

First, Britain's entry into the European Common Market, second, Australia's admission of large numbers of Indo-Chinese refugees. In their different ways these two events shaped cultural policy and multiculturalism very deeply. The loss of the guaranteed markets for Australian raw materials and primary produce required the nation to more energetically seek market access in East Asia. The addition of historically unprecedented numbers of new Australians from Asian countries underscored how Australia was demographically turning towards Asia and away from Europe. The Fraser government sought to dissociate ethnic Australian aspirations from the antagonistic language of class and its association with Labour. So, although the Whitlam government laid the foundations of multicultural policy, the Fraser government enacted far reaching, enduring and some of the most celebrated policy measures. The key instrument for Fraser's intervention was a major national enquiry, the Galbally Report of 1981, which set the conceptual understanding of multiculturalism for many years (Moore 1996).

The conceptualization involved a transfer of initiative for pluralism policies from state to community, to 'self-help' and partnership between public authorities and minority communities in assistance and welfare, language maintenance and religious identification. Public institutions were expected only to support, not carry or implement policy. Among the Galbally innovations were extensions to multilingual public radio, the origins of multicultural and multilingual public television, integration of multicultural perspectives in school curricula, across all subject areas, and expansions in the English teaching adapted to the circumstances and needs of learners.

From its inception the national project of multiculturalism has been subjected to critique from nationalist interests. The main target of criticism has been the abandonment of the formal rhetoric of assimilation, arguing that socially divisive consequences would inevitably produce a fragmented and conflicted citizenry, (Blainey 1984; Clancy 2006) and the illegitimacy of claims within the multicultural construction of Australia that the first settlers can be considered one ethnic or immigrant group like later arrivals, rather than the core nationality of Australia (Hirst 2005). It is an interesting and unusual aspect of the Australian multicultural education experience that such repudiations of the multicultural experience are greatly attenuated in education, which has sometimes been absolved of criticism on the grounds that much of the practice of multicultural education represents a needed or useful pragmatic response to the communication needs of learners.

8 Scope of Multicultural Education

The Whitlam/Fraser years defined the scope of multicultural education which has come to include six areas of focus, though with different emphases over time:

1. Provision of specialist teaching programs of English as a second language for immigrants and Indigenous children and adults;
2. First language maintenance for immigrant and Indigenous children or as mother tongue mantenance;

3. Teaching of community/heritage languages;
4. Infusing culturally diverse perspectives across all subject areas of the curriculum, such as history, geography, citizenship studies;
5. Parent participation; and
6. Active combating of negative and or racist depictions of minority populations.

The first three constitute the language policy components of Australian multiculturalism. The second group of three are similar to what, writing about the United States, Sonia Nieto (2000) identifies as the seven 'basic characteristics' of education for a culturally diverse society. These are, paraphrased, that it should be 'anti-racist, basic, important for all students, pervasive, directed at social justice and that it should be a "process" and use critical pedagogy' (passim, p. 305), essentially therefore a '. . .philosophy, a way of looking at the world, not simply a programme or a class or a teacher' (2000, p. 313).

Partly because of its pragmatic origins, and partly because of the ideological investment from conservative and progressive political forces in their distinctive visions of the field, language education became the central issue and often represented a proxy indicator of how multicultural education in general was treated. As a result in the following sections of the chapter special attention is devoted to language issues.

9 Languages Policy

Public agitation for comprehensive language provision which had commenced in Melbourne around 1974, accelerated in response to the Galbally Report. The essential claim was for a more systematic approach to language provision and a formal adoption of language rights. From 1981 the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) launched a series of demands and spearheaded public action around language rights and multilingualism (Ozolins 1993). By convening a series of congresses which mobilized the participation of thousands of people across the country, FECCA succeeded in persuading the Fraser government to take action. In 1982 it launched a bipartisan Senate committee investigation to examine the claim for a national language policy, but was defeated at the polls in March 1983 by the Labour Party led by Bob Hawke, who inaugurated a more cautious and consensus seeking approach than the previous Labour government under Whitlam.

Nevertheless, having inherited the organized movement national language planning and the Senate enquiry, Hawke allowed the investigation into national language policy to complete its work. When the report was presented in 1984 however, the government baulked at the depth of change implied in adopting a national language policy. FECCA again mobilized public action, and strong lobbying persisted for a national approach to language policy. Eventually a new enquiry was launched and in June 1987 Federal cabinet adopted Australia's first National Policy on Languages, the NPL (Lo Bianco 1987) and the English speaking world's first multilingual national plan.

The NPL won bipartisan endorsement in parliament, representing the culmination of a long history of language planning incorporating the first national programs and principles in a wide range of immigrant, indigenous and international language and literacy measures.

In 1989 bipartisan collaboration was again in evidence with the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, another watershed document in response to diversity, whose new vocabulary on cultural pluralism, dislodged the Galbally approach. The three principles of the National Agenda: *cultural diversity*, *social cohesion and economic efficiency*, encapsulated an evolving compromise that highlighted a broad political consensus about public response to cultural diversity.

In the National Agenda the rhetoric of class based disadvantage was replaced with the neutral tone of 'productive diversity'; the celebration of cultural differences as emphasized in Galbally was retained but a new element of common citizenship within a unified set of national institutions and allegiance, i.e. pluralism with social cohesion, was adopted.

Although originating together language policy and multiculturalism now had their own separate policies, with separate institutional and administrative locations. Under Hawke language policy was becoming more connected to economic efficiency arguments, through literacy, trade languages, and international English, and was entrusted to education and training ministries. Multiculturalism on the other hand was entrusted to the Prime Minister and to the Department of Immigration. These changes reflect the emergence of separate interests for these fields, and, ultimately, a fragmentation of the previously cohesive advocacy.

From the early 1990s, further specialization occurred. This was due to the extension of Anti-Racism legislation, and the creation of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission, and from 1994, the Mabo Decision in the High Court's ruling on land title, and the creation of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission. What had been a collaborating, if not completely united alliance of constituencies around minority interests, was specializing and fragmenting, underscored by the emergence of the claim for 'Asia literacy'.

10 Asian Studies as a Separate Field

Public demands to orient education towards Australia's geographic, strategic and economic interests in Asia gained momentum from 1986, when a key initiative towards a more Asia-focused education system was entrusted to a specially formed advisory think tank, ASC, Asian Studies Council (Herriman 1996; Lo Bianco 2004).

The agitation for improved and deepened Asian Studies were not integrated with multicultural education being seen as externally oriented and tied to history, social studies and foreign language teaching. The ASC coined the term *Asia literacy*, to capture its demand that education respond to the geographic proximity of Asian societies, and respond to national rather than local issues. In this demand language

choice would be determined by the official languages of prominent Asian economies, and so Asian languages became closely linked with discussions of trade relations with Australia, sometimes being termed 'trade' languages.

At this time the Department of Foreign Affairs was renamed Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, with Asia literacy tied ever more closely to a discourse of foreign affairs, security, trade and diplomacy. This powerful combination of interests aligned with the highest level of public administration was reflected in arguments about language choice between 'national interest' languages versus migrant communities, multiculturalism or local 'lobbies' (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009). The necessary work of integration and fusion between community and international perspectives in language education and cultural perspectives in education was inadequately pursued; the longer term effect was to fragment a previously cohesive language and multicultural framework.

Asia literacy became especially closely associated with Hawke's successor Paul Keating. As Prime Minister Keating made strenuous efforts to engage Australia in regional affairs and to effect supporting changes in domestic policy, especially in trade, diplomacy and education. Asian languages and studies were given their most prominent place with the adoption in 1994 of the *National Asian Languages and Studies of Asia Strategy* (NALSAS), funded by all states and territories (COAG 1994), already the cause of concern to minority communities sensing that Asian languages construed only as foreign trade languages implied problems for their presence in the community and the number to be supported (Singh 2001).

NALSAS became the most well-funded and extensively pursued program of curriculum change in relation to languages, though its long term effects are today under considerable doubt (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009).

11 English as Literacy

The first signs of a direct backlash against multilingualism arose in the field of English and English literacy. One effect of UNESCO's International Literacy Year 1990 which aimed to consolidate action towards the 'eradication' of illiteracy, principally in developing countries, was to bring to the attention of policymakers problems of literacy attainment within the Australian population.

These dovetailed with investigations by OECD applying human capital economic theory on the impact of poor rates of literacy on national economic performance. Combined, these focused policy makers on communication, and specifically literacy, in schooling and competitive economic positioning within the Asian region. ILY also addressed adult education and was used by some to make negative comparisons about provision of 'generous' AMEP English provision for immigrants and inadequate provision of literacy for 'native' Australians (Lo Bianco 2004).

The work of integration that was not pursued between Asian studies and multicultural education was repeated in this instance. What was required was an integration of the separate domains of adult education, English for newly arrived immigrant

adults, with literacy support for locally born English speaking adults from poor and disadvantaged backgrounds, to pedagogically and socially demarcate their domains and operations. The absence of such integrative work in public policy ensured that direct labor market effects of literacy policy came to prevail over alternative conceptualizations of literacy education and its purposes. The process however underscored what is discussed below as 'economism', an emerging Federal political preference to debate new policy initiatives using the terminology of macroeconomics and conceptualizing education outlays in terms of investments promising greater returns.

A practical impact was to focus increased attention on English, and to construe levels of funding for English literacy as a mainstream investment, and, at first by implication, later more directly, other kinds of language education spending as pandering to 'ethnic' rather than to 'national' interests. Although the government's own NPL addressed both 'English literacy' and 'Asia literacy', and had initiated the research whose findings would shape the next decade of policy making in these fields (e.g. Wickert 2001) these new 'literacies' were construed as more urgent than, and antagonistic to, multi-culturally inspired language policy (Moore 1996; Herriman 1996).

The particular effect on Indigenous languages and on English as a second language teaching in general was to make 'literacy' the overarching concept organizing school intervention (Nichols 2001) accentuating pressure in schools for bilingual programs to show progress in English literacy and downgrading their achievements in first language maintenance, bilingualism and other social and cognitive aspects.

12 The 1990s: Progressive Retreat

By 1991, the Hawke government's new education Minister, John Dawkins, set in train this process of emphasizing English literacy and trade languages (Clyne 1991). The resultant *Australian Language and Literacy Policy* (Dawkins 1992), distanced multicultural rationales and asserted an exclusive association with the 'national interest' against 'minority interests' (Moore 1996; Ozolins 1993).

The result projected an image of Australia as an imagined uniform native English speaking community, with marginal or residual cultural diversity. This imagery dissolved the pluralist commitment of Whitlam and Fraser of the previous two decades, and paved the way for marginalization of multiculturalism as a legitimate basis for initiatives in Federal education policy. By instituting separate national advisory structures, funding schemes and programs, the new policy moves provoked loss of curriculum coherence, lack of coordination and a fragmentation of effort. However, the process of policy change that the ALLP set in train was itself destabilized rapidly, when it was replaced by NALSAS (COAG 1994). Funding under NALSAS was based on national trade statistics supplied not by any education official, research or interest, but from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, directly linking school languages study with external trade data.

Under this scheme large financial allocations were made to four languages: Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese and Korean between 1995 and 2002, and despite many concerns about quality and sustainability, the introduction of these languages in schools boomed, with Japanese rising to become the number one language in high schools. However, community based programs which had prospered under the multicultural remit, such as Arabic, Khmer or Vietnamese, received no support and local community contexts for language teaching were marginalized (Singh 2001).

A similar process occurred in English literacy, the other field identified as critical by the ALLP. Under the Howard Coalition government which replaced Keating in 1996 successive education ministers stressed a curriculum ethos of national unity and English as the national language, and directed education policy towards the introduction of a normalized national testing scheme. The wider context was of a retreat into Anglo-sphere attachments, refusal to distance itself from anti-Asian immigration sentiment (Jingjing 2008) and incorporating neo-liberal reasoning within education policy. Literacy and language testing practices expanded, and the national literacy testing program conflated English as a second language with English literacy and in the process undermined a staple of multiculturalism, the teaching of English as a specialist activity. During the late 1990s the environment for languages and multicultural education had therefore come to resemble a kind of 'anti-policy' climate (Lo Bianco 2001) and by 2002 NALSAS was itself terminated, leaving only residual programs at the Federal level for languages, multicultural education and Asian studies.

13 Policy Profusion and Political Turmoil

An Asian language priority funding scheme was restored in 2007 with the election of the Labour government led by Kevin Rudd, though on a much reduced scale from its 1994 incarnation. The Labour administration however proved internally unstable, Kevin Rudd was replaced by his deputy, Julia Gillard, in mid-2010, and she terminated this program in 2012. However, Rudd defeated Gillard in a further internal spill of positions in June-2013, but then lost office to a Liberal-National Party Coalition government in the Federal elections held on 7 September 2013.

In stark contrast to the Anglosphere attachments of the Howard government Rudd had defeated in 2007, he championed an Asian future for Australia. Though tied strategically to the United States the nation's cultural and linguistic directions were strongly attached to his vision of a China-centered Asian regionalism. After his defeat Prime Minister Gillard commissioned and launched a major policy document, *Australia in the Asian Century* (Australian Government 2012), which invoked nothing less than a whole-of-government reorientation of policy and practices firmly towards Asian regionalism, including India for the first time, while actually strengthening the US alliance for security and intelligence purposes.

Under Gillard's Asian Century policy the longstanding program of making Australians 'Asia-literate' was rebranded making Australians 'Asia-capable'. One

result has been what Scrimgeour (2014) has called Australia's current dose of 'Chinese fever', referring to the veritable scramble for learning, teaching and supporting Chinese language and cultural studies.

A key aim of the Asian century paper was that all students would have continuous 'access' (undefined) to a priority Asian language, viz, Chinese (Mandarin), Indonesian and Japanese, as per previous policies, but demoting Korean and replacing it with Hindi (Australian Government 2012). In June 2013 when Rudd defeated Gillard and briefly resumed as Prime Minister of the country, he promised to restore Korean to priority language status, however after his defeat all Labour policies came to an end.

The new administration has declared its interest in achieving a 40 % target of all high school students studying a foreign language within a decade, continuing the same retreat from multicultural education principles, other than for the teaching of strategic foreign languages. This return to some of the Anglosphere reasoning was expressed by Minister of Education, Christopher Pyne in 2013 when he stated: 'We speak English and that's given us a great advantage in terms of economic opportunities around the world and being much more simple to administer than, say, a country like India, which has, I think, 600 different languages' (Hurst 2013).

Within the Foreign Affairs Ministry the new administration is focused on establishing the 'New Colombo Plan' aimed at facilitating undergraduate students' opportunities for scholarships and internships/mentorships across the Indian-Pacific region. A key aim of this is to 'see study in the Indo Pacific region become a "rite of passage" for Australian undergraduate students, and as an endeavor that is highly valued across the Australian community. …two way flow of students, with an increasing number of Australian undergraduates heading to the region to complement the thousands of students from the region coming to Australia to study each year' (DFAT 2014).

The New Colombo Plan resonates with the competition between the major political forces in Australia to claim precedence for the national project of Asian engagement. In January 1950 Commonwealth foreign ministers met in Colombo, Ceylon and created a bilateral aid scheme for South and South East Asia, which came ultimately to be called the Colombo Plan, and is associated with the Liberal Party antecedents of the current Federal government. Competition between the Australian Labour Party and the Liberal Party for 'ownership' of Asian engagement history guarantees its ongoing prominence in public policy, in a similar way to how in the late 1970s and 1980s both political parties competed for ownership of the policy field of multiculturalism. In one important way the Colombo Plan, like current policies on Asian engagement that are premised on keeping the United States active in Asian affairs, is an extension of the Anglosphere attachments that remain vital to all policy prescriptions of the past 50 years.

Simultaneous with this is progress towards implementation of the Australian Curriculum, it also being reviewed by the new government, as it is being finalized by its technical provisions, with syllabi for Chinese and Italian available for implementation, of other languages, Indigenous, Asian and European, at various stages of development.

Current efforts are directed at the introduction of a national curriculum to supplement, not to ultimately replace, state curricula (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009), within which languages have a secure place, allowing schools a choice of European, Asian, community and Indigenous languages. The political turmoil which has characterized Australian federal government during recent years has rendered the field of multicultural policy unclear.

14 Discourses of Language and Cultural Planning

We can see from the above account the interaction of various policy voices or interests: (i) ethnic minority and Indigenous agitation for language and cultural rights and representation in education (ii) professionals, such as teachers, linguists and researchers, who legitimized public action for languages and multicultural education, and (iii) diplomatic and trade interests committed to integrating Australian education into Asia motivated by trade, diplomacy and security concerns (Lo Bianco 2004).

Over the three decades of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s there was both collaboration and competition among these interests. It was their interaction with government that produced a continuing stream of pluralistic and comprehensive planning for languages and cultures in schooling (Lo Bianco and Gvozdenko 2006) but their pursuit of separate agendas fragmented the coherence of early planning and introduced a range of separate programs and understandings of the role of education in meeting the needs of cultural diversity.

These voices and interests essentially advocated responses to the shared realities of demography, geography and economy, and while their collaboration was often effective it was sometimes strained and divergent. The 1970s and early 1980s belonged to the ethnic minority advocates; the late 1980s and early 1990s belonged to the Asia literacy advocates, while during the late 1990s English literacy arguments, both practical and ideological, gained primacy in schooling debates and tended to minimize the impact and presence of multicultural language policy (Lo Bianco 2004).

The vulnerabilities of Australia's geographic isolation and small size were dramatically felt during World War II, giving rise to the political slogan 'populate or perish' which bolstered public acceptance of the post-war recruited immigration program. Part of this public acceptance was the institution of mass English teaching for new arrivals, in which the AMEP was constituted as a program of 'nation building' (Martin 1999). The multicultural moment in Australian public policy is closely associated with the Whitlam and Fraser governments of 1975–1983, and the Hawke government of 1983–1991. The governing theoretical ideal of thoughtful multicultural discourse has been for a separation of the domains of the *political* from the *cultural nation*. By this logic the political nation remains a vertical structure, a unitary, English speaking, representative parliamentary democracy, governed by law, based on notions of formal legal and economic equality, and buttressed by a

single common citizenship. The cultural nation is characterized by horizontal affinities of culture, language, plural identity attachments and notions of community.

Australia's relatively liberal citizenship laws, combined with compulsory voting, have produced a large urban constituency that the political classes appealed to with cultural politics in which languages featured prominently. Multiculturalism imagined and advocated the nation as a multilingual and independent entity with attenuated connections to Britain. There were many concrete achievements of the multiculturalism phase, in which language education became the locus of claims for social reconstruction, some of which endure today (Clyne 1991; Ozolins 1993; Lo Bianco and Wickert 2001), however, by the mid-1980s advocacy of rights to the maintenance of minority languages and support for special English provisions was losing its political traction. Britain's move into European economic and political structures from the mid-1970s hastened Australia's efforts to seek a place within Asia, an essentially economic and strategic/security move, but one with important long term language and national identity consequences.

By many practical indicators, of people and institutional links, and overwhelmingly in commercial and strategic considerations, Australia is deeply linked to Asian and Pacific countries; and formal membership of Asian, and especially South East Asian, regional institutions is also extensive. Further and deeper integration into 'the region' is a shared political program and a staple of political discourse. 'The region', from its beginnings as a term to mark trade and security policy has deepened into a full re-conceptualizing of national identity, a program closely identified with the Keating Labour government in the early 1990s, which made language education a clear and important part of its strategy. This position was significantly distanced during the Howard Coalition government of 1996–2007.

While the Howard administration harbored an evident preference for Anglosphere cultural associations, it continued most elements of the broad policy of Asian integration though with less commitment to any assumption that Australian national identity should be affected by such integration. The election of the Rudd then Gillard Labour governments in 2007 and 2010 re-established Asian regionalism, in its widest form, and gave priority to pursuing economic ties and regional security links in Asia, and exploring and enacting the educational consequences of these pragmatic ties, all significantly attenuated since.

Asian languages were the boom subjects of the 1990s, often uncomfortably aligned with multiculturalism (Singh 2001) and drawing on a stream of thinking of Asia-literacy as a national capability deficiency, a missing part of needed human capital, and as such required by mainstream English-speaking Australia, not its minority populations (Lo Bianco 2005). However, by the mid-2000s it was clear (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009) that the states which offered the greatest range of language education provision had the greatest retention rates for language study and success rates in language learning, while those administrations that pursued more narrowly trade and Asian focused programs had the lowest retention and success rates. This underscores that in a pluralistic nation motives for language study and cultural learning are multiple, principles enshrined within the design of the national curriculum, but now subject to revision in the highly

volatile policy context that has characterized Australia's activity in this area (Lo Bianco and Aliani 2013; Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2016).

15 Concluding Observations

Many initiatives in Australia's experiment with multicultural education transcended political-ideological differences to become included into programs of pedagogical and curriculum innovation. However, these were hampered by inconsistency of implementation and weakness of conceptualization as well as contest and disputation around meanings, content and practice of multicultural education. While prospering through the 1970s and 1980s multicultural education eventually came under challenge during the early 1990s and has since waned as an educational focus. It is unlikely however, in light of changes in global culture and internationalism which will continue to impact on educational design and delivery that the demand for a multicultural ethos in education will disappear; instead it will only intensify the need for a pluralistic understanding of curriculum.

The sources of population and curriculum diversity in Australia are *extra-national* (the Asian geographic setting) and *sub-national* (Indigenous and immigrant). These have long been defining influences on Australia's social, political and economic development. Indeed a key defining act of the Australian nation, the political federation of the British colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, was conditioned by both of these. One of the first acts of the new parliament of the Commonwealth was the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, better known as the White Australia Policy, which had the clear purpose of preventing the growth of precisely the kind of culturally, linguistically, religiously and racially diverse country which Australia has since become. The extent to which different political actors have taken up the term 'multiculturalism' and its educational derivative, have shifted dramatically over time. Various political interests and times have interpreted multiculturalism as the national condition to prevent, at other times and by other interests as the condition to produce, or to manage, or to minimize or control or embrace.

Multicultural education, as officially conceived in Australia, never fully resolved and occasionally provoked problematic relations with cognate curriculum reform processes aiming to incorporate difference and diversity into curriculum, and specifically Indigenous and Asian Studies. However, at the level of pedagogical practice the long period of debate, innovation and response to diversity which was brought about by the multicultural education movement produced many innovative practices and experiences which still enrich the public education scene. We can see that in its various phases language policy has been central to Australian conceptions of multiculturalism.

Contemporary transnational globalization involves forms of mobility that disrupt demographic depictions of stable national populations, with multiple kinds of human movement, for varying purposes and degrees of time. Over the past four decades migration movements have not only expanded but also diversified, in

direction, duration, social categories involved (Castles and Miller 2009), so that greater numbers move than ever before. But this mobility is highly differentiated, in its legal status, the directions from which it originates and its destinations, with many diverse social configurations making up the flows of movement and for different kinds of duration and purposes. International education is a key element of this modern mobility and its cultural and educational consequences are inevitably deep and lasting.

Alongside the migration aspect of globalization, pluralization is a consequence of the dynamic new forms of community and interaction possible in the information age. The rise of the information age has been documented by Manuel Castells in a trilogy of works dedicated to mapping and describing concrete technological and organizational linkages of communication (1996, 1997, 1998). In recent work (Castells 2009), he has synthesized this mapping of information flows and their technological supports into an extended analysis of the cognitive, emotive, and identity consequences of networks, of the power and potential of this horizontal flow of information and organization. Networks are relatively difficult for state authorities to regulate and control, and therefore they develop the propensity to destabilize national authority, norms, and structures. The *Australia in the Asian Century* document contrasts sharply with the mobile, networked transnational entities that such scholarship uncovers, and is premised instead on depictions of states as autonomous bounded territories engaged in trade across their stable populations.

New kinds of diversity challenge the founding discourses of many nations, especially those that claim a single unifying and culturally authentic language and either a single faith tradition or a dominant one. Such pluralization is experienced in different ways according to the particular legal frameworks of the host society, the precise nature of the migration type and the political preparedness and cultural attitudes of the host society toward diversity.

The Australian national account of multicultural education is remarkable for the volatility of policy development and the frequent chopping and changing of frameworks. However, a closer investigation reveals questions and problems which, though reformulated and reorganized, continually recur. These are the challenge of proximity to Asia, the nation's attachment to the political culture and security arrangements available within the ambit of the Anglosphere, and the insistent, bottom-up justice-based demands for Indigenous reconciliation and non-Anglo migration. A new phase of reorganization of all of these elements is underway as a new kind of learning from difference has been launched. One characteristic of this is already clear, however, any new form of official refocused multicultural discourses will be required to correspond with the ascendant ideologies of neo-liberal imagining of human subjects as economic rationalist and socially conservative individuals, whose 'differences' will be rhetorically affirmed but in practice quarantined to the realm of private and minority status. Some kinds of utilitarian perception of cultural diversity tied up with market-oriented economic opportunities will be incorporated into maximizing national cultural dividends through diversity management strategies.

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Multicultural Education, Diversity, and Citizenship in Canada

Reva Joshee, Carla Peck, Laura A. Thompson, Ottilia Chareka, and Alan Sears

Abstract Multiculturalism in Canada refers exclusively to a concern with cultural diversity, thus addressing issues of immigrant integration, cultural identity, racism, religious diversity, and linguistic diversity. These issues have been part of a discussion of Canadian identity that began at the time Canada officially became a country in 1867. From the outset, cultural diversity has been an important part of Canadian policy. Initially the concern was how to bring together the so-called 'two founding nations' (the British and French colonizers), assimilate other immigrants, and administer the relationship between the State and the original peoples of the land. Education has always been seen as a key to ensuring that cultural diversity was managed properly. What has changed over time is the value and meaning that Canadians have attached to cultural diversity. In this chapter we will outline the historical underpinnings of multiculturalism, discuss contemporary meanings of multiculturalism as it has been expressed in educational policies, and provide some examples of the practice of multicultural education in schools and classrooms.

Keywords Cultural diversity • Immigration • Multiculturalism • Education policy • Citizenship • Curriculum planning • Canada

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_3

1 Canadian Context

Canada is a country of about 34 million people and covers an area of about 10 million square kilometers making it the second largest country in the world in terms of area but the 36th largest in terms of population. In the 2006 national census about 33 % of the population claimed to be of British or French origin, and about 3.8 % of First Nations ancestry (descendants of the original peoples of Canada). People of color (those who identify as non-white) accounted for about 16.2 % of the total population (up from 13.4 in the 2001 census) yet made up 25–48 % of the population in the major urban areas (Statistics Canada 2006). The estimate is that by 2031, people of color would make up 63 % of the population of Toronto and 59 % of the population of Vancouver (Statistics Canada 2010) English and French are the two official languages of Canada; slightly less than one quarter of the population claims French as its first language and only about 18 % of the population claims to be bilingual in English and French. In terms of religion, the vast majority of Canadians are Christian (77 %) while about 2 % are Muslim and about 1 % each Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh. Approximately another 1 % of Canadians are affiliated with a range of other religions and the remainder of the population claims no religious affiliation (Statistics Canada 2001). By 2031, the estimate is that about 14 % of the population will claim a religious affiliation other than Christian and the percentage claiming Christian faith will drop to 65 % (Statistics Canada 2010).

Education is formally a provincial responsibility in Canada. Each of the ten provinces and three territories has its own ministry or department of education. While these administrative units are responsible for establishing provincial and territorial policies and overseeing their operation, the implementation of these policies as well as the development of local policies falls within the purview of local and regional school districts. The relationship between provincial/territorial ministries and school districts is as often characterized by tension as it is by harmony of purpose. Policy implementation is consequently anything but seamless. Educational policies and programs can vary considerably across and within the 13 jurisdictions.

Although there is no federal department of education the federal government has significant involvement in education. It is responsible for the direct provision of education for children of armed forces personnel living on bases and for First Nations children living on reserve. The federal government has also assumed particular responsibilities in areas that are deemed to be in the national interest. Both multiculturalism and citizenship fall into this category and the federal government has intervened in these fields using a variety of strategies.

2 Canadian Policy Context

In 1837 the British colonies of Upper and Lower Canada were both torn by rebellions. The following year Lord Durham (1839) was dispatched by the new Queen Victoria to help sort out the mess and reported:

> I expected to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races; and I perceived that it would be idle to attempt any amelioration of laws or institutions until we could first succeed in terminating the deadly animosity that now separates the inhabitants of Lower Canada into the hostile divisions of French and English.

For much of Canada's history, diversity has been a defining characteristic of the country and has preoccupied and bedeviled policy makers. Until the mid-twentieth century policy and practice generally followed Lord Durham's sentiments in seeking to, as much as possible, stamp out diversity in favor of a single, shared (English-) 'Canadian' identity. Since World War II, official policy has shifted first toward openness and then toward celebration of Canada's diversity including recognition of minority 'nations' within the Canadian State (Sears 2010).

Kymlicka (2003) posits that, over several decades, this trend toward greater recognition and accommodation of diversity was common across virtually all Western democracies. He argues that this was true in several respects: increased autonomy for national minorities; a move away from polices of assimilation of immigrants toward integration; and greater recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. Canadian policies largely followed these trends and have not been particularly unique. However, 'Canada is distinctive in having to deal with all three forms of diversity at the same time' and 'in the extent to which it has not only legislated but also constitutionalized, practices of accommodation' (p. 374). Over the last decade we have seen increasing dissatisfaction with and demonization of official multiculturalism in Western democracies. Below we will discuss this phenomenon in more depth and explore the limitations and possibilities of the current situation in Canada.

Through the end of the twentieth century factors related to globalization including changing patterns of migration and citizenship created 'a growing awareness of the multiethnic nature of most contemporary nation-states and the need to account for this aspect of pluralism in public policy' (Johnson and Joshee 2007, p. 3). For Canada this was not a particularly new phenomenon. As Kymlicka (2007) notes, 'issues of accommodating diversity have been central to Canada's history' (p. 39). Jaenen (1981), for example, argues that certain conditions of Canada's historical development uniquely suited it for pluralism. He posits four factors: the English-French dualism, which has been 'a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society' since the Loyalist migration at the end of the eighteenth century; the more diverse British, rather than exclusively English, nature of early Anglophone Canada; the separation of church and state and relative religious liberty that has always existed in Canada; and the fact that control over education was made a provincial, rather than a federal, responsibility.

Joshee and Winton (2007) contend this diversity was recognized early on in legal and constitutional structures. They note that The Royal Proclamation of 1763 recognized Aboriginal right to self-government and the Québec Act of 1774 provided for maintaining the French language and culture even though the territory of Québec had come under British control. The same ethos is reflected in the constitutional arrangements that established the Canadian state in 1867. 'The founding compact of Canada,' they write, 'implicitly recognized the value of retaining a connection with one's ancestral culture'. Those constitutional arrangements included a division of powers between the federal and provincial governments largely established to protect 'la nation canadienne française' (Morton 1993, p. 51) and prevent the kind of assimilation advocated by Lord Durham.

Constitutional reform since 1867 broadened the range of national minorities accorded constitutional recognition and protection and has also embedded multiculturalism as an interpretive frame for the constitution (Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Kymlicka 2003). For example, Aboriginal rights, including treaty rights, are affirmed in the Constitution Act of 1982. The Act also establishes English and French as the official languages of the province of New Brunswick largely to protect the place of the Acadian People who have a definite understanding of themselves as a national group within Canada. Central to the Act is *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* with a clause that states, 'This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians' (Department of Justice 1982).

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms also has a clause that recognizes and protects Canada's official language minorities and their educational rights to French first language schooling (outside Québec) and to English first language schooling (in Québec). While Section 23 of the Charter provides for a constitutional guarantee of educational rights at the federal level, Alberta and Ontario have also introduced provincial policy documents that outline the role and aims of Francophone education in particular. In 2001, the Alberta government introduced a framework for French first language education in the province that specifies the importance of Francophone education that focuses on community belonging and pride (Alberta Learning 2001). In 2005, the Ontario government also implemented a policy for the province's French-language schools and Francophone community. The Ontario policy specifically mentions that new admission policies, to take effect in January 2010, were developed in response to the changing composition of the province's Francophone community and the need to make French-language schools 'more welcoming' to French-speaking newcomers and to newcomers who speak neither French nor English (Ontario Ministry of Education 2009a). The Government of Canada, in its commitment to Canada's linguistic duality and the future of official language minority communities, continues to target urban centers in Ontario, Alberta and New Brunswick to attract *and* retain more French-speaking immigrants (Jedwab 2002; Quell 2002).

3 Diversity in the Curriculum

Since the nineteenth century, education in Canada has been a central institution for the implementation of policy in the area of diversity and multiculturalism. Joshee (2004) and others have documented shifts in educational policy and practice related to ethnic diversity over the years. This has involved a shift in emphasis from assimilation towards efforts to promote understanding of, and respect for, diversity to more contemporary foci on issues of social cohesion (Bruno-Jofré and Aponiuk 2001; Hébert 2002).

While there is evidence of a retreat from the activist social justice curricula which appeared in some jurisdictions in the 1980s and 1990s, developing understanding of ethnic diversity is a key goal of education generally. Social studies education, now taught across the country, as well in schools for Canada's Francophone minority communities, is emblematic of this focus on diversity in education (Joshee 2004; Osborne 2001; Sears and Wright 2004). For example, Ontario guides curriculum development in all subject areas by stating that the principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity 'should equip all students with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors needed to live and work effectively in an increasingly diverse world, and encourage them to appreciate diversity and reject discriminatory attitudes and behavior' (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training 1993; Ontario Ministry of Education 2009b). While the two documents cited above apply to all Ontario's schools including Francophone schools, the *Aménagement linguistique* policy specifically guides Francophone curriculum development in all subject areas for French first language schools. One of its principles states that 'French-language education is characterized by openness to diversity and contributes to the development of a sense of belonging to the Francophone community of Ontario, of Canada and of the world' (Ontario Ministry of Education 2005b, p. 12). The *Foundation for the Atlantic Provinces Canada Social Studies Curriculum*, a policy document that outlines a framework for curriculum development in social studies across Atlantic Canada, sets overall standards for the subject area in general and the area of diversity in particular (Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation 1999). One *Foundation* standard states that students should be able to 'demonstrate understanding of their own and others' cultural heritage and cultural identity…' (p. 6). Another states, in part, that 'students will be expected to demonstrate an understanding of culture, diversity, and world view, recognizing the similarities and differences reflected in various personal, cultural, racial and ethnic perspectives' (p. 12).

The Alberta social studies curriculum (Alberta Education 2005) also clearly identifies diversity as a central to its educational goals. The program rationale and philosophy reads, in part: 'Students will have opportunities to value diversity, to recognize differences as positive attributes and to recognize the evolving nature of individual identities' (p. 5). The Alberta social studies program also aims to provide learning opportunities for Francophone and non-Francophone students alike to understand both 'the historical and contemporary realities of Francophones in Canada' and 'the multiethnic and intercultural makeup of Francophones in Canada'

(p. 4). As Sears and his colleagues (1999) note, this commitment to 'the pluralist ideal' is endemic in Canadian social studies curricula (p. 113).

An examination of curricula and standards in social studies education in Canada reveals a clear assumed progression from knowledge of diversity, through acceptance and respect, to justice. For most scholars and educators in the field however, knowledge of difference is not enough: 'justice demands the public recognition and accommodation of diversity' (Kymlicka and Opalski 2001, p. 1). For proponents of multiculturalism the desired end then, is not only an understanding of difference, but also willingness to adapt, to accommodate and, to advocate for accommodation (Joshee 2004; Varma-Joshi 2004). Kymlicka (2004) contends that diversity and accommodation of difference is a question on the agenda of a growing number of countries around the world. He argues, there is 'a striking worldwide trend regarding the diffusion and adoption of the principles and policies of multicultural citizenship' which has reached way beyond the West, to 'even the most remote regions of Peru, the highlands of Nepal, and the peripheries of Communist China' (p. xiii). However, Banks (2009) notes that 'the attainment of the balance that is needed between diversity and unity is an ongoing process and ideal that is never fully attained' (p. xii). A central concern wherever cultural policy is discussed is, 'how can we ensure that the recognition of diversity does not undermine efforts to construct or sustain common political values, mutual trust and understanding, and solidarity across group lines?' (Kymlicka 2004, p. xiii).

4 Relationship Between Diversity and Citizenship

The centrality of diversity in Canadian history and contemporary circumstances has been a key factor in shaping policy in citizenship and citizenship education. In Kymlicka's (2003) words, 'Learning how to accommodate this internal diversity, while still maintaining a stable political order, has always been one of the main challenges facing Canada, and remains so today' (p. 368).

A key component of citizenship in any country is the people's identification with the nation, in other words, their sense of national identity. One result of the significant diversity present in Canada has been the search to discover, or create, some sense of shared national identity. An American observer writes, 'National identity is the quintessential Canadian issue.' He goes on to argue, 'Almost alone among modern developed countries Canada has continued to debate its self-conception to the present day' (Lipset 1990, p. 42). McLean (2007) documents early twentieth century attempts by federal parliamentarians to create a national education system largely to address a perceived 'crisis of citizenship' including the lack of a sense of Canadian national identity. When the first Canadian Citizenship Act was proclaimed in 1947 a leading advocate of citizenship education wrote, 'Canada is legally a nation, but the Canadians are scarcely yet a people' (Kidd 1947, n. p.). More recent writers have made the point that, while Canada exists as a state, it is not a nation in the sense of Canadians sharing a profound sense of 'group affinity and shared

values' (Resnick 1994, p. 6). The fear of deep differences and lack of understanding among Canada's disparate peoples and regions has been a dominant theme in the literature in the fields of citizenship and citizenship education in Canada.

Curtis (1988) describes this process of 'public *construction*' in nineteenth century Ontario. He argues that in establishing early public education the state was concerned with the overlapping functions of institution building and 'political characterization of the population' (p. 111). He documents the long and often contested process of centralizing state control over schools, curriculum and teachers, contending that this was a deliberate effort to take control of education away from parents and local communities so the state could be more effective in using education for political socialization. According to Curtis, the elites who pushed for, and achieved, universal public schooling in Canada in the nineteenth century were concerned about 'the creation in the population of new habits, orientations, [and] desires' that were consistent with 'the bourgeois social order' including 'respect for legitimate authority' and for standards of a 'collective morality' (p. 366). As Bruno-Jofré (2002) writes, 'The public school was conceived as an agency for national unity and social harmony' (p. 114).

The standards of collective morality to be inculcated in early English Canadian schools were essentially British in nature. In Canada's early years school history courses and other subjects focused on Britain and the Empire and patriotic ceremonies and symbols were not directed toward the new nation but toward the growing empire. 'English speaking children were raised with the historical myths of British nationalism, as conveyed by adapted editions of the Irish National Reader and authors as diverse as MacCauly and G.A. Hently. What mere Canadian citizenship could compete with the claims of an empire that spanned the known universe?' (Morton 1993, p. 55).

5 Diversity and Citizenship Education

Bruno-Jofré (2002) argues that citizenship education in schools, at least until the end of the Second World War, was focused on supporting this orientation. During this period, she writes, 'the aim of public schools in English Canada was to create a homogeneous nation built on a common English language, a common culture, a common identification with the British Empire and an acceptance of [certain] British institutions and practices' (p. 113). While this approach to citizenship education did violence to the linguistic and cultural traditions of many, it was particularly devastating for Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. Battiste and Semaganis (2002) describe something of this 'cognitive imperialism' arguing it was, and largely still is, an attempt to extinguish 'Aboriginal conceptions of society' (p. 93).

The focus on Britishness as a state constructed, unifying national identity began to wane during World War II for several reasons including the decline of Britain and the British Empire as major forces in the world. Most importantly, however, it simply was not working. Although early public schooling was decidedly assimilationist,

with the goal of 'Anglo conformity' around the ideal of the British Empire, it was largely unsuccessful in unifying the population. Non-British newcomers to Canada did not identify with the Empire and clung doggedly to their ethnic communities and loyalty to distant homelands (Granatstein 1993).

Furthermore, French Canadians in Québec also did not identify with the British Empire, but rather relied heavily on the Catholic Church for governance from 1867 until the 1960s. Given the religious nature of the Québec educational system, religion was far more important as a social-educational institution than 'social studies' curriculum. To put it more accurately, the Church was the curriculum: teaching moral and patriotic values was the primary focus of 'history' and 'geography.' As Lévesque (2004) writes,

> This nation-building approach to history and geography was very much focused on the survival of the French Canadian nationality and the clerical ideologies that made this 'église-nation' unique in Canada. English Canada was treated as a separate imperialist nation, with a different language, culture, and religion (p. 58).

Such a strong religious and nationalistic emphasis of a French-Canadian and Catholic nation suggests that, when it would come time to 'catch up' with English Canadian and American social studies initiatives, Québec would undergo unprecedented educational reform from the 1960s to the 1990s in order to 'modernize' their national-religious society. Currently in Québec, history and citizenship education does not focus on a nation-building approach, but rather on a more inclusive and pluralistic approach (Lévesque 2004). Thus, the challenge remains to develop, teach and learn shared conceptions of citizenship, history, and identity.

6 Current Challenges

In the 1970s and 1980s, the attempt to create civic cohesion around a largely British identity gave way to a focus on respecting, celebrating and accommodating diversity. While pluralism and inclusion continue to be central to the rhetoric of social studies and citizenship education policy and programs across Canada, we argue it has largely been an iconic rather than a deep pluralism. From the 1970s the idea of education as a doorway for individuals and groups to feel included in the mainstream civic life of the country in Canada has extended to at least attempt to include the voices of a range of previously marginalized or excluded groups. This has resulted in a widespread educational policy framework that promotes the 'pluralist ideal' (Sears et al. 1999, p. 113). Central to this is an activist conception of citizenship in which every citizen, or group of citizens, will have the knowledge, skills and dispositions needed to participate in the civic life of the country and feel welcome to do so. As Sears and Hughes (1996) put it, good citizens in this conception 'are seen as people who are: knowledgeable about contemporary society and the issues it faces; disposed to work toward the common good; supportive of pluralism; and skilled at taking action to make their communities, nation, and the world a better

place' (p. 134). It is important to note that what citizens are being included in, then, is not citizenship in the ethnic or sociological sense of belonging to a community but, rather, they are being included in the community of those who participate, who join in a process.

In this approach, the deeper more potentially difficult aspects of difference are largely avoided, in part because they are complex, difficult to deal with and have the potential to generate conflict. In studies of policy and practice in several Canadian provinces Bickmore (2005a, b) found that schools and teachers generally avoided difficult issues with high potential for conflict including those involving ethnicity and identity. Instead, they focused on what she calls 'harmony building' and 'individual skill building' (Bickmore 2005a, p. 165), approaches rooted in conflict avoidance. The first includes attention to the 'appreciation of diverse cultural heritages' but does not explore the real difference between and among those heritages.

Additionally, policies that have developed primarily from the 1990s onward support the turn to neoliberalism that has swept much of the Northern and Western world. The hallmark of neoliberalism is a vision of society as a marketplace and neoliberalism 'proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade' (Harvey 2005, p. 2). Within the framework of the Canadian neoliberal policy web multiculturalism is understood in two particular ways: (1) as a potential economic asset (e.g. a way of increasing ties to international markets (Fleras and Elliot 1996), and (2) as a potential source of disruption or division in society (Jenson 1998). As a result equality is often redefined as sameness and social justice is narrowly cast as equity of access to economic opportunities (Joshee 2007) and multicultural education is dominated by two goals: social cohesion and equity of outcomes.

Jenson (1998) has made the point that social cohesion is a response to the consequences of neo-liberal policies and programs. As she has stated, '[t]he paradigm shift in economic and social policy towards neo-liberalism is now identified as having provoked serious structural strains in the realm of the social and political' (pp. 5–6). Social cohesion is invoked as a corrective measure that can help to increase social solidarity and restore faith in the institutions of government. It is important to note, however, that invoking social cohesion does not ultimately call into question the basic neoliberal project. Bernard (1999) has remarked that 'social cohesion and related nebulous expressions such as social capital and mutual trust… rightly attract attention to the perils of neoliberalism, but in most cases they implicitly prescribe a dose of compassion and a return to values rather than a correction of social inequalities and an institutional mediation of interests' (p. 3).

Lack of attention to equality is the first major challenge presented by this lens on multiculturalism. An approach that stresses unity above all else and 'calls for a return to a supposedly more golden but decidedly less just past' (Jenson 1998, p. 38), implies that addressing inequality is divisive. While some, like Bessis (1995), see social cohesion as a positive force that can challenge social exclusion, even she admits that social cohesion is only one of several issues that needs to be addressed

in order to 'go from a logic of economic growth to a logic of social development' (p. 19).

Bernard (1999) has asserted that in eliminating or reducing the State's role in addressing inequality, 'the responsibility for each community's welfare [falls to] its members and their relations. This is often what lies, hidden or not, behind appeals to community accompanied by usually inadequate offers of state support' (p. 14). Inequality thus is addressed in the framework of charity rather than social justice and becomes the purview of volunteer community groups, which function increasingly without the financial support they once received from all levels of government in Canada. An additional problem with this approach in the Canadian context comes from the fact that, as a 1998 study shows, 'people who volunteer are the centrist "pillars of society" and are intolerant of political extremism, of those who break society's rules (criminals) and those who deviate from social norms' (Woolley in Bernard 1999, pp. 16–17).

Both Jenson (1998) and Bernard (1999) make the point that the social cohesion agenda does pay attention to citizenship and diversity, but in a particular way. In the words of one Government of Canada policy document, social cohesion is 'the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope, and reciprocity among all Canadians' (Policy Research Sub-Committee on Social Cohesion, 1997 in Jenson 1998, p. 4). Importantly, in the social cohesion version of multiculturalism there is a recognition of diversity but there is no attention to social justice. With social problems defined as requiring charitable attention, citizens must develop shared values, mutual trust, and the willingness to care for those less fortunate. The development of these characteristics has become the focus of character education programs that have been developed throughout Canada since the early 2000s.

Diversity is characterized elsewhere in the Policy Research Sub-Committee document mentioned above as one of the 'fault-lines' of Canadian society (Jenson 1998, p. 4). While Jenson (1998) and Bernard (1999) maintain that respect for diversity is part of the social cohesion framework rather than respect for diversity in the Canadian situation, policy documents and pronouncements from the early 2000s onward are proposing that it would be enough to simply recognize diversity.

More recently, the federal Minister for Citizenship, Immigration, and Multiculturalism has proclaimed that the focus on social cohesion is important so that young people from new immigrant communities 'avoid getting into trouble' (Kenney 2009a). The Minister's concern is not that Canadians learn to engage with each other in a deep and meaningful way about diversity but rather than diversity results in 'ethnic enclaves' and leads young people to 'criminality or extremism,' which undermines safety and security (Kenney 2009b). Following from this logic, diversity is something to be avoided at all costs.

The social cohesion discourse is most evident in the specific policy work on safe schools and character development. The logic underlying policy statements on safe schools is that safety is a prerequisite for fulfilling the academic mandate of schools. In Ontario, for example, the focus of the Safe Schools Act, which came into force in 2000, has been primarily reactive, that is, on addressing violence after it occurs

through lockdown procedures, suspensions, and expulsions. Although this area of policy was not initially identified as relating to multiculturalism or diversity, criticism of the Act based on its disproportionate negative effect on students of First Nations origins, students with disabilities, and students from some racialized groups (Bhattacharjee 2003) has resulted in revisions to the official policy. The current policy framework for safe schools makes explicit reference to the Ministry's Policy and Program Memorandum 119, a Policy on Anti-Racism and Ethnocultural Equity, and puts more focus on violence prevention but true to the logic of social cohesion, the focus of intervention is on specific individual behaviors, most particularly bullying (Safe Schools Action Team 2006). As Policy and Program Memorandum 144 on Bullying Prevention and Intervention makes clear, bullying is seen as an act of one individual (or a group of individuals) against another individual and thus should be addressed by teaching students how to behave appropriately. Although there is an acknowledgement that bullying may be linked to issues of social diversity, there is no discussion of addressing systemic issues such as racism or sexism that are related to direct violence (Bickmore 2005a; Smith and Carson 1998).

In a similar vein, the character development strategy in Ontario focuses on teaching students behaviors and attitudes that will contribute to 'safe, healthy, and orderly school environments' (Ontario Ministry of Education 2006, p. iii). In particular the focus is on helping students 'to develop self-discipline and the personal management skills that will make their communities, workplaces and lives the best that they can be' (Ontario Ministry of Education 2006, p. 2). There is recognition that Ontario communities are culturally diverse therefore the mission of character development must be to 'find common ground' and build consensus (Ontario Ministry of Education 2006, p. 4). The message with regard to diversity is clear: it is a source of conflict therefore we must move beyond it by focusing on commonalities. Focusing on social cohesion allows us not only to move beyond divisiveness but it also helps to create a safe environment within which students will be able to concentrate on academic success.

The equity of outcomes goal harks back to what has been called first generation human rights, which grew out of traditions of liberal individualism (see, for example, Garcia-Montufar et al. 2004; Ignatieff 2000) and which focus on redistribution of goods in society. While recognising systemic inequalities and the need for the State to intercede on behalf of disadvantaged members of society, the key focus is on the relationship between the individual and the State. An important aspect of this approach to addressing inequality is that it tends to lead to remedies on the individual level rather than systemic change (Agocs 2004).

The underlying logic of an equity of outcomes discourse assumes existing structures are fair and that all members of society want the same thing, namely to participate in the economy. As we see in the numerous initiatives designed to address 'youth-at-risk', outcomes are defined in terms of a narrow understanding of academic achievement (mainly test scores). In addition, inclusive schools are defined 'by the extent to which *all* students make successful transitions to the postsecondary destination of their choice' (Ontario Ministry of Education 2005a, p. 2). In this context, the legacy of educators is that their students 'will take on the wide range of

occupations and roles necessary to maintain thriving communities and prosperous provincial, territorial, and national economies' (Ontario Ministry of Education 2005a, p. 4). Thus students are valued not for the people they are but for the workers they will become.

7 Observations and Concluding Comments

In a relatively short span of time the official State position on the policy of multiculturalism has gone from valuing diversity as a strength and a source of national identity to decrying diversity as a threat to the safety and security of the country. Elsewhere, Joshee has noted that one consequence of the combination of neoliberal and neoconservative discourses in multicultural education has been to construct diversity as a problem, and to position minoritized students as having deficits that need to be addressed (Joshee 2009). What is clear from the preceding discussion is that the social cohesion discourse, in its current variant, extends this view to position minoritized students as potential criminals. But is this the inevitable trajectory of multicultural education policy? As advocates of a social justice vision of multicultural education we do not believe this to be so.

In Canada, various discussions continue to take place where the older view of diversity as a strength is reintroduced into policy dialogues. For example, at a 2007 round table on cultural diversity organized by the federal Policy Research Initiative participants noted,

> multiculturalism has become an easy target for failings and challenges resulting from other policies. It was almost universally argued that recent backlash against multiculturalism can be traced to anxiety and fear about the unknown. Many participants described debates about multiculturalism issues, such as religious diversity and the effects of ethnic enclaves, as poorly informed and frequently simplistic. (Kunz and Sykes 2007, p. 4)

In another initiative, policy developers within the federal Multiculturalism Program supported research and discussions on the issue of religious diversity. These discussions brought to light the fact that there is very little evidence to support the growing perception that religious communities in Canada are 'radicalizing' their youth. It was also agreed that if radicalization was occurring then Canada would need to examine structures and systems in the dominant society that have the effect of alienating these young people (Multiculturalism Branch 2008). We believe that these examples provide hope that liberal social justice discourses continue to operate within State structures.

Finally, we believe that the growing interest in international dialogue on multiculturalism and multicultural education can help to provide more counter discourses that might be taken up in the Canadian context. As one example we offer the Indian understanding of 'active respect' as an alternative to social cohesion as the means of creating a socially just and inclusive society. From this perspective, the State must actively support a community's aspirations in some way in order to have the legitimacy to intervene in its internal functioning. This comes primarily in the form of

meaningful inclusion in the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres of life. While we do not have the time or space here to elaborate on 'meaningful inclusion' we will briefly say that it is inclusion based on a respect for people's identities and values. We would also argue that this inclusive respect has been the basis of the Canadian ideal of multiculturalism but we have not been very good at articulating it or acting upon it. Now would be a good time to engage this idea before we find ourselves deeply embedded in the difficult and unproductive conversations that are now occurring in the name of a neoliberal version of multiculturalism in Canada and elsewhere.

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Multiculturalism and Multilingual Education for Minority Ethnic Groups in China: Examples of Southwest China and Xinjiang Uygur Regions and the Goal of Educational Equality

Yongyang Wang, Hong Ye, and Andrew Schapper

Abstract This chapter reviews the historical development of China's bilingual education policy for minority ethnic groups exploring whether this relates to Western notions of multicultural education. The chapter discusses the Chinese setting at national and provincial levels and focuses on four historical periods of China's education policy. The first is the period under the control of the Nationalist Party from 1905 to 1946. The second is the 'rapid development' period from 1947 to 1958 – the early years of rule by the China Communist Party. The third is the so-called 'sluggish' period from 1959 to 1976, which was characterized by the Cultural Revolution and ideological movements that resulted in the suppression of minority identities as unsettling the stability and cogency of the communist state. The fourth is the 'rejuvenation' period from 1977 to the present, which involves nationwide cultural, educational and economic restoration after the disruption of the Cultural Revolution. This latter period has seen curriculum settings that resemble multicultural and multilingual education gradually assuming a critical place in China's education system. During this period, multi-ethnic identities have been perceived as less disruptive and have even been acknowledged as components of a broader, inclusive Chinese national identity.

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_4

Keywords Bilingual education • Minority languages • Language policy • Ethnic diversity • China • Education policy

1 Introduction

Two regions are studied here in detail: the South-Western part of China and Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. This is done in order to illustrate the complexity and regional variations of Chinese bilingual education and how expanding conceptions of multiculturalism have impacted upon Chinese education policy over time. The authors contend that there is an increasing gap between the central government's standardized approach to language policy and the fast-changing reality among the nation's multiple ethnic minority groups, as the recent acceleration in modernization, globalization, and urbanization have significantly impacted China's bilingual education. Therefore, this chapter reviews how government policy makers have responded to this complexity, especially with regards to the preservation of ethnic minority languages and maintenance of social equality and stability.

Most accounts of what is termed 'multicultural education' tend to adopt assumptions taken from western societies and their experience of immigration or their responses to indigenous populations being granted more recognition in schooling. In China's case a very different historical pathway has led to its own version of cultural diversity policy. Though no equivalent of the term multiculturalism is in regular use, the Chinese government officially celebrates its cultural diversity. Indeed, official documents describe China as a 'multinational, multi-ethnic state', where questions of nationality 'have been solved' (McCarthy 2009, p. 4). China's education policies were historically seen as officially mandated, conservative, authoritarian and ideological (Tse 2014, p. 191). However, much has shifted in the twenty-first century and, as will be shown, there is a growing awareness that education needs to be student focused and adaptable rather than rigid, exam oriented and overly standardized. Nonetheless, the Chinese state has strongly emphasized unity, continuity and order through its policy decisions. Thus when ethnic or minority differences are recognized it is usually assumed that such recognition does not and will not destabilize a secure sense of national unity, which persists as a fundamental objective of maintaining China's self-perception as a nation comprised of multicultural constituents.

2 Language and Ethnicity in China

China has a remarkably rich linguistic ecology. According to the Ethnologue China report, there are 297 individual languages. Of these there are 15 institutional, 23 developing and 100 vigorous languages. Despite this apparent vitality, diachronic

intergenerational analysis shows that minority languages are under threat with 127 languages classified as 'in trouble,' and 32 'dying' (Ethnologue 2015). As well as this abundance of languages, China also has 55 officially recognized ethnic minorities. These 55 ethnic groups account for 8 % of the total national population, equating approximately 106 million people according to the China National Statistics Bureau (2002). This large minority population also exhibits a large level of linguistic diversity. There are over 80 languages spoken by different minority groups of which 30 have written forms (Zhou 2000). This diverse and complex language and ethnic composition of the national population means that China is far from monolingual or culturally hegemonic. Indeed, approximately 53 % of the total population are capable of socializing in modern standard Chinese (Mandarin/Putonghua), revealing that bilingualism and multilingualism is the lived reality for a large amount of people in the nation.

3 Recent Approaches to Education in China

It has long been held in China, as elsewhere, that education is a key factor for national production, economic competitiveness, and social equality and stability. Education is seen as the key way in which to eradicate poverty among China's large population, as well as providing the foundation of civilization and culture. Thus education serves both a material and symbolic function in Chinese society. Because of its centrality to national goals and identities, the 'Law on Nine-Year Compulsory Education' was enacted in July 1986 to ensure that all Chinese citizens attained quality education (Yeoh and Chu 2014, p. 84). The enactment of such laws has dramatically increased both the enrolment rates and the average length of education in China, which has enabled initial steps in transforming the country's enormous population into a wealth of human resources (p. 85). Education has increasingly become seen as of critical national importance, which has brought questions of curriculum and pedagogy to the fore in educational policy and its implementation.

As education becomes increasingly elevated as a national concern, the delivery and focus of educational programs becomes more contested in both policy making arenas and in schools themselves. Because of the expanding and changing demands placed on education, the general curriculum has been significantly refocused in China since the early 2000s. In response to mounting criticism that the education system was overly centralized and exam oriented, the Ministry of Education set about reforms to make education more conducive to lifetime learning and more diversified in order to be more accessible to a wider range of communities in China. (Zhu & Ma 2015)

The educational reorientation is partly due to the multiple and varied needs of students in the extraordinarily diverse multicultural reality of Chinese schools. Indeed, China's global economic development has, according to Hinton (2011), 'accentuated gaps between rural and urban populations and homogenous and minority groups' (p. 728). Disparities in opportunity and achievement have led to bouts of

'ethnic unrest', which has prompted educational institutions to teach national unity and emphasize values of social order within the curriculum.

In addition, achievement gaps between minority and majority groups have been addressed by an increasing awareness that bilingual education has a crucial role to play in promoting national unity and increasing educational equality. China has had a long and difficult relationship reconciling its national goals with the rights and concerns of its ethnic minority populations and, as this chapter demonstrates, its language policies and educational approaches to bilingualism and multilingualism have sometimes failed to attain the educational equality that the nation espouses through such policies. Nonetheless, China's increasing awareness of the value of recognising minority language rights and offering bilingual education to help minority groups attain educational equality, alleviate poverty and imbue its citizenry with cohesive national and cultural identities, provides an important snapshot of how multicultural diversity can contribute to national material and cultural success.

4 Bilingual Education in China

Due to China's immense diversity in its population, bilingual education policies and programs vary dramatically between regions and individual schools. According to Tsung and Cruickshank (2009), bilingual education in China generally refers to schooling in which both minority and Mandarin/Putonghua languages are used as the medium of instruction or taught as subjects. Bilingual education is therefore employed in Chinese policy circles in a rather ambiguous fashion when compared with the intricate specificity the term often carries in multilingual education research literature (p. 549). Gu (2014) points out that there are three types of bilingual teaching for minority ethnic groups in China. The first involves teaching in minority mother-tongue languages, with Mandarin Chinese added. The second comprises of teaching in Mandarin Chinese, with minority languages added. The third entails teaching both in Mandarin Chinese and in minority languages.

In the second bilingual model mentioned by Gu, Mandarin Chinese replaces the mother-tongue, which is later added as a stand-alone subject. The ultimate effect is subtractive bilingualism, in which the second language does replace the native tongue.

The third model, whereby both Mandarin and native-tongues are used as languages of instruction, reinforces the values of positive cognition derived from additive bilingualism, while still providing strong foundations of literacy required for employment and societal contribution in the national language. This version of additive multilingualism is the preference of UNESCO and is consistent with the goals of their Education for All global initiative, of which China is a key signatory (Yeoh and Chu 2014, p. 85). While this model presents unique challenges including the editing of language textbooks and supporting materials for minority ethnic

groups, as well as specialist training of ethnic minority teachers, there has been a growing awareness of the importance of holistic bilingual and multilingual education in redressing disparities in China's education system.

At a major UNESCO/China conference in Suzhou in 2014, a critical declaration known as the 'Suzhou Conclusion' was issued in which China proclaimed its official commitment to bilingual education, especially regarding the use mother-tongues as languages of instruction. The conclusions stressed the importance of native minority languages and stated that they should be taught in pre-school and primary schools. Delegates from a wide range of expertise agreed that mother-tongue instruction is vital for the improvement of teaching efficacy and the increase of learners' self-esteem, as well as the development of their culture and ethnic identities. Family and local communities need to play a major role in minority language education, which bolsters community ownership of education and language policy decision-making and implementation (UNESCO 2014).

In a more elaborate typology, Zhou (1991) distinguishes three models and seven sub-models of Chinese bilingual education. These models relate to the timing, duration and pedagogical approaches in using multiple languages in the classroom. For example, the Maintenance Model refers to policies and practices aiming at preserving minority language and culture, and increasing minority children's capabilities in using their mother tongues. Under this concept there exist three further sub-models. These sub models can be broken down as follows. In the first, the minority language is used as the teaching medium of each subject and Chinese is only used as the teaching medium from the second or third grade of primary schooling. In the second, Chinese is used as the teaching medium of every subject and the minority language is only taught as a subject from second or third grade of primary schooling. In the third, both Chinese and minority languages are taught as subjects in the senior grades of primary and/or middle schools and both languages are used as the medium of instruction for some subjects ('maintenance model' – Zhou 1991). The other two models are (i) the Transitional Model, which involves transitioning from a minority language to Chinese; (ii) the Expedient Model, which teaches minority languages in the middle or high school for 2 or 3 months.

It is worth noting that China's education system has an additional element of multiculturalism produced largely by China's position as a global economic power. Mainstream Chinese children are required to learn world geography and history in middle schools. English is also made compulsory in many primary schools, as it is seen as an important economic resource (Lo Bianco et al. 2009). A survey conducted by the British Culture Association indicates that there were two billion English learners in China in the past decade (Ji 2013). The National College English Test (CET) is conducted annually and a minimal score is required for college graduates to get their diploma/degree highlighting the significance attached to English language learning, particularly in the Tertiary environment. From 1987 to 2004, more than 11 million students sat in the CET Band 4 and Band 6 (Wu 2005). Despite these trends which demonstrate that more emphasis is being placed on learning English and incorporating second language learning in early schooling, much can

be done to implement lasting, sustainable bilingual and multilingual education practices that cater to China's multicultural reality.

In the following sections, the chapter will give a brief review of the historical development of Chinese bilingual education and general government language policy. We will do this in four stages (admittedly in a simplistic way) in order to provide a foundation for the detailed discussion of the language situation in Southwest China and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR).

5 Bilingual Education: Four Stages of Development

According to Zhou's detailed overview (2015), China's bilingual education can be divided into four periods. These can be described as the initial period before the founding of PRC from 1905 to 1946; the rapid development period from 1947 to 1958; the slowing down period from 1959 to 1976; and the rejuvenation period from 1977 to the present. During the latter period, from the late 1970s, bilingual education has assumed a crucial place in China's education system, with nation-wide cultural, educational and economic restoration after the Cultural Revolution. Here, we follow this periodization and illustrate details from aspects of language planning and language policy and how they succeed or fall short of reflecting China's policy aspirations in response to its nation's diverse multiculturalism.

6 Initial Period: 1905–1946

The first school in China that taught ethnic minority languages in the modern era was established in 1905 by British Methodists and local Miao minority Christians in China's southwest province of Guizhou (Zhou 2015). The founders assisted the local population in transcribing a written version of the Miao language. This became known as the Old Miao language, as distinct from the New Miao language developed by the Chinese communist government at a later stage. This early version of Miao was taught in schools alongside other subjects such as maths, geography and Mandarin Chinese. In 1930, the Chinese government (Nationalist) issued China's first official bilingual education policy (Year Book of Chinese Education, p. 917). Accordingly, a series of bilingual textbooks in Mongolian, Tibetan, Uygur and Chinese were published and used in some schools, which provided a basis for the promulgation of bilingual education as both a necessary and achievable policy for Chinese society.

7 Rapid Development Period 1947–1958

In the early years of Chinese communist party reign, pluralistic minority language policy was much needed as it served the pressing task of consolidating different regional and ethnic groups into a united nation. Local autonomous minority governments were established, and communist cadres were encouraged to learn minority languages in order to better communicate with ethnic groups. In September 1951, a number of decisions were made in the first national conference on education in minority communities. Commonly used written languages such as Mongolian, Korean, Tibetan, Uygur and Kazak were required as media of instruction for subjects in schools in minority regions. Furthermore, minority groups were grateful of the right to choose the language of instruction for the subjects that were available (Xie 1989). It was stipulated in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China 1954 that 'every nationality is free to use and develop its native language and writing system' (Art. 1.77). This was extremely significant for multilingual language policy in China and reflected an early recognition of the multicultural reality of the newly consolidated national, communist state. Because flexible and locally sensitive approaches to language education and use were critical to the consolidation of power in regional areas, the language rights of minority groups as enshrined in the national Constitution are emblematic of an awareness of the importance of such rights in accommodating and including regional differences within China's strong sense of itself as a cohesive society. In this sense, language is both important symbolically and materially as it performs multiple functions of facilitating economic mobility, solidifying links to cultural and historical lineages and identities, as well as fostering among ethnic minorities a sense of belonging to the overall nation.

At the end of 1955, the first minority language conference was held in China. The conference resulted in the issuing of 'The Tentative Language Planning for Minority Languages' declaration, as well as a decision to conduct a survey on minority languages. In 1956, seven research teams of the Chinese Academy of Sciences conducted survey research on the sociolinguistic situation of 16 provinces across China (Zhou 1992). The Chinese government, influenced by Latinization in the former Soviet Union, moved to reform minority language writing systems. According to Zhou (1992), during the 1950s, new writing systems were created, including for the Zhuang, Buyei, Miao, Yi, Li, Naxi, Lisu, and Hani languages. Latin alphabets were designed in addition to the extant Arabic writing systems of Uygur and Kazak (p. 68). Consequently, 14 writing language systems were created for different ethnic minority groups during the 1950s, including the so-called New Miao language, which itself included 4 variations. The Government's endeavor to protect and preserve traditional minority cultures generated a large number of publications including a series of books entitled the Brief Record of the Ethnic Minority Languages in China.

However, these reforms were later challenged by scholars and minority groups alike. The top-down imposition of these measures failed in practice mainly due to resistance from minority groups who took language as an important part of their

cultural identity, and whose scripts and social standings the central Government wished to determine. The central Government's attempt to standardize and reform these languages was resisted by minority groups who felt threatened by what they saw as state intervention aimed at shaping and determining their cultural and ancestral languages. Such reactions from minority groups reveal that attempts by governments to standardize, intervene and centrally direct local language interests can be seen as a form of cultural coercion that exacerbates pre-existing cultural and ethnic tensions and greatly detracts from multicultural cohesion. As such, a delicate balance between assisting local languages attain levels of literacy needed for adequate schooling and respect for their autonomy must be struck.

8 Slowing Down Period 1959–1976

Following a number of ideological rejuvenation movements, landmarked by the Great Leap Forward Movement and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, linguistic differences were viewed as a barrier to national unification. Minority groups were collectivized and forced to abandon their traditions including their languages and customs which were deemed 'backward' and antithetical to the collective identity of the great proletarian project of the Chinese Communist state. In this context, the *Resolution for Pinyin* and *The Scheme of the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet*, passed on February 11, 1958 by the National People's Congress (Min et al. 2014, p. 3) that set up the Pinyin Romanization system for Mandarin Chinese can be seen as the milestone for Chinese monopolistic language policy. After The Great Leap Forward ended in a national famine and admitted failure, there was a short period of relaxation of the assimilation of minority languages until the Cultural Revolution started in 1966. As pointed out by Bruhn (2008), even though the national Constitution and various national regulations were still technically in effect protecting minority language rights, assimilation still dominated government practices. This was evident in the widespread existence of Chinese-only education and government services (p. 7). The freedom for minority groups to use and develop their own language and writing systems, as was stipulated in the 1954 Constitution, was essentially eroded. In reality, minority groups were not allowed to use their own language or appreciate their cultural traditions, as this was seen as undermining national and communist unity. Requests for bilingual education and minority curriculum were regarded as threats to ideological correctness and as oppositions to socialism (Nelson 2005). In this sense, the educational needs of local populations were sublimated into the ideological imperative of a unified communist population. Minority groups could be easily identified as disruptors by highlighting their desires for educational autonomy, but as we will see, China's multicultural reality could not be explained away through appeals to ideology.

9 Rejuvenation Period from 1977 to the Present

After the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), China experienced a nation-wide restoration of its social, educational and economical order. Minority language education became one of the focuses of government policy. Indeed, 'Chinese language policy slowly returned to an accommodationist approach, reopening the doors for autonomous governments to promote and develop their own languages' (Bruhn 2008, p. 7). In 1982, the Constitution was amended to stipulate the equality of all ethnic groups. During this period, the state began to protect lawful rights and interests of minority identities and uphold and develop the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's ethnicities. Discrimination against, and oppression of, any nationality was prohibited. Furthermore, any acts that would undermine the unity of the various cultural or ethnic identities or instigate their secession were also prohibited. A key development at this time was the PRC Regional Autonomy Law for Minority Nationalities enacted in 1984, in which six articles address minority groups' rights, of which include rights of language use (Zhou 2004). Article 37 states that:

> In schools which mainly recruit students of minority nationalities, textbooks in languages of minority nationalities should be used where conditions allowed. Languages for instruction should also be the languages of the minority nationalities concerned. Primary school students of higher grades and secondary school students should learn [the] Chinese language. Putonghua [Mandarin Chinese], which is commonly used throughout the country, should be popularized among them. (Hu and Seifman 1987, p. 178)

From this declaration it is evident that although Mandarin Chinese remains crucial to educational goals and economic mobility, the rights of minority children to learn their native tongue and develop their sense of ethnic identity is theoretically protected under law.

This protection of local languages was further bolstered under 'The Law of National Regional Autonomy of the People's Republic of China', which was ratified in 1984. This law promulgates rights for minority groups to use their native languages and writing systems. It is also stated in Section 6 of the Ninth Five – Year Plan for China's Educational Development that 'the translation and publication of teaching materials for ethnic minority education should be ensured' (MOE 1982). Having minority languages protected by law is a huge step towards legitimizing those languages as both valuable to individuals and to the wider language ecology of the nation.

In Article 12 it is stated that the Chinese language shall be the basic oral and written language for education in schools and other educational institutions. However, schools or other educational institutions which mainly consist of students from ethnic minority groups may use the language of the respective ethnic community or the native language commonly adopted in that region (MOE 1995). This flexibility in allowing local populations to decide upon the appropriate language of instruction for schools in their regions was an extremely significant development in fostering the ideal of educational equality for all Chinese children. The main

principles decided upon during these changes included recognition that mother tongue-based learning for minority children is crucial for their cognitive development as well as their sense of social inclusion in the multicultural environment of modern China.

10 Language Situation in Southwest China

Southwest China is a region that is socially and economically lagging behind the coastal regions. It is home to many ethnic minority groups in China, such as Miao, Sui, Qiang, Yi and Tujia. The Miao people were believed to have lived in the Yellow River Basin before being defeated by Han tribes and forced to migrate south to the Yangtze River. The Miao were later displaced by Chinese imperial troops and withdrew to a slash-and-burn economy in the higher mountain slopes in Hunan, Sichuan, Guizhou, Guangxi and Yunnan provinces. In the twenty-first century, the Miao who live in Southwestern China have a population of 8.9 million, half of whom live in Guizhou province. There are six autonomous prefectures in Guizhou where the ethnic variations of Miao people are the principal populations. Outside China, Miao subgroups in Southeast Asia and immigrants living in the United States, France and Australia account for proximately another 4.5 million (China National Statistics Bureau 2002).

Previously Miao people were regarded by Han Chinese as mountain-dwellers and barbarians as they did not have written language or other expressions deemed to be cultured by the ruling majority. In the 1930s, the Chinese Nationalist party followed the policy of assimilating tribal people into the Chinese nation. Miao was not officially recognized as an individual nationality until the 1950s when the Communist party came to power. During this period, the local government conducted a number of sociolinguistic surveys. Different Miao scripts were created in accordance with the phonological variations of the wider Miao language, all of which eventually adopted the Latin orthography. A forum on Miao and its written format was held in Guiyang in October 1956 to mediate on the direction and place of ethnic minority languages in a unified China. In the 1980s after the Cultural Revolution, the local government conducted classes to increase literacy among Miao people. In Dafang County for example, adult and community-based illiteracy rates in the area dropped from 89.5 % in 1981 to 35.5 % in 1985. In the Bijie region, in the 1980s, a total of 12,000 Miao people attended Miao language classes (Wu 2012). Guizhou province has set up eight Ethnic Minority Teacher Academies in order to strengthen minority language education. These colleges have trained 40,000 graduates, of which 75.5 % are from ethnic minorities (Ding et al. 2013). In 1993, Yunnan province set up a Steering Committee on Minority Language Affaires under whose leadership, a group of linguists collaborated to standardize the Yi language using Yi ideograms. As a result of these efforts, a dictionary of Yi was published in 1996. These measures demonstrate a growing awareness among public authorities that China's diverse language ecology is worth preserving and that it is vital for the

continued economic and social development of the nation. By recording and creating writing systems for local languages, minority children can attain literacy in their native tongues which in turn helps them achieve literacy in Mandarin Chinese, all of which empowers them to be more economically and socially mobile.

Many minorities consider their distinctive ethnic language as a crucial part of their identity and require their children to learn and speak their mother tongue at home. A look at one Miao village at Xuan'en, Hunan province, serves as an example. Wu (1999), states that the local Miao families have strict rules about daughters-in-law learning and speaking the Miao language at home. Within one family, at least one daughter-in-law needs to be Miao minority. In the Feng family, members from 2-year-old children to those in their 60s and 70s can speak fluent Miao. They speak Putonghua to outsiders, but are required to speak Miao at home. Adults can sing Miao folksongs and tell folk stories. According to Wu (1999, p. 83), even the dogs, cows and sheep can follow the Miao language commands, which shows the centrality of Miao to the group's sense of its cultural identity and metaphysical space in the world.

Another example is Sui, a language with a high intergenerational vitality. In primary schools, teachers use Sui for early schooling and then shift to standard modern Chinese Mandarin, commonly called Putonghua, as the instructional language from fourth grade. According to a survey conducted in Southeast Guizhou province in 1995, 51.06 % of participants considered the proper method of bilingual education involved learning the Miao language before learning Putonghua. 34.47 % considered the preferable model to be teaching in two languages simultaneously (BGEA 1995). This reveals the crucial importance that local populations place on their ancestral languages. In this particular case, learning Sui, as a signifier of culture and history, far outweighed the potential economic and social benefits of learning Mandarin Chinese.

Despite Miao's limited presence outside its cultural homes, families attach more than merely material status to language. Fortunately, learning and being schooled in native-tongues in early education does not detract from those students' abilities to achieve mastery over their second language, which reveals the importance of bilingual education programs for the preservation of native languages and the learning of additional languages.

In recent decades, China's modernization has had a great impact on the once locked-away minority groups, a fact which is evident in observable changes to minority language use. Stanford and Evans (2012), through the examination of the sociolinguistic situation of Sui and Qiang minority groups in Southwest China, point out that with the development of transportation and communication, as well as labor migration to the coastal cities, Putonghua is gaining sociolinguistic influence on the usage of Sui and Qiang languages. During the 1940s, Qiang was so remote that no Qiang-speaking villages were accessible by wheeled vehicle (Graham 1958). As a result of this isolation, Qiang remained relatively uninfluenced by the majority Mandarin language. However, with greater mobility and increased access to remote places, Putonghua influence is now felt in Qiang languages. This is evident in the fact that Chinese loanwords have made the 'double H' combination possible in the

Qiang language, dramatically altering its spoken variants. For Sui, a new tone (H) is being reinforced in the tone system through daily use of Southwest Putonghua loanwords. Noticeably, older generation women are monolingual and can speak 'authentic' versions of local languages, while young generations and men are usually bilingual, partly due to their increased exposure to the multilingual labor markets outside the villages.

Taijiang County in Guizhou province is considered to be the 'heartland' of Miao culture where Miao ethnic identity is professed by 97 % of the local population. However, in 2002, 9 out of 187 villages did not speak Miao. In the nearby villages such as Danzai, the number of people who could speak Miao was also decreasing. In recent years, a number of Miao language rescue campaigns have been initiated by local governments and clubs set up to teach Miao, as well as ethnic songs and dances during the weekends. In local schools, minority culture teaching and research divisions have also been established (Lu 2010). These efforts reflect more than a nostalgic desire for old customs. Language is a crucial vehicle for cultural practices and is thus seen as an indispensable part of the dissemination of history and identity across generations. Perhaps less obviously however, access to local languages serves the vital function of ensuring that local children are not excluded from educational achievement, which is often the key factor in pulling themselves, their families and communities out of systemic poverty and social alienation, even in a nation as developed as China. The preservation of minority languages through implementing sound bilingual education programs thus serves as way in which education equality can be realized, not just theorized, within the multicultural landscape of modern China.

11 Xinjiang Uyghur Language Education: The Gap between National Policy and Reality

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) is special in China due to its unique religious, social and cultural background, and because of political contestation about its place in China. At all times during China's long history, there have been various ethnic minority groups inhabiting the XUAR area including Uyghur, Hui and Turkic peoples. In the early years of the Communist regime, a large number of ethnic Han Chinese were encouraged by the government to migrate to this area, so that today Han Chinese account for approximately 40 % of the population in XUAR. A nationalist separatist movement has becomes a serious concern for the current government in recent years.

Bilingual education in this region has its own particular traits but has continually been impacted upon by the central government's language policies since 1949. During the first stage of Chinese bilingual education, ethnic minority children were encouraged to attend schools and the enrolment in primary schools in Xinjiang increased more than 130 %, from 307,000 to 718,000. In secondary schools, student numbers surged from 16,162 to 61,000 (Benson 2004). However, as pointed out by

Meng and Xing (2015) an analysis of government minority language policies revealed that language education at this stage largely referred to the teaching of Modern Standard Chinese (Putonghua) not necessarily appreciating and promoting ethnic languages. The major objective of the push to raise attendance rates was to increase literacy levels among minority language speakers. However, there were no regulations with regard to the levels of proficiency required in minority languages, nor detailed curriculum documents for the teaching of those languages. Even the terminology 'bilingual language education' did not appear in government language policy until after the national economic reform of the 1980s. After this point of reform, the concept of bilingual language education started to be accepted by policy makers and became a focus of language policy and planning activities. The objective of bilingual education became the 'integration of Minority and Han languages' (minhan jiantong) in order to achieve solidarity between ethnic groups and Han Chinese.

During the 10 years of Cultural Revolution, the education system effectively ceased to exist with students abandoning schools due to social and political upheaval. The beginning of 1980s however, saw large numbers of students returning to schools and a renewed focus on the importance of education and education policy. Students attending primary schools increased to 43 % and illiteracy within the Uyghur population also decreased from 45 % to 26 % (Gladney 2004).

Rapid development of bilingual education in XUAR started from 2004. This increased after that year's landmark language policy, which was published by the local government to promote bilingual education (Meng and Xing 2015). Research was conducted into language issues, and large numbers of bilingual textbooks were published, both of which opened the door for more students to attain education in their native languages alongside Mandarin Chinese. The bilingual objective of education has been reiterated by both central and local governments so as to enable minority high school graduates to become competent in both minority and Han languages. This ensures that cultural heritages, identities, and languages are maintained while simultaneously providing students with the linguistic tools to participate in both the Chinese and global economies.

From 2010 onwards, a slowing down of bilingual education has been observed and a number of policy adjustments were made by local governments. The major reasons for this include the inconsistencies and ambiguities in the central government's language policy. Even questions of scripts pose particular vexations as governments seek to alter, enshrine, and intervene in particular characteristics of languages. This attempt at widespread standardization of languages minimizes the significance of local differences. In the past, 'Uyghur script was altered three times from Arabic to Cyrillic, to Latin and then to a modified Arabic script, which is used today' (Grose 2010, p. 98). These policies and associated interventions failed to address regional identity differences and lack a structure to classify various education goals at different levels of ability and achievement (Meng and Xing 2015). Resistance from minority groups pushed governments to make adjustments to the language policy. The emphasis was not only on the promotion of bilingual education, but also the appropriateness and scientific legitimacy of promoting multilingual education practices. Government bilingual language policies also diversified according

to the situations and needs of different areas. Some of these diversifications involved long-term bilingual goals, and other were more mid-term. In the government documents, "The Mid-Long Term Educational Reform and Development Plan for XUAR" (2010–2020) and the "Bilingual Education Development Plan for Preschool, Primary and Secondary Schools in Ethnic Autonomous Regions" (2010–2020), the goals of bilingual education were expressed as needing to expand ethnic and Han mixed classes as well as bilingual classes. This was done in order to gradually realize the usage of a national commonly used language for teaching and to enable ethnic minority students to master and use both national commonly used languages and their ethnic minority languages. These policies in the region show an increasing awareness that education equality for areas with high levels of multi-ethnic and multicultural populations rely on adequate bilingual programs to achieve educational success. With education now so privileged in Chinese society as both a material tool and signifier of culture and civilization, it is imperative that minority learners of all ages are not excluded from and denied the opportunity of realizing these goals.

12 Challenges for Ethnic Minority Language Maintenance

As mentioned earlier, on the macro level, ethnic minority languages are protected by the law in China. Moreover, in different provinces there are relevant language policies supporting and promoting minority language education despite the disruption that occurred during the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution and other ideological social movements between 1966 and 1976. However, the gap between policy goals and the ways in which they are implemented persists as a significant challenge to China's education system. Discrepancies between government policies and practice have been pointed out by a number of studies (Wang and Phillion 2009).

Despite the apparent promotion of multilingualism, more minority languages in China are endangered. Poverty, lack of funding and qualified bilingual teachers, and the often discriminatory attitude of local government officials toward ethnic minority language and culture, all contribute to a decline in the linguistic ecology of China. The rapid economic development in recent years has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. In some remote areas such as Southwest China, Xinjiang and Tibet, there are many people still living in poverty with low levels of literacy. Among the 55 minority groups, 40 have lower than average percentages of college graduates and 43 have lower than average percentages with secondary education (Zhou 2001). Of the large minority groups, Uyghur and Tibetans have much lower educational outcomes.

A further problem related to educational equality in China is that, for thousands of years, ethnic minorities have been perceived as 'barbarians'. Some local Han officials still hold stereotypical and discriminatory views towards ethnic minority culture which has a negative impact on the enactment of law. Nima (2001) asserts that some local Han officials in minority regions interpret minority language and

culture as 'backwardness' and Han language and culture as 'civilization.' This is despite the fact that Article 53 in the PRC Regional Autonomy Law for Minority Nationalities in 1984 states, 'autonomous government should encourage officials and masses of all ethnic groups to respect each other's languages and scripts' (as cited in Zhou 2004, p. 78).

Ethnic minority groups often live in the less developed areas of China, such as Guizhou, Yunnan, Xinjiang and Tibet. In these areas, funding for bilingual education becomes a significant burden for local governments, especially when inadequately planned and implemented bilingual education programs become more costly than monolingual education (Li, T. 2013; Li, X. 2013; Zhao 2014). Lack of community support is another reason for the discrepancy between bilingual policy and its implementation, as pointed out in the Survey of Minority Language Situation (1999).

In 1982, the PRC Constitution required Modern Standard Chinese (Mandarin/Putonghua) to be promoted nationally. Since then, additional legislation has been adapted to increase the spread of Chinese, especially in the realm of education (Bruhn 2008, p. 7). The impact of the promotion of Modern Standard Chinese/Putonghua on minority language preservation has been significant. The use of Putonghua is protected by the law, represented by *The Law of the People's Republic of Chinese on Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language*. In September 2001, the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the State Language Commission (SLC) initiated a nation-wide evaluation project to promote the standard spoken and written Chinese. The standards for evaluation are set up by MOE and SLC. All cities in China were classified into three categories according to administrative division, and observation groups were sent to the primary cities to check the evaluation process. In order to meet the national standard, Putonghua training and tests were booming especially in government departments and in service industries (Yu 2013). How to keep the balance between standardization and promotion of Putonghua and the protection and preservation of minority languages becomes a great challenge for policy makers and education practitioners alike (Yu 2013). The emphasis on testing in Mandarin appears at odds with the broader curriculum changes that were instituted to refocus education practices on student needs. The promulgation of standardized testing as a means of evaluating language proficiency by the Ministry highlights how official policy is not always implemented to its full extent by relevant bodies. By focusing on very narrow parameters of academic achievement in the national language, minority and immigrant students are immediately disadvantaged and placed against unaccommodating and exclusionary education ideals that undermine their sense of belonging and ultimately erode the tenets of multicultural citizenship.

13 Conclusion

China is a multicultural nation comprised of multiple ethnic groups that have settled in the national territory throughout history and have become a part of its national identity. China's rise as a global economic and political leader has increased the multicultural nature of its constituents, as the speed and level of penetration of global and local information reaches more and more communities and breaks down previous boundaries of isolation. In response to globalization, China's conceptions of citizenship and multiculturalism have dramatically changed with language and minority rights being enshrined in constitutional law since the 1980s. Language plays a crucial part in attaining the nation's economic, social, cultural and political aims.

Language policies play a significant part in fulfilling Chinese government political objectives, which are always heavily impacted by political movements and power. On the one hand, minority languages are protected and respected by law, but are difficult to implement because of the often derisive attitude to minority languages of government officials. On the other hand, Putonghua is promoted nationwide by a highly centralized and targeted political power and therefore is implicated in the endangerment of minority languages. The efforts to achieve the balance between Putonghua promotion and minority language maintenance are rarely observable. Discrepancies exist between the language laws in China at the macro level and the implementation at the micro level in different regions, especially in Yunnan, Guizhou, Xinjiang and Tibet, which have a large population of ethnic minorities in historical and current times.

Some scholars argue that the recent practice of Chinese language policy reflects a 'social-Darwinist' attitude toward language vitality (Zhou and Ross 2004). Under this conception it is argued that language policy has been deliberately exclusive and aimed at killing off languages, which are in any case, under threat by systemic promotion of Mandarin. This can be justified in Social-Darwinist language as merely allowing language natural selection to take place, but is really illustrative of a concerted effort to ignore and even suppress linguistic diversity. As has been shown however, linguistic diversity is critical for educational equality, as allowing and promoting the use of minority languages helps those students attain better levels of education, which is a stated ambition of the Chinese government and its policy frameworks. To ignore the multicultural reality of the Chinese citizenry by failing to adequately provide bilingual education programs amounts to neglecting the stated aims and pedagogical position of the Ministry of Education. It is therefore incumbent upon the ministry to continue the path towards realizing in practice the goals and objectives that have begun to be expressed in policy and enshrined in Law.

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Educational Responses to Ethnic Complexity in Education: Experiences from Denmark

Christian Horst

Abstract The chapter starts up with a short presentation of ethnic complexity in Danish context and how this complexity is conceptualized in public documents. This is followed by a short documentation of the general social marginalization and educational underachievement among ethnic minority students. The second part gives a brief theoretical presentation of the relationship between the understanding of a multicultural society with the understanding of multicultural and intercultural education. This serves as a background for the third part, which is an analysis of educational steering documents (school laws, curriculum descriptions and teacher education). The analysis demonstrates the absence of the concepts of multicultural and intercultural education in educational policies and how responses to ethnic complexity in education are based on deficit theory and the development of compensatory measures. The fourth part shows that this position is challenged by educational research and development projects at universities and university colleges and by bottom-up initiatives among teachers and head teachers in different localities that relate to central aspects of multicultural and intercultural education. The article ends up by proposing new developments in relation to the general recommendations of the International Alliance of Leading Education Institutes (IALEI) 2010.

Keywords Ethnic diversity • Education policy • Social marginalization • Education reform • Citizenship • National identity • Denmark

1 Introduction

Intercultural and multicultural education is not a recognized educational perspective in official Danish educational policies in any professional understanding of the terms despite the increasing ethnic complexity in the citizenry. The reason for that

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_5

is to be found in a general political rejection of interpreting the future development of Danish society in terms of a multicultural society.

However, within educational research and education, there are a number of initiatives, which address ethnic complexity in education using the concepts of intercultural and multicultural education, or who are doing research or organizing education which interact with different dimensions of multicultural or intercultural education, often with an overlapping use of concepts (Banks 2004; Gundara 2000; Batelaan 2003). The article[1] reviews the main features of the past 10 years in which assimilation policies have been even more strongly implemented.

2 Populations and Representations

2.1 Ethnic Complexity

The Danish Commonwealth (*Rigsfællesskab*) includes Denmark[2] (5, 5 mills. citizens) and two north Atlantic areas, Greenland[3] (56.543 citizens) and the Faroe Islands[4] (48.650 citizens) with distinct cultures and languages; both areas are under Danish jurisdiction but with home rule.

In Denmark there is only one recognized regional and linguistic minority, the German ethnic minority in the southern part of Jutland, with about 12–15.000 citizens.[5] Throughout history immigrants from neighboring countries and Europe (Sweden, Norway, Poland, Holland, Germany, France, etc.) have settled in Denmark (Østergaard 2007), and of long date is the Jewish minority[6] (sixteenth century) with about 6000 members today, and the Roma[7] minority (sixteenth century) with about 2–4000 members today.

In the wake of the Second World War's post-war growth and with increased international relationships Denmark has had a continued labor immigration and reception of refugees from a number of countries across the world.

Today, the number of persons with a foreign *citizenship* residing in Denmark has amounted to 334.768 persons from 194 different nation states, seen in relation to 5.205.473 Danish citizens (April 2010), or about 6.4 %. However, if we look at the

[1] The article is based on a report to the International Alliance of Leading Educational Institutes: Horst, C (2010). Intercultural Education in Denmark.

[2] Statistikbanken 2010; www.Statistikbanken.dk

[3] Greenland in Figures 2010. www.stat.gl.

[4] Faroe Islands in Figures 2010. www.hagstove.fo

[5] There are no exact figures for the German ethnic minority. The present number is an estimate from Bund Deutscher Nordschlewiger. www.Nordschleswig.dk.

[6] Statistics Denmark used to register and publish statistics on confessional belonging, but this has stopped. The numbers are from: Boding, J. J. See: www.kristendom.dk. 17.3.2009.

[7] There are no exact figures on the Roma population in Denmark. Se www.romnet.dk. Download from www.wikipedia.org. 23.06.2010.

numbers of *long term residing foreigners* according to place of birth or foreign descent, thereby including some of the persons who have acquired Danish citizenship, we find 548.039 citizens of *foreign descent* in relation to 4.992.202 born in Denmark, or about 11.0 % of the ethnic Danish population. The Jewish and Romi minorities as well as persons from Greenland and Faroe Islands are excluded from these statistics. As the top-10 listing shows people arrive from all continents.[8]

Although Denmark still has a somewhat smaller number of persons with foreign *citizenship* than other European countries, Denmark has empirically always been an ethnic complex society but has become so increasingly over the last years 40 years and shares this development with other European countries (Herm 2008). However, the dominating narrative about the national myth cultivates a self-image of cultural homogeneity.

2.2 Conceptualizing Ethnic Complexity

Ethnic complexity in the Danish society is statistically made up in different social categories according to geographical, linguistic, ethnic or religious markers which are used differently in different social fields. In general statistics the main distinctions are *not* based on *citizenship*, but on *descent* and *birthplace* in order to maintain a statistical distinction between *ethnic Danes* and *immigrants* and *descendants*[9] across generations.[10] This construction of statistical categories is a major tool in establishing an empirical foundation for developing *integration policies*, i.e. the construction of objectivity and objectives. This implies 'transitional problems' about when you as a foreigner are finally included in the Danish population.[11] Further, summarized statistics subdivide the immigrant population into Western

[8] Top-10 countries of origin: Turkey: 59.487; Germany: 30.905; Iraq: 29.409; Poland: 28.606; Libanon: 23.833; Bosnia-Hercegovina: 22.271; Pakistan: 20.484; Jugoslavia (ex): 16.903; Somalia: 16.824; Norway: 16.005. Source: Statistikbanken. (Folk 1). Statistics Denmark.

[9] The Danish word 'herkomst' (indicating which country you come from can be translated either by 'country of provenance' or 'country of descent'); the Danish word 'efterkommer' (literally: 'coming after' indicating a national or ethnic inter-generational kinship relation) can be translated either by 'follower' or by 'descendant'. I have chosen the words 'descent' and 'descendants' in order to emphasize the intended cultural distinction in opposition to citizenship.

[10] In the statistical reports from Statistics Denmark the definition is:"A person is a Dane, if at least one of the parents is a Danish citizen and born in Denmark. In this way it is of no importance if the actual person is a Danish citizen or born in Denmark. If the person is not Danish the person is *either* immigrant (born outside Denmark, *or* descendant (born in Denmark)", (Tal og fakta. Befolkningsstatistik om indvandrere og efterkommere. Ministeriet for flygtninge, indvandrere og efterkommere. Juli 2009.)

[11] In order to handle this problem Statistics Denmark has developed a rate of 'frequency of transition' (overgangshyppigheder) as an index of how this development takes place for the different categories, (Ibid.).

The statistical category 'Western countries' consists of EU-countries, Iceland, Norway, USA, Canada,

countries and 'Non-Western countries'[12] or 'Third Countries'.[13] In this way 'cultural' distinctions and categories prevail over universal distinctions (citizenship) in conceptualizing ethnic complexity in integration policies and in the recognition of ethnic complexity as part of identity politics.

The empirical consequences are twofold. Firstly, the number of foreigners understood as non-Danish persons (a cultural concept) increases the numbers of 'foreigners'. Secondly, on the cognitive and emotional plan social categories based on ethnic descent silently substitutes universal categories (citizenship) underpinning interpretations of belonging and non-belonging with cultural identity. In this perspective 'neutral' statistical categories become an active part of national identity politics. Foreigners who have obtained Danish citizenship seem never to become 'real' Danes, and Danes will never 'discover' that the national community, understood as the citizenry, has become multicultural. This way of categorizing ethnic complexity constitutes a discourse in which the meaning ascribed to the category of 'Non-Western-countries' is filled up with information about how persons from these countries deviate negatively from ethnic national standards. This paves the way for an 'objectified' racialized discourse in which social deviation is explained by 'culture' and not by important socio-economic categories and lack of equal opportunity in society dominated by a national culture. A social and discursive construction labeled as 'methodological nationalism' (Beck 2002). This article can be read as an exposure of how this operates in a Danish context and how some researchers and educators try to confront it.

When I analyze and discuss data, positions and relations in different contexts, I use the distinctions 'the ethnic majority' or 'ethnic Danes' about the national majority, and 'ethnic minority/minorities' about non-Danish ethnic groups. I employ this linguistic practice for two interconnected reasons:

1. The term and concept 'ethnicity' (and related words) is a professional anthropological term in order to indicate a cultural distinction or a cultural belonging in a universalized manner; we are all identifiable in relation to different ethnicities,[14] both majorities and minorities.

[12] The statistical category 'Western countries' consists of EU-countries, Iceland, Norway, USA, Canada, Australia New Zealand, Andorra, Lichtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland and the Vatican. Notice that countries from Latin and South America are not included. They are included in the rest of the world, or the statistical category 'Non-Western countries'. These constructions cannot help evoke the post-colonial notion 'The West and the Rest' (Said 1978) as an underlying cultural concept for the construction of social and statistical categories.

[13] In EU-contexts the word Third Countries and Third Country Nationals are used to categorize persons coming from countries outside the European Union.

[14] I want to underline that ethnicity and identity should not be understood in any communitarian way as the only or most important identity, but as one identity among many and which undergo changes in relation to different social contexts. On the one hand the individual will always have a possibility to reflect on the importance of an identity (or identification with a certain social group) in a given context. On the other hand power structures of society can ascribe importance to identity constructions in different social fields, which can form a basis for different types of ethno-politics, gender politics etc. (Sen 2007).

2. This gives a discursive possibility to identify and negotiate relations between different ethnic groups (minorities and majorities) on a meta-level and apply general principles from liberal philosophical thought (equality) in relation to the nation state in terms of citizenship and ethnic minority rights in different social fields (Parekh 2000; May 2001).

3 Ethnic Complexity and Marginalization

3.1 Age

The ethnic minorities and their descendants contribute positively to the younger segments of the population.[15] The age groups 15–29 years constitute about 27 % of their population, whereas these groups only constitute about 17 % of the ethnic Danish population. Similarly, the post-65 years' groups constitute only about 7 % of the ethnic minorities, whereas these groups constitute about 17 % of the ethnic Danish population.

3.2 Geographic Distribution and Housing

The ethnic minorities are scattered widely across the country with concentrations in and around bigger cities and industrial sites with about 47, 2 % concentrated in the ten biggest cities. The majority of the ethnic minorities from 'non-Western' countries lives in public housing (57, 5 %) which is only the case for 15, 4 % of ethnic minorities from 'Western' countries and for 13, 9 % of the Danish population.[16]

3.3 Socio-economic Situation

The housing situation corresponds with a substantial lower income for ethnic minorities. Statistics Denmark divides the population into ten income groups (decils) reflecting different amounts of disposable income for a person in a given year (Plovsing and Lange 2009). The relative poverty of the different ethnic groups appears evident. It is remarkable that 25–28 % of the ethnic minorities are to be found in the lowest income group, where only 8 % of the ethnic Danish population is found. Further, the ethnic Danish population has about 37 % of its population placed in the *four lowest income groups*. For ethnic minorities from 'non-Western'

[15] The following presentations are all based on data from Statistics Denmark, Databanken, 2009.

[16] Ministeriet for flygtninge, indvandrere og integration (2009). Tal og Fakta – befolkningsstatistik om indvandrere og efterkommere. S.30.

countries the number amounts to 73 %. During the last 10 years the country has experienced substantial growth in income differences and social and geographical marginalization. The most exposed groups in this development are ethnic minorities and descendants from 'non-Western' countries (Andersen et al. 2010). This is reflected in the general employment rates. The Danish population has a general employment rate at 82 (men) and 77 (women), whereas ethnic minorities have a substantially lower rate ('Western' countries: men 69; women 61; 'non-Western' countries: men 63; woman 49), while their descendants are employed at slightly higher rates. Accordingly ethnic minorities have higher rates in social transfer incomes, unemployment benefits and social allowances.

3.4 Education

The general educational background of ethnic minorities (age 16–64) remains to a large degree unknown. If you look at how many persons who have stopped education with ground school (7–16 years) you find that this is the case for around 30 % in the group of ethnic Danes, whereas this is the case for two thirds of all male descendants of ethnic minorities from non-Western countries and for more than half of the women in this group.

If you look at persons who are neither in education nor in employment, age 20–24, you find 30 % of ethnic minorities and 17 % of descendants of ethnic minorities from 'non-Western' countries in such situations, compared to 10 % of the Danish population. A similar discrepancy is found in the age group 16–19 years, but fortunately much less for descendants, i.e. children born in Denmark.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

The general picture show an increasing ethnic complexity with ethnic minority groups coming from all continents, but also that more than two thirds can be identified within 20 nation states. The geographical variation is big, but with about 50 % of the population in ten larger cities. The different groups are generally marginalized from a socio-economic perspective, considering social fields like housing, employment, social welfare, and education. If it is an aim to reduce such differences and education is one of the pathways to such a change, attention is drawn to the acquisition of basic skills, knowledge and attitudes for the population in general (i.e. primary and secondary education).

4 Primary and Secondary Education

4.1 Ethnic Minority Students

Due to a liberal historic tradition there is no compulsory *school* in Denmark. However, there is a well-established system of compulsory *education*. In principle the individual is free to choose between public schools, different private or free schools or to receive education at home as long as national standards are met. Generally children go either to public school, Folkeskolen, and different private and free schools and for lower secondary students it is possible to visit independent boarding schools.

The numbers of ethnic minority students in obligatory education (7–16 years or 9 years of compulsory education) has grown steadily, from 2022 in 1975 to 72.975 in 2009. The geographical distribution follows to a large extent the settlement of the parents mentioned above, but when it comes to distributions in school districts and local schools in different municipalities there are big differences in the ratio between the numbers of students of ethnic Danish descent and the numbers of children of ethnic minorities. There is about 1.591 public schools and 503 private and free schools. Out of 1591 public schools 1.204 or about 80 % have none or less than 10 % ethnic minority students; 239 schools or about 15 % have between 10 and 25 % ethnic minority students; 106 schools or 6,6 % have about 25–50 % and only 42 schools or 2,6 % have more than 50 % students with ethnic minority background (Byg Hornbæk 2009).

4.2 Student Assessments

Denmark has a tradition for participating in international comparative educational research starting in the 1990s with the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and tests for reading skills. Later in relation to IEA came test studies in mathematics and science, the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS). Since 2000 Denmark has participated in four Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) and carried through one national and two local assessments based on the PISA concept and material.

When the results of the first PISA research appeared (PISA 2000) in 2001 it revealed that the 'bilingual students'[17] underachieved significantly in all domains when compared to their Danish peers. The score span for the bilingual students was between 402 (science) and 451 (mathematics) and for the ethnic Danish students 488 (science) and 508 (reading reflection). The test showed further that the bilingual

[17] In the PISA research the term for ethnic minority students is 'bilingual students'. The particular PISA surveys focusing on ethnic complexity are entitled PISA Ethnic (PISA Etnisk).

students born and partly raised *outside* Denmark performed better than the bilingual students born and raised *in* Denmark.[18]

This raised serious questions to the general process of the integration of immigrants in the Danish society. If these results were to be taken seriously it announced the coming of a society in which the immigrant children were marginalized in education, which could be an important brick in a foundation of an ethnically segmented labor market with immigrant populations overrepresented at the bottom or in unemployment. These concerns initiated further research at both local and national level building on the material of PISA 2000. PISA København 2004 (Egelund and Rangvid 2005) carried through a survey including all public schools and about half of the private schools in Copenhagen. PISA Etnisk 2005 (2007), was a carried out as a national testing program.

The dominant picture between ethnic Danish students and bilinguals persisted across the different surveys with few differences as shown in Table 1 (Egelund and Tranæs 2007). However, in PISA København 2004-survey the 2. Generation performed better than the 1. Generation, though the differences were small. In the three surveys the students in PISA Etnisk are those who score lowest. One of the reasons for this is that in order to include many schools with high representation of bilinguals, the selection of schools was consciously biased and not randomized. These meant that schools from lower socio-economic areas were relatively overrepresented in the sample, which explains the general lower score (see 3.3. and 4.1 above).

In a research report by about the immigrants and the Danish education system the results from the PISA Etnisk survey are summed up in the following way: 'In PISA Etnisk 2005 the Danish students acquire results in the school subjects Danish, mathematics and science close to the average of the other OECD countries. However, the bilingual students have results in the three school subjects which places them close to or within the lowest 6th achieving segment of the students in these countries.'…. 'The conclusion of this chapter is then that you already in ground school meet *very big problems* when it is about ethnic students' placement and the use of the Danish educational system. This concerns all the three essential domains:

Table 1 Score span between Danish students and bilingual students in three PISA-surveys. Highest and lowest score across domains

Score span across domains	Danish	Bilinguals
PISA 2000	508–488	451–402
PISA København 2004	509–487	419–396
PISA Etnisk 2005	496–471	417–368

The table is constructed from Table 4.1a in Egelund and Tranæs (2007)

[18] It must be stressed that the number of bilingual students who participated in the different tests in this survey sample is very small, corresponding to 6, 3 % of the student population in reading test, and 6, 1 for mathematics, and 6, 5 for science. The results must accordingly be interpreted with caution.

reading, mathematics and science. In reading the problems are so outspoken that this necessarily *must* create barriers later in the young persons' educational career" (Jensen and Tranæs 2008). These results are confirmed in the latest PISA-survey, PISA 2009 (Egelund 2010). The reading skills for ethnic Danish students show a score of 501 PISA-points and for bilingual students 434 score-points (i.e. a difference of 67 PISA score-points). Over a 10 year period different agents in the educational field have tried to develop responses in order to change the results from PISA 2000.[19] When it comes to explaining these persistent differences in educational outcomes references to 'culture' dominates. However, neither 'culture' and nor the organization of education and teaching have been addressed in the research design. Just a few quotes PISA Etnisk 2005 (Egelund and Tranæs 2007):

> The spoken language in the family, but possibly also the '*family culture in a wider sense*' seem in this way to play *a quite definitive role* for the content and extent of communication in the family and in this way for the child's acquisition of reading skills, which are in focus here (italics CH).
>
> When ethnicity, defined as the spoken language in the home, is brought into the analysis a far better explanation about the reading skills among youngsters is obtained. *This is not caused by the language itself but with a coherent cluster in behavior and communication related to the language*, *that is the family's culture* (italics CH).

What we see here is 'methodological nationalism' at work (Beck 2002). What characterizes the educational responses developed to meet ethnic complexity in public education?

5 Multicultural Societies and Intercultural Education

5.1 'Culture': A Complex Concept

A central aspect of the concepts of intercultural and multicultural education is how different interpretations of the concept 'culture' influence and relate to developments in (a) educational theory and (b) political philosophy and the interpretation of a multicultural society. The concept of culture in multicultural and intercultural education has changed with the 'cultural turn' in post-modernity, with increased migration, settlement of new ethnic minorities and the development of hybridity, creolization etc. Theoretically 'culture' is no longer understood in classical anthropological versions as definable entities, but as a concept which reflects transient and dynamic developments in which the individual is both a participant and a product in the ongoing (re)production of meaning and symbols in different social fields (Hall 1997; Caglar 1997). Further, 'cultural identity' is no longer related to single social

[19] For a review of a historical perspective on the development of educational responses to ethnic complexity in education, see report: Horst, C. (2010). Intercultural Education in Denmark, pp. 35–51.

categories (being black or being a woman), but understood in terms of intersectionality and many identities or the simultaneous identification with a number of social positions (being black and a woman and a mother and director…etc.), related to and dependent on how different social fields are structured (Sen 2007).

This general social constructionist definition of culture engages with cultural representations in relation to power (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977/2005). In order to reproduce cultural identity(ies) through education the selection of cultural artifacts, cultural representations and forms of communication (language in a wider sense) is necessary, and as embedded elements in the organization of the educational system 'culture' becomes part of how control and discipline is exercised in relation to development of competence. This process of selection and reproduction of cultural representations expresses (contemporarily fixed) prioritized forms of cultural productions and establishes the habitus of a given social field at a given time.

If it is axiomatic to the construction of positive learning processes that they rely on the recognition of the children's preconditions, and if the school system reproduces a national monoculture in a privileged position, then children from ethnic minorities will have reduced possibilities to acquire the relevant social and cultural capital to succeed in the field of education. Ethnic minority children will be in a permanent asymmetric position in education when compared to ethnic majority children, often emphasized by a socio-economic disfavored position.

5.2 Multicultural and Mono-cultural State Policies

Such a situation calls for negotiation of the privileged position of the national culture in the construction of the educational system, so that it comes to reflect the actual ethnic complexity of society. A way to review such a situation is offered by the political philosopher Parekh (2000). As a political philosopher Parekh remains within a liberal state theory but steps outside the national paradigm and looks at a nation as empirically consisting of more than one culture, most often a dominant national majority and different ethnic minorities. This establishes a sort of a meta-position in relation to the examination of the relationships between cultures in a political community (state) from a liberal democratic position, and how to renegotiate the relationships between ethnic majorities and ethnic minorities, based on fundamental liberal values: freedom and equality.

By subjecting the position of *all* cultures in the nation state (ethnic minorities and ethnic majorities) and the relations between them to democratic negotiation, there can be established a political platform for rethinking the nation state in multicultural perspectives. In this way multiculturalism is not an ideology but a political philosophical position for negotiating the development of democracy and democratic institutions in ethnic diverse or multicultural societies. If it is true that all societies are ethnic complex and if it is a political intention to develop democracy,

then the question about multiculturalism is not a question of *if* 'we' want multiculturalism. The question is *how* to negotiate ethnic complexity in a democratic state.

Parekh (2000) maintains that all societies are empirically ethnic complex and will be so increasingly. The main question is how nation states – or the dominant political parties within the nation states – respond normatively to this complexity. Parekh points to two main positions, a mono-cultural and a multicultural position. Each position expresses different visions of how the society should (normative) develop (responses) taking the ethnic complexity into consideration. The idea is that once there is obtained a relative political consensus within a liberal nation state about one of the main positions, the political discourse is captured in a logic aiming at realising the vision.

The *mono-cultural position* will tend to argue that social cohesion develops from reducing ethnic complexity, understood in a terminology where integration equates assimilation in a number of fields. Ethnic minorities will be seen as deviating from the 'naturalised' cultural norms of the majority understood in terms of national standards.

Social and educational problems related to ethnic minority groups are interpreted as coming from lack of competence in the language and culture of the majority. In order to solve these problems and at the same time maintain a perspective that aligns with a mono-cultural vision, it becomes logical to develop policies and social interventions which compensate for linguistic and cultural deficits. This way of framing social and educational problems in a discourse of mono-cultural development will eventually turn 'them' and 'their cultures' into being the social problem per se. Social and cultural competences embedded in the ethnic minority cultures are not seen as resources but tend to be looked upon as barriers to 'integration'.

The *multicultural position* recognizes ethnic complexity as an empirical fact. The question to be raised is then how the democratic state can be organised to represent and serve a culturally diverse citizenry equally, establish equal access and equal treatment in institutions and develop equal opportunity in the public sphere. This implies recognition of cultural, linguistic and religious pluralism and opportunity for the ethnic minorities to develop full competencies in the languages of public communication. Ethnic minorities will have to reformulate their cultural ways within the norms of the liberal state. Social cohesion is supposed to develop from recognition of difference and fair negotiation.

Seen as discursive oppositions it should be stressed that these two main positions are not to be understood as mutually exclusive. As concepts they can be seen as two opposite positions on a scale.[20]

[20] Nation states that support a mono-cultural development can easily support and encourage development of cultural diversity in different social fields, i.e. in the private sphere; in cultural life, aesthetics and arts; in business and trades; but only with difficulty in the public institutions where collective identity and formal competences are produced and reconstructed.

5.3 Multicultural States and Intercultural and/or Multicultural Education

Intercultural and multicultural education addresses these challenges. Portera (2008, 2011) argues for using the concept 'multicultural' when categorizing different societies according to their ethnic complexity, and the concept 'intercultural' in relation to education in order emphasize the dynamic aspects of cultural developments as the word 'inter' – signifies what happens between cultural representations (social relations) and interpolates agency (inter-action; i.e. 'we' live in *multicultural societies*, but 'we' develop *intercultural education*). The discussion about the use of concepts is an ongoing process. In this context I will look at the concepts from an additive perspective and use the concepts as mutually overlapping (i.e. how both concepts contribute to the construction of education in ethnic complex situations which recognize ethnic complexity and the preconditions of *all* children).

Banks (2004) states that a major common goal for multicultural education – across differences – is 'to reform schools and other educational institutions so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups will experience educational equality" (…) "Multicultural education theorists are increasingly interested in how the interaction of race, class and gender influences education'. A similar fundamental relation is made between intercultural education and equity by Batelaan and Coomans (1999), Gundara (2000), and Batelaan (2003).[21]

Banks (2004) develops five dimensions that constitute or are central to multicultural education. Within each of these five dimensions he describes a development based on how different research traditions relate to educational research in ethnic complex settings:

1. *Content integration*, which deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations and theories in their subject area or discipline.
2. *Knowledge construction process*, which relates to the extent to which teachers help students understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it.
3. *An equity pedagogy*, based on how teachers modify their teaching in ways that facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural and social-class groups, applying a wide variety of teaching styles corresponding to learning styles in different groups.
4. *Prejudice reduction* focuses on the characteristics of students' racial attitudes and how they can be modified by teaching methods and materials.
5. *An empowering school culture and social structure*. Grouping and labeling practices, disproportionality in achievement, and the interaction of staff and the

[21] Intercultural Education: Managing diversity, strengthening democracy. 21st Session Athens Greece, 10–12 November 2003. European Council, the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education.

students across ethnic and racial lines are among the components of the school culture that must be examined in order to create a school culture that empowers students from diverse ethnic, racial, cultural groups.

If we look at the five dimensions in relation to how they address the construction of the learning processes in ethnic complex situations, the dominant perspective is the *interactive* perspective between teacher and student in relation to the students' *diverse preconditions*. The critical examination of *knowledge construction* is not only about a critical view on content sanctioned by the authorities, but also on the construction of the social categories that mediate knowledge and social relations. This relates strongly to *prejudice reduction* and the work with historically established cultural hierarchies and the reproduction of mutual (mis)conceptions of 'the other'. The *content integration* is not only about bringing cultural variety into the narratives that mediate the different disciplines and subjects, but to recontextualize the content of disciplines and subjects in order to relate to the students' cultural preconditions (Bernstein 2001; Klafki 1983). *Equity pedagogy* relates to these elements as an effective alternative to paradigms of 'cultural depravation', and 'at risk children' which come close to 'blaming the victim' by focusing on the conditions of early socialization and the need to change the students themselves, without examining the actual learning process they are part of. Equity pedagogy assures not only a perspective on equal representation in content, but also an adaptation of pedagogy and learning styles to the preconditions of the students. *An empowering school culture and social structure* relate especially to a system perspective looking at the school as an organizational unit, which gives a physical and social frame (ethos, leadership and co-operation) to the four other dimensions in a way that allows for institutionalization of intended changes (Miramontes et al. 1997; García et al. 2006).

It is easy to see how multiculturalism as a position within political philosophy can relate to multicultural educational theory based on a common recognition of ethnic complexity: recognition of ethnic complexity in political agency is reflected in a similar recognition of ethnic complexity in the construction of education, based on universalized political categories and on universalized educational theory. The important issues in this context can be summed up as:

1. There is a common recognition of the nation states as multicultural liberal political communities. The implication of this is full integration of all persons in the citizenry through citizenship and the recognition of cultural differences, opposing assimilation and differential treatment, within the framework of a liberal democracy.
2. In relation to education this implies that the construction of curriculum, education of teachers, and the organization of education recognize and reflect the multicultural society and its ethnic complexity, on different levels: classroom, school, locality. This represents a continued negotiation of the position of different cultures in education. Multicultural and intercultural education is a concern for *all* students on equal terms (i.e. recognition of the linguistic and cultural preconditions of both the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority as a social

condition). In this way multicultural and intercultural education share the foundations of general educational theory and research.

In the following I bring examples from a discourse analysis which establish relations between general political positions in the dominating political parties and parts of the educational policy and how the responses to ethnic complexity interact with common perspectives of intercultural and multicultural education. The general policy development in Denmark dealing with ethnic complexity has over the years by numerous researchers been interpreted as assimilation. As this attitude bridges a number of political parties in the traditional left-right divide, it has also been identified as a "Danish regime of assimilation" (Hedetoft 2004; Horst and Gitz-Johansen 2010).

6 Educational Policy Responses to Ethnic Complexity

6.1 General Political Development

It is well known that the processes of globalization entail a revitalization of local and national cultures, also known as glocalization. In a Danish context it added to an already ongoing political debate about Denmark as a multicultural society with the ethnic minorities in very exposed positions. When the social democratic Minister of the Interior[22] in an interview expressed herself in the following way she embraced a major part of the electorate from the Danish Peoples Party to socialist groupings:

> It is well-known that there is no free access (*to the country*, *CH*) today. But anyway, we have difficulties to lead a discussion that is not heated and emotional. The danger is that we get a quite different society. Some say: But in the US they can live with Chinatown and Little Italy. But that is not at all the way I want to go. On the contrary I want to fight against this development.
>
> Interviewer: But can you understand the Danes who turn against the idea of living in a multicultural society?
>
> At any rate, I will not live in a multicultural society – that is, where the cultures are equal. And I think that it is a serious problem if Danes feel homeless in their own part of the city.

At the national election in 2001/2002 a liberal-conservative government came into power. The coalition was in a minority position in the Folketing (the Danish Parliament) but through written agreements with the extreme right wing and nationalist party, the Danish Peoples Party,[23] the coalition has been assured a permanent

[22] Karen Jespersen. Social democratic Minister of the Interior. Interview. Berlingske Tidende. 06.09.2000.

[23] The Danish Peoples Party is known for its xenophobic and racialized attitudes. In 2003 its leader Pia Kjærsgaard (MEP) lost a case on defamation in Supreme Court which she had opened when characterized for 'holding racist views'. In December 2010 MEP from the Danish Peoples Party, Jesper Langballe, was convicted for severe racial defamation and hate speech.

majority for its general policy. During three electoral periods the Danish Peoples Party is now established at the centre of Danish politics with an important trade off to the benefit of nationalist positions in a number of social fields, including education.

6.2 General Educational Policy

The policy development in the field of education followed the general political development, but in an ambivalent way.[24] On the national scene the coalition took strong stands against multicultural education. Below, a few examples from this development will illustrate the hostile atmosphere towards multicultural developments. The Minister of Integration, Refugees and Immigrants[25] expressed himself in this way referring to a passage in the Act on the Folkeskole:

> You have to be familiar with your own culture, and you must have knowledge about other cultures. This implies a clear discrimination. Danish culture is more important than other cultures. As I as Minister of Education put the biblical narrative at the centre of the teaching in Christianity then it was a clear discrimination. You have to be familiar with the biblical narrative and to have knowledge about other religions. That is discrimination and so it has to be. Equally in the lessons in Danish language and literature. Here you read Danish literature. Therefore I say all that talk about cultural equality and freedom of religion is rubbish. Denmark is once and for all a Danish society. It is the Danes that decide.

The quote reveals an overt accept of discrimination based on a privileged position of the ethnic Danish population (i.e. particular values dominate universal values). This implies an imagined political community in which nationhood, Danish ethnic identity and citizenship overlap fully.

The Minister of Education was in Parliament asked if there were any institutions related to the Ministry of Education which had the purpose of furthering a multicultural school. The Minister of Education answered: '(…) No council and no institution with relation to the Ministry of Education has the purpose of furthering a multicultural public school.'[26]

This expressed rejection of multiculturalism takes place together with the development of cultural national canons and a canon for democracy, but without recognition of the multicultural character of the society. Lack of social and cultural

[24] Ambivalent or contradictory presentations in educational policy concerning ethnic minority children are well researched and well documented phenomenon (Kristiansdottir and Timm 2007). Their book carries the title: "Double-dealing Educational Policy" ("Tvetunget uddannelsespolitik").

[25] Minister of Integration, Refugees and Immigrants. Bertel Haarder. Weekendavisen. 07.03. 2002.

[26] Minister of Education Bertel Haarder. Written response to MEP Martin Henriksen. Question no. S 3384. 08.03.2007. The quote is part of a longer answer. I have chosen only to bring what relates to multicultural education.

competencies translates into a general democratic deficit[27] to be remedied by a democratic (re)education (Haas 2011).

In 2002 a law[28] passed which gave the legal foundation for abolishing state funding for mother-tongue education to children of Third Country Nationals, but not to other ethnic minority groups. This overt institutional discrimination has been criticized by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) in 2006 and again in 2010.[29] Law 594 passed in 2005 and suspended ethnic minority parents' right to choose a public school of their liking (like Danish parents) if their children failed a test that proved 'a not un-essential need for support in Danish language'.[30]

The Danish Ministry of Education engaged with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)[31] project on life-long learning (Definition and Selection of Competencies [DeSeCo]). In the Danish context this project led to the development of The National Competence Accounts (Det Nationale Kompetenceregnskab) including the development of ten key competencies, of which 'Intercultural competence' is one and defined as: "(…) ability to understand cultural complexity and to participate in a dialogue with other cultures without prejudice". When this competence was researched and evaluated it was found that Denmark holds a bottom score: 66 % the population has a low degree of intercultural competence, 29 % of the population has a middle score and only 5 % of the population has a high intercultural competence.[32] This has not led to initiatives to promote intercultural competence in education.

When the Danish People's Party discovered that the curriculum guidelines for a school subject in high school included the phrase:"(…) preparing students for a modern multicultural society (…) it tricked off a highly heated debate in Folketinget and the newspapers about Denmark's possible status as a 'multicultural society', which was rejected by an overwhelming part of the Folketing. The Conservative Party and the Danish Peoples Party raised the question that the word 'multicultural' should be erased from educational texts.[33]

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[27] This development is strongly related to political responses to the attacks on World Trade Center 9/11-2001, and the events that followed in Madrid and London, which led to anti-terrorist legislation and general raise in animosity towards Islam.

[28] Announcement about the public school's mother-tongue teaching to children from member states of the European Union, from countries from the European Economic Area, and from the Faeroe Isles and Greenland. BEK no. 618 of 22nd of July 2002.

[29] Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 69th Session, 31st July–18th August 2006. Concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Denmark.

[30] Law about change of the Law about the Public School Act. (Enforced teaching in Danish as a second language, including extended access to referring bilingual children to other schools than the district school). Law no. 594 of 24th of June 2005.

[31] http://www.statistik.admin.ch/stat_ch/ber15/deseco/intro.htm

[32] The Ministry of Education: http://pub.uvm.dk/2005/NKRresume/kap03.html.

[33] Berlingske Tidende, 28.05.2008: Headline:"The Conservative Party and the Danish People's Party want to get rid of the term "multicultural society" ("K og DF vil af med vendingen flerkulturelt samfund").

6.3 Multicultural Education and Educational Steering Documents

In order to examine relationships between political positions and the development of educational policies as responses to education in ethnic complex contexts (the implementation of a political will) I have researched the parliamentary documents in the Ministry of Education in order to position the two words 'intercultural' and 'multicultural' as words and concepts in different steering documents. In this way I have tried to locate the words as concepts, expressing theoretical positions or relations to educational research in policy developments.

In a Danish context there are three words related to education in ethnic complex context: (1) intercultural (interkulturel), (2) multicultural (multikulturel) and (3) 'flerkulturel' which is a Danish version of multicultural, where the Danish word 'fler' translates into 'multi'. The documents are divided into different types, which can also be seen as a ranking in relation to importance:

Parliamentary documents, reflecting political negotiations: (a) Law proposals (lovforslag); (b) Proposals to parliamentary decisions (Beslutningsforslag); (c) Inquiries (forespørgsler); (d) reports (redegørelser); (e) Proposals for parliamentary enactments (forslag til vedtagelser); (f) Summaries (referater); (g) voting (afstemninger); (h) questions (spørgsmål); § 20 – questions[34] (§ 20 spørgsmål); (i) documents from select committeees (udvalgsbilag); (j) Propositions for the European Commission (Kommissionsforslag); (k) EU Council of Ministers (Ministerådsmøder); (l) documents (aktstykker). *Administrative texts*. Administrative texts are texts that are mainly formulated by civil servants in the Ministry of Education following on different political decisions (laws and proposals) in order to assure implementation. The texts I look at are limited to curricular guidelines, Common Goals (Fælles Mål 2009–2010) and different educational projects. Below I present the results from the analysis of the Act on Folkeskolen,[35] the Law Announcement about the Education of Teachers, and selected curricular guidelines.

6.4 Act on Folkeskolen

In the Act on Folkeskolen (Law on public school) the words 'multicultural', 'intercultural' and 'flerkulturel' are not found. The word 'ethnic' appear once in one of the last chapters of the law, Chapter 11, about evaluation and the development of educational quality. The Council for Evaluation and the Development of Education Quality (referring to the Minister of Education) has – among other tasks – also the following: (§57): 'The Council must further evaluate the school's ability to

[34] §20-questions are questions from a MEP to a minister. "§ 20" refer to Folketinget's order of business.

[35] LBK nr 1049 af 28/08/2007. The Public School Act (in force).

contribute to fight students' negative social heritage and to increase integration of students with another ethnic background than Danish'.

This discursive positioning of a single reference to 'other' ethnicities in an inferior paragraph which aligns 'other ethnic background' with negative social heritage can hardly be said to be incidental and announces both a general exclusion of ethnic complexity and a general deficit perspective on 'other ethnic backgrounds' within the framework of the law on public school.

6.5 Teacher Education

In the law defining the education of teachers, Law Announcement about the Education for Teachers in the Folkeskole (Bachelor level)[36] the word 'flerkulturel' is found *once* in the part of the law which describes courses in school subjects that have *no obligatory* number of lessons. In course 2: Education in health and sexuality in the section which describes the central areas of knowledge and skills, there are listed 13 themes (a – m). Theme 'h' is labeled: 'Values and living conditions in Denmark viewed in a historical, 'flerkulturel'(multicultural) and international perspective'. The word 'multicultural' is not found. The word 'intercultural' is found a few times.

In Part III, the main subject: 'Pedagogic Subjects' (Pædagogiske fag) is subdivided in four themes: 3.1. Home – school cooperation; 3.2. Students with another ethnic background than Danish; 3.3. Classroom management; 3.4. Problems related to special needs education. In relation to point "3.2. Students with another ethnic background than Danish" the following text is added:

> It is the purpose to develop the student's competencies to teach in a cultural diverse public school. The content consists of theories about culture, theory and research about children's identity development and learning when coming from different social and cultural backgrounds. The student shall work with theories about multicultural backgrounds, about social integration and culture, cultural encounters and intercultural pedagogy.

The text is placed in a context of subjects which are all *extracurricular* and appears as a special competence, a subfield in pedagogy.

In Part V. Psychology, the word 'intercultural' appears once in the section describing the central areas of knowledge and skills. There are listed nine themes (a–i). Theme 'f' is labeled: 'Socialization and intercultural psychology' without any further indications of content.

These are the two fields within the mandatory subjects where the teacher students can acquire knowledge about intercultural education. Within the non-obligatory subjects intercultural understanding and intercultural competence appear in an almost similar way in the subjects English, French, and German. The positioning of

[36] Bekendtgørelse om uddannelsen til professionsbachelor som lærer i folkeskolen, BEK nr 408 af 11/05/2009.

the word 'intercultural' relates to the development of pedagogy of language acquisition emphasizing communicative competencies, as mentioned earlier.

This gives 'intercultural', 'multicultural', and 'flerkulturel' a rather weak position in teacher education on a formal level. Seen in relation to the autonomy of the different institutions it opens however for the possibility to take individual and separate initiatives in the field, and also to develop in-service training for teachers in these domains. This has been done by some of the central university colleges.

6.6 Curricular Guidelines

The central administrative texts of prescriptive and regulative importance in relation to the public school are the curricular guidelines, Common Goals (Fælles Mål) 2009–2010. There are developed curricular guidelines to all schools subjects and teaching activities or extracurricular activities. The texts refer to the school law and are well elaborated texts, which define each school subject, its purpose, the goals to be achieved at different grade levels, and content descriptions in general terms and proposals with examples. The authors are civil servants in the Ministry of Education in collaboration with researchers and teachers with high competencies in the specific school subjects.

It is in these texts you would expect to find reflections about teaching and learning in ethnic complex settings and how different cultures are part of society and contributes to its development. In my present research I have looked at the curricular guidelines for the following school subjects and extracurricular activities: Danish, English, Christianity, History, Social Science, Geography, Biology, Immigrant languages, the Students General and Many-sided Development ('Bildung'; alsidige udvikling). The research on the words 'intercultural', 'multicultural' and 'flerkulturel' either as descriptive words or as concepts related to educational theory or research reveals an almost complete absence.

The word 'intercultural' appears twice in the school subject English, and five times in the school subject Geography.

In the school subject English the word 'intercultural' appears in relation to intercultural competence, "to learn to see the world with other eyes" and there are references to two Danish researchers in intercultural education and intercultural understanding[37] (Common Goals No. 2. English). In the school subject Geography the word the 'intercultural' appears five times in relation to learn about "cultures and countries and their intercultural and human relations" (Common Goals No. 14. Geography). And that is about it.

In Common Goals No. 47. About the children's general and many-sided development there is a reference to the main report from the National Competence Accounts (OECD) and the ten key competencies. It is placed in the last part of the

[37] I. Jensen and K. Risager at University of Roskilde.

text about sources and proposals for teaching. The text lists the competencies. Here it could have been expected that 'intercultural competence' would have been forwarded, as the Danish population in general holds a very low score in this domain, see above, and make it an obvious object for a 'general and many-sided development'. Though all the other competencies are listed, intercultural competence is omitted.

6.7 Major Governmental Responses to Ethnic Complexity in Education

In this way the government and the Ministry of Education have framed the educational discourse about ethnic complexity in education *negatively* in two ways. Firstly, the discursive exclusion of multiculturalism from both the general political discourse and the educational discourse as a condition for policy development leaves no space for relating to intercultural and multicultural education as research based educational concepts. Secondly, as intercultural and multicultural educational research are based on general educational theory and research positions (respecting cultural and linguistic backgrounds for *all* students equally), then general education theory and research cannot be applied in the policy development in relation to ethnic complexity without becoming inclusive to this complexity in the organization of education (see part two).

This implies that educational political discourse and policy developments are confined to educational research which examines the status and differences in achievement between the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities (see part I). Differences which are likely to be explained with relation to ethnicity (cultural deficit and depravation) leaving the basic organization of education in relation to the complexity of the students preconditions out of the research focus. This implies that development of governmental responses to ethnic complexity in education looks for 'new ways' to meet this challenge by investing in the development of 'best practice' (rarely linked to research results), followed up by 'knowledge sharing'.

This is reflected in a number of governmental initiatives. These initiatives represent a coordinated effort to compensate for cultural deficiencies and – if possible – to replace ethnic minorities linguistic and cultural preconditions with those of ethnic majority children from an early age, without changing the national curriculum in relation to ethnic minorities. Important governmental initiatives are here:

1. Vision and Strategy towards better Integration, the Government 2003 (Vision og strategi for bedre integration, Regeringen 2003).
2. A good start for all children, Ministry of Social Affairs, 2003 (En god start for alle børn, Socialministeriet 2003).

3. Advanced and mandatory Danish language stimulation for all bilingual children from the age of 3 who are estimated in need (changes in law passed in 2002 and 2004).[38]
4. Project: 'It works in our school' (Projekt: 'Dette virker på vores skole'), with focus on knowledge sharing and dissemination of good experience from schools with many bilingual students (2007).
5. Development of language screening material "Show what you can" (2007) ("Vis hvad du kan", 2007).
6. Bilingual-Task-Force (2008). Unit of consultancy established by the Ministry of Education to support schools with relatively high numbers of bilingual students.
7. 'Bring language into all school subjects' (2008; 'Bring sproget med i alle fag', 2008). A publication about working with Danish as a second language in all school subjects.

These initiatives are of course all important elements in order to support students with ethnic minority background in their school life, but a multicultural reality cannot be 'suspended' through compensatory measures and cannot replace an organization of education which is inclusive to the preconditions of the ethnic minority students who live in an multicultural society. An analysis of these projects (Horst and Gitz-Johansen 2010) shows that the space for changes which address ethnic complexity in a positive way is limited to:

1. E*xtracurricular* activities, characterized by development projects with focus on: (a) homework support; (b) family reach-out in order to instruct the families in how to support their children in school.
2. C*urricular related* activities supporting general teaching practices, characterized by: (a) special centers supporting the individual students' learning processes where deficiencies have been spotted; (b) support in Danish as a second language in different forms from early age; (c) support in different school subjects on different levels; (d) special needs education.

6.8 Multicultural and Intercultural Educational Research

As the Danish educational system is so expressively mono-cultural, intercultural and multicultural education and educational research become *discursive counter positions*, which underpin the inclusive and recognizing position in education and research in relation to ethnic complexity. In a Danish context this research primarily

[38] The Minister of Social Affairs has forwarded (autumn 2010) a law proposal which includes a possibility to suspend the general family-child allowance if the parents do not co-operate. (Lov om ændring af lov om dag-, fritids- og klubtilbud m.v. til børn ogunge (dagtilbudsloven), lov om en børne- og ungeydelse og bekendtgørelse af lov om friskoler og private grundskoler m.v. (Obligatorisk dagtilbud til tosprogede børn omkring 3 år m.v.)

developed from different already existing research fields where researchers developed relations to different dimensions and research traditions within multicultural and intercultural research. The dominant characteristic of this research is a critical engagement with the privileged position of Danish language and culture in the educational system, seen in relation to an ethnic complex citizenry. The research projects are predominantly of a qualitative research design related to steering documents (discourse analysis) and/or related to empirical research in specific social fields (e.g. fieldwork in schools) with a focus on the organization of education and school life, analyzing the dynamics of cultural encounters on different levels. Below I list a part of recent research[39] in order to indicate how different fields contribute:

Right/correcting to Danish.[40] *Education, language and cultural heritage* (Ret til dansk. Uddannelse, sprog og kulturarv; Haas et al. 2011).

The research examines how mono-cultural and monolingual identity is reproduced in the national curriculum in the public school in a process of assimilating ethnic and linguistic complexity and disrespecting minority rights.

The research relate to 'Køgeprojektet',[41] based on data collected from the same social groups of students in different periods over 25 years. The Focus is the polylingual development of young Turkish-Danish Grade School students.

'*Bildung*' *and Dissonances*. (*Dannelse og dissonanser*; Bissenbakker Frederiksen 2009). The research examines how the curriculum for Danish as a school subject constructs gender and ethnicity in subject positions.

To become a kindergarden child. (*At blive et børnehavebarn*; Karrebæk 2008). The research examines closely an ethnic minority boy's language, interaction and participation in the kindergarden community.

Fighters and Outsiders. (Malai Madsen 2008).The research reveals linguistic practices, social identities, and social relationships among urban youth in a martial arts club.

Identity politics in the Classroom. (*Identitetspolitik i klasserummet*; Buchardt 2008). The research examines how 'religion' and 'culture' are present as knowledge and classification in a multicultural classroom through the teaching of school subjects.

The Multicultural School – integration and sorting (*Den multikulturelle skole – integration og sortering*; Gitz-Johansen 2006).

[39] See report to International Alliance of Leading Educational Institutes: Horst (2010). Intercultural Education in Denmark.

[40] The Danish word 'Ret' plays on different meanings: (a) 'ret' as 'right' in the legal sense of the word, and (b) 'ret' as the verb 'to correct'.

[41] A doctoral thesis based on a long term project "Køgeprojektet" started up at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies in 1989–1992 by Gimbel, J., Holmen, A. and Normann Jørgensen, J., which examined Turkish children who started school. The focus of the research was on the organization of teaching, how it was carried through, and an evaluation of results (Gimbel 1994). As a continued research and data collection process the project has been important for a number of other research publications.

The research examines how the national school system in discourses about Danishness and 'otherness'/'foreignhood' constructs a double movement of integration and sorting in relation to ethnic minority children.

The impossible children –and the decent human being. (*De umulige børn – og det ordentlige menneske*; Gilliam 2006). The research examines the identity construction among ethnic minority children in a Danish public school and the subject positions the social and cultural organization of the school offers to children with an ethnic minority background.

Pedagogy and Ethnicity. (Pædagogik og etnicitet; Tireli 2006).The research examines cultural encounters, integration and equity in education in different context: How are the relations between ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority conceptualized and what are the implications of these constructions in different social fields?

Eve's Hidden Children. (*Eva's skjulte børn*; Kristjánsdóttir 2005). The research examines discourses about bilingual children in Danish national curriculum. The research uncovers how the bilingual children systematically are kept outside the national curriculum and how the integration of these children in public schools is subject to initiatives directed towards their families and extracurricular activities.

As this kind of research to a large extend, as described, is excluded from educational policy development its importance is in particular reflected at the level of universities and university colleges in the development of research projects, developments projects in relation to local developments, conferences and networks and education (publication and dissemination of research, development of educational materials).

6.9 Networks

There are an increasing number of researchers and research groups which relate to ethnic complexity in education. No matter what aspect of education you relate to, ethnic complexity becomes increasingly present, but far from all relate to networks where ethnic complexity is a defining element. There are two important networks in relation to research and education in ethnic complex context which focus on pedagogy, culture and language. The networks recruit researchers from different disciplines from four universities (University of Copenhagen, University of Århus, Roskilde University and University of Southern Denmark) and two University colleges (University College Copenhagen, University College Metropol). Some researchers participate in both networks. The networks organize national and international conferences and publish research.

6.10 Education

There is no education program, which has been reviewed in the optic of a developing a multicultural society and an ethnic complex citizenry. This is well confirmed by the Minister of Education, when he interprets the Act on the Folkeskole politically and when he talks about the role of institutions (administrative perspective or implementation; see note 27).

A part from university studies, which have ethnic complexity as a central part of their identity (sociology, anthropology, sociolinguistics, different institutes for foreign language studies, cultural studies, minority studies, religious studies, etc.), intercultural communication and intercultural competence have become important disciplines in business schools, including related research. An increasing number of educations and disciplines develop minor elements which relate to ethnic complexity in the organization of their education. Most often they try to integrate knowledge *about* ethnic minority groups in their courses. This is often initiated by the increasing presence of ethnic minorities in the student body or in the social field they are supposed to work in after having finished an education. Such elements can be added on to the curriculum as a special course, and often they are optional. At university level a master's degree in Danish as a second language focusing on adult education has been established years ago, and a new Bachelor in Intercultural Education has started at University of Southern Denmark this year.

In education of teachers and pedagogues the picture is diverse. In adult education intercultural education is mandatory for teachers who teach immigrants and refugees. The weak position of intercultural and multicultural education in the mandatory part of the education of teachers has been mentioned in relation to the presentation of a content analysis of selected and central curriculum guidelines.

However, it must be stressed that a number of university colleges who have the responsibility for teacher education, continued teacher education and in-service training, in a number of years have offered: (1) diploma degrees in (a) Danish as a second language, (b) multicultural education; (2) long term in-service programs (two full terms) in Danish as a second language and multicultural education. The teachers and the researchers at university colleges are important contributors and producers of research based educational material for teachers (e.g. Laursen 2004). It this way university colleges play a highly important role in relating research, education and the development of educational practice.

The cooperation between university researchers and teachers and researchers on university colleges leads to a wider continued development of research, development research and action research, dissemination of research results and new knowledge at conferences, in education and in the production of anthologies (Karrebæk 2006; Day and Steensen 2010; Horst 2003/2006).

The educational authorities in some of the municipalities arrange local short term in-service training courses, eventually with participation from universities and university colleges.

6.11 Development Projects

Denmark has a highly decentralized educational system which over time has allowed individual teachers, schools and local school authorities to interpret central policy texts relatively close to positions in intercultural and multicultural education. Outstanding examples are here:

Municipality of Hvidovre: Enghøjskolen. Bi-cultural school start (1984–1987).
Municipality of Copenhagen: Education in language groups (1996–1999).
The Integration Project, Ministry of Education (1994–1998).[42]

The school authorities in Copenhagen and in some of the major cities (e.g. Aarhus, Aalborg) have had periods, which gave priority to minor developments of intercultural education. However, such projects remain very vulnerable to changes in staff, priorities in school leadership and municipal educational policies. When such initiatives touch central aspects of curriculum the state intervenes locally on occasion.[43]

6.12 Possible Future Developments

A new trend may be about to establish itself. The general rejection of a multicultural perspective equates integration with assimilation. For a number of years the word 'assimilation' has been abandoned in Danish ethno-politics as it has strong connotations of oppression, and was replaced with the word 'integration'. Today the word 'assimilation' appears rather frequently in ethno-politics forwarded by the Liberal Party and the Danish People's Party.[44] The question of ethnic complexity in educa-

[42] The Ministry of Education initiated "Integrationsprojektet" (The Integration Project) from 1994 to 1998. The projects were not research based or research related. It involved about 200 projects carried through by schools and teachers who were experienced in the field. The evaluation concluded along general findings from other research: distribution or bussing of children had no effect in itself; focus should be on integrating the children's preconditions and develop education; better of use bilingual teachers; invest in teacher training; coordinate second language instruction with the teaching of school subjects; coordinate mother tongue instruction with teaching in school subjects; the education of bilingual children should be a common task for the school as an organizational unit, and not only a matter for the individual teacher. It was concluded that some of the model projects "especially had furthered integration by contributing to … work with intercultural education" (PLS-consult, 1998). As the main conclusions from the evaluation of the different projects did not align with dominant political positions and ministerial policies, the results had no influence on further policy planning. Ironically the report bears the logo:"When knowledge creates results".

[43] 1. A school in Copenhagen developed an alternative curriculum for non-confessional instruction in Christianity, including comparative aspects to other religions present in the local area. The initiative was judged illegal by the State County (Kristeligt Dagblad, 18.10.2005).

2. When local politicians in Århus, the second largest city in Denmark, asked the Minister of Education about permission to establish experimental education of mathematics in Arabic (the children's mother tongue) it was refused (http://www.aarhusportalen.dk/vis_artikel.asp?ArticleId=19038).

[44] Politiken, 31.12.2010; Information, 07.11. 2010.

tion is about to become part of the new *individualizing* trend in globalized liberalism, which emphasizes increased individual choice and individual learning processes, and 'responsibilizing' the individual.[45] The dominant label is *inclusion* which has become the positive buzzword. On one hand it tries to break down the stigmatizing labels and diagnosis related to special needs education, one the other hand it is about to become a cost reducing instrument for a welfare state under pressure by limiting special needs education. For persons belonging to ethnic minorities this is expressed in the development of individual integration contracts with the Danish state and in contracts about active citizenship for newcomers.[46] On the municipal level it can be traced in the way in which educational departments are restructured, including downsizing of their staff in the domains of education in ethnic complex contexts.

A 'new language' is about to appear. The definition of ethnic minority students as bilingual students is about to be replaced with statistical categories from Statistics Denmark (immigrants, descendants; Western and non-Western). Language and culture as important signifiers of children's precondition in education disappear. Individual *inclusion* of the single student in the classroom and *classroom management* often combined with *family reach-out* (read; cultural, social and democratic re-education) is about to come into the main focus. Students who underachieve are connected to a 'mentor' and 'student role models' are developed. Successful ethnic minority students visit schools and classes in order to talk about *their* individual career and how *they* faced different 'problems'. In this perspective former multicultural initiatives (mother tongue education, second language instruction in different forms, activating ethnic minority backgrounds in education etc.) are reconceptualized in relation to their effectiveness in an assimilation process.

6.13 Conclusions and Recommendations

The development of education in ethnic complex societies is a major challenge to and concern for national educational systems given the general underachievement of ethnic minority students in the national schools system. This article (and the report behind it) demonstrates how intercultural and multicultural education as professionalized concepts are absent in Danish educational policies. By examining this situation through a combination of theoretical perspectives Parekh (2000) and Banks (2004) it becomes possible to uncover the close relationship between a political mono-cultural vision for the future development of a society which is empirically multicultural, and the corresponding mono-cultural policy responses to ethnic complexity in the field of education. Responses which seem unable to bridge the general underachievement in any effective way at one hand, and which on the other

[45] Integration 1997. Betænkning nr. 1337.

[46] http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Integration/integration_af_nyankomne/introduktionsprogrammet/integrationskontrakt_og_erklaering.htm

hand at times has become so radical that it invokes critiques from CERD for not recognizing the presence of ethnic minorities in the educational system.

This situation reflects the social and discursive practices of 'methodological nationalism' and how the relations between a mono-cultural educational system and research surveys (e.g. PISA surveys) substantiate each other. The research design doesn't examine *how* the educational system recognizes the preconditions of *all* children in the organization of education, and it becomes impossible to relate research results to what characterizes the dynamics of educational practices (relations between school subjects, teacher, and student). The research is designed on post-colonial categories ('non-Western' and 'Western') and which excludes cultural concepts from the organization of education and yet the results are interpreted in causal relations to fluid notions on 'cultural backgrounds'. It is as if the cultural organization of education and teaching doesn't matter.

Multicultural, intercultural and bilingual educational research offer developments based on a general recognition of all children's ethnic and linguistic preconditions as a social condition in the development of educational change. It implies changes in the educational system as such and in the organization of education, which reflects the actual ethnic complexity in society, or its multicultural character (Parekh 2000; Banks 2004; Sleeter and Grant 2003).

6.14 Recommendations

The 'natural' sub- or immersion of ethnic minority students to majority cultures and languages sustained by innumerable efforts of language support in the majority's language and with homework support organized in different centers in schools, often combined with different sorts of social interventions (family reach-out, free-time activities etc.) have been successful road to integration for far too few students. This has been an ongoing process for more than 30 years. A process which slowly nurtures ghettoization, inter-ethnic hostility and nationalism.

Social demographics show that the European Community represents a declining population, growing rapidly older (hastily increasing dependency rates). More than 80 % of the increase in demographic growth[47] is due to immigration from countries outside of the community.

In order to meet this challenge in the educational system all possible ways have to be thoroughly examined and knowledge from different fields must be activated, including multicultural and intercultural educational research and education. There are no simple solutions to complex problems. But there is no point in insisting on

[47] 1: Europe's Demographic Future. Facts and figures on challenges and opportunities. European Commission. Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. October 2007.

2: World Migration 2008. Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy. IOM International Organization for Migration.

using yesterday's lack of success (assimilation policies) to solve the problems of the future. It should be possible combine forces and:

(a) To review and remake educational research, surveys, assessments and evaluations in a perspective which recognizes ethnic complexity as a social condition for the development of future education;
(b) To have educational research include an examination of actual school practices which raises questions to *how* the preconditions of *all* children are recognized in the organization of education in a number of selected sites (districts, schools, classes), including a research on the development of local educational policies (historical contexts);
(c) To establish research based development projects in different localities which are based on the best knowledge from multicultural, intercultural and bilingual research, including different compensatory measures, and which is assessed and evaluated both with quantitative and qualitative methods;
(d) To review teacher education in a multicultural and intercultural perspective.

The preconditions for starting up such a development are present at universities, colleges and in number of localities, due to existing efforts in research, teaching and development projects.

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Multiculturalism in the Brazilian Education: Challenges and Perspectives

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Abstract It was only recently that the theme of multiculturalism became a part of the research about ethnic and racial diversity in the Brazilian educational field. Even so, it is important to emphasize that it has gained very specific features in the country. In the Brazilian case, it can be noted that cultural diversity and economic inequality mark our social life and, consequently, our schools, which is a political problem based on the claims made possible by the country's democratization (1985), with the space conquered in the parliamentary debates due to the pressure exercised by the activism of the black and indigenous movements. They attempt to legally include something that challenges/overcomes the widespread social belief that there is no prejudice in Brazil.

Keywords Multiculturalism • Education • Identity • Cultural exchange • Affirmative action • Policy • Brazil

1 Introduction

It was only recently that the theme of multiculturalism became a part of the research about ethnic and racial diversity in the Brazilian educational field. Even so, it is important to emphasize that it has gained very specific features in the country. In the Brazilian case, it can be noted that cultural diversity and economic inequality mark our social life and, consequently, our schools, which is a political problem based on the claims made possible by the country's democratization (1985), with the space conquered in the parliamentary debates due to the pressure exercised by the

We thank the School of Education in the names of Sonia Teresinha de Sousa Penin and Maria Cecília Cortez Christiano de Souza: 2006 – March 2010 and Lisete Regina Gomes Arelaro and Marília Pontes Spósito: April 2010 – April 2014, who provided material support so that this work could be done.

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_6

activism of the black and indigenous movements. They attempt to legally include something that challenges/overcomes the widespread social belief that there is no prejudice in Brazil.

It is also important to emphasize that, in Brazil, the theme of multiculturalism has very specific traits. Since the concept did not emerge originally in the country, here multiculturalism has peculiarities associated with characteristics which form the background of Brazilian people, marked to a great extent by the miscegenation of white, indigenous and black people, as well as of other ethnic groups. In other contexts, when minorities claim for affirmative actions, there is an emphasis on difference, substance or essence of each culture. In Brazil, where diversity derives from cultural exchanges and syncretism, such "essence" is almost non-existent.

Thus, even racial prejudice is configured in a very veiled way and the quantitative data demonstrate that the difference both in the economy and in the education between white and black people is still remarkable. However, despite the differences and the social and economic disparities, contemporary Brazil is free from official racial or cultural segregation (that is, it is not enforced by the State) even though its enslaver and colonial past still has some vestiges that are present in daily life. For these reasons, the multicultural theory was useful for some ethnic minorities – such as black and indigenous people – as a conceptual device to impose their demands for both justice and equity.[1]

School, as a privileged institution in the formation of individuals, can both emphasize and question several forms of prejudice, depending on the profiles and readings that are offered about how men have made and still make their history, or even, about how school agents behave in the face of cultural diversity. This is the theme that impels us to write this paper: the investigation and analysis of how education scholars understand multiculturalism, as well as several data concerning the Brazilian population, the disparities between the races in Brazil, the description of the main measures and guidelines concerning the educational policies to deal with diversity in this area. We also present surveys of the studies and documents that address such important and complex issues. Thus, our goal is to analyze the main challenges we find within the scope of education and to draw from it the perspectives that can be glimpsed in this field.

[1] Although the scope of this work does not include issues related to minority groups such as: gender and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people, it must be noted that the debate about such issues has grown exponentially in Brazil, in addition to recent legal achievements, as the "gay marriage" and which also unfold onto educational policies involving diversity. IBGE's study shows that Brazil has already over 60,000 people living in a same-sex partnership. The Southeast area is the one with more couples declaring to be homosexual, with 32,202 saying so. Next we find the Northeast area with12,196 people; and South, with 8.034 individuals. The amount represents 0.2% of total spouses (37,547,000) all over the country. It is the first time such data was inquired.

2 Brazil: The Portrait of a Nation

In its very composition, Brazil has aspects that represent both its inequality and its diversity as a nation. In order to best discuss the concept of multiculturalism in Brazilian education, first of all it is necessary to map the population, taking a close look at its main disparities.

In the comments by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) about the results of the 2010 Demographic Census, Brazil had at the time a population of 190,732,694 inhabitants, distributed among the Great Brazilian Areas as follows: Southeast (80.3 million), Northeast (53.07 million), South (27.3 million), North (15.8 million), among which 91 million considered themselves as whites (47.7 %), 82 million as brown (43.1 %) 15 million as blacks (7.6 %), 1,101 million as yellow (Asian) (1.1 %), and 896,917 as Indigenous (0.47 %).

The methodology used by the Census to verify the racial composition of the population asks the respondent to declare his/her color/race from a set of categories: white, black, brown, yellow and indigenous.

Compared to the 2000 Census, the percentage of browns increased from 38.5 to 43.1 % in 2010. The ratio of blacks also rose from 6.2 to 7.6 % at the same time. This result also indicates that the population that self-declared as white dropped from 53.7 to 47.7 %. Thus, adding up the number of black and brown inhabitants we reach 97 million people of black ancestors, against 91 million from whites.

The above data highlights several changes in the research methodologies that are appropriate to the latter census, from which we would like to mention two changes in particular: it was the first time that an exclusive census for the Indian populations was conducted, with the use of "ethnicity" to map different peoples and their languages. In addition, the criteria to classify based on color (white, black, yellow, brown) were gathered exclusively due to the principle of self-declaration, with the purpose of assessing the most relevant dimensions of the categorization of people, in strict compliance with such a principle.

Considering the regional differences, the Census revealed that the highest percentage among the 43.1 % of Brazilians who declare they are brown was in the North Area (66.9 %), and in all areas percentages were above 35 %, except the South, with 16.5 %. Still according to the Census, out of the 7.6 % of interviewees who said they were black, the highest percentage was in the Northeast area (9.5 %), followed by the Southeast (7.9 %), while the South area show the lowest percentage (4.1 %).

The change in the racial composition of Brazil had already been detected in several studies, prior to the last Census. In the third edition of the *Portrait of the Inequality of Gender and Race*, published in 2008 by the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), the phenomenon of the change of the proportion of black people in the Brazilian population can be verified. According to IPEA, between 1993 and 2007, the proportion of black people increased from 45.1 to 49.8 %, while that of white people, inversely, fell from 54.2 to 49.4 %. Among men, it is possible to verify the existence of an upsweep of the proportion of black people

which, since 2005, placed this group as the majority among men (51.1 % as compared to 48.1 %, among white people). Among women, the same trend can be verified, but black people still don't represent the majority among the female population, even though this movement has become more significant in the last three years (48.5 %, as compared to 50.6 % for the white population) (IPEA, Ibid, p. 15). Still following the analysis made by IPEA, the increase of the population that claim to be black or brown takes place in almost all age groups, which indicates that this is not a generational matter of identity self-affirmation or of a greater birth rate among the black population. The Brazilian population has been showing changes in the way it claims to belong to a certain color/race group, which indicates that the cultural standards of the population have been changing in the last few years (Ibid).

Despite that possible cultural change, the economic disparities are still very big between both groups. Considering the social indicators presented by IBGE (2012) from 2002 through 2012, there was a slight improvement in the distribution of per capita family income for those people whose income comes from labor, and however the big picture of inequality remains unchanged: there are 81.6 % of whites in the wealthier 1 % of the population, against only 16.2 % of blacks or browns (Idem).

Another important aspect in that dataset has to do with the relation between the years of schooling and the racial constitution of the economically active population in Brazil. The analyses made by IPEA demonstrate that, in the educational system, the impacts of discrimination fall upon the reproduction of stereotypes related to gender and race conventions which originate and reinforce gender segmentation of the labor market and occupations. If for women the indicators of access and permanence are, on average, higher than those of men, as far as the racial dimension is concerned, the education system is characterized by inequalities that fall upon the access and the permanence of the black students, both male and female. This element is very significant, since schooling is indicated as necessary to obtain better social opportunities in the future (IPEA, Ibid, p. 19).

The Brazilian population, according to IBGE, achieved an important improvement in its educational profile in the last few years, as the 2010 Census detected. The Institute says that there was a drop in the amount of illiterates: today, 9 % of the Brazilian population is illiterate; in 2000 they were 12.9 %. In absolute numbers, 14.6 million people cannot read nor write, out of a universe of 162 million people who are 10 years old and over. Despite the reduction of illiteracy and the significant increase of schooling, such improvement wasn't enough to reduce inequalities. In the following table, the comparative data of the distribution percentage of students per level of the school attended/color or race, in the Great Brazilian Areas, show such inequalities (Table 1):

IBGE analyzes this set of data in the following way:

> In relation to the total population aged 18 through 24 years, the proportion of those attending higher education was 9.8 %, in 2002, and went up to 15.1 %, in 2012. However, to achieve Goal 12 of the National Education Plan, this proportion will have to double by 2020, ensuring the quality of the education provided. The increase in the school attendance net rate in high-school found among students 15 to 17 years old in the past 10 years will certainly speed up this process. An improvement like this can already be seen in the significant drop from 20.4 % to 5.8 % in the proportion of students 18 through 24 years old

Students 18 through 24 years old, total and respective share percentage, per level of school they go to and color or race, in each Great Brazilian Area – 2012

GREAT AREAS	**Students 18 through 24 years old**				
	Share percentage, per level of school they go to (%)				
WHITE	**Total (1000 people)**	**Primary/secondary**	**High-school**	**Higher education***	**Other****
Brazil	3299	2.6	23.7	66.6	7.1
North	156	6.0	32.3	49.1	12.6
Northeast	581	6.2	33.6	53.3	6.7
Southeast	1511	1.2	22.1	70.4	6.3
South	784	1.8	18.7	71.3	8.2
Center West	266	2.9	21.0	70.4	5.8
BLACK OR BROWN	**Total (1000 people)**	**Primary/secondary**	**High-`school**	**Higher education***	**Other****
Brazil	3243	9.0	44.2	37.4	9.4
North	508	11.1	46.9	29.7	12. 2
Northeast	1320	12.5	47.5	31.6	8.4
Southeast	968	5.1	41.8	43.7	9.4
South	153	5.3	37.3	45.9	11.5
Center West	291	5.1	36.0	51.24	7.7

Source: IBGE, National Research per Residence Sampling 2012
*Includes Master's and PhD degrees
**Pre-college preparatory courses; supplementary schooling and adult literacy

who attended primary/secondary school between 2002 and 2012. In 2012, among students in the same age group, about half of them (52.1 %) attended higher education, while in 2002, only 29.2 % of such youths were in the school level recommended for their age group. But this kind of age adequacy in relation to the school attended is rather unequal depending on the color or race of the student. While out of the total white students between 18 and 24 years old 66.6 % were going to college, only 37.4 % of young black or brown students were attending the same level of schooling. This proportion is still lower that the threshold reached by the young whites 10 years before (43.4 %).

In relation to the Indian people, as reads the report of the 2010 School Census, there are 246,000 Indians in education, from pre-school to high-school, which corresponds to 0.5 % of the total registrations on this level of schooling in Brazil (INEP 2011). This is a historical achievement by the Brazilian Indian population, who is also accessing higher education.

According to data provided by the General Coordination of Indian Schooled Education in the Secretariat of Continued Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (CGEEI/SECADI/MEC), there are 6336 Indian students in higher-education institutions, which correspond to 0.1 % of the 6.3 million registrations in undergraduate courses in Brazil.

We noticed, due to the analysis of the data presented, that in Brazilian Multicultural Education, could not overcome all the difficulties suffered by minor-

ity groups, such as black and indigenous people, who seek equality through affirmative action, mainly in the education, either through policies that change the curricula, including specific demands by those groups or through quotas for black and indigenous people in the public higher education.

3 The Historical Context and the Educational Transformations After the Redemocratization Process

The history of the country known as Brazil is very recent. Being the result of the maritime and commercial expansion of the Portuguese, Brazil began to be colonized in 1500, and its independence was declared in 1822. Even so, the imperial period went on until 1889, with the advent of the Republic. One of the main characteristics of that early period was the enslavement of Indian natives and especially of the blacks of African ascent, which persisted for over 350 years. The end of slavery took place only in 1888. It must also be stressed that Brazil was the last country in the world to abolish slavery. Thus, the black slaves and their offspring became free but no other arrangements were made to integrate that population (around 38 % of the total) into the civil society.

Once they were free, blacks were abandoned to their own fate, taking place among the poorest layers of the population. Without any qualification to participate in the emerging process of agricultural production and in the industrialization of the country that was on the rise, more qualified labor was called and immigration of foreign farmers and workers was encouraged from Europe (mainly from Italy, Spain and Portugal), from Asia and, after World War I, from the Middle East and from Eastern Europe as well.

Along with the native Indian population, those ethnic, racial[2] and cultural diversities eventually made up a country with multiple facets, with hybrid cultural characteristics and with a familiarity that eventually nurtured a set of ideas and a social practice in which plurality appeared as being 'natural'.[3]

Therefore, the issue of multiculturalism in Brazil can only be understood based on the knowledge of the historic circumstances in which the development of the cultural characteristics of the Brazilian people took place.

In that sense, it is also important to emphasize that, mainly since the 1930s, the idea of 'racial democracy' has become widespread. As Guimarães (2006) puts it, at

[2] Paraphrasing Silva (2006) we're using the concept of race as a social, rather than a biological fact.

[3] Despite very violent episodes, such as: the massive killing caused by slavery and by the acculturation of the Indian people; the forced conversion imposed by the Jesuits in the colonial period on the natives; the almost marginal nature to which the traditional religious practices of the Africans were relegated; it seems to have occurred in the country a kind of social pact in which the segregationist practices didn't acquire significant importance.

first, 'the understanding that this was really a founding myth of the nationality' prevailed.

> After all, Brazil was historically perceived as a country where the whites had a weak, or almost any, race awareness (see Freyre, 1933); where crossbreeding was spread and it was morally allowed since the colonial period; where the half-breeds were regularly incorporated to the elites if they were well-educated[4]; finally, where racial prejudice had never been so strong as to create a "color line". (Guimarães 2006, p. 269)

Since the 1970s and mainly in the 1990s, this claim was viciously attacked by black activists, being considered as ideology of the oppressive white race.[5] Guimarães (2006) introduces another element to the debate, relating the emergence of the expression 'racial democracy' to the Brazilian historical moment, in the context between 1937 and 1944, a period known as *Estado Novo* (New State).[6] Thus, he goes on, the idea was supposedly spread mainly among the intellectuals 'in the face of the huge challenge of including Brazil in the free and democratic world, by opposing racism and Nazi-Fascist totalitarianism, which were eventually defeated in World War II' (p. 270).

> Such change in the way of understanding "racial democracy" allows us to study it not only as a myth, that is, as cultural construct (…) More than an ideology, it was a mode which was tacitly agreed upon of integration of the blacks to the class society of post-war Brazil, to use the famous title by Florestan,[7] both in terms of national symbols and in terms of its economic and social politics (…). (Guimarães 2006, p. 270)

We brought up this discussion because it seems relevant to explore the historical events related to the democratization of the country, which had direct consequences for the emergence and strengthening of social movements that demanded civil rights, among which, mainly focus on the acknowledgement of the existence of the racial and cultural diversity of the country. This was possible after the 1988 Federal Constitution (the seventh and last Constitution currently in force), because it emphasizes a broad defense of rights and bans any and every "prejudice as to the origin, race, sex, color, age and any other forms of discrimination" (BRAZIL 1988, Art. 3) and provides the grounds for public policies of equality that would then appear in the political agenda (VIANNA; UNBEHAUM 2006).

There was another observation made by Guimarães (2006) about the recent constitutional reforms in Latin America involving racial identities. In his opinion, those reforms brought as innovation the conception of plural-ethnic and multicultural

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[4] The racial relations studies from 1940 to 1960 confirmed that vision. See, among others, Pierson ([1942] 1971), Azevedo (1953), Wagley (1952), Harris (1956).

[5] Some anthropologists (see Maggie 1996; Fry 1995–1996, Schwarcz 1999) recalled that the myth of the racial democracy, before being a "false awareness", is a set of values that has concrete effects on the practices of the individuals. Therefore, that myth couldn't be interpreted only as an "illusion", because, to a great extent, it was and still is an important set of ideas to calm down and to restrain prejudices (See Guimarães 2006).

[6] That period is also known as "Vargas's Dictatorship".

[7] See FERNANDES, Florestan. *A integração do negro na sociedade de classes*. 5ª Ed. São Paulo: Globo, 2008.

societies and nations. Thus, those constitutions submerged the founding ideal of racially mixed and culturally homogeneous nations, seen as a product of the biological and cultural miscegenation between Europeans, American and African Indians. And he adds:

> According to Donna Van Cott (2000), such constitutional model, which may be called *multicultural*, has the following characteristics: 1) formal acknowledgement of the multicultural nature of its societies and of the existence of Indian people as different social and sub state collectivities; 2) acknowledgement of the conventional laws of the Indian people such as public and official laws; 3) right to the collective property with restriction to the alienation or division of communitary lands; 4) official *status* for Indian languages in territorial units of residence; and 5) guarantee of bilingual education. In the Brazilian case, it would be necessary to add a sixth element to the model: **acknowledgement of racism as a national problem** (p. 273). [Our Italics]

In this regard, Akkari and Santiago (2010) say:

> We sustain that the racial issue is related to the debate concerning the mechanisms through which discrimination operates in the Brazilian society. The bibliography about this topic points that social inequalities, not only are reproduced in the social relations, but they are also the consequence of discriminatory mechanisms that arise from institutional racism, which acts in diffuse way in the everyday functioning of institutions and organizations, operating in a differentiated way in the distribution of services and opportunities given to the different social groups. As a result, racism naturalizes poverty, exerting a powerful influence in regard of the situation of Black people in Brazil, functioning as a barrier to their social mobility upward in the several spheres of society. Thus, we reaffirm that the prejudice found in Brazil is not associated to the social class only, but has a strong implication with the racial categories. (AKKARI and SANTIAGO 2010, pp. 19–20).

Once racism is admitted, and due to the intensification of the social movements for the achievement of rights, such a process comes along with the production of papers and surveys that bring a conceptual discussion with its own features in the country. Let's begin by analyzing the concept of multiculturalism itself.

We must start with the difference between descriptive and prescriptive senses of the definition, as well as the two ways to promote the multicultural option in education: the radical and the interactive. The radical option presents itself as separatist and defensive, which advocates differentiated forms of school level for differentiated cultural groups. The interactive option, in turn, advocates the meeting within that same school of people from different cultural identities. We also consider of special significance to state clearly the fundamental characteristic of an education that defines itself as multicultural, which, according to Forquin, only becomes multicultural when some pedagogical choices assumed are, at the same time, ethical or political. (Cf. CANDAU, 2000).

Vera Candau, a researcher studying this subject from the educational perspective prefers the expression "intercultural education" as more appropriate. Its implication for teaching would be to allow dialogue and exchange among different groups, whose cultural identity including of the individuals that make them up are open and

in permanent development, as a result of the intensive processes of cultural hybridization (see Stuart Hall 1997a and 1997b; and Nestor Garcia Canclini 1991, 1995, 1997 and 1999) (Candau and Koff 2006, p. 475).

By prioritizing the intercultural approach, the author comes close to the critical and revolutionary multiculturalism of McLaren (1997, 2000), whose starting point is that "multiculturalism must be situated based on political agenda for changes, without which it takes the risk of reducing itself to another form of accommodation to the social order in force" (McLaren 1997, p. 123).[8]

Considering that the proposal for multicultural education is the result of an achievement by social and educational movements we must, in fact, provide a better meaning of this process and its consequences in establishing universal rights in education. About this, Fleuri (2006) presents an excellent synthesis:

> All these social and educational movements propose the democratic familiarity among different groups and cultures, based on the respect to the difference, which is concretized in the acknowledgement of the parity of rights. Such perspective is an education proposal for the alterity, for the rights of the other, for the equality of dignity and of opportunities, a wide democratic proposal which, in the Anglo Saxon world, is defined as *Multicultural Education* (USA, Canada, Great Britain), and that, in the other European countries takes on different denominations: pedagogy of acceptance, education for diversity, communitarian education, education for equality of opportunities or, more simply, intercultural education. For this reason, Stephen Stoer and Luiza Cortesão, from Portugal, have been using the term inter/multicultural to indicate the set of educational proposals that intend to promote the relation and the respect between sociocultural groups, through democratic and dialogic processes. (Fleuri 2006)

These meanings have been often been spread by theoretical approaches in Brazilian academic debates. The proposal of curricular guidelines, for example, opts for the expression '**cultural plurality**', instead of multiculturalism, with the purpose of avoiding the view of a unique predominant culture, which would allow non dominant others to express themselves. The idea of a "plural" society would appoint several cultural peculiarities, instead of a single one superior to all others.

Racism also presents its peculiarities in Brazil. It is a kind of racism that is not based on origin but on the "color" of individuals, almost a "pigmentocracy". In this respect, it is important to emphasize the symbolic weight of the categories: "brown", or even, "half-breed", and "mulatto" in Brazilian socialization and in its racial models:

> Racial discrimination, or racism, consists in sustaining (1.) that there are different races; (2.) that certain races are inferior (normally, intellectually, technically) to the others; (3.) that this inferiority is not social or cultural (meaning acquired), but rather it's innate and it's biologically determined! (Torla 1997, p. 31)

[8] Peter McLaren (1997) understands the representations of ethnic groups and class as a product of social struggles about signs and meanings. It favors the transformation of the social, cultural and institutional relations in which the meanings are generated. He refuses to see culture as non-conflictive; he argues that the diversity must be stated "within a critical policy and commitment with social justice" (Apud et al. 2008).

Fleuri adds to this by saying:

> Racial discrimination translates all forms of unfavorable treatment directed towards a person or towards the ethnical group that he or she represents. It's an ideological formulation, to the extent that it translates certain intentional judgments developed by the groups to specify an ethnic group. The explicit definition of racism in the form of judgment contributes for the sustainment of the discriminatory actions based on the ethnic characteristics. Therefore, racial discrimination means every act directed towards putting down an individual or a group for having a certain ethnic background. (…) Racism, as an ideology, seeks to legitimize *stereotypes* and *prejudices*. (Fleuri 2006, p. 498)

Making explicit all those connotations of racism which have been introduced by scholars and the social movements has fostered a debate in search of the peculiar nature of racism in Brazil. Even though this fact has been accepted, at the same time, there is a reluctance to accept, both by those who act in that way and by the victims of those racist actions, the resulting outcome. That explains why affirmative actions of racial nature have become social actions intended to overcome inequalities rather than praising differences.

In this sense, clarifying the definition of race adopted in the country may help illuminate the dynamics of the Brazilian socialization process.

Race in Brazil is defined by a mix of skin color and social and economic status, rather than by "hypodescent (one drop)" rules (Silva 2006, p. 151). The study conducted by Graziella Silva illustrates this by comparing the use of the concept of race in the Brazilian context, where there is a mix of races, and in South Africa, where there was segregation imposed by the government:

> The concept of race has very different meanings in each of those contexts [Brazil and South Africa]: in Brazil, the racial outlines are undefined, residential racial segregation is low and interracial marriage is common; in South Africa, the racial outlines are more strict, the residential racial segregation is high and interracial marriage is very rare. (Silva 2006, p. 131)

Guimarães also contributes to clarify the several nuances of the peculiarity of the concept of race in Brazil:

> In the case of the Brazilian blacks, (…) the lasting practice of incorporation of African traditions to the national cultures inhibited historically mobilizations of ethnic and cultural origin and favored the exclusively racial ones (that is, those based on the combat to the social consequences of the racial prejudice and discrimination). (Guimarães 2006, p. 275)

Concerning the definitions of Indigenous people, we found a different logic, since in this case the emphasis lies in the preservation of differences. Keeping differences is vital for the survival of those people, at the same time, the integration process caused by contact with other social and cultural groups throughout Brazilian history cannot be denied. Besides, the Brazilian State has played the role of inducing the acknowledgement and preservation policies, unlike what had been done until recently to black people. It must be noted that those actions have not prevented the frequent occurrence of conflicts concerning territory and the acknowledgement of rights.

As Fleuri (2006) puts it, difference and sociocultural identity, as well as the acknowledgement of a multicultural nature and of the intercultural perspective,

appear very strongly in the educational arena in Brazil, "with the development of the National Curriculum Reference for the Indian Schools, with the affirmative policies for the ethnic minorities, with the several proposals to include people with special needs in the regular school" (Ibid, p. 496). This process is due to the "increase and the acknowledgement of the gender movements, with the appreciation of the children's cultures and the elderly movements in the different educative and social processes" (Id). In this sense "several institutions, as well as popular movements, have developed education proposals in the horizon of peace, human rights, sustainability, values, etc" (Id).

In short, that set of comments allowed us to highlight the peculiar relations between diversity in Brazil and the social and educational policies that must be taken into consideration when we try and bring together the themes of multiculturalism and education.

Finally, we must mention the importance of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, a pioneer in linking culture and education. According to Dominicé (1992), in his work, Freire always expressed skepticism about educational programs that reinforce cultural subservience. Freire's argument was that the poor, the oppressed, and the excluded have their own kinds of expression. For that reason, he believed that the task of education is to open a public debate about the matter, instead of interpreting the silence of the oppressed as rudeness. Obviously, such a stance called into question not only current literacy practices, but all those concerning schooling and, more generally, the conception of the entire educational program. Freire's critical thinking remains up-to-date in societies characterized by the uniformization of cultural models and disdain of minorities.

4 Description of the Main Affirmative Actions Translated by Official Measures and Guidelines Related to Educational Policies Dealing with Diversity in Education

Under this item, we seek the main facts and documents that we believe can clarify and translate how ethnic differences were treated in education in Brazil. First of all, it is worth noting that, due to the democratization process consolidated by the 1988 Federal Constitution, the teaching agenda already included a focus on Brazilian cultural diversity. The first education act (LDB) after that, dated 1996, absorbed what was set forth in the Constitution devoting, at the same time, special attention to Indigenous people.[9]

[9] Such highlight was influenced by the acting of Darci Ribeiro, who was an Indigenist anthropologist, the author of the bill, as well as by the mobilization of those people themselves for their peculiarities to be considered in the discussions about educational curricula and guidelines.

In 1998, the National Curriculum Parameters and the National Curriculum Guidelines were published and both included, respectively, transversal themes such as cultural plurality (which appears alongside ethics, sexual education, health, environment and labor, and consumption as crucial topics to be dealt with by Education), and propose "a sensitivity aesthetics" of enhancement and respect to different cultures.

In 2001, Brazil signed a commitment at the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Correlated Intolerance and new actions were discussed in order to fight racism. In 2003, in turn, Act 10639 was signed into law, and teaching African History became mandatory. In the same year, a special day was defined in the official calendar to be 'Black Awareness Day'[10] and the Zumbi dos Palmares School was created, the first for black people in Latin America. In subsequent years, several measures were taken to encourage the implementation of public policies for racial equality and the reduction of social inequalities.[11] The highlight in education was the modification of LDB, in 2008, which mandated teaching African, Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous history and culture in all schools.

Thus, we can see that as far as African and Afro-Brazilian cultures are concerned, the process was initially slower, but became more vigorous after Brazil signed the agreement at the World Conference, in 2001, culminating in 2010, with the promulgation of the Statute of Racial Equality. This statute, besides creating the National System for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SINAPIR), reiterated the previous achievements and added others, such as: guarantee of free practice of originally African beliefs and cults; setup of a special building fund for quilombola[12] communities. Racial discrimination was defined as "distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on ethnic group, ancestry or national origin". Racial inequality was defined as "the situations of differentiation of access and enjoyment of goods, services and opportunities, both in the public and in the private spheres". The "Afro-Brazilian" is also now considered to be made up of all the people who claim to be such or black people, brown people or another similar term. Lastly the statute made Capoeira[13] an official sport which may now receive resources from the government.

[10] November 20th, the date of the death of Zumbi dos Palmares, who was a hero of the resistance of the African people during slavery.

[11] Among them we can mention: the creation of the Secretary for Ongoing Education, Literacy and Diversity (2004); Resolution CD/FNDE N°. 1428/04/08, setting criteria for financial assistance to the higher education institutions, with the objective of encouraging actions for the initial and the ongoing training of elementary education teachers and for the elaboration of specific schoolbooks, within the scope of the Program of Affirmative Actions for the Black Population in the Higher Education Institutions (Uniafro).

[12] The *quilombos* were rural settlements formed in Brazil during colonial times by freed, runaway or manumitted African slaves.

[13] *Capoeira*: at the same time a martial art, dance and sport, it was brought to Brazil by African slaves who, when prohibited from taking part in their traditional contests, converted their skill into a dance as a way of maintaining their traditional culture.

Thus, we can also say that such a process reveals the difficulties of dealing with ethnic differences in Brazil. While it's easier to assimilate the consideration of the peculiarities of the Indigenous people's cultures and to promote an education that differentiates and integrates at the same time, in the case of the black population it was necessary for a long debate that translates the current difficulties to overcome the racial and social discrimination concerning such a population.

Transforming the teaching of history, including specific arrangements to guide both schools and teachers to rethink Brazilian culture according to its 'pluriethnic' nature, and including and integrating the students with a full range of civil rights is the main agenda that the Brazilian educational system must carry out nowadays.

5 Affirmative Actions

As Valter Roberto Silvério (2007) puts it: "In a formal definition, affirmative actions refer to guided and voluntary efforts carried out by the federal government, the states, the local powers, the private employers and the schools to fight the discriminations and to promote equal opportunities for all, both in the education and in the labor market (APA 1996:2)" (Silério 2007, p.144). Still from Silvério's perspective, quoting Kravitiz, those actions' goal is to "eliminate discriminations against women and ethnic minorities fighting the effects of the discriminations suffered with a view to (re) establish the social balance" (Id).[14]

It can be said that from the normative point of view it's already possible to benefit from educational orientations concerning cultural diversity specifically of the Brazilian curricular scope. The documents concerning the transversal theme 'Cultural Plurality' in the *National Curricular Parameters and the National Curricular Guidelines for Teaching of the Ethnic and Racial Relations and for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture*, illustrate such orientations.

The document concerning the transversal theme: *Cultural Plurality in the National Curriculum Parameters* is the first national document in which the theme Cultural Plurality is characterized as a curriculum guideline (Brazil 1998). Aimed at Elementary Education, it's a quality reference for education in the Elementary School system all over Brazil.

The definition of the Cultural Plurality Theme can be summarized in the following aspects: to know and to praise the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the different social groups that live together in the national territory, to the social and economic inequalities and to the criticism of the discriminatory and exclusionist social relations that permeate Brazilian society; to consider that diversity doesn't mean to deny the existence of common characteristics, or the possibility of establishing a nation, or even the existence of a universal dimension of the human being; affirmation of diversity as a fundamental feature in the building of a national identity

[14] The recently approved Statute of Racial Equality has also taken on this meaning of affirmative action.

which is permanently placed and replaced, and the fact that the humanity of all manifests itself in concrete and different forms of human being.

Since that is a more indicative and doctrinaire document, the curricular parameters didn't affect, to a large extent, the daily practices and they needed supplementary devices that represented in a more emphatic way the 'government will' to promote more effective actions in order to establish, within the educational level, the matters concerning the ethnic pluralism that exists both in the composition and in the background of the Brazilian population.

From that perspective, the document: *National Curriculum Guidelines for the Education of the Ethic and Racial Relations and for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture* (Brazil 2005) represents the most incisive norm of Brazilian educational legislation to encourage actions against racism. A mandatory discipline was created for the Elementary School, with the following objectives:

- It seeks to provide an answer, among others, in the education area, to the demand by the Afro-descended population, as far as affirmative action policies are concerned, of reparation policies, and of acknowledgement and appreciation of its history, its culture, its identity (p. 10).
- It proposes the disclosure and the production of knowledge, the development of attitudes, stances and values that educate citizens that are proud to belong to their ethnic and racial background – descendants from Africans, Indian people, Europeans, Asians – so that they can interact in the building of a democratic nation, in which everybody, equally, has its rights ensured and its identity appreciated (p. 10).
- Acknowledgement and appreciation of the history, the culture and the identity by the Afro-descendants (pp. 10–11).
- Demystify the racial democracy in the Brazilian society (p. 12).

6 The Quota System in Higher Education

As far as the introduction of the quota system is concerned, that measure is inserted within the framework of the forms by which higher education developed in the country. The educational reforms of the military period (1964–1984) were intended, above all, to increase the educational system as a whole, to universalize elementary and high school and, by means of the institution of unified, classificatory and objective entrance examinations, (multiple choice), to ensure that entrance to universities would take place exclusively according to the performance in the exams.

Public university education remained free, even though the increase of higher education started to depend, mainly, on the creation of private and paid universities. Already in the mid-1970s, the consequences of those choices could be felt: the proliferation of private preparation courses, the increase of the private system of elementary and high schools, the transference of the children of the middle classes to

those schools. The access to the best universities, therefore, started to be related to the private and paid high school, and no longer to public education. That also meant relating the entrance in those universities to higher family incomes and to a lighter skin color. Much of the university population in the private system, those of worse performance, came mainly from public high schools, where those with lower income and the 'colored' people studied.

All efforts to impose fee payment for public higher education on the wealthiest families failed politically, which would have provided some margin for financing social inclusion programs based on scholarships or in tax exemptions, and would have conserved the legitimacy and the merit of the entrance examinations. On the contrary, the entrance in institutions, such as the University of São Paulo, started to depend increasingly on preparation in paid schools.[15]

Graziella Moraes Dias da Silva points out, in an article published in 2006, that since democratization, affirmative action initiatives are considered constitutional in Brazil (1988), having been implemented to benefit women in the political system and handicapped people in the labor market.

Specifically in relation to the introduction of the quota regime in higher education, although the controversy still goes on, the legal perspective has advanced, as since the quota regime was adopted, several warrants were granted by courts of law to students trying to enter university who felt they had been adversely affected by such measures [1]. In an article about the challenges of the multicultural curriculum in higher education for Indians, Moisés et al. (2013) report the outcome of one of those lawsuits:

> After eight years of legal debates, on April 26th, 2012, the Federal Supreme Court ruled that the UNB quota system is constitutional, a ruling that generates jurisprudence. The justice reporting the case highlighted that the affirmative actions have the purpose of overcoming historically consolidated social distortions and they do not damage other citizens' right, because the means employed and the ends pursued are marked with proportionality and by reasonability, and because the policies are transitory (P.115).

From 2010 on, there was a great increment in the number of higher education institutions that adopted the quota regime. According to the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo of 07/17/2010, there are currently 148 higher education institutions with some kind of affirmative action.

In 2012, Act No. 12711 was passed to determine that the federal universities had to dedicate 50 % of their registrations to students who declared themselves to be black, brown or indigenous – according to the definitions utilized by IBGE, of low income, with an income equal to or lower than 1.5 minimum salary per capita, and who had attend high-school entirely in a public school. In the Brazilian states the number of quotas for black, brown and Indian people is set forth in compliance with

[15] In 2006, for example, only 27 % of the students who entered USP (state university considered to be one of the best in the country) came from public schools. That led to a greater strictness of the social reproduction of the elites, associating once again class, color and public opportunities for ascension to levels that were close, at least in relative terms, to those of the First Republic (1889–1930).

the proportion of such a group in each state, as included in the latest IBGE Census data, obtained in 2010.

In addition, the specialized literature has included some governmental actions related to higher education, taken as affirmative policies. This is the case of PROUNI, which proposes the universalization of higher education, created in 2004 and implemented through Act No. 11096 of January 13th, 2005. This act makes provisions for scholarships for part or full support in private institutions for students from public high-schools, or students who attended private high-school but whose family income does not exceed three minimum salaries. The program selects its candidates based on the grades obtained in the National High-School Exam (ENEM), which appreciates the students' achievement.

A similar program is REUNI implemented by Decree No. 6096, of April 24th, 2007, which intends to expand the access to higher education, in the undergraduate level, by taking better advantage of the existing physical infrastructure and human resources. Its main purpose is: "to double the number of students in the undergraduate course in ten years' time, starting in 2008, and to allow the admission of 680,000 additional students in the graduate courses" (Brazil 2007).

For Lorenzet and Carpenedo (2012)

> These legal measures were created for reparatory, palliative, and compensatory purposes. They are characterized as affirmative programs intended to meet the emerging needs made evident and that possibly were already legally sustained, but in fact were not enforced as they created or were conniving with situations of inequality, where the inalienable constitutional right should be supreme. (IX ANPED SUL 2012, pp. 7–8)

Finally, another state policy to be mentioned in this set of government measures intended to minimize inequalities is the National Education Plan (PNE), a document to be enforced along a period of ten years, initially between 2010 and 2020. The National Congress passed the PNE in June, 2014. It sets forth goals from child education to higher education, including management and funding and teacher training. The office of the President of the Republic has promised to dedicate 75 % of oil royalties and 50 % of the Social Fund of the oil reserves from the pre-salt layer to education so that these goals can be achieved.

In relation to diversity, Goal 8 sets forth the following:

> Raise the average schooling time of the population aged 18 to 29 years old, so that they will achieve at least 12 years of education in the last year of the period when PNE is to be enforced, for the population in the rural areas, in the area with least schooling in Brazil and in the 25 % poorer groups, and the average schooling shall be equaled between black and non-black people, self-declared to the Foundation Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE.) (Brazil 2014)

On the other hand, measures included in the bill involving the training of teachers, with a concern towards cultural diversity were not specified, due to the idea that building such goals should be done in cooperation with several levels (federal, state and local governments) and with representatives of the groups at stake. In the statement made by the President of the Republic in a social network:

> PNE expands the opportunities, starting with child education, involving full-time education, and increases the number of professional and technological education registrations, resulting in more people being admitted for higher education. For such, the appreciation of teachers and the increase in educational investment are very important. [1]

Thus, if on one hand it was possible to see, through the review of the bill conducted by Batista; Melgaço da Silva Jr and Canen (2013), advancements in terms of acknowledging plurality and the responsibility in ensuring its presence and access to public education of quality, the foment of initial and ongoing teacher training to deal with diversity will be a long process under way in the coming years.

In short, in Brazil, the disputes for affirmative action seem to cause the transformation of the policy based on races into more universalistic policies directed at social and economic status. Such transformation seems to adapt to the way inequality is understood in Brazil, as something merely social and economic and the need to maintain the assimilation ideal among races.

7 Analysis of a Dissertations and Theses Base: The Academic Research on 'Multiculturalism and Education'

7.1 Methodological Notes

With the purpose of mapping the academic production on multiculturalism and education, we conducted research on the CAPES website, where there is a database with the dissertations and theses submitted in the country by all higher education institutions. We limited our search to the period between 1997 and 2009, when multiculturalism was included in official national education documents, as shown above.

From a total of 360 papers found, 165 were extracted for the current research. As they were read, we applied a rating on the occurrence of certain themes. Many researches presented more than one theme, which explains the high number of occurrences in certain categories. Once that was made, we tried to group the labels, to describe them better, in thematic axes, such as: public policies, education, teaching, identity matters, theoretical patterns, and issues that are crucial to multiculturalism.

8 Description and Data Analysis

8.1 Public Policies

Under that theme we found studies on the following topics: affirmative action; application, non-application/policy and limits of Act 10,639/03; analysis of federal material (policy, parameter); quotas (black and indigenous people).

Of the papers assessed, those devoted to the analysis of public policies draw our attention, mainly those concerning the investigation of federal policies involving education and of the affirmative action, intended to implement educational policies in the perspective of cultural difference. The contexts of application of Act 10639/03 (which makes the teaching of black culture compulsory) is also contemplated, considered as an important achievement complemented by Act 11645/08, which also makes the teaching of indigenous culture compulsory in the Brazilian education system. Since it is recent legislation, and causes both doubts and controversies, its non-application was also the object of research. The ethnic quotas, both for black and for indigenous people, a very controversial theme in the Brazilian context, also come up in the research, even though dissertations that address it directly are rare.

8.2 Education

The topics grouped in this theme were the following: curriculum/curricular policies; teacher's education; school books; Portuguese language teaching; school daily life; early childhood teaching; public schooling; education of youngsters and adults; and distance teaching.

It is interesting to note how the insertion of multicultural demands in the curriculum or in teacher's education is emphasized in many dissertations. This does not happen at random or in an isolated fashion, since the changes affecting Brazilian education seem to be part of both a global social and political movement that seeks identity strengthening and is part of local changes related to the demands of social groups who want to see themselves portrayed in the curriculum.

In our research, it was clear that the inclusion of multiculturalism in the school curriculum is currently the most analyzed subject by Brazilian scholars who investigate the topic in the education field. The evidence for this is the increase in the production claims of new schools and paradidactic books, from teachers' training to early childhood education, young adults and education, and distance education, so that it will become part of the public school daily life.

Such orientation leads us to the interpretation by Tomaz Tadeu da Silva in Documentos de Identidade: uma introdução às teorias do currículo (2007) [Identity documents: an introduction to curriculum theories]. As the author sees it, the curriculum is directly involved in what we become, that is, in our identity. In order to explain curricular changes as struggles produced by the power of generating identity, the author outlines how multicultural theme emerge as a declarative stance, which is actively produced, being one of the discourses of what he characterizes as the post-critical theory of curriculum.

8.3 Teaching

Under this theme the topics we found were the following: art teaching (visual/dance); music teaching; hip hop; physical education; *capoeira*; bilingual education; cultural studies; history teaching; literature; literacy teaching; language; assessment.

Here the emphasis given to the teaching of Arts and Physical Education, as well as such practices as *capoeira* and hip hop, closely related to the black culture, stand out. Both in the Curricular Policies for High School (Brazil 1998a), and in the National Curricular Parameters (Brazil 1998b), both the federal education documents, the 'sensitivity aesthetics' is a frequent theme, even when the cultural diversity/plurality is evoked as a theme that deserves to stand out in the education, due to the above-mentioned Brazilian culture: syncretic and unequal at the same time. As we have seen, other forms of teaching, such as that of History, Science, Music, early childhood Education, Literacy and Language, to the other forms of procedure during students' evaluation and the need for bilingual education, in the indigenous contexts, are also among the concerns of those who study the relations between multiculturalism and education, which leads us to infer how this theme, even though it appears more in some areas than in others, belongs to almost all of them, relating, in several moments, to identity matters.

8.4 Identity Matters

The topics found in the academic papers concerning this theme were the following: Gender; Indigenous; black/black race; *candomblé*; ethnic group; riverside population; *quilombos*; Amazon (context/culture); religion; acknowledgement of the cultural diversity; body/corporal culture/corporeity.

This theme is the one that best demonstrates the aspect of the matters that mixes cultural diversity, multiculturalism and education in Brazil. With an emphasis on matters concerning black identity, ethnic groups, Indigenous people and acknowledgements from the cultural and social points of view, the study also demonstrates that aspects related to the body, gender, or themes that mix culture, resistance and property, such as the *quilombos*, the riverside populations or the Amazon culture also encompass a wide, political and complex topic.

Papers stressing the ethnic group topic prioritize black race and examine prejudice suffered by dark skinned girls and boys in the educational process. In that context, the "bodily matter" is very important, since such prejudice comes from the color of the skin, from the curly hair and from the physical, cultural and religious traits related to black people, seen in a pejorative way or even deprecated. Within this theme, we also found papers on education in quilombos. The quilombos were places to resist slavery in Brazil, where runaway black slaves took shelter; in some cases, there were also freed black people, poor whites and Indians. There are still traces of those settlements, and today they struggle for the right to land ownership,

which was acknowledged in the most recent text of the Statute on Racial Equality. As for the Indigenous people, the issues dealt with are cultural preservation and also the ownership of the land where they live.

Religious education is also a relevant theme, since even though it consists of various cultures and cults, mainly the religions of African origin (such as candomblé and umbanda), have until recently been criticized by those who are not acquainted with them. Because of its Portuguese colonization, Brazil has since its formation as a nation been predominantly Catholic, a fact that did not take place harmoniously but by imposition of on the Indians, blacks and the mixed people, under a forced catechism. Even though it is the country with the greatest number of Catholics in the world, in the last couple of decades Brazil has witnessed an increase in other varieties of Christianity, such as Pentecostalism (which is also very intolerant of African religions) and Spiritualism, as well as the increase in the claims for acknowledgement of the new social movements (e.g., black and Indigenous people), including the claim for a Secular State, which would hope to ensure the practice of all the religions on an equal basis. Such a development is already part of legislation since the Constitution of 1988.

8.5 Theoretical Patterns

We grouped the following topics in this theme: cultural studies; ethnomathematics; post-structuralism; critical multiculturalism; action research (beyond theory); research on education; interculturality, found in the abstracts of the theses bank.

The multicultural matters, which are always linked to identity, present, in the educational surveys, very specific theoretical patterns: the greatest incidences are exactly of the theories related to cultural studies and to studies about interculturality, a term which is correlated with multiculturalism, even though it is epistemologically differentiated. The topics of research-action and post-structuralism also show up.

There is an emphasis in some papers of critical multiculturalism, related to Peter McLaren, as a way to understand cultural differences and relate them to emancipation forms. Another relevant occurrence is that of the studies about ethnomathematics, a way of teaching math which takes into account knowledge under various cultural forms, including those belonging to black and Indigenous people, expanding therefore, knowledge derived from only one cultural form.

8.6 Crucial Matters to Multiculturalism

Such topics as: anti-racism, 'black'/social invisibility; tolerance; racism; racial democracy myth; black movement; Who is the other? How is the other built?/ Alterity/production/inferiorization/representation; inclusion; identity; equality; were grouped in this theme.

In this category one can see the matters considered greatly significant to multiculturalism in Brazilian education. The struggle against racism concerning black people stands out as the greatest concern of the papers surveyed, as well as such themes as the building of the "other", of otherness and the overcoming of the "invisible nature of black people" both in the school culture and in its daily life. Not less important in the studies are the achievements and challenges of the Black Movement within education. We analyzed such topics as the tolerance and inclusion of the "different" person among the dominant culture and his affirmation in his identity. Even though with less incidence, the papers that address the mix of people in Brazil and the cultural syncretism that it generates are also significant. In the studies, the need for overcoming the controversial "myth of racial democracy" is also recurrent, with the latter being characterized as being "deceptive" since it displays the claim of harmony among the races but it doesn't take into account the profound inequalities caused by racism and by the subjugation of some cultures. The search for equality, both cultural and social and the role played by the educational training for that to take place, is also a research theme in some papers.

From the themes registered in the studies conducted along the period we have covered, we were able to notice that they fall upon both the aspects that represent the greatest challenges for the public policies and for the educational action, that intends to be multicultural, and present perspectives and development possibilities for the education system, involving themes and procedures related to identity matters.

From the point of view of the challenges, the matters involving the curriculum (with the actual development of programs related to the African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture) and its inclusion in the improvement courses in the teachers education all strive to increase the effectiveness of multicultural education and achieve cultural and social equity.

In that sense, the emphasis found on the teaching of Arts and Physical Education, along with such practices as *capoeira* and hip-hop associated with black culture and the suggestion of the need for bilingual education point to forms of treatment of the educational programs that represent possible avenues to include multiculturalism.

8.7 Texts Published in Journals Specialized in Education About Multiculturalism (2009–2014)

As a supplement to our study, we conducted another survey in the ScIELO database looking for the papers that had been published in journals from the educational field about "multiculturalism and education", appearing between 2009 and 2014. We found 20 papers and 14 were taken into consideration for analysis, because there were articles that attempted to establish a dialogue with broader philosophical theories or that were essays, commentaries and reviews about authors and conceptions that had already been included in our previous study.

Although, generally speaking, the topics covered may reiterate elements we had already perceived in the previous survey, dealing with the implications of the regulations currently in force (especially the *National Curriculum Guidelines for the Education in Ethnic-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture*) and also regarding Indian education, pointing to challenges, advancements and perspectives, we may say that most of the papers touched an issue more intensely: teacher training dedicated to ethnic-cultural diversity.

The trend we found here was reiterated, for example, in a study about the "state-of-the-art", published in 2011:

> (...) it was possible to realize that few works, either holders of multicultural potentials or multiculturally explicit, were directed at perspectives that were more critical of multiculturalism, in the school environment and in teacher training (CANEN et al, 2011, 654).

Concerning the implementation of the curricular guidelines, which necessarily depend on teachers prepared to make changes, by adhering to the proposal, the criticism is quite hard-hitting:

> Ten years after the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture had become compulsory, we are still experiencing the initial process of its implementation, little institutionalized and generally personalized and restrict to a few teachers who, due to different reasons, are indicated in early November every year, in comments such as: "this is Black people stuff, about Zumbi, it should be given to him (or her) not me" (Rodrigues 2013 p. 19)

Besides, there are a number of excerpts which bring suggestions about how to conduct this type of training:

> Diversity becomes a major subject in the training courses, as the structuring core of the educational system is based on a single standard which resists in getting rid of social, racial, gender, territory, generational hierarchies, and others. Submitting a training course on diversity requires a dialogue which implies in redefining the conceptions of training, of teaching, of knowledge, of teaching and learning arising from the re-invention of reality that a variety of groups bring and include in the narratives (Akkari and Santiago 2010, p. 24)

Finally, we can mention in a general fashion how the topic of teacher training refers to the interconnection of four important dilemmas faced by Brazilian educational and social institutions which are demanded to be more democratic: (1) ethnic-racial origin (birth and citizenship); (2) right to their own voice (to be assured that everyone can speak out their demands); (3) overcoming injustices and inequalities (socioeconomic and dissimilar treatment); (4) acknowledgment (ancestry and cultural appreciation).

8.8 Final Considerations

Taking into account what has been expounded, it can be seen that the **theme of multiculturalism** and its link to education, **in a country as diversified and miscegenated as Brazil**, not only presents several **peculiarities**, but also leads to several

challenges, in order to think about **fairer public policies**, which encompass all the sectors and the ethnic groups of the population.

Thus, we attempted here to highlight some unique issues in the current Brazilian reality: the recent democratization, the also recent universalization of access to basic education, the reduction in poverty, the affirmative policies but also the deconstruction that movements in the organized civil society (namely black and indigenous movements) effected on the idea, still in force, but strongly disputed, that in Brazil there is no racism, as we are a society consisting of a harmonious whole, resulting from the blending of three races, with no hierarchies and no discriminations. In the still changing complex scenario where these unique issues appear, education becomes an important battlefield for the social movements and other sectors of organized civil society, such as NGOs, political parties, associations, teachers' trade unions and other stakeholders.

Starting with two main focal points: teacher training and the curricular contents, debates around education and multiculturalism in Brazil give rise to all those singularities as, although the Statute of Racial Equality has already been ratified (2010) and Acts 10639 (2003) and 10645 (2008), which alter the Education Guidelines and Grounds Act (1996) adding up the compulsory status of teaching African History and Afro-Brazilian and Indian Culture, outstanding issues are still left open. Some of them include:

1. How the new curricular contents are to be added up?[1]
2. How are teachers to be required to implement something that was never covered in their initial professional training? If they have had no contact with Indian and African cultures, how will they be able to teach about them?
3. Among cultures that are so rich and diversified, which are the aspects that should be highlighted in basic education?[1]
4. How to appreciate the national culture and the specific cultures without value ranking them through education?
5. Is it possible to create a single curriculum taking into account the huge geographic dimensions of Brazil and its cultural diversity?
6. How can one prepare a multiculturally-oriented curriculum in Brazil?

We can add to those challenges the establishment of a field of theories and proposals that is both complex and full of meanings about the interaction among different identities and cultures that express all the ambivalence present under the terms 'multiculturalism', 'interculturalism','transculturalism', according to Fleuri (2006). He also adds that such field of debate presents itself as being irreducible to effective general explanatory schemes, and that is exactly what makes the debate especially creative and open, as it cannot be reduced to a single code.

Our goal in this paper was to give an account of Brazilian peculiarities leading to a complex process of social pressure and action by the authorities in power with the purpose of acknowledging and including Brazilian cultural diversity. Thus, a heated debate about Education for Diversity intended to address inequalities in the Brazilian context, in its several aspects, has to do with the uniqueness of the differences and, at the same time, its integration so that social inequality can be overcome without replacing it with a new social hierarchy.

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The Character of the Multicultural Education Discussion in South Africa

Crain Soudien and Carolyn McKinney

Abstract South Africa, as a country of great diversity, presents itself at first glance as an obvious place for the development of a multicultural policy. Its diversity is, moreover, of a kind that has caused immense difficulty politically and economically. But it does not have a specific multicultural education policy. Why this is so and what approaches the South African polity has taken to the question of diversity is what this contribution seeks to make clear. The chapter begins with a sociological description of South Africa. Important in this exposition is indicating how tightly bound up with political struggle the question and the description and analysis of social difference are. The chapter provides a description of the South African education system and its policy with respect to the questions of social and cultural difference. It then moves to an examination of the multicultural debate and an assessment of the value of this debate for both engaging with the questions of social difference and the complex ways in which power is instantiated in the debate itself. The importance of this discussion is about a recognition of the complexity of sociology itself and how this complexity, in terms of what it sees and does not see, is identified and articulated, and then mobilized and appropriated.

Keywords Social difference • Sociology • Education policy • Identity • Power • South Africa

1 Introduction

South Africa presents itself, at first glance, as an obvious place for the development of a multicultural policy. It is a country of great diversity. Its diversity is, moreover, of a kind that has caused immense difficulty politically and economically. But it does not have a specific multicultural education policy. Why this is so and what approaches the South African polity has taken to the question of diversity is what this chapter seeks to make clear.

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_7

The chapter begins with a sociological description of South Africa. It then proceeds to show how much this sociology constitutes a challenge for analysis. Important in this exposition is indicating how tightly bound up with political struggle the question of sociological description is. The chapter provides a description of the South African education system and its policy with respect to questions of social and cultural difference. It then moves to an examination of the multicultural debate and an assessment of the value of this debate for the South African context.

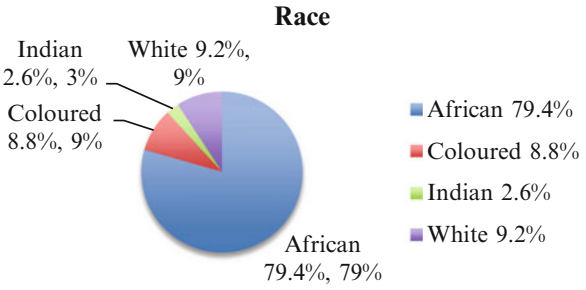
2 Sociological Debate About the Nature of South Africa

The position of South Africa in the broader African and global context, both before and after democracy came to the country in 1994, has been a subject of intense debate in a wide range of disciplines (see Alexander 2002). What is the nature of the country sociologically? Is it a racial oligarchy? Or is it a capitalist metropole? Is it an African country? If it is African, what does being African mean? Is it a colonial state, a post-colonial or an autonomous state?

Formally, derived from its Statistical Service, StatsSA (2010), government information presents the country in the following way:

2.1 Population by Race Mid-Year 2010

African	39,682,600 (79.4 %)
Coloured	4,424,100 (8.8 %)
Indian/ Asian	1,299,900 (2.6 %)
White	4,584,700 (9.2 %)
Total	49,991,300 (100 %)



Source: www.statssa.gov.za

Relevant for the purposes of this work, nearly one third (31.4 %) of the population were younger than 15 years and 7.5 % (3.7 million) were 60 years or older.

Ethnically, the racial groups are sub-divided with the African community itself broken up as follows: the Nguni (comprising the Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, and Swazi people); Sotho-Tswana, who include the Southern, Northern and Western Sotho (Tswana people); Tsonga; Venda. White people are divided into Afrikaners and English.

Linguistically the country has 11 official languages. These are English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. According to the 2001 Census (Burger 2008) isiZulu was the major language spoken in the country (23.8 %), followed by isiXhosa (17.6 %), Afrikaans (13.3 %), Sesotho sa Leboa (9.4 %) and English and Setswana (8.2 % each). Politically, however, English is the dominant language in the country and is the second language of the majority of the population. The least-spoken indigenous language in South Africa is isiNdebele, which is spoken by 1.6 % of the population. It needs also to be noted that many more languages are in use. Of concern to some groups, such as the Khoisan who constitute the country's oldest indigenous community is the non-recognition of their languages.

Almost 80 % of South Africa's population follows the Christian faith. Other major religious groups are the Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Buddhists. A minority of South Africa's population do not belong to any of the major religions, but regard themselves as traditionalists of no specific religious affiliation.

Evocative as this pen-sketch is, and also indicative of the dominant mode of description of what the country looks like, there is an intense debate within it about whether this representation of the country is useful. *How* it should be described sociologically is thus a matter of great debate. The debate, at a high point in the present as a result of a controversy around affirmative action admissions into universities (see Soudien 2010), pivots around the binaries of race and class. Strikingly, there have been important public critiques about the gendered bias of this debate. In seeking, nonetheless, to answer the question about the nature of the country, the dominant poles of argument have essentially come down to assertions of the racial nature of the country and its state, as in the official description above, versus those of its capitalist and class nature. In the former camp have historically been a group of scholars referred to and who present themselves as the liberal school. Loosely, the work of this school comes to a high point in the early 1970s with the publication of the Oxford History of South Africa edited by Wilson and Thompson (1969–1971). The liberal argument takes its provenance from a long line of scholars, beginning with the first major English historian in the country, Theal (1964), who's key argument is that the country is constituted in racial terms and is fought over on those terms. The history of the Dutch occupation until the early 1800s, the arrival and deepening of British hegemony, their conflict with the indigenous people and then with the descendants of the Dutch, the Afrikaners, is presented as a long struggle of tribes, white Afrikaners, white English and black Africans, *Boer, Bantu and Brit.*

This body of liberal writing was fiercely challenged in the 1970s by a neo-Marxist group of scholars who were influenced by the turn towards class analysis and especially the Frankfurt school of thought in Europe. In South Africa the fields of history, sociology and education were heavily impacted upon by these developments. A range of works emerges which subjects the country's historical experience to a vigorous new look. Landmark texts emerge from scholars such as Legassick (1972), Marks (1986), and Wolpe (1972), to name but a few, who assist in placing the experience of race and class in a completely new light. The value of their contribution is to recompose and re-inhabit the country's major social categories of race and class with new meanings. In the process they undo the stigmatising white paternalism that animates the writing of the South African story and bring into view complex South African social subjects, of all colors and classes, who interact with their times in rich and dynamic ways. Class analysis, however, is the major beneficiary of this development.

One of the most important scholars of social difference in South Africa, Harold Wolpe (1988), himself a product of the neo-Marxist period, argues that neither of these approaches, race and class, by themselves, is capable of explaining the nature of South Africa and the ways in which privilege, power and position are distributed. Neither is able to grasp the complexity of social division, hierarchy and inequality and how social position is taken. He argues that the formation and maintenance of racial groups and division in South Africa is a process that takes place in specific contexts that are subject to both centrifugal and centripetal pressures. Allied to these is the crucial element of politics, which operates, often independently from other factors but always in some form of articulation with them. This combination of the instances of race, class and politics produces effects and outcomes that are, moreover, ongoing and always in flux. They produce differentiations within groups, fracturing their homogeneity. Privileging race, therefore, as a category of analysis underplays the ways in which a whole range of conditions and processes influences the sense of cohesiveness and fragmentation within groups. Class analysis too, he continues to argue, suffers from a similar insularity and reductionism. As a result of this reductionism, little room is allowed for non-class effects. 'It is clear', says Wolpe (1988), 'that this analysis provides no conceptual basis for an analysis of the specific conditions in which racial categorizations come to provide the content of class struggles and/or the basis of organization of interests in a manner which both cuts across class divisions and yet may serve to sustain, change (for example, racialization or deracialization) or undermine them' (p. 15). While recognising the presence of race (and class), what Wolpe is seeking to do is to show that race is hardly ever a singular, stable or even coherent sign. Within it are the unmistakable presences of a whole host of crosscutting and intervening factors. In his text, *Race, class and the apartheid state,* he implicitly argues against the dominant iconographic systems of South Africa, particularly those of race and looks to more complex ways of understanding social difference in South Africa.

Since Wolpe's intervention the debate has been taken in another direction by Mahmood Mamdani (1996), one of the African continent's most pre-eminent political scientists. Not quite recovering the racial singularity of the earlier liberals he

does come to show how important the country's colonial history and the racial inclinations of this experience are. The way he does this is by undertaking a historiographic critique of the literature and making the argument that the majority of the commentators, including the neo-Marxists, have failed to come to terms with the imbricated nature of the South African experience. His major point is that this body of work, both liberal and neo-Marxist, essentially has the effect of extracting South Africa from its general African colonial experience and that this is a mistake: 'The notion of South African exceptionalism is a current so strong in South African studies that it can be said to have taken on the character of a prejudice…. [This] exceptionalism masks the colonial nature of the South African experience' (Mamdani 1996, p. 21). The country is, in his view, no different to its African colonial counterparts and is essentially structured around a bifurcated identity, that of citizen and subject. Citizens are those who operate in the orbit of the formal state with all its instruments and dispositions supposedly shaped by the rules and regulations of democracy. They take their identity from their relationship with the state. Subjects are pre-democratic in so far as their political habituses are shaped by custom in which the rules of fealty, belonging and responsibility take their character from tradition. Birth-right places one in a logic of obligation and entitlement within which personal choice and agency are structured for one. Mamdani's observations are important, particularly as South Africans confront the reality of their relationship to the continent and the globe. Inherent in his analysis, is an implied rebuke to tendencies wishing to reconstruct South Africa as a European province with the social and economic morphology of Europe.

While there is now irrefutable evidence that race as a biological phenomenon is an unsupportable idea, one has to acknowledge that racism and the oppression surrounding it are real (see Posel 2001a, b). They are enacted in real structural situations. The South African argument is thus powerfully about the nature and the underlying factors animating these experiences. The argument is, in these terms, an argument around what one might call the languages of description. This is therefore the first important lesson to be made about sociological analysis in South Africa. Terms that have a particular currency elsewhere in the world are not easily transposed upon the South African context. They don't travel particularly well, are valued differently in different parts of the world and come to do very different kinds of work. The terms 'black' and 'colored', for example, familiar and recognizable in the United States, have come to mean very different things in South Africa, and have come to be understood in different ways.

The importance of this discussion is about a recognition of the complexity of sociology itself. This complexity is principally about how difference is identified and articulated, and then mobilized and appropriated. The term 'the politics of difference', conventionally used to describe the dynamics between people who are different to each other, therefore is used in a broader way in this piece. It is used to

1. To signal the existence of social difference, but, critically,
2. The larger problem of how different circumstances of difference set up different discourses of difference, so that

3. Social difference is understood as a condition that is constantly shifting and, more, shifts according to the politics of our languages of description.

Out of this, it is suggested, real puzzles of inclusion and exclusion arise. The case of people who think of themselves and are regarded as Chinese in South Africa is a particularly acute example of how this puzzle is constituted. When they arrived as indentured laborers for South Africa's gold mines in the early 1900s – 63,000 of them – discrimination against them and the exploitation they experienced was intense. Most, as a consequence, refused to renew their contracts, such as they were, and returned to China (see Yap and Man 1996; Park 2008). Significant numbers remained in the country. Their incorporation into the political imagination of South Africa has been, however, a tangled and confusing tale of acceptance and rejection most acutely represented by their quiet assimilation into 'white' identity status during the last decade of apartheid to their recent post-apartheid inclusion into the category of 'black' for affirmative action purposes. Their marginalization and then rehabilitation has, however, produced strong reactions within the country leaving them in no more secure a position than they might have been under apartheid.

Where might one go with the puzzles thrown up by these sociological developments and the actual experiences inside of them? How are Wolpe's and then Mamdani's critiques valuable about thinking of the nature of the country?

3 Towards a New Sociology

Important as both Wolpe and Mamdani's observations are, the argument can be made that they dwell in the realm of the political. Neither, for instance, it can be argued, is sufficiently capacious to explain situations such as that evidenced in the case of the Chinese in South Africa. Identity in their analyses is primarily a political construct developed in relation to institutions of political authority. Underplayed in both is how culture – aesthetics and language for instance – plays a role in giving substance to the kinds of citizenships individuals and groups desire and make for themselves. Neither work, also, is sufficient as a framework for managing the immensely complex new experience of globalisation. Talking about the work of the late decades in South Africa, scholar of apartheid, Norval (1996), makes the argument '(w)hile a number of excellent historical studies… of South Africa exist, I contend that these studies are hampered by their failure to link together the various elements of the discourse and terrains of contestations' (p. 13). Taking aim at the race-framed analysis she argues that '(t)he …prioritization of, singular elements of Afrikaner nationalism, such as its presumed class or ethnic basis… make it difficult, if not impossible… to grapple with the horizon instituted in the aftermath of the 1948 election', (when the Afrikaner nationalists came to power). The critical point to come to terms with, she argues, is that 'no such community ever existed… and that the task at hand was to construct the elements as if they were elements of a lost community' (p. 13).

It is precisely from this point that we wish to move our own argument. The recurring constructedness of the South African social landscape is what we are having to confront. Key about Wolpe and Mamdani is that they seek to bring into the analysis of South Africa such a sense of constructedness. But even they under-estimate the continual intervention into the social landscape of culture in its entire creativeness. In contemporary South Africa it is important that the full range of influences and social factors which shape the society and come to giver social formations their internal dynamics is brought into view. Critical amongst these in the contemporary period, it needs to be emphasized, is globalisation. While the global factor has always been part of the country's history, this influence has deepened in the last 15 years. Culture as a space in which personal choice shaped by economics, the power of personal and group position, we want to argue, offers a window into the complexity of the South African every day.

In taking culture seriously we would have to consider the extent to which events in South Africa's recent history have so thoroughly shaken-up long-standing sensibilities and consciousnesses around people's understandings of the self, the group, the nation and the world and so pay some attention to the claim that some public commentators are making that the country is in a unique time and space in its history. A former Premier of the Western Cape, Ebrahim Rasool, for example, in a public address attended by one of the authors recently described the country as a laboratory for the human project. Of course, one can exaggerate the special nature of South Africa. But, the rapid acceleration of South Africa out of its apartheid and exploitative grip with its structured racist, classist, homophobic, xenophobic, and patriarchal features into the full embrace of globalisation with all its bewildering contradictions *has* produced it as a case that merits, on a number of levels, special attention. In this chapter, therefore, we acknowledge South Africa's embeddedness in its colonial and African history, indeed we see in the country's development, evocative resonances of the post-colonial experience of India, the post-slavery social alienation of people of colour that has characterised the United States of America, and the compounded coming together of race, class, and gender in the social hierarchies one sees in a country like Brazil. Out of this has emerged a country that is bewildering in its cultural density. This density is legible to the casual reader at certain levels. One can see in it the familiar signs of racial and ethnic affinity and its accompanying prejudices. One is also able to discern the familiar manners of class. Less readable are the unspeakable and ineffable circuits of agency that flow in and out of the kinds of decisions that characterize the every-day. Lodged in them are logics, economic, religious, cultural, and political, often mediated through language that cannot be easily deciphered. This opacity, we would suggest, is a relatively new phenomenon and has to do with the intense collision of the different spaces, times and rhythms of time and space that occur in the coming to democracy of South Africa in 1994.

The point to be making here is that the admission of South Africa back into the global order after 1994 has deep sociological implications for the making of social identity. Where apartheid and its restrictive rules, and particularly oppressive laws such as the Group Areas Act, had shielded the people of South Africa from full

exposure to the world, what the coming of democracy does is to bring the full intensity of globalization, with all its opportunities, hazards, restrictions, and dangers, right into the forefront of the South African experience. Dramatically, it brings the whole unmediated complexity, say, of climate change and its concerns with carbon emissions into juxtaposition with questions of bride-price, *lobola* in South Africa, and the question of, particularly for the individual, commensurate experience, continuity, and critically the prioritization of what is to be valued and what not. The speed with which globalization has telescoped and concentrated many of the social phenomena experienced elsewhere into just a decade is a distinctly South African development. How it has forced many South Africans into having to rethink their identities is what we are having to understand. Its fraughtness, the degree to which it is precipitating a sense of dislocation amongst wide layers of people, particularly young people, is a key social reality with which to work. It is true that the situation in which many young South Africans find themselves is no different to that experienced elsewhere in the world. But it would be a category error not to acknowledge the intense existential challenges that this collision of times and spaces is producing for them. They are the products both *of* apartheid and a time *after* apartheid.

In rethinking the sociology of South Africa, it is worth extending Wolpe's discomfort with reductionist notions of race and class, and recognizing two points: first that our explanations of the realities we confront will always be grasping or incomplete, and second that they construct and constitute the reality as we speak it. They hold versions or interpretations of what is out there and present these as the truth. How then has the education system in South Africa come to deal with this complexity? It is to this that the chapter now turns.

	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Northern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	North-West	Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Limpopo
2002	67.3	77.4	68.3	74.7	72.5	70.4	70.6	78.7	80.5
2003	69.1	75.99	67.1	74.4	74.2	73.1	72.0	78.1	81.6
2005	68.7	79.2	73.5	75.0	74.0	72.6	70.0	76.1	81.7
2007	69.0	78.6	74.0	76.4	75.5	73.0	68.7	76.1	83.8
2009	68.8	75.4	70.7	74.8	73.5	71.3	71.5	75.0	81.2

4 The South African Education System

What does the education, particularly the schooling system in South Africa look like? Typically most descriptions of the educational system are general. Very little statistical information exists which draws on demographic data such as socio-economic factors. Some information is available which describes the racial dimension of the learning experience.

The youth population in the age group 7–24 is largely, as indicates, in a learning environment. Within this age-group, constituting as indicated above for those under 15 years of age, almost a third of the population, 12,214,845 in 2009 were attending school. The country itself had 25,867 schools (state and independent/private; School Realities 2009, see www.education.gov.za). According to the national education department's *Education Statistics in South Africa in 2008*, 3 % of learners were in independent or private schools with the overwhelming majority, 97 %, in state funded schools.

Large as the proportion of those who are eligible to be in school might be, the distribution of learners in schools is skewed. While 9 % of the learners were enrolled in Grade 1, only 4.9 % were enrolled in Grade 12, the final year of the school system at the end of which learners write the National Senior Certificate (NSC) examinations (School Realities 2009). This is an indication of the drop out of learners that takes place as they move higher up through the schooling system.

Of the Grade 12 learners who wrote the NSC, 62.2 % passed. In order to pass, learners must pass six subjects with 30 % or 40 % (depending on specific requirements) and can receive <30 % for a seventh subject. It is thus not surprising that only 19.1 % of the 62.2 % of learners who passed were qualified to apply for admission to a university Bachelor's degree which depends on much higher achievement criteria. The NSC pass rates vary greatly across regions in the country, from the highest rate of 78.7 % in the Western Cape to the lowest rate of 50.6 % in the Eastern Cape. While more females wrote the NSC examinations in 2008, the national pass rate for males was 62.9 % and for females 61.5 %.

Notably the national department of education does not publish statistics according to race, neither in relation to school enrolments nor in relation to pass rates for the National Senior Certificate (NSC; Grade 12 school-leaving examinations). However, the South African Institute of Race Relations' (SAIRR) *South Africa Survey 2008/2009* reports the following figures for enrolment and NSC passes:

4.1 School Enrolment by Race: 2007

African	11,533,000
Colored	1,038,000
Indian	201,000
White	676,000
TOTAL	13,462,000

Source: SAIRR (2009, 30)

4.2 National Senior Certificate Passes by Race: 2007

	Candidates who wrote	Candidates who passed	Candidates passes with endorsement (eligible for access to higher education)
African	458,836	277,941 (60.6 %)	49,950 (10.9 %)
Colored	34,741	27,101 (78 %)	5,367 (15.4 %)
Indian/Asian	52,467	37,308 (71.1 %)	11,382 (21.7 %)
White	42,617	41,921 (98.4 %)	22,145 (52 %)

Source: SAIRR (2009, 58)

The achievement gap between 'white' students and 'black' students is clearly visible in overall NSC pass rates, with the greatest gap between 'white' and African learners. This gap continues to be reflected in the number of quality passes, (i.e., passes with endorsement) achieved by 'white' learners (52 %) and 'black' learners (collectively 16 %) which translates into the under-representation of 'black' students enrolled in the country's universities.

4.3 University Enrolment by Race: 2007

African	324,000
Colored	60,000
Indian	25,000
White	143,000
TOTAL	**553,000**

5 Multicultural Education in South Africa

The ascent to power of the African National Congress in 1994, even in a government of national unity, meant that it had to deal with the question of the schooling system in the country. Schooling had been, under apartheid, one of the central strategies for promoting the idea of racial separateness and even white supremacy. It had created, for this purpose, a highly unequal system which favored white learners and discriminated, visibly and in other ways, children who were not white.

How the new state ought to proceed in dismantling the apartheid school was a great challenge. Should it simply abolish what it had inherited, should it modify it or should it preserve what were its good parts and reconstruct those that were obviously in need of renewal? In considering what it should do it had to be clear about what it was having to relate to.

In considering the role of the schooling system in the country and the important social function of education, a debate was taking place behind the scenes in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. In this debate were scholars such as Christie (1990), Gaganakis (1990), Cross (1992), Carrim and Soudien (1999). They were aware of how the discussion had evolved elsewhere and different versions of multiculturalism that were being promoted, namely, those that promoted pluralism, more radical versions and the plethora of mid-range theories that circulated in the discussion (see Banks 2009; May 1999). In this debate there was consensus that the pluralist version of multiculturalism was most in use and was being taken up in official rhetoric with its essentially apolitical message that all cultures were equal. The participants in the debate were more inclined towards more radical approaches to multiculturalism, arguing that multiculturalism in its pluralist form was a liberal smokescreen for maintaining dominance of particular groups and argued for an approach that was aware of difference being articulated in many forms, such as culture, race, class, gender, etc. and which was anti-essentialist and anti-racist (see Vally and Dalamba 1999; Soudien et al. 2004; Carrim and Soudien 1999; Tihanyi and du Toit 2005; Soudien 2009; Naidoo 1996a, b; Ndlangamandla 2010; Nkomo and Vandeyar 2009; Nkomo et al. 2004; Nongogo 2007; Moletsane et al. 2004; Morrow 1998) and played into the racist strategies of establishment groups.

The under-articulated critique of those who favored pluralism, never fully brought even into text, was that the radical view was dangerously a historical and ignored the interests and the significance of the state and nation-building. The nation-state, they argued, was being asked to re-imagine itself along more plural and inclusive lines. The problem of radicalism and the anti-racist approach it was also argued was that it underplayed the extent to which culture had a real presence in the everyday. In attacking the essentialism of culturalist approaches it undermines the whole presence of culture.

In considering its options the new state had individuals around it who were mindful of these arguments. What then happened was that it effectively decided, and regrettably the substance of these discussions is nowhere recorded, that the terms of the debate had to be determined by the country itself and that locating the discussion within the parameters of the multicultural debate as it was playing itself out in the north was inappropriate. It was not therefore a question of whether a pluralist or radical view of multiculturalism should inform the making of the new policy, but a deeper question of what lay behind inequality and division in South Africa. This development is singly responsible for the direction which South African policy with respect to social difference takes. Social policy is, as a result, firmly anchored within the race versus class problematique described above.

Essentially, to reiterate what has already been discussed, the class position held that race was essentially an epiphenomenon of class and that the colonial system and the racist apartheid system had come into being to serve the interests of white capitalists. The apartheid school in this argument, particularly mass schooling, was devised to produce a compliant pool of cheap and low-skilled labor.

The second analysis that the new state had to consider was that which saw the apartheid school essentially as a large racial machine. It brought together a disparate group of people, some who were liberals, others more radical who understood the phenomenon of race differently but all of whom argued that the problem of South Africa was race. The liberals, the dominant school of thought in this group, broadly took a multi-racial view. South Africa for them was organized on racial grounds to achieve white domination. More radical commentators saw the schooling system as a mechanism for teaching an unscientific and false biological understanding of race. The purpose of the school was ideological. Both versions of the race argument saw the apartheid school as an extreme example of how multiculturalism worked. Dominant as this view came to be in policy development in South Africa, it produced an extreme sense of suspicion of multiculturalism. When the state, thus, was considering what it should do about inequality in education and the reality of the diversity it was confronting, it took the view that it should, simultaneously, concentrate on building social cohesion in the country and developing a culture of human rights. Its entire approach, as a result, avoided the nomenclature and the frameworks associated with a multicultural approach. As it will be shown below, this approach could not avoid addressing the issues of culture, and so the term and the contents of multiculturalism are used occasionally and regularly appropriated in official documents, but the thrust of state policy development for schooling was framed around social cohesion and human rights. This trajectory was shaped in the first instance by the country's constitution, adopted in 1996, and a swathe or new laws and regulations which were developed on the platform of the new constitution.

6 The New Constitution

The most important policy document to be developed by the new government after 1994 was its constitution. It emerged first as a draft constitution in 1995 and a final Constitution adopted in 1996. Hailed around the world as a landmark piece of legislation, it came to frame the new state's orientation to the questions of social difference, rights and entitlements.

The Preamble to the Constitution puts the broad approach of the new government into perspective. It begins with the presumption of equality before the law and the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. To this end it declares

> *We, the people of South Africa,*
> *Recognize the injustices of our past;*
> *Honor those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;*
> *Respect those who have worked to build and developed our country; and*
> *Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.* (Republic of South Africa 1996, p. 1)

Its purpose is to speak against the country's past and to recreate the identity of South Africa around the themes of a single nation and the access of all who live in it to the same rights. Home and belonging are key metaphors it invokes. These

metaphors crucially come to counter the inherited legacy of a country divided into separate and unequal homelands. It is now one country, no longer divided by race and ethnicity. This approach, chiefly a social cohesion approach, takes its dynamic from the suspicion of the African National Congress (ANC) and the broad liberation movement in South Africa to political claims made on the basis of culture, language, ethnicity, and religion. In this respect, the country takes a view, in relation to the range of options it had before it, which is essentially a left of center view. It makes allowance for affirmative action, and inserts into the Constitution, for example, the right for the government to correct those situations where groups were discriminated against. It is here, interestingly, that a multiculturalist view, largely what one might describe as a pluralist version of multiculturalism, reasserts itself in the constitution- and policy-making process. What emerges as a result, is a Constitution which is essentially egalitarian but, and this is a product of the fact that the ANC had to negotiate with right-wing parties such as the National Party, the previous rulers, which has significant concessions in it for those cultural communities that seek to promote their distinct cultural, religious or linguistic practices to do so. Egalitarian as the Constitution is, it is also communitarian in its composition. These distinct elements in it, interestingly, has made it vulnerable to legal dispute which have seen its egalitarian and communitarian facets invoked by interested parties to promote one or other inclusive or sectarian view. In these, the state has consistently held the egalitarian view and argued for a human rights interpretation of the Constitution. Opponents of the state, such as Afrikaans-speaking whites, on the other hand have regularly appealed to clauses in the Constitution which permit the adoption of a particular language as a school's medium of instruction. So, for example, while the law is clear that linguistic or religious groups are not allowed in their actions to discriminate on the basis of race, a large body of case law has developed in relation to the right of such communities to promote their own identities (see Fleisch and Woolman 2009). This has been especially so with respect to the use of public resources. Whether, as a result, for example, a public school can be a single-medium language school and, so, legitimately exclude learners who seek to be taught through the medium of another language has been the subject of intense judicial debate on several occasions. The courts, interestingly, have dealt with these disputes in ways that have not, automatically, favored the egalitarian interpretations of the Constitution.

7 Education Policy and Multicultural Education

The contending discursive elements described above, significantly, have found their way into the policy regulations and legislative instruments developed for the new schooling system. Of particular interest for the purposes of this paper are the new legislative instruments developed by the new state and its curriculum reform measures (see Carrim 1998, 2003; Soudien 2004).

The key policy instrument for the new education system in the country was the South African Schools Act (SASA; Department of Education 1996). SASA was

adopted in 1996 and, like its companion pieces of legislation such as the South African Higher Education Act, took its direction directly from the Constitution. Its timbre and tone emanated from the Constitution, declaring, for instance in its Preamble, that the country required a new national education system which would redress past injustices in terms of the provision of facilities and what was taught.

A second piece of legislation that is crucial for understanding how the new state responded to the challenge of social difference is a legal document called the Regulation on Norms and Standards for Language Policy in Public Schools. Together, these two instances of law-making came to provide the essential substance of the state's approach to social difference and for achieving the broad objectives of the new state. Critically, as it will be shown, they reproduced the ambiguities of the Constitution.

The purpose of education, SASA explained, was, inter alia, that of developing the talents and capabilities of all the people of South Africa, to combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and to advance the country's diverse cultures and languages (see Dornbrack 2008; Department of Education 2001, 2002). This unfair discrimination, following the Constitution, permitted schools to implement a policy of affirmative action.

The ambiguity in the SASA derives from its interest in eradicating discrimination but, at the same time, conceding to groups the right to pursue their own interests. SASA explicitly states that a public school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way. This is its egalitarian discourse. There is within it, however, space for school governing bodies (SGBs) to promote group interests. For example, it permits SGBs the right to determine the school's medium of instruction, the fees to be levied, and, a right that has been modified since, the appointment of teachers. It also gives SGBs the right to determine language policy.

The scale of the powers granted to SGBs is more fully explicated in the norms and standards document. It is here that the law is at its most explicit in relation to cultural difference and attempts to contain the tension between sameness and difference, or the universal and the particular. The Norms and Standards document makes the statement that South Africa's cultural diversity is a national asset and that, in terms of this, it is important that the educational system promote multilingualism. Multilingualism, it argues, is important for breaking down linguistic and racial intolerance and for promoting social cohesion on a non-racial basis. The ambiguities inherited from the Constitution remain within the Norms and Standards document, however. The egalitarian impulse is strong. The purpose of the policy is to foster tolerance and build a sense of equality. South Africans should be distinguished by their ability to communicate in several languages. It also sets out the dangers of particularism, such as ethnic chauvinism and separatism. It, however, concedes that the groups have the right to their own traditions and customs. In this respect, while it is conscious of the tension between the egalitarian and the communitarian discourses within it, it sees no contradiction. In fact it makes the assertion that in a multicultural society such as South Africa, progress requires this tension to be kept in place.

These tensions, however, provide the basis, as the body of case law now shows the space for the creative use by groups and communities to continue to deny access to their institutions to children who are culturally or linguistically different to themselves.

8 The New Curriculum

The new curriculum framework in the country is an important space to understand how the new state comes to deal with the legacy of division and inequality it inherits, and also, the disputes that take place in the intellectual domain about what kind of country South Africa is. The legislative enactments described above, interestingly, bring the question of the country's past to a new point. In moving between the binaries of race and class, the SASA and the Norms and Standards documents effectively seek to reconstitute the discussion by framing it around a human rights approach. This human rights approach ignites a different facet of the tension within the debate. It comes to locate the tension between an egalitarianism which is fundamentally about universalism and a communitarianism which is about the particular.

Curricula developments in the country continue to hold this tension in place, but, importantly locate them in wider framework of the race and class debate. The curriculum, as a result, is a space within which the tension of the universal and the particular are played out alongside of, and in a dialectical relationship, with the tension between that of race and class.

The point made in the paragraph about the importance of holding the tension in place consciously, as a way of managing the sociology of South Africa, is crucial in thinking about the work that a curriculum must do. A curriculum is the attempt by a state to manage the frameworks, the philosophies and the pedagogic modalities through which its young citizens will learn the great qualities of reflection and thought – the hallmarks of a good education. It would be expected therefore that it would be through the curriculum that the new democratic South African state would be promoting its values of inclusion. How well, then, does the new curriculum come to use these tensions creatively? How, in its construction, is the curriculum made to hold the tensions in place but also have them come to play a role in building the capacity of young people to think and to reflect on themselves as subjects of a new order defined by the principles of inclusion?

The South African government unveiled its new curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in 1997. This curriculum was revised in 2002, when it came to be called the National Curriculum Statements (NCS) and again in 2010. The origins of the curriculum were to be found in curricular innovation in New Zealand and the United Kingdom (Jansen 1999, p. 12). Guided by somewhat behaviorist principles of outcomes-based education and learner-centered education it defined specific outcomes and standards of achievement for all learners in eight learning areas. It was framed by a larger learning and assessment plan, the National Qualifications

Framework (NQF), which was stimulated by the egalitarian ideal that all learning, ultimately, could be calibrated and placed along a spectrum of knowledge. The idea was motivated by the desire to challenge the hierarchy of skills and knowledge that the old apartheid order had so assiduously cultivated. In the old apartheid education system not only were black people denied the right to learn skills, but the skills they actually learnt were never recognized. Their schools, moreover, were designed to perpetuate the division between high status learning and learning for labor, which was their lot. In these terms, the NQF represented a major victory for those in the new state who argued that the sociology of South Africa was determined by class. The critical and specific outcomes, together, represented major shifts in what was to be learned in schools, emphasizing competencies rather than particular knowledge. The specific outcomes delineated learning areas more broadly than in traditional 'subjects', building links from subject knowledge to social, economic and personal dimensions of learning and the multicultural character of South African society. In this last respect, the framework was also a recognition of the country's multi-cultural history, but, it needs to be understood, weakly so (see Department of Education 2009).

Initially based on an outcomes-based approach, the curriculum sought to place emphasis on learner-centeredness in contrast to the apartheid government's rote-learning approach, which, it argued, was primarily aimed at building hierarchies – those of race and class – and sorting children. It committed the new education system to the values of democracy, non-racialism and non-sexism. Its point of departure was and remains a human rights one and the broad methodology for mediating this is that of infusion. Significant in this approach is the understanding that the ideal of human rights should be embedded in all learning areas.

The overarching Preamble for the NCS makes a commitment to the development of a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights. Reference is also made in this introduction to human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice and the need for sensitivity to issues of diversity such as poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors. While it asserts the primacy of diversity, it does, however, specify the minimum standards of attainment that all learners should achieve and explains that these standards will be addressed through the design and development of appropriate Learning Programmes and through the use of appropriate assessment instruments. Speaking to the kinds of issues, which a multicultural program should be alert to:

- It acknowledges the importance of indigenous knowledge systems and seeks to have these infused into the different learning areas.
- In key subjects such as History it talks about truth consisting of a multiplicity of voices.
- It reflects also, significantly, the influence of debates in the social sciences about the nature of evidence and the move away from positivism and empiricism.
- It talks about identity as being a social construct and how subjects such as the languages and History ought to be vehicles for accessing formerly-subjugated voices. The purpose of the Home Language NCS, for example, is described as a

tool for thought and communication and that through it the country's cultural diversity and social relations can be expressed and constructed.

The approach of the NCS to issues of culture is important to recognize. It is not dissimilar to a critical multicultural education position. Multiplicity is recognized, but it is located within a discourse of power. Regular references are made to differences of race, class, language, gender and sexuality. It demonstrates an awareness of how inclusion and exclusion could issue out of the curriculum with respect to important forms of difference. The curriculum is, in these terms, a much more elaborate statement of what the values of the new state are than any other official document published by the state.

9 Conclusion: Towards an Inclusive Practice of Multiculturalism

The South African case in the making of a multicultural policy is an important one for scholars of social difference and education to take note of. The decision that the state ultimately takes in the South African context is to develop a policy which is framed around social cohesion and a human rights agenda. What this approach does is to frame the problematique of social difference for education around the social debates that are taking place in the country. Its strength is that it locates the issues directly within the context out of which they come.

The problem of this approach is that progressive as it is, it is not sufficiently capacious or, and this is said cautiously, directive (thinking of the dangers of a prescriptive policy order), to guide South Africans through the thickets of personal choice, group rights and the whole question of what the public good is. Because the country's human rights policy is constructed as a space of compromise with its egalitarian and communitarian ideals deliberately brought into a relationship with each other, with the former clearly aware, moreover, of the large themes of race and class, it is unable to withstand or hold at bay the active political dynamics on the ground which continue to ferment around group and individual interests. Inclusive as the framing statements of the curriculum are, the sectional class, race and the other forms that these interests take, continue to pull the policy in directions which are not inclusive. One sees, therefore, how much the governance and regulatory structures of the system and the absence of guidelines and support for schools in implementing the policy allow groups within the system to undermine the inclusive possibilities and opportunities that the policy authorizes. Many studies have shown, for example, how schools have formally become open in terms of the policy but in practice remain sites of racial and cultural exclusion (see Sayed and Soudien 2003; Sekete et al. 2001; McKinney 2004; Dolby 2001). The clearest examples of these arise in language use in former 'white' schools where both structured language exclusion is taking place and the assimilation of previously marginalized groups into the dominant ethos of either English or Afrikaans-speaking white groups.

Instead of schools practicing the inclusive policies specified in the SASA, the Norms and Standards and in the curricula, educators in many schools are resisting the introduction of indigenous languages such as isiXhosa and isiZulu. In one study (see Sayed et al. 2007), the fact that most of the learners were non-English language mother-tongue speakers made very little difference in each of the schools. Few of the schools made any efforts to use the learners' first languages in a formative and affirming way. English was dominant everywhere. Signage was invariably in English, and sometimes in Afrikaans. Classrooms contained charts written in English (and a small number in Afrikaans). As a consequence of this, English has become the dominant language in many schools. A learner's competence is invariably judged on his or her ability to write and read and speak English 'well'.

The work of McKinney (2007a, b, 2008, and 2010) show the immense creativity of students in this kind of environment. But confusion of identity is ubiquitous. Flowing from this, or partly as a result of it, a large number of 'African' learners struggle in schools. Few excel and pass rates are low amongst them. This has resulted in the structural exclusion of learners in the school and the representation of achievement as a 'white', 'Indian' and 'colored' characteristic. African students, with obvious exceptions, and with clear outlying former African schools to the contrary, are not achieving academically or achieving the full realization of their potential as the policy generally aims. A key way in which the issues of 'race', inequality and participation are being negotiated in the schools is through the question of 'standards'. 'Standards' provide schools with a way to re-articulate privileges of 'race' and class and displace and defer considerations of racial equity.

What does this complexity mean for education and specifically for an education practice which is motivated by a sense of individual possibility, for social inclusion, fairness and, ultimately, justice? It essentially means that South Africa has come a long way in developing a policy platform that is sophisticated and that begins to key into the intensely important debates that its own 'native intellectuals' have generated, but that even this achievement is not sufficient for *actually* taking the country into a new and better space. It is this challenge, that of developing a policy platform that is not only rhetorically 'smart' but is insightful enough to cope with and manage the dynamic play of politics on the ground, that awaits development in the country. Such a policy will not only recognize and respond to the politics such as they are but also contribute to remaking them.

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Multicultural Education Perspective in Turkey: Possibilities and Dilemmas

Seçkin Özsoy and Sabiha Bilgi

Abstract The objective of this chapter is to critically analyze different multicultural education approaches in terms of their emancipating potentials. For this aim, the chapter directs its attention at the studies of multicultural education that proliferated especially in recent years in Turkey. The basic question that guides this study can be formulated as follows: Does the conceptualization of "multicultural education" in Turkey refer to an educational imagination that gives back to the cultural groups who were, because of their cultural differences, excluded from the educational field and subjected to inequalities and discrimination, the power to determine their own destinies and renders them the subjects of their own salvation? Or, does it function as the strategy of the state for governing cultural variety? The chapter, first, looks at the historical background that shapes and conditions the perspective of multicultural education in Turkey. Second, the chapter presents an outline of the multicultural education debates in Turkey and analyzes the political epistemology, on which the debates are based. The chapter highlights that in the academic discourse on multicultural education in Turkey, an abstract and vogue conceptualization of "culture" goes hand in hand with a formalist and ambiguous understanding of pluralism. In the academic discourse, a particular understanding of multiculturalism that is not pluralist, a "plural mono-culturalism" is dominant. The studies that focus on the power structures and relations that produce the cultural hierarchy are almost non-existent. The chapter argues that for Turkey the liberating potential of multicultural education can be revealed only if it is advocated within the context of radical democracy and political emancipation and autonomization.

Keywords Multicultural education • Power • Pluralism • Discourse • Politics • Epistemology • Cultural diversity • Turkey

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_8

1 Introduction

'Multicultural education' has recently become an important topic for academic debates in Turkey, evidenced by a dramatic increase in the number of publications on the issue. However, it is difficult to suggest that, in these debates, the theoretical, philosophical, and pedagogical principles, concepts, and assumptions that form the basis for 'multicultural education' are scrutinized sufficiently. Almost no emphasis is placed on the political implications and consequences of these principles and concepts. Although 'multicultural education' has been a topic of discussion for some years now, it appears to be a term that is not subjected to an in-depth analysis and becomes increasingly fetishized. Just like any other fetishized term, the formal existence and symbolic meaning of 'multicultural education' overshades its conceptual content in Turkey. It is considered as a meaningful act in itself to use the term multicultural education, and the proclamation of educational practices as being done in the name of multiculturalism comes to be accepted as the necessary and sufficient condition for their values. It is also not uncommon to see the term 'multicultural education' used as an ideological means for the legitimization of the educational understandings and practices of which the validity and democratic properties are self-proclaimed. Different educational understandings and practices that are founded on completely opposite principles and assumptions, somehow, come to be associated with the concepts such as 'pluralistic democracy', 'cultural variety', and 'pluralism', which are well accepted and widely blessed.

Multicultural education is generally suggested as a solution to the problem of inegalitarian, discriminative, exclusive, mono-culturist, racist, and chauvinistic education. However, it should be kept in mind that multiculturalism and multicultural education are not good in themselves, and in case they are not conceptualized well, they might become part of the problem, even the very problem itself, which they are up against. For example, according to Zizek (1997), multiculturalism is 'a disavowed, inverted, self-referential form of racism, "a distant racism"… the multiculturalist respect for the Other's specificity is the very form of asserting one's own superiority'. Balibar and Wallerstein (2000) defines the new racism as a 'racism without race' and claims that this new racism is based not on the postulation of the biological superiority of certain people in relation to others but on the theme of cultural differences. The new racism, in a similar way to the old-fashioned racism, perceives culture as an inescapable destiny. Jacoby (2009) claims that multiculturalism is 'not the opposite of assimilation but its product.' According to Okin (2008), multiculturalism and feminism are 'in tension' and sometimes even contradictory because multiculturalism fails to notice gendered cultural traditions. In addition, as it is the case in multiculturalism, there is no consensus on the definition, coverage, and content of multicultural education. Since there is not one-single multiculturalism but there are multiculturalisms instead (Savidan 2009), the imaginations of education in these different multiculturalisms also differ significantly. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, for instance, mentions the existence of 47 different discourses of multiculturalism (Parsanoglou 2006). There also exists a rich variety in the discourse of

multicultural education. According to Raveaud (2008), there are 50 different conceptualizations of multicultural education. He categorizes the most significant multicultural education understandings under four different subtitles, which are conservative, liberal, pluralist, and critical (radical) understandings of multicultural education.

In the debates in Turkey, however, 'multicultural education' is considered as almost a transparent concept that carries its own meaning in itself. Since multicultural education is regarded as a distant and given object with describable characteristics, the questions of 'What' and 'Why' are skipped, and the attention is focused on the question of 'How'. The debates are mostly on how important and how necessary 'multicultural education' is for Turkey, how it can be performed better[1], and what qualifications educators and school administrators should have[2]. Although there is, as mentioned, no consensus on the definitions of multiculturalism and multicultural education, the number of studies that concern themselves with determining if the education system of Turkey (from the preschool level to higher education) could be described as multicultural[3] and measuring the educational components' (students, teachers, faculty members, administrators, parents, specialists, etc.) opinions on, perceptions about, and attitudes towards, multiculturalism and multicultural education is gradually increasing[4].

In the multicultural education debates, the fact that Turkey is a multicultural society is accepted widely, and without hesitation; however, the issue of what this actually means is not questioned sufficiently. First, by defining, or depicting, a society as 'multicultural', we do not say anything new, or anything specific, or anything meaningful, about that society. 'Multiculturalism' is neither a characteristic of a society nor a distinctive element for a society. Human societies have always been multicultural and have shown variety. Second, while the term 'multiculturalism' expresses the heterogeneity as a phenomenon, it expresses also, and at the same time, a normative reaction towards such a phenomenon (Parekh 2002, p. 7). As Doytcheva (2009, pp. 24–25) defines, multiculturalism is 'the historical set of political program, intellectual debates, and practical experiences, which draws on, and expresses, the idea that modern democracies have to recognize different cultures by reshaping their institutions and giving the opportunity to individuals to improve and transmit their differences'. Doytcheva also argues that multiculturalism is 'a modern innovation that is specific to democratic societies in which the problem of cultural differences has been transformed into a social justice issue'.

[1] See, for example, Altaş (2003), Çiftçi and Aydın (2014), Günay et al. (2014).

[2] See, for example, Başbay and Bektaş (2009), Başbay et al. (2013), Çelik (2011), Polat (2009), Polat and Kılıç (2013).

[3] See, for instance, Aydın (2013), Cırık (2008), Tonbuloğlu et al. (2014).

[4] See, for example, Başarır (2012), Başbay and Kağnıcı (2011), Damgacı (2013), Damgacı and Aydın (2013a, b), Demir (2012), Demircioğlu and Özdemir (2014), Günay et al. (2015), Polat (2012), Söylemez and Kaya (2014), Ünlü and Örten (2013), Yazıcı et al. (2009), Yavuz and Anıl (2010).

In the first definition, 'multiculturalism' is used to describe a condition – that is the presence of various cultural groups in societies. In the second definition, the concept of multiculturalism is normative. It refers to the set of political changes proposed as necessary in order to meet the challenge of various cultural groups coexisting in the society. On the other hand, since the ideas on what change is necessary are various, it is better to talk of not one single multiculturalism but different multiculturalisms, which are sometimes in conflict with each other. As Kymlicka (1998, p. 37) points out, the term 'multicultural is used to cover different forms of cultural pluralism, each of which raises its own challenges'. What is the form of cultural pluralism in Turkey? What are its educational consequences? What educational challenges are created by Turkey's cultural diversity? How pluralist is the dominant discourse of multicultural education in Turkey? What historical background is it based on? These questions constitute the central focus of this study.

The aim of this study is to critically analyze different multicultural education approaches in terms of their emancipating potentials. For this aim, we direct our attention at the studies of multicultural education that proliferated especially in recent years in Turkey. The basic question that guides this study can be formulated as follows: Does the conceptualization of 'multicultural education' in Turkey refer to an educational imagination that gives back to the cultural groups who were, because of their cultural differences, excluded from the educational field and subjected to inequalities and discrimination, the power to determine their own destinies and renders them the subjects of their own salvation? Or, does it function as the strategy of the state for governing cultural variety? For this aim, in the following section of the chapter, we look at the historical background that shapes and conditions the perspective of multicultural education in Turkey. In this section, the story of Turkish modernization is subjected to an analysis from the perspective of multicultural education. Then, we present an outline of the multicultural education debates in Turkey and analyze the political epistemology, on which these debates are based.

2 "Turkish Modernization": A Selective Reading in the Context of Multicultural Education

The definitions and debates related to the problematic of multiculturalism and multicultural education have been influenced by the specific political and social histories of societies (Grant and Lei 2001). Therefore, "in order to get an understanding of what the concepts of multiculturalism and multicultural education", which are relatively new problematics for Turkey, "mean, they should be situated within a social and historical frame that sets the conditions for their developments" (Doytcheva 2009, p. 15). We believe that unless we examine the imaginations of 'individual' and 'society' in the Turkish modernization project and investigate the meaning, function, and value attributed to education in this project, it is not possible to analyze and interpret the recent debates on multicultural education in Turkey.

Modernization of societies has not followed a single route. Rather, the modernization of societies, while sharing some common grounds, has followed unique paths

in accordance to their traditions and social, political, and economic priorities (Eisenstadt 2000; Göle 2002; Türköne 2003). 'Turkish Modernization' is a long adventure since the Ottoman Era and deserves to be called this way. Modernization represents the radical breaking up of, or at least the attitude of taking a stand vis-à-vis, the 'old' and 'traditional' social structures and relations. Modernization, as Weber (2004) defines, is the process of 'the disenchantment of the world', 'rationalization', and 'becoming worldly'. Modernism (or modernity) also represents a historical era, in which democracy was realized in the political field, a human-centered world design was realized in the cultural field, a limitless dominancy of the reason was realized in the field of science, and an industrial revolution and mass production were realized in the field of economy (Berman 1992; Giddens 1994). 'Rationalization' and 'becoming worldly', which were brought by modernization have shown the possibility for human beings to transform themselves from submissive and resigned subjects into actors who shape their own destiny.

Turkish modernization was a state-centered project. The modernization of Turkey has been realized 'by the state, for the state, and within the state' and aimed at the transformation of the society from top to bottom. The fact that the Turkish modernization was a nation-state-centered project and the continuation of the strong state tradition by the 1982 Constitution, which is still in place, set certain boundaries to the imaginations of multiculturalism and multicultural education in Turkey. The hegemonic position of the state over the society poses an ontological and epistemological obstacle to the efforts to overcome the monist (monoculturalist) understanding of the society, which seeks 'integration', if not 'assimilation', and considers the cultural differences of citizens not as a 'wealth' but as a 'problem'.

Scholars who work on the Turkish modernization usually share the opinion that since the Turkish modernization was a state-led modernization project, it was problematic from its very beginning and involved many practices that sacrificed the emancipating dimension of modernity (Aktar 1993; Ercan 1996; İnsel 2002, 1996; Mardin 2000; Sarıbay 1982; Tarih Vakfı 1998, 1999). Although modernity is defined as a historical condition that has an emancipating potential, it has been instrumentalized as a political hegemony project in Turkey (Can 1998; Durgun 1997; Nişancı 2001). Since the establishment of modern Turkey, the state has become an active subject that shapes the social life, gives direction to the social relations, and imposes the institutional and discursive practices needed for social reproduction. Constituting itself a 'teacher (teaching) state', the state centralized, modernized, and nationalized the education system in order to arrive at a sense of national belonging, a feeling of allegiance toward the Republic and its founding principles, and participating citizens across the country.

There is no official research on the numbers of individuals belonging to various groups in Turkey. Censuses of which the last was carried out in 2011 and calculated the total population in Turkey to be 74.724.269 do not involve questions concerning ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other cultural diversity. Until 1990, censuses collected data on mother tongue in Turkey; on the other hand, after 1965, this information stopped being disclosed by the State Institute of Statistics (Özsoy et al. 1992, cited in Minority Rights Group International 2007, p. 11).

According to the large-scale survey research conducted by KONDA (2006), a private research company, on behalf of Milliyet, one of Turkey's biggest selling newspapers, 84.54 % of the population in Turkey reports Turkish as the mother tongue, followed by Kurdish (11.97 %), Arabic (1.38 %) and Zazaki (1.01 %). Other languages reported as native languages in Turkey are Armenian (0.07 %), Greek (0.06 %), Balkan Languages (0.23 %), Jewish Languages (0.01), Caucasian Languages (0.07 %), the Laz Language (0.12 %), Circassian (0.11 %), Turkic languages (0.28) and the Coptic (Romani) Language, (0.01), West European Languages (0.03), and other (0.12).

According to the same KONDA survey, 99 % of Turkish citizens are Muslims. On the other hand, the population has 'intra-Islam' diversity. The largest percentage (81.96 %) is Sunni-Hanafi followed by Sunni-Shafii (9.06 %) and Alevi-Shia (5.72 %). While most Sunni-Shafiis are from Kurdish origins (76 %), the Alevis consist from Turkish origins (43 %), Kurdish origins (42 %), Arabs (%7) and other groups. According to the KONDA research, 63.80 % agreed that 'saying "I am from Turkey" regardless of ethnic background' was a prerequisite for 'being a citizen of the Republic of Turkey', and 54.31 % agreed that being Muslim was mandatory. 45.64 % voted that 'having Turkish ethnic background' is essential for citizenship. In a similar survey research, KONDA (2011) revised the numbers and presented the distribution of the 18-plus population in Turkey by ethnicity as follows: 76.7 % Turkish, 14.7 % Kurdish and Zazaki, 1.2 % Arab, and 7.4 % other. According to the 2011 survey, Kurdish citizens have lower levels of income and educational attainment. For instance, 17.1 % of the Kurdish citizens in the report had a monthly household income of 300 Turkish Liras or less (the lowest income category in the report) compared to 4.8 % of the Turkish citizens. The average education period of the total population in Turkey is 7.7 years, whereas this figure is 6 years among Kurds. While 26 % of Kurds have never received any formal education, whereas this figure is only 6.5 % among Turks.

2.1 The Ideal Citizen of Turkish Modernization

The history of Turkish modernization is generally summarized as the transformation of the status of Turkey's people from a '*reaya*' (being under the rule of the Sultan) to a '*tebaa*' (the subjects of the Sultan) and then to the citizens of the Republic (Tarih Vakfı 1998; Zürcher 1998). The modernization, however, gave way to the development of a particular understanding of citizen in Turkey. One of the distinctive characteristics of the Turkish modernization is that instead of turning the individual into a citizen-subject, it followed a path that has constituted the state as a sovereign subject possessing an organizing and regulatory power over the society (Can 1998; Keyman and İçduygu 1998; Nişancı 2001; Öğün 1995; Kadıoğlu 2008). This path facilitated the development of the following two supplementary understandings in Turkey: The first one is the idea of organic (weak) and homogenous society dependent on the privileged position of the (strong) state. The second is the

concept of citizenship defined in terms of obligations to the state and lacking the notion of individual. As Öğün (1995, p. 119) argues, 'the citizen in Turkey has become the missionary and commissar of the official principles'. This particular conceptualization of citizenship led to the development of such categorizations of citizen as 'so-called citizen', 'acceptable citizen', and 'prospective citizen'. On the other hand, 'being a citizen', as Bauman argues (2006, p. 184) is 'not limited to being entitled to the rights and duties set forth by the state. It also means having a voice in the definition of these rights and duties. In other words, 'being a citizen' means having an effect on the activities of the state and the capacity to participate in the definition of the "law and order", which the state seeks to protect and maintain'.

In addition, multiculturalism has developed as an antithesis against the totalitarian identity project of modernity. It stands in an oppositional binary to nationalism, which is a historical component of modernity. While multiculturalism places an emphasis on cultural heterogeneity and pluralism, nationalism is identified with cultural homogeneity and exclusion. However, the founding and regulatory ideology (principle) of the national education system of Turkey is nationalism (Kaplan 2013).

2.2 Turkish Modernization as an Education Project

The Turkish modernization was an education project. The aim of the project was formulated as follows: To raise the Turkish state, 'which is, with its territory and nation, an indivisible entity', and its nation, which is a 'classless and united society sharing the same opinions and ideals in sorrow and pride', to 'the level of modern civilization and even beyond'. What it was meant by the modern civilization was 'Western civilization', and the education system was assigned to the key role in achieving this objective. In other words, the objective of the modernization project was the duty of the education system. Turkey was to be modernized via education. For this reason, the history of Turkey's modernization can be read as the history of education. The reverse is also true.

In the Turkish modernization project, education has acquired meaning and value with its instrumental aspect. Education in this project had a value as a tool that could be used in order to achieve the external objectives (modernization, development, economic growth, etc.) of power structures (the state, the society, the market, etc.) and, when necessary, despite people (Ünal 1999; Unal and Ozsoy 1999). Multicultural education, however, refers to the conceptualization of education as process of becoming subject and emancipation into which people intervene and transform based on their own social and cultural realities, individual or collective.

The reduction of education to the status of a tool in the modernization paradigm of Turkey has been an epistemological obstacle to the conceptualization of education as a basic human right. Therefore, the school of the Republic has always remained as an 'enforcement' for the society. In this school, the rights are an excep-

tion, and the obligations are the rule (Özsoy 2004a). In the project of Turkish modernization, which was a nation-state building project, individuals have faced the obligation to define their differences and relations in accordance to the ideals, interests, and priorities of the nation-state (Nişancı 2001). The fact that Turkish nation-state was imagined as culturally homogenous is an obstacle in front of the ideal of free individual and reproduces the individual's subordinate position to the state. In the Turkish modernization project, which was also an education project, individuals were considered to be rootless and homogenous beings. Because the project did not anticipate a pluralist understanding of the society, the democratization of education has not been achieved. On the other hand, being attentive to the plurality of identities (individual and collective) is the foremost condition for education to be democratic. Rather than being a space of rights and freedom, education, in the project of Turkish modernization, has been the monopoly of the state, a process to be endured for the sake of social positions and privileges, and an instrument of social control and exclusion (Özsoy 2004a).

The Turkish modernization project has adopted laicism as the basic principle of modernization. In the Turkish modernization that was also a centralization and homogenization project, laicism has been an effective strategy deployed for this purpose. The Turkish Republic has brought religion under its own control. The passing of 'the Unification of Education Law' in 1924 has been a manifestation of the centralization and homogenization efforts in education. This law has brought all educational institutions existing within the borders of the republic under the control of 'the Ministry of National Education' and aimed at inculcating new generations the same values and ideals via education (Ergun 1982).

2.3 "Republican School" Versus "Democratic School"?

The Republican point of view seeks to create 'the political-citizen' via education and by taking a 'difference-blind' approach towards cultural identities including, but not limited to, religion, language, race, and gender. (Kaya 2005). In this republican view, the school, just like the state, is neutral to the cultural variety. 'Indifference to the differences' is the foundational principle of the republican school. The primary aim of the school is instilling the values of Republic to students and bringing up universal citizens in the public sphere. The Republican view is based on the idea that individuals are born with a capacity to reason, and the Republic's duty is to educate the universal reason without being attentive to particular cultural identities. The Republican school is indifferent to the differences. On the other hand, it still sets forth different student categories. This categorization is based, not on the cultural differences of students, but on the rhetoric of their educational needs.

The idea that the republican state stands at an equal distance to all citizens in education has been shaped in Turkey by the desire of 'finding out the talented citizens' (instead of the desire of ensuring the equal right of all citizens to education). The claim of 'the possibility of an upward social mobility for everyone talented

regardless of their cultural backgrounds' has been considered as a proof of the state's being at the equal distance to each citizen. This way of thinking demonstrates, in fact, the republican educational system's achievement in designating (imagining) an abstract 'upper identity' assumed to be apart from cultural or identity-based differences.[5]

Based on the case of France, Rosanvallon (2011, pp. 107–111) describes the republican education system as a 'distillation plant' that classifies abilities in a hierarchical order. According to Rosanvallon, the aim of the republican education system is 'the democratization of the elites', rather than the democratization of the society. Rosanvallon's concept of 'republican elitism' describes the mission and vision of the Turkish education system well. However, as Üstel and Caymaz (2009) demonstrate in '*Seçkinler ve Sosyal Mesafe*' (The Elites and the Social Distance) that reveals the social distance of the elite, who graduated from the 'prestigious' schools in Turkey, from different segments of the society, this mission of the republican school has ended up with failure. In a different study, '*Eğitimde Toplumsal Ayrışma*' (Social Segregation in Education), Ünal and her colleagues (2010) show that an enormous social distance exists even between the public schools that are physically (spatially) close to each other. They reveal that public primary schools are gradually losing the quality of being a public space that reinforces social cohesion in the society.

3 A Critical Analysis on the Discourse of Multicultural Education in Turkey

The discourse of multicultural education in Turkey can be described, first, as a closed discourse that leaves no space for conflicting perspectives. As a self-referential and self-repeating discourse, the multicultural education discourse, for which the parameters have been set by the official ideology, does not seem to be pluralist. The common cliché on multiculturalism and multicultural education is as follows: Multiculturalism is 'the co-existence of various cultures side by side', and multicultural education is a particular type of education that raises awareness about cultures and cultural differences, provides the students coming from different cultures with 'equal opportunities', and aims to change and restructure the school environment for this purpose.

In the academic discourse on multicultural education in Turkey, an abstract and vogue conceptualization of 'culture' goes hand in hand with a formalist and ambiguous understanding of pluralism[6]. In the publications, a particular understanding of

[5] İsmail Beşikçi's (1990) argument that "in Turkey, Kurds have been able to become "everything," as long as they denied their own identities; but at the moment when they elaborated these differences, Kurds would not be able to be "anything," "even a janitor"" explains the "republican" and "elitist" view well.

[6] For example, Başbay (2014, p. 588) describes how he uses the concepts of multiculturalism and multicultural education in his work as follows: "The basic understanding in the framework of this

multiculturalism that is not pluralist, or in the words of Amartya Sen (2007), a 'plural mono-culturalism' is dominant. The term multiculturalism is deployed to refer to the cultural heterogeneity of the social sphere and coexistence of different cultures. However, 'pluralism' is not an issue related to the condition of the social sphere. Rather, it is an issue related to the laws and norms telling us how to live in equality despite our differences.

In the pluralist multiculturalism approach, cultures are not regarded to be entities separate from each other, struggling to exist despite others and in the need of tolerance and respect of others.[7] In the pluralist multicultural approach, each culture exists within, and in connection to, a public sphere shared with other cultures. Pluralism refers to the participation of different cultural groups in the public sphere as equals and founding partners of this sphere. A pluralist multiculturalism as a normative program inevitably gives way to questioning the democratic quality of the state and the pluralist structure of democracy. Multiculturalism discussions in the world have not only resulted in questioning the sovereignty of the nation-state and but also brought different conceptualizations of citizenship into the debate. The idea of citizenship, which had been conceptualized as an integrative/common identity since the enlightenment, has gone through a revision, and the idea of homogenous citizen has been started to be redefined in terms of different cultural belongings (Üstel 1999, p. 117–18). Multicultural education discussions continue within, and in connection to, this intellectual context.

The debates on multicultural education in Turkey, however, do not approach the issue in this manner. In these debates, the sovereignty of the nation-state is not questioned. Also, there is also no attempt at a different imagination of citizenship. These debates only add the virtue of having awareness about cultural differences to the existing conceptualization of citizenship in Turkey. The multicultural education literature in Turkey tend to mostly draw on the mainstream notion of multiculturalism[8], and the function attributed to education in this literature has been limited to making the dominant majority 'tolerant and sensitive' towards cultural minorities[9]. The studies that focus on the power structures and relations that produce the cultural hierarchy are almost non-existent.[10] Except few studies, the contemporary debates on

study is that multiculturalism and multicultural education are a pluralist mode of education that unifies all cultural values existing in Republic of Turkey around the republican values and starts from the principle of the respect for differences on a condition that it is integrative." According to Aydın (2013), "multicultural education places cultural diversity in the center of education and teaches students the importance of expressing themselves and accepting the diversity around."

[7] Başbay (2014, p. 585) writes, for example, "multicultural education involves taking in consideration different cultural characteristics of children in the design of learning environment and being respectful to these differences in the learning process."

[8] The concept of "mainstream multiculturalism" has been deployed here to refer to the approaches that are not critical and not based on a perspective that strives for the transformation of the present relations of domination.

[9] The concept of minority in this study refers to a quantitative condition.

[10] As an exception, see the report by the Education and Science Workers' Union (EĞİTİM-SEN) (2004) and Ünal (2010).

multicultural education in Turkey are based on the idea of atomized individual isolated from cultural belongings and power relations.[11] When we look at the debates on multicultural education in Turkey, we observe that the concepts such as 'cultural variety', 'difference', 'harmony and consensus', 'integration', 'social coherence', 'tolerance and respect' are widely used; however, the concepts such as 'relation', 'interaction', 'hierarchy', 'dominance', 'pluralism', and 'conflict' are not given place.

3.1 Multicultural Education: Right or Opportunity?

In Turkey, the definition of multicultural education as 'equal distribution of the educational opportunities to the individuals who are culturally different' is very common. Although the misconception of multicultural education as being only for 'the students who are culturally different' is widely prevalent in Turkey, multiculturalism 'has an inclusive structure that concerns all students' (Bank 2002, p. 24). Speaking of multicultural education not as a 'right' but as an 'opportunity', 'privilege', or 'chance' is against the logic of multiculturalism. The concepts of 'right' and 'opportunity' are the two concepts that mutually contradict and exclude one another. Opportunities, as external factors, are the promise of achieving results that are different and privileged from others. Opportunities do not stand at an equal distance to people in the societies in which social stratifications and cultural hierarchies exist. Rights, on the other hand, are the political demands intended to eliminate the distances between people.

In some discussions in Turkey, multiculturalism is mentioned as if it were a privilege given to the social groups, a concession made to the cultural minorities, or a positive discrimination issue. When we accept such a multiculturalism definition, it becomes possible to deduce that multicultural education is 'an educational privilege given to the cultural groups'. For example, Duman (2009, p. 105) writes, 'even though it sounds nice, multiculturalism might, in essence, be defined as an ideological concept which embeds giving privileges to the differences'. Looking into multiculturalism through the concept of 'privilege', which is exclusive, not through the concept of 'right', which is inclusive, is a contradiction. Rights are values, which multiply when shared. On the other hand, privileges become valuable when shared by as fewer people as possible.

[11] For example, the study of Education Reform Initiative (ERG in Turkish acronym) (2009) that aims to determine the factors affecting access to education in Turkey deals with such variables as "individual characteristics", "household characteristics", and "geographical characteristics". The study involves no variable concerning the individual's cultural belonging (ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc.) and approaches culture as an individual issue. Çoban et al. (2010) aim to look at "teacher candidates' perspectives on cultural differences" and they examine "individual differences" at six dimensions, which are "political viewpoint", "religious viewpoint", "gender roles", "sexual orientation", "disability", and "socio-economic level". It is interesting that the researchers do not make any distinction between "cultural differences" and "individual differences". They also do not consider "ethnicity" and "language background" as a difference.

When the principle of 'equality before the law', the legal interpretation of the liberal opportunity equality principle, is translated into the domain of education, it becomes 'equality before the school'. According to this formalist and empty principle, regardless of their socio-economic and cultural differences, 'all have the right to access education'. To put the principle 'negatively', because her/his socio-economic and cultural differences, 'no one can be deprived from the right to access education'. The principle of 'equality before the law' ignores the inequalities of people within the law (the asymmetry in the legislative power). Similarly, the assertion that 'all have the right to access education' is an empty promise made to an abstract subject. The principle of 'equality before the school' does not tell us anything about the content of education and the processes of political decision making concerning education. The foremost aim of multicultural education discourse is to give the principle of equal opportunity a cultural content and constitute education as a 'right' of which the subject is concrete.

If education does not comprehend human beings within the social and cultural conditions and relations that construct and shape their 'selves' and lives, and if education, therefore, alienates human beings to themselves and the cultural group, or the society, in which they live, that education is, in the words of Bourdieu and Wacquant (2003, pp. 166–174), a 'symbolic violence'. The promise of multicultural education is to change education from being a symbolic violence to being a practice on/in which the cultural authenticity and specificity of human beings have a constitutive and regulatory power. 'Accessibility' is a necessary but not sufficient condition for education to attain the status of a right. Education should be, at the same time, 'acceptable' by people whose cultural belongings are different (NU/CES 1999).

The imagination of multicultural education in Turkey is limited to the official imagination of the internal law that has placed reservations on the articles of international human rights treaties that pertain the protection of the right to education. The Republic or Turkey signed many of international covenants; however, it has placed reservations on all articles that evoke the ethno-cultural differences in Turkey on grounds for being contrary to the 'indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and nation' principle.[12]

[12] Turkey has placed a reservation on Article 27 of "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights", stating "[I]n those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language." Turkey also has not ratified "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights" until 37 years later in 2003. It put, however, reservations on the third and fourth paragraphs of Article 13 of the Covenant, which are related to the cultural dimensions of the right to education, on grounds for challenging Articles 3, 14 and 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, that reflect the monocultural structure of the 1982 Constitution. Similarly, Turkey signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990 and ratified it in 1994 by placing reservations on Articles 17, 29, and 30 of the Convention, on grounds for not being in a compliance with "the letter and the spirit of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and those of the Treaty of Lausanne 24 July 1923."

3.2 *Pedagogist Approach to Multicultural Education*

'Pedagogism'[13] is a dominant tendency in the debates on multicultural education in Turkey. 'Pedagogism', which can be defined as an approach in which education is perceived as the source of, and the solution for, every single problem in the society, comes to be a way of coping with the challenges that globalization poses for the mono-cultural ideology and its ideal of homogenous citizen. Since pedagogism approaches educational phenomena as stable and isolated realities that stay outside of the social conditions and relations, it fails to problematize educational issues in their political contexts.

In the education project of the Republic, the discourse of 'pedagogism' that attributes to teaching and teaching subjects an intrinsic value that is independent from students' socio-economic and cultural differences and their needs has been dominant (Özsoy 2004b). According to the pedagogist approach to multicultural education, everything that we feel lacking in our lives (human rights, citizenship consciousness, democracy, peace, sensitivity, empathy, love, etc.) could be taught via education and even could be integrated into the curricula as a separate course.[14] This approach charges education with the goals and functions that it cannot achieve alone and ignores the fact that there are values that can be learnt by individuals

[13] Pedagogism is a particular way of reasoning in which education is seen as a panacea for all problems of societies.

[14] Bank (2002) writes that there is an important difference between adding cultural differences to the existing curriculum and changing the structure of the curriculum by taking the cultural diversity into account. According to him, the latter is a better approach. In Turkey, there is no initiative to restructure the curricula on the basis of cultural diversity. It is also not possible to claim that curriculum development processes in Turkey are guided by the aim of incorporating the cultural variety into the curricula. However, some scholarly works in Turkey have focused on "the explicit and hidden reflections of multicultural education in the education programs". For example, Polat (cited in Tonbuloğlu et al. 2014, p. 68) writes, "in the education programs that started to be enacted in the 2005–2006 academic year, we can see the reflections of multicultural education, sometimes explicit and sometimes hidden", "the life science course curriculum is the curriculum that places the most weight on multicultural education", and "the curriculum of this course has many objectives that can lead to the realization of multicultural education". In a similar way, Cırık (2008) tries to relate the course objectives in the course curricula to multicultural education. According to Cırık's analysis (2008, p. 36), "in the social studies course, out of the 292 objectives, 27 (8.9 %) can be related to multicultural education". Among these 26 objectives are, for example, "to research on changes in the eating, clothing, and play styles of children in different parts of the world" and "to show respect to the sensitivities of others and articulate his/her own needs, demands, and views in a manner that is respectful to the sensitivities of others". According to Cırık, "in the course of Social Studies, out of 93 objectives, 16 (17.2 %) are related to multicultural education". Among these objectives are "to listen to others' feelings and thoughts with respect" and "to explain the importance of cultural elements in the collective life of individuals". "In the course of Turkish Language, out of 1008 objectives, 24 (2.3 %) can be connected to multicultural education". Among these 24 objectives are "to make sense of and interpret the social events happening in her/his environment" and "to speak in accordance to the rules of good manners and values". And finally, according to Cırık, "the course of Science and Technology, which has total 374 objectives, and the course of Mathematics, which has total 421 objectives, have no objective that is elated to multicultural education". See, also, Başbay (2014) for an "investigation of multicultural education courses".

without being educated. Most importantly, this approach does not pay attention to the fact that the very essence of these values refuses to be taught at school as subjects. Even if we structure our education system in accordance to the principles of multicultural education, the democratic pluralist values are not internalized by individuals and became truly realized unless they are experienced in every aspect of the social life. In this pegagogist approach that reduces multiculturalism to a course unit to be added to the curriculum, the concepts of education and multiculturalism are seen not to be mutually embedding each other but to be exclusive of each other. According to this approach, education is a process of behavior engineering through which humanitarian values are taught to individuals.

One of the basic pedagogist illusions underlying the understanding of 'multicultural education' in Turkey is the linear relationship established between education and the future of the individual and society. According to this perspective, if we bring up as many as democratic students, via education, who have internalized the pluralist values, we can reach the ideal of 'democratic society'. The pedagogist thought is based on the problematic idea that education is to prepare students by equipping them with certain qualifications (citizenship consciousness, love, cultural sensitivity, etc.) that enable them to meet the requirements of the future's multicultural society in advance. On the other hand, claiming that learning of multicultural(ism) that happens in the artificial and abstract environment of the school prepares students for the democratic life is contrary to 'the laws of experience' of Dewey (1966).

Democracy is, first of all, the problem of how we live together despite our differences (gender, religion, language, ethnicity, etc.) (Touraine 2002). Its first condition is that no one is granted with any authority for undertaking social engineering or behavior modification projects. Accordingly, the conceptualization of education as a process of social engineering, or behavior modification, does not comply with the idea of multiculturalism. Trying to convert students into 'universal citizens' by teaching them multiculturalism, instead of considering students as citizens having cultural rights, does not lead to democracy at school or in the life outside the school. The precondition of democracy is an active democratic life with a wide participation (Touraine 1997).

3.3 Positivist Approach to Multicultural Education

Positivism that is the philosophical basis of the republican modernization discourse constitutes also the ideological basis of its education project. The tendency to reduce multiculturalism in Turkey to the issue of multicultural education that is conceptualized as a problem of teaching and learning can be explained by the dominance of the empiricist and positivist research tradition in the Turkish educational scholarship. The positivist philosophy, which separates the subject from its object, forces us to make a preference between the 'objective' knowledge claimed to be independent from cultural values and the set of arbitrary and subjective values. According to the

positivist philosophy, teachers who have multicultural teaching qualifications can transmit to the future citizens who are called 'students' the objective knowledge of democracy produced by 'unbiased' scientists.

The ideas such as cultural difference, multiculturalism, or cultural pluralism are of vital importance to an understanding of education that considers the individual not as means but as a purpose and aims to empower his/her capacity of becoming subject and autonomous. Cultural difference is more than being an element that could be included, if desired, into the educational analysis as one of the variables. Rather, it is a mind-founding element. The aim of multicultural education is to end the representation of educational actors, especially students, as being an entity that has no concrete referent in everyday life. In the studies that are conducted within the positivist tradition, the educational actors are represented as statistical units isolated from their cultural belongings and values. Statisticians, who reduce people into quantitative units, bring up the social and historical reality of people according to external criteria that are alien to their cultural specificities. In this respect, statistics, in fact, does not show us the reality of people involved in the study. Rather, statistics gives us information about the researcher and his/her relationship with his/her research object.[15] For example, a positivist researcher who is conducting a study on students looks for the answer for the following basic question: How are the students distributed according to such and such criteria? These kinds of studies provide information on the combination of the student community. In this approach, the student community is reduced to an ordinary social cluster. In this approach, the student community is a crowd of individuals who have come together around one or a few common features but have no common identity or a sense of collective identity. The researcher talks about, and in the name of, the 'student' as if it is a real collective and homogenous subject. Although the definitions and comments about the students are statistical fictions made with ideological concerns, they are presented as if they are the objective reality of the students. The student community in the analyses conducted within a positivist framework is divided into categories that the researcher decides (gender, age, socio-economical level, etc.). The connection of these categories, which are social constructs, to the power relations is ignored. Multicultural education, in fact, can be seen a corrective to the constitution of the student as a statistical fiction.

One of the most important factors that make it difficult for the educational actors to be analyzed as bearers of an identity is the problem of the articulation of different identity elements. The identity of a student cannot be reduced to one single element (like social class or gender). Also, the identity of a student is not simply the sum of different elements. A student can be simultaneously a woman, the child of a working-class parent, a disabled, etc. However, when the different elements that constitute an identity are combined in a 'third term', it is more than the sum of the elements combined. As Rutherford (1996) states, for example, 'our class subjectivities do not simply coexist alongside our gender. Rather, our class is gendered, and our gender is classed'. When the state of being a student is also included

[15] For a multicultural social science practice, see Fay (2001).

in the issue, the situation becomes even more complicated. The positivist approach does not allow us to analyze this multiplicity and complexity of identities. For instance, the student's gender and class are not handled together in the positivist approach. The student is depicted as a multi-layered wedding cake. The student's gender is taken into consideration in one layer, his/her being disabled in another layer, and his/her class is the other layer. An anti-positivist analysis, which is based on the cultural difference principle, does not seek to pull together the students of different identities into a totality that considers them to be homogeneous. On the contrary, the anti-positivist approach is a critique of essentialism and monoculturalism. The anti-positivist approach accepts that identities are mutually connected with, and dependent on, each other. This approach also acknowledges that identities are incomparable with each other and have the political right to being autonomous. Instead of reducing students to statistical units that could replace each other, the anti-positivist researcher approaches the students with (not on) whom she/he studies as irreplaceable and non-replaceable subjects and respects their specificities. On the other hand, the imagination of education not as a social and cultural process that is shaped in political and discursive practices and struggles but as a natural phenomenon of which the intrinsic mechanisms await to be discovered by specialists poses an epistemic barrier for grasping the multicultural reality of education.

4 The Political Epistemology of Multicultural Education

The mainstream multicultural education literature in Turkey tends to ignore the fact that education and culture are political realities, and schools are the areas of dominance and conflict. Any multicultural education discourse that does not approach education and cultural differences as political constructs cannot escape from being folkloric.

Very few studies on 'multiculturalism' and 'multicultural education' in Turkey deal with the problem of distribution of wealth and power within the society. In other words, in the field of education, the number of academic studies that seek to question the relationship between culture and cultural differences and social class is very limited. However, as Larrain (1995) argues, every circumstance in which cultural identities are visible also carries the mark of unequal economic-political relations. 'Whenever there is a contradictive and unequal encounter between cultures, by invasion, colonization, or other means, the issue of cultural identity arises' (Larrain 1995, p. 197). Therefore, if cultural identities are examined as if they were isolated from the economic-political relations in which the identities get formed, this will lead us to a culturalist mistake, and the wealth and power inequalities existing both between the cultural minority group and the dominant group and also within the cultural minority remain ignored.

Multiculturalism can be defined as a radical critique developed against the claims of universal and unbiased knowledge. Multiculturalism reveals the political in what it is represented to be universal and neutral (Yeğenoğlu 1998, p. 289). Multiculturalism

and multicultural education refer to an engagement to build up new epistemological frameworks that include the knowledge of the groups who were othered. On the other hand, the discussions of multicultural education in Turkey do not pay attention at this epistemological aspect of multiculturalism.

4.1 Relational Reality of Multicultural Education

Considering of education as political is analyzing education not as a 'relative' but as a 'relational' reality. Relativists claim that concepts should be understood 'as relative to a specific conceptual scheme, theoretical framework, paradigm, form of life, society, or culture' and argue 'there is a non-reducible plurality of such conceptual schemes' (Bernstein 2009, p. 12). Relativism assumes that all knowledge claims produced by different individuals and societies, no matter what their qualities and effects are, are of equal importance and value. For example, relativism attaches a particular importance to knowledge claims based on the viewpoints of women and minorities; however, it ignores the connection between the production conditions of that knowledge and power relations. Relationality, on the other hand, focuses on the assumptions and interests that cast a light on the production of knowledge (McLaren 2011, p. 309–310). The desire for monoculturalism and cultural homogeneity is not only about the dominance of certain cultures over others. It also involves the dominance of certain modes of knowing.[16] In the relational approach to education, the attention is directed at the production of educational knowledge mediated by the relations of exploitation and dominance. In the mainstream understanding of multiculturalism, on the other hand, the meaning of culture is sought in 'difference', not in 'relation'.

Socio-cultural belonging (ethnic, religious, gender, race, etc.) refers to the positioning of the self in relation to others. Cultural differences are not natural or biological differences but historical and social constructions. In multicultural education debates, cultural differences generally seem to be taken as a natural condition of existence. However, cultural differences are not, for example, about being black, being woman, or coming from a different ethnic background. Rather, cultural difference is the fact that being black, being woman, and coming from different ethnic backgrounds come to be constituted as the bases for being subjected to suppression, inequality, discrimination, and segregation. Similarly, the 'positive' or 'superior' characteristics of an identity are political constructions formed historically in power relations. Cultural differences are not innate characteristics. Cultural differences are socially produced superiorities and weaknesses (Gould 1999). Cultural differences, which are considered to be innate to the cultural groups that are dominated, have been invented historically to justify the inequality and discrimination in the society. Representing some cultural properties of human beings as an inevitable way of exiting and an inescapable destiny is racism.

[16] See Foucault (2002, 2003) for the nexus of "knowledge/power".

Multicultural education scholarship generally ignores the polysemic character of the concept of culture and draws on an aestheticized understanding of culture sterilized from its social and political embedding. Cultural diversity is approached as a natural and given characteristic. Cultural difference is considered as a 'national wealth or value' after it is abstracted from its social and political context and reduced to the difference observed in clothing, music, and cuisine. Beneath such a folklorized conceptualization of culture is an asymmetrical power relation established between different cultural belongings and the dominant identity that holds the power to define itself universal and call others different.

Multicultural education practice that seeks to teach about different cultures and groups and increase 'respect and tolerance' towards differences, of course, is not bad in itself. The problem arises when the culturally different ('the other') is reduced to an object to be known, and learned, about. Such a multicultural education approach leaves no space for the other to become a subject. This approach reproduces the asymmetrical power relationship between the hegemonic subject who makes knowledge claims and the other who comes to be the object of knowledge.[17] Incorporating racial and ethnic differences into educational structures and processes (for example, into the curriculum and text books), when compared to the sexist and racist exclusions in education, is an important step.[18] However, this 'tolerant' and 'respectful' approach towards 'the other' might make the position of the hegemonic subject even stronger. Unless the structures and dynamics that (re)produce the hierarchy between different cultural identities are addressed and problematized, the initiatives that are intended to increase the representation of the different and to be inclusive might create more problems than they solve.

The critique of universalism or monoculturalism should not lead us into relativism and particularism. Privileging the particular is not (and cannot be) a critique of monoculturalism. Universalism and particularism are not contradictory discourses; on the contrary, they are discourses that are complementary to each other. Since both discourses are based on an essentialist notion of identity, the criticism of the first requires the criticism of the latter (Yeğenoğlu 1998). Also, although it is true that people of different cultural belongings face many educational and other social

[17] How the issue of education in mother tongue is approached in Turkey is important in terms of providing an insight into how multicultural education discussions are confined within the narrow limits allowed by the state's official ideology. Education in mother tongue attracts little attention in the studies of multicultural education in Turkey. In the studies that give place to the issue of education in mother tongue, the recent polices that designate Kurdish language as an elective course to be offered in public schools, allow education in Kurdish language in private schools, and consequently privatize the right to education in mother tongue are discussed to be an important step taken by the state towards multicultural education in Turkey.

[18] However, it is possible to come across essentialist discourses in the multicultural education studies in Turkey. For example, Tonbuloğlu et al. (2014, p. 67) write, "multiculturalism exists in the genes of Turkish culture" and call for examining "the multicultural structure of the Ottoman Empire in order to evaluate the Turkish Educational System accurately in the context of multiculturalism". Similarly, Arslan (2009, p. 2) claims "Turks has a long history in multicultural structure" and presents a set of the imperial state polices as evidences of multiculturalism from the Ottoman era.

injustices, we cannot constitute the issue of cultural differences as the cause of, or the solution for, every single problem in education. It is a culturalist mistake to make the discourse of cultural differences a substitute when referring to the social and political inequalities in education.

Multicultural education debates, if they do not completely ignore the oppressed and exploited, tend to have a problematization framework that looks awry at them. In the Turkish literature, the suppressed and exploited is often represented to be subjects who are passive and open to any kinds of manipulation. Or, they come to be associated with 'untouched and essential purity' and autonomy. Depicting the exploited and oppressed groups to be educationally and culturally deprived is an epistemological mistake leading to the justification and reproduction of the existing hierarchy between cultures. On the other hand, it is also a problematic approach to ascribe an absolute agency and autonomy to the dominated, sanctify every kind of cultural difference, and describe every cultural practice of the subaltern to be emancipatory.

5 Conclusion

The dilemma of multicultural education is that it reproduces the asymmetrical power relationship between the hegemonic subject (the majority) and the other (the minority) by reducing the culturally different ('the other') to an object to be learned about. The multicultural education discussions in Turkey do not offer hope towards overcoming the dilemma of multicultural education. These discussions point out the urgent need for 'a new political language that can recognize [cultural] heterogeneity and difference, but does not thereby capitulate to an essentialism that defines each of us by one aspect only' (Phillips 1995, p. 214).

Multicultural education policy making is not simply making the existing education policy more representative of the cultural diversity. The issue of multicultural education is not limited to the problem of whether the curriculum and school textbooks reflect the cultural diversity or not. The multicultural education issue is, at the same time, the issue of whether different cultures have the right to equal voice and authority in the definition of knowledge that is worth teaching and of how to teach that knowledge or not. In other words, multicultural education is a matter of politics of knowledge that orders how, and by whom, knowledge is constructed and how individuals relate to knowledge and knowledge structures (school, university, etc.).

By empowering the citizens' political judgment and action capacities, the multicultural education policy not only challenges the mechanics of representative democracy in education but also makes the premises of representative democracy debatable. The multicultural education policies anticipate that the citizens belonging to different cultural groups use their power in education not through their representatives but by themselves. In this sense, multicultural education can be seen as an initiative intended towards making the principles and values of radical democracy the guiding principles and values of education.

One of the main objectives of the multicultural perspective to education is redefining the aims of education and democracy without ignoring the different cultural belongings of people. It involves reconsidering the foundations of educational theory and practice in the light of the politics of identity/difference and recognition. In the multicultural perspective to education, democracy is not an abstract ideal that we strive for but newer reach. Rather, it is 'a way of living together' that is continuously reshaped in accordance to the voluntarily efforts of the concrete and active subjects.

For Turkey, the liberating potential of multicultural education can be revealed only if it is advocated within the context of radical democracy and political emancipation and autonomization. In order for different cultures to achieve their political liberalization and autonomization aims, they should take into account the socio-economic and political structures and powers that force them to assimilation, integration, and homogenization, instead of focusing on the differences that differentiate themselves from other cultures. Only in such an understanding of multiculturalism, could education be a liberalization practice in which the existential pluralism of the human being is accepted as the founding and ordering principle.

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From Deficit to Expansive Learning: Policies, Outcomes, and Possibilities for Multicultural Education and Systemic Transformation in the United States

Aydin Bal

Abstract This chapter outlines the cultural-historical context that informs the depth and breadth of the construction of difference based on race, class, language, and ability in relation to multicultural education in the United States today. The chapter first highlights the history of multicultural movement from the early twentieth century to the present. The author examines demographic changes that underscore a need for national policies to address diversity and new populations including policies that account for immigrants who constitute an increasingly diverse and skilled global citizenry. Then, the chapter reviews the ways in which education scholars have conceptualized culture and multiculturalism in United States. The author argues educators must understand the history and cultural contexts of students' lives in order to develop a multicultural classroom and curriculum. Lastly, the chapter presents two successful education programs for youth from historically marginalized culturally and linguistically diverse background: The Migrant Student Leadership Institute and Learning Lab, author recommends educators pursue multicultural curricula and programming as a means to foster a critical dialogue about the importance of non dominant students and communities' active participation in a democratic and inclusive society.

Keywords Multiculturalism • Policy • Racial disproportionality • Sociocultural theory expansive learning • The migrant student leadership institute • Learning lab

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_9

1 The History of Multicultural Education in the United States

With roots in the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, multicultural education in the United States has moved through three phases: An early focus on ethnic studies; a mid-twentieth century focus on intercultural education; and a more recent turn toward multiethnic studies that includes the study of global migration (Banks 2004; Gollnick and Chinn 2009; Nieto 2009). At the turn of the twentieth century, African American leaders in education—notably W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter Woodson—campaigned for educational equality. These and other scholars, including George Sanchez (1940) writing about Mexican Americans' de facto segregation, demanded universal literacy and school integration (Nieto 2009). Their efforts informed the later Civil Rights Movement, which in turn informed the landmark 1954 desegregation ruling by the US Supreme Court, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. The question of the case was the following: Does the racial segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprive the minority children of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment? The following opinion of the court was delivered:

> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.
>
> Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws... (Brown v. Board 1954)

Along with the growth of ethnic studies came an appreciation for teaching tolerance and promoting cross-cultural dialogue. The interwar and post-World War II years in the United States thus saw the growth of a second phase, intercultural education that followed from ethnic studies. This phase stressed the need for cross-cultural communication and the promotion of mutual respect. According to Gollnick and Chinn (2009), the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish community provided leadership at this time.

Like ethnic studies, intercultural education was imbued with a deep sense of social justice. It intersected with 1960s and 1970s movements that focused on bilingual education, gender equity, and the rights of persons with disabilities. For example, there were several key court cases in 1970s for people with disabilities. *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children* (*PARC*) *v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1972) was a seminal case concluded that states must guarantee a free public education to all children with mental retardation ages 6–21 and younger if school districts provide services to preschool age children without disabilities. This case laid the foundation for the establishment of the right to an education for all children with disabilities.

However—and ironically, because the intent of multicultural education was to include everyone—certain groups of students became defined as lacking cultural capital and were internally segregated, within schools, as a result of civil rights campaigns. To be sure, civil rights activists of the 1960s and 1970s led the way toward the passage of Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (now, Individuals With Disabilities Education Act [IDEA]). This law granted the right of students with disabilities to receive free, appropriate, and public education. The law prohibited publicly funded schools from excluding students with disabilities. However, researchers quickly noted the unintended consequences of this progressive law of educational inclusion. The students from non-dominant racial groups and living in poverty were over-represented in special education classes for more subjective disability categories such as behavioral disorders and excluded from mainstream classrooms (Dunn 1968; Donovan and Cross 2002; Heller et al. 1982). African American and Native American boys were, and often remain, the most affected group (US Department of Education 2014).

Multicultural studies starting in the 1990s entered a third phase—multicultural education in the context of globalization—that examined topics covering human mobility, public policy, and multi-direction immigration. Scholars began to examine the *transnational* networks of knowledge and movements through which ideas about culture and history flow. Research shifted from thinking about the intersectionality of race, language, class, disability, and other markers of identity to looking at how positions of dominance and subjection unfold historically, through differential access to and control of educational opportunities.

Emphasis was less on defining the traits of culture groups and seeking means of communicating "across cultures" than on understanding how ideas about culture and diversity are produced through different understandings of world events, differential access to resources, and participation in local and world markets. Multicultural educators' tasks thus became a matter of teaching about the *incessantly* changing terrains of global realities. Multicultural educators and researchers stressed the need for "internationalization"—for students, advocates, policy makers, and educators to become more aware of how the United States and its students fit into a world characterized by fluid and fast movements of people, goods, and information.

As with most curricular matters in the United States having to do with teacher education, the tenets of multicultural and global education became integrated with standards for new teachers. Starting in the 1990s, members of the federal government sought to identify what every student should know, particularly in areas of reading and mathematics. Although responsibility for setting education policy and identifying curriculum in the United States rests ultimately with each of the 50 states, the federal government historically has provided a degree of funding for programs pertaining to students' special needs. In 2001, the government exerted unprecedented pressure on state systems of education when the Congress passed and the President signed into law the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB 2001). For the first time in history, the United States government required all schools receiving federal aid for special programs to report students' test scores by categories of students' race, gender, English language proficiency, disability, and income level as

a precondition for schools to receive future federal aid for special programs (NCLB 2001).

The history of multicultural education, in short, marks, follows and also seeks to transform broader trends in formal schooling. First cast in terms anti-discrimination education, then in terms of education as a civil and human right, and most recently as a set of measured standards for schooling in a global age, multicultural education has both endured and changed with the times. Its symbolic and pedagogic value has covered a sufficiently large surface area so to include many groups, issues, and ideas.

2 Philosophical Underpinnings of Multicultural Education in the United States

At a deeper level, the philosophical undercurrents of multicultural education run across a wide range of social and political values. Although educators often agree about the positive value and transformative possibilities of multicultural education, the scope and content—even the very existence, at times—of multicultural education has been a subject of public, sometimes highly politicized, debate. The substance and tenor of discussion is often complicated and contradictory, though it is precisely at points of contradiction that multicultural education—like the United States democracy itself, many political philosophers would argue—is enlivened, transformed, and productively regenerated.

One set of competing principles has to do with individual versus collective sovereignty. As a nation whose founders studied European law and history, the United States legal system embeds a particular version of western European political ideology. This political ideology, in its strand, rejects authoritarian government, defends freedom of speech, association, and religion, and grants the right of parents to educate their own children. The general sentiment from one angle within this liberal-democratic philosophy is that "the individual is sovereign" over "the tyranny of the majority," as John Stuart Mill put it in *On Liberty* (1859: 11).

From another angle, democracy is understood to mean that collective reforms should be undertaken in the interest of maximizing the overall well being of the citizenry, not only the well being of individuals. The argument from this angle is that without practical measures taken by the government to make educational opportunities available to everyone, social classes reproduce themselves, the United States leadership becomes inbred, and individual talent is left behind. It depicts schools as social engines that, if properly tooled, can generate and regulate equality. In the words of Horace Mann, the Massachusetts senator most closely associated with the founding of public school: "Education, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men-the balance wheel of the social machinery" (1848: 86).

One of Mann's ideals was to build consensus while fostering diversity-an idea that remains at the core of multicultural education as it is practiced in the United States. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, the United States leaders began to project an image of the nation as a "melting pot." This ideal however has never entirely matched everyone's realities and is inept of conceptualizing a globalized world where are almost 200 million immigrants and the amount of new technical information is almost equal in the information produced in the entire history of the world in only a couple of years (Darling-Hammond 2010).

The ideals of building consensus, creating harmony, or forming unity often meant silencing certain voices and excluding nondominant cultural groups from civic participation (Bal 2012). Most students in the United States today learn that the ideal the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal"; but whether or how to make this ideal a reality for all is less commonly agreed upon. Some critics of multicultural education regard multiculturalist leanings as a threat to dominant culture and the western canon. Other critics argue that multicultural education has become too nebulous. By having widened its scope to include many forms of identity such as gender, sexual orientation or religion, these critics argue that the field has lost its original objective of addressing the needs of and inequalities experienced by members of particular groups.

The very concept of multiculturalism—at least as practiced in the United States—derives historically from the western Enlightenment and as such is hardly representative of *all* cultural possibilities (Caughey 2009). Nonetheless, this point is rarely taken up in studies of multiculturalism in the United States. Instead, what has become clear through multicultural studies education is that older divisions of capital versus labor, left versus right, urban versus rural, even military versus civilian or majority versus minority are today anachronistic (Schuck 2009).

Within the field of multicultural education, then, as it is practiced in the United States, the "individual versus collective" and the "unity through diversity" paradox are all reproduced in various versions. The political philosophies under-girding multicultural education in United States schools can instantiate a wide range of values, including liberal, communitarian, even conservative. To understand how multicultural education plays out at the nexus of these divergent elements, it is important to look at the changing racial, linguistic, and religious dimensions of schools, and at the history of United States immigration policies.

3 Changing Demographics

In the United States, educators face a high degree of demographic and cultural diversity in their schools. Approximately 48 % of all students enrolled in pre-kindergarten through 12th grade self-identify as students of color. In comparison, 84 % of teachers identify as European American (US Census Bureau 2006).

Demographic projections show that in a few years more than half the student population nationwide will self-identify as nonwhite (National Center for Educational Statistics 2015). Latino, Asian American, Native American, and African American students already make up more than half the student bodies in Arizona, California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, and Texas (Gollnick and Chin 2009).

Recent waves of immigration to the United States have posed new opportunities for defining and teaching about multicultural education. Immigrant is as an umbrella term for foreign-born youth and for first generation youth from immigrant families. In the United States, immigrant children account for 10–15 % of youth under the age of 18 (United States Census Bureau 2012). It is expected that this percentage will rise to about 30 % in the next few decades (Passel 2011). About 30 % of the foreign-born population emigrated from Mexico; about 26 % came from countries in Asia; and about 14 % and 4 % respectively came from countries in Europe and Africa.

Of course there also exists a parallel phenomenon of *undocumented* immigration. In 2005, the number of undocumented migrants in the United States rose to an estimated 12 million, and in 2007 the number of deportations reached record levels: 319,000 removals (Schuck 2009). Critics of multicultural education argue that multicultural educators help to advance illegal immigration by teaching undocumented children. Multicultural educators respond that education is a human right and that educating all children equally builds a stronger national and international future.

Changes in the population are particularly evident in language practices. Not only is the national majority changing to include more members of so-called minority groups but the percentage of children who speak a language other than English at home has increased notably in recent years. In 2012–2013 academic year, 9.2 % of public school students were identified as speaking a language other than English at home.

Religious diversity is a new form of diversity for many Americans. Historically the United States has been imagined as a Christian nation. There is no state-sponsored religion in the United States. About 43 % of the population attends a religious function weekly—much more than in most of Europe, where church-state establishment is more common. Although Protestants remain the largest religious group, they no longer constitute a numerical majority. Muslim, Buddhist, Hindi, and Sikh communities have become more visible recently. In the last two decades, American public view of Islam has become quite hostile. Saad (as cited in Gollnick and Chinn 2009) reported that 22 % of Americans at that time did not want to live next to a Muslim, 18 % indicated nervousness upon seeing a covered Muslim woman on an airline, and 40 % admitted to feelings of anti-Muslim prejudice.

A major issue for United States educators since the time of 9/11 has been to find a way to teach about religious plurality without violating either the Establishment Clause or the Free Exercise Clause. In part the growing religious diversity of students makes this project easier. Teachers fostering multiculturalism can address

religious diversity through carefully designed discussions of individual and social practices and histories. Through carefully designed discussions and other activities, educators and students can collectively examine the current socio-political situations through historical and political analyses of colonialism and global capitalism. Such critical analyses will help learners to understand religions or nations as historically evolving social systems situated in specific material conditions, prone to significant and novel changes—both progressive and regressive (Bal and Arzubiaga 2014).

Less visible than racial, linguistic, or religious diversity is diversity associated with class. The United States continues to become more segregated on the basis of occupation, educational attainment, and income, yet segregation on the basis of class is often hidden by residential patterns and families' self-selection into different kinds of schools. Seventeen percent of all children in the live below the official poverty line; and 41 % of all fourth-graders nationwide are eligible to receive free or reduced price lunches. Class has intersected with race in schools. Classrooms in high poverty schools are 77 % more likely to be assigned to an out-of-field teacher than those in low-poverty schools. Schools with majority white students are 60 % less likely to be assigned out-of-field teachers than majority non-white schools (Children's Defense Fund 2004).

Wealthier families can either pay for private schools or choose to reside in a high-performing district on the basis of their ability to afford high rent or buy a house. Education programs that provide parents a choice in deciding what kind of public-financed education their children will receive-e.g., charter schooling, home schooling, and private education supplemented by public voucher-often indirectly reproduce de facto segregation based on economic class, race, and ability. One consequence is that self-selection (or re-segregation) into different programs gives the illusion that change is not happening. Educators promoting multiculturalism must thus understand the various political projects and the social and economical spaces in which they are teaching and help students look beyond visible signs of difference.

4 Education and Immigration Policy

Immigrant youth are the fastest growing student population in the United States (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2010). Changing demographics spur changing federal and state policies, which in turn change how public view the diversity and multiculturalism. Although there is no single policy defining multicultural education, a cluster of immigration and education policies shape and direct ideas about diversity and schooling. For example, in states like Arizona and California, fueled by the national unity and homogenous national identity projects, a coordinated effort supporting anti-immigrant and bilingual education policies create a powerful hegemonic discourse that conceptualize the cultural and linguistic practices that nondominant students bring to school as academic and behavioral deficits. These polices, as a form of social control, see the role of schools and educators as "fixing" the linguistic

and cultural deficiencies of the students from nondominant communities (López and López 2010).

The history of immigration in relation to schooling can be marked by three events: 1924, when Congress established the Border Patrol; 1965 when it passed the Immigration Reform Act; and 2002 when Congress passed the Homeland Security Act. Immigration The 1924 Border Patrol was established as part of that year's Immigration Act. The Immigration Act allowed deportation of undocumented persons at any time and sought to police borders through proactive policies. The Act also established a quota system based on national origins of the number of people entering. After September 2001, the border became a flashpoint for discussions about good government and citizenship. In 2006 Congress jointly increased border personnel and built 700 miles of double fencing (Fraga 2009).

For at least 25 years after the Immigration 1965 Act passed and opened doors to many nonwhite immigrants, schools supported bilingual education. In no small part, the bilingual education movement came out of the civil rights era of the 1960s. Mexican American students wanted to learn and speak Spanish in schools-to which state and national leaders largely responded at that time favorably. Cooperation between constituents and leaders resulted in the passage of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act. In 2001, however, Congress-facing pressure from state legislators and their constituents, many of whom were stirred up by now about immigrants as the main cause of job loss, terrorist threat, and looming economic problems-passed the English Language Acquisition Act.

The English Language Act included nine provisions, all of which favor English teaching. The eighth provision is noteworthy here in that it gave the federal government the power to supervise states' compliance with the Act; it also refused to fund states whose own state education policies failed to comply with the federal legislation. Some scholars question whether international covenants pertaining to multicultural education might be used to question national policy. The United Nations' 1960 Convention Against Discrimination in Education, for instance, projects cultural and language minorities, and can be read to include the rights of immigrant children. No action at this time is being taken, however, at the level of international governance and organization.

Across the late twentieth century, United States education and immigration policies were clearly complex, highly politicized, and paradoxical. But most observers agree that by the early 2000s, United States policy was both pro-English language and pro-immigrant-as though political leaders were trying to please a wide range of constituencies. Most Americans today support immigration, but do not support violation of laws. Many value their idealized immigrant past, believe in the ideal of building unity through diversity, and believe that the United States is a pluralistic society. It would seem that the mixed history and politics of the United States would have ensured by now that the value of multiculturalism would be less vexed; yet as Sonia Nieto (2009) aptly notes, despite all the hard work of educators over the years, "The improvement of educational outcomes for students marginalized by society because of social and cultural differences, remains largely unchanged" (p. 91).

Notwithstanding ongoing issues, multicultural education remains a prominent focus of educators. Since its origins in the United States more than one hundred years ago, through its "intercultural" and "ethnic studies" phases, multicultural education has served as a rich concept through which to address and teach about social changes. Today's educators draw on interdisciplinary research and professional experiences to tackle new challenges of the twenty-first century. In doing, they bring to the table of public conversation practical issues that call for future research and discussion.

5 Practical Issues: Implications for Educational Research and Practice

The most pressing questions that emerge from the historical, philosophical, and policy analyses are: *What should educators do*? *With so many countervailing interests, practices, and ideas in play*, *how should educators move forward with a multicultural curriculum*? *And finally*, *how should researchers study to understand and utilize diversity*?

Most educators strongly support the teaching of multiculturalism as a transformative educational strategy that is similar to J. and C. Banks' (2007, p. 1) definition:

> Multiculturalism is an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, cultural groups will have an equal chance to achieve academically in school.

Likewise, most educators recognize that the students from nondominant cultural groups deal with structural and social inequities in schools. These students live in the concentrated poverty neighborhoods and attend the racially segregated dysfunctional schools that lack even minimal educational opportunities, high quality teachers, and a nurturing physical and social environment (Darling-Hammond 2010). As a result, nondominant students experience higher drop-out rates, lower academic achievement and college attendance, and negative economic and psychological life outcomes.

Youth form nondominant background are also over-represented in special education programs for subjectively identified disability categories such as emotional disturbance and learning disabilities, while they are under-represented among high achieving classes and gifted and talented programs.[1] Moreover, school discipline

[1] Disproportionality—or the unequal numbers of students from particular cultural, SES, and/or demographic groups in special education classes—has been studied for nearly five decades. Two National Research Council (NRC) reports examine this issue (Donovan and Cross 2002; Heller et al. 1982); and the 1997 and 2004 reauthorizations of the Public Law 94-142, the special education law, stress the importance of addressing disproportionality. Yet, nationally and internationally, the phenomenon continues (Artiles and Bal 2008).

has been racialized in the United States. Nationally, African American, Native American and Latino students are punished more severely for less serious reasons such as disrespect, excessive noise, or insubordination compared to their white peers (American Psychological Association [APA] Zero Tolerance Task Force 2008).

In United States schools are negative perceptions toward nondominant students' behaviors. These students' academic identities are generally constructed as trouble-makers, disruptive, resistant, and unlikely to succeed (Ferguson 2001). Negative perceptions and prejudices are also experienced by newly arrived-immigrant and refugee students (Bal and Arzubiaga 2014). To illustrate, 65 % of all immigrant/refugee students indicated that Americans have negative perceptions about immigrant students and their intellectual potentials (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001).

Multicultural curricula and classrooms might better serve nondominant students and challenge the long-lasting inequities and deep-seated prejudice (Ladson-Billings 1994). But before this happens, a sea of change needs to occur in the conceptualization of culture in education research and practice. To help educators think through and beyond the conceptualization of culture as mere inheritance of traditions, beliefs, and norms frozen in time, a robust and practical theory of culture examining the intersection and dynamic interactions of individual, institutional, and interpersonal factors is necessary (Artiles et al. 2010). In a sense, there is a need to put the "culture" back into "multicultural education."

6 Putting the Culture into Multicultural Education

The concept of culture in education studies has not always been as clearly defined and carefully examined. "Culture is very difficult for humans to think about. Like fish in water, we fail to 'see' culture because it is the medium within which we exist" (Cole 1996, p. 8). Since at least the early twentieth century in the west, two general conceptualizations of culture have arisen. Each conceptualization affords certain positions for minority students. One assumes that each ethnic or racial group can be categorized in cultural scale from low to high (Gallego et al. 2001). Within this framework, the thoughts and behaviors of each member are genetically bounded and behaviorally determined by the degrees of culture found in that society. For example, *culture of poverty* or *cultural deprivation* can explain racial disparities in social and educational outcomes (Erickson 2009). This conceptualization still dominates education and psychology literature in the United States (Bal 2011; Bal and Trainor 2015).

A second view of culture is based on sociocultural or cultural historical theory that holds that culture is instrumental and ever evolving. Informed by dialectic materialism, sociocultural theory was built on Lev Vygotsky's (1978) and his follower's experimental and ethnographic work. It provides a generative and

transformative notion of culture and cultural mediation: Individuals make and use culture to break away from constraints of their immediate environments (Vygotsky 1978).

Sociocultural theory defines culture as "a historically unique configuration of the residue of collective problem solving activities among a social group in its efforts to survive and prosper within its environment(s)" (Gallego et al. 2001, p. 955). This operationalization opens up more possibilities to develop comprehensive theories of learning and development by offering a basis for understanding and designing teaching and learning as transformation of individuals and social organizations.

From this perfective, three sets of factors come together in the making of school cultures. *Individual factors* include the cultural and linguistic competencies that students and teachers bring with them. *Institutional factors* involve the structural context that is already there such as rules, privileged behavioral practices, narrative styles etc., in schools. *Interpersonal/interactional factors* refer to the different yet overlapping social environments that emerge in schools when people work together such as the ecology of interactions (Rogoff 2003). Such a dynamic and instrumental view of culture considering both structural constraints and innovative potential of individuals can:

> [a] inform future research priorities and policy making in general and special education; [b] document how special [and general] education practice, research, and policy [are] enacted in racially and economically stratified schools and communities; and [c] lead to significantly improved educational outcomes for students from historically underserved groups (Artiles et al. 2010: 296).

How we define culture or cultural difference and the ways in which we study nondominant students and communities play a critical role in understanding the salient educational disparaties and how we address these problems through educational practice. Erickson (2009) argues, education and social scientists have studied cultural diversity in a normative and ahistorical way to moralize cultural differences and to judge some as better than others. Academia has justified and reproduced the existing social order for the benefits of dominant groups. Gutiérrez (2006) explained the cultural and political work of how researchers may perpetuate dominant models of cultural superiority and inferiority by using the concept of *white innocence*. White innocence refers to "the dominant subject position that preserves racial subordination and the differential benefits for the *innocent* who retains her own dominant position vis-à-vis the 'objects' of study" (Gutiérrez 2006, p. 4).

Writing about the cultural situatedness of research activity, Arzubiaga and colleagues (2008) proposed researchers need more comprehensive, textured, and instrumental analysis of experiences and practices of students from nondominant communities. Arzubiaga and colleagues (2008) offer a dialectic-materialist view of culture that seeks to understand how people work as active social agents to change their selves and their organizations.

7 Sociocultural Approaches to Learning

Sociocultural theorists see that people learn and develop "through their changing participation in the socio-cultural activities of their communities, which also change" (Rogoff 2003, p. 11). Culture provides a toolkit that structures and is structured by people's learning in specific social-spatial-temporal contexts where individual and social histories, goals, practices, tools, and power/privilege intermingle (Cole 1996). Sociocultural researchers examine on how people participate in the socially constructed, culturally enacted, and historically constituted contexts (Holland et al. 1998). Main intellectual lineage of sociocultural theory within the United States goes back to scholars in psychology and education, including but not limited to Michael Cole, Sylvia Scribner, James Wertsch, Frederic Erickson, Barbara Rogoff, Ray McDermott, Kris Gutiérrez, Yrjö Engeström, Louis Moll, James Gee, and Alfredo Artiles.

The main contribution of sociocultural studies to students' learning is an increased understanding among and for educators of how learning occurs in the context of everyday activity or through *informal learning*. This is especially important for nondominant students, for reasons that their competence in informal cultural and linguistic activities is often characterized by deficit (Cole 2013). As Bransford et al. (2006) aptly suggest the most crucial consideration in exploration of learning is not where learning takes place, but the *discontinuities* between informal learning and the explicitly didactic teaching/learning practices.

An example of the cultural expression or output of informal learning is in the rhetorically powerful narratives of many African-American youth. These narratives share similar characteristics with high quality literary texts (Nasir et al. 2006). However, they are not the privileged way of performance in schools. Students using these narrative styles are generally devalued and positioned negatively as incompetent or "at risk" learners (Bal 2014). Regular experiences of devaluation, negative identification, and social stereotypes influence learners' future participation, affect, and performance on academic tasks (Steele 1997).

Research on informal learning demonstrates the critical roles for multiple voices and practices. Learners are not passive receptors but active social agents in their life-long learning and development (Engeström 2011). Students' active engagement assists students'cultural communities in adapting to a constantly changing world. Studies of informal learning provide a rationale for the incorporation of multicultural perspectives into curriculum and instruction. Researchers interested in multicultural education can examine the ways in which students develop different-even contradictory-pathways of competence in academic and non-academic settings systems as well as how students' academic and behavioral performances are assessed in daily activities and through research. For example, it would be important to study how teachers build on students' existing cultural toolkits to facilitate developing new networks and different ways of practicing and expansive learning for both dominant and nondominant students.

Even though learning is situated in activity, not every activity results in *deep or transformative learning*—"a deep understanding of complex concepts, and the ability to work with them creatively to generate new ideas, new theories, new products, and new knowledge" (Sawyer 2006: 2). Deep learning activities allow nondominant students to (a) appropriate the school-based knowledge and thinking, various cultural resources and practices, collaboration, and previous experience to reason unique configurations of real-world problems; (b) actively participate in constructing their own knowledge in meaningful and valued activities; (c) reflect critically and dialogically on their own process of learning and actions; (d) experience flexible and just-in-time feedback from others within the classroom and school setting; (e) feel safe and have a sense of belonging and positive identification; and (f) be adaptive expert learners who maximize future learning opportunities and engage in innovation and expansion (Bransford et al. 2006).

To better understand how multicultural educators can facilitate deep learning environments for nondominant students and families, consider two exemplary programs that employed sociocultural approaches to learning and organizational transformation: The Migrant Student Leadership Institute and Learning Lab.

8 The Migrant Student Leadership Institute

The Migrant Student Leadership Institute (MSLI) is a 4-week-long summer residential program for migrant students. Its goal is to help migrant students develop the skills and competencies needed to enter into higher education, and to assist them in reflecting on and directing their own personal and shared experiences as nondominant students (Gutiérrez 2008). Most of the participants' parents have come from central and south America; a few have come from Vietnam and the Philippines. A majority of the students and parents work as farm laborers and live in impoverished neighborhoods.

During the regular academic year, the MSLI students attend secondary schools throughout southern California. Many have experienced academic failure and have been labeled by their teachers as having social and behavioral problems in poor dysfunctional urban school of the toxic living conditions neighborhoods. To illustrate, malnutrition among migrant farm workers' children is 10 times higher than their nonimmigrant peers. Migrant farm workers' average life expectancy is 49 years compared to the average life expectancy of 73 years in the United States (United Farm Workers 2010).

MSLI conceptualizes literacy as a tool for social transformation and political engagement with the world. "Traditional conceptions of academic literacy and instruction for students from non-dominant communities are contested and replaced with forms of literacy that privilege and are contingent upon students' sociohistorical lives" (Gutiérrez 2008, p. 148). MSLI deliberately utilize students' cultural and linguistic competencies.

If we narrow down from MSLI's overarching philosophy of inclusive education to look at the elements taught in a particular subject, we see a rich integration of cultural experiences and practices into the curriculum. One of the significant genres of the critical literacy curriculum of the institute is testimonio, written and oral autobiographical accounts. Students share- and rewrite- their testimonio across a various range of reading, writing, and performance-based activities. There are other genres and activities with multiple structures such as comprehension circles, whole-class discussions, writing conferences, teatro del oprimido, tutorials, and student presentations and performances. Those activities are designed to facilitate deep learning.

The curriculum of the institute aims to combine practice-based theories of learning and development with the past, present, and future of the local migrant communities. The instructors help immigrant students to remediate/rewrite their individual and collective pasts in order to critically examine and use their collective experiences as resources for future actions (Gutiérrez 2008). MSLI activities are chosen not only to raise awareness about inequities but also to show the possibilities to transform those circumstances. Gutiérrez stated (2008, p. 155) "There is a conscious attempt to find hope and possibility in new understandings that can serve as new tools for helping students read and write their way into the university as consciously historicized individuals."

This critically designed program has created positive outcomes for students. Several students who were otherwise at risk for academic failure successfully completed high school and were accepted into prestigious universities (Gutiérrez 2008). But more importantly, for multicultural educators whose major goal is to change the structure of schools, MSLI demonstrates the possibilities of designing effective and transformative multicultural learning environments.

8.1 Learning Lab

Culturally Responsive Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (CRPBIS) Project is a multi phase mixed method study that addresses racial disparities in school disciplinary actions (or the racialization of discipline) and aims to facilitate systemic transformation in public schools in the state of Wisconsin between 2011 and 2015. Wisconsin is an important place for this work as the state was identified as one of the worst states to live for African American and Latino youth in the United States, in terms of education and life outcomes (The Annie E. Casey Foundation 2014).

Throughout the project, the CRPBIS research team worked in close collaboration with the state's educational agency, two school districts, and community-based organizations (e.g., the Urban League, Centro Hispano, the Boys and Girls Club, and YMCA). CRPBIS uses a participatory social justice perspective that strives to nurture democratic institutions in order to value and utilize individual and group differences and foster emancipatory possibilities (Bal 2012).

The ultimate aim of the CRPBIS framework is to build schools' capacities for equity-oriented problem solving and systemic transformation (Bal 2011). It positions nondominant students, families, and communities as social agents that create change—not passive objects of social reform efforts (Freire 2000). The framework guides local education agencies and schools to design culturally responsive school discipline systems with local stakeholders, especially those who have been historically excluded from schools' decision-making activities (Bal et al. 2014).

In the first phase of the CRPBIS project, the research team conducted statistical analyses to identify the patterns and predictors of racial disparities in behavioral outcomes (i.e., special education identification for behavioral disorders and exclusionay school discipline) in Wisconsin schools. The analyses examined how student level variables (e.g., race, reading and math scores, and home language) interacted with the school level variables (e.g., racial composition of schools and teachers' race, language, and education). The analyses showed African American students were seven times and Native American and Latino students two times more likely to be removed from the learning environment due to disciplinary actions. Student race and academic achievement were significant determinants, which were more robust to income level, and English proficiency and school level factors such as racial compositions of students and teachers in schools (Bal et al. 2015).

In the second phase of the study, the research team moved into schools to intervene the school systems that had produced the racial disparities. The CRPBIS research team used a new and innovative methodology of formative intervention, called *Learning Lab*. I developed the Learning Lab methodology as an inclusive, inquiry-based problem solving process through which diverse stakeholders examine and renovate behavioral support systems to create supportive and positive schoolwide behavioral support systems for all and address racial disproportionality in behavioral outcomes (Bal 2011).

Formative interventions seek to facilitate expansive learning and transformative agency among practitioners in multiple activity systems (e.g., health care and agriculture) (Engeström 2011). There are five principles of formative interventions:

> (1) The object-oriented collective activity system is the prime unit of analysis (2) systemic contradictions are the sources and motives of movement, change, and development in activity systems; (3) expansive learning is a historically new type of learning, which emerges as practitioners struggle through developmental transformations in their systems, moving across collective zones of proximal development; (4) the dialectic method of ascending from abstract to the concrete is the key for mastering cycles of expansive learning; (5) an interventionist research methodology that aims at pushing forward, mediating recording, and analyzing cycles of expansive learning in activity systems is needed. (Engeström 2015: p. xvi)

CRPBIS Learning Lab is the first formative intervention in the field of special education (Bal 2011).

9 Learning Lab Process

Effective and sustainable institutional transformations in schools demand time, strategic planning, continuous involvement, and a robust theory of change (Frattura and Capper 2007). Learning Labs were formed at three urban, public schools (elementary, middle and high schools) with two specific goals: to (1) unite and empower stakeholders who are historically excluded from schools' problem solving processes and (2) provide a structure in which school practices are examined and renovated (Bal et al. 2014).

CRPBIS Learning Labs included educators (e.g., principals, special and general education teachers, paraprofessionals, and social workers), community-representatives working with the participating schools and nondominant students and family members (e.g., African American, Latino, Hmong refugee, and the families experiencing homelessness). School and district leaders have actively collaborated with the research team from inception to dissemination of the study findings (Bal et al. 2014).

In Learning Labs, a diverse group of stakeholders joined forces to engage in root cause analysis of disproportionality and designed new school discipline systems that were culturally responsive to diverse needs, experiences, and goals of local school communities (Bal et al. 2014). Multiple data sources (e.g., school's academic and behavioral data and interviews) with new mediating artifacts were used to inform local stakeholders' systemic transformation efforts. A set of interactive data maps was developed for the use of education leaders, educators, and families (see http://crpbis.apl.wisc.edu/). The first set of map, called the map of risk, shows the risks for racial disproportionality for all racial groups across all districts in Wisconsin. The second set of the map, called the map of opportunity, shows the racial, income, and language diversity in each school in two districts along with the social service and advocacy organizations (e.g., free legal council, homeless shelters) serving those school communities. Two Learning Lab schools successfully maintained the inclusive problems solving teams and developed culturally responsive behavioral support systems.

Overall, the analyses showed that Learning Lab holds promise as ways to facilitate the democratization of schools via culturally and linguistically diverse stakeholders' authentic and sustained participation in the problem solving processes in schools (Bal et al. 2014). Learning Labs have functioned as research and innovation sites for the CRPBIS schools and the school districts, state's education agency, and research team to test and improve practices and artifacts for facilitating ecologically valid systemic transformations. One of the school districts that participated in the project is now working with the research team to scale up Learning Lab in all schools in the district.

10 Conclusion

In the United States, the concept 'multicultural' pulls in two directions: One toward a celebration of diversity and individuality; and another toward the creation of a national curriculum that is paradoxically both pluralistic yet culturally unifying. In view that the United States is undergoing clear demographic shifts and changes in student population, and in view that education institutionally serves to both shape and to enable a dynamic citizenry, multicultural education in the United States is in need of sustained support and, indeed, expansion.

Culture is dynamic, multifaceted, and instrumental. Such an observation supports the need to take into account not only individual students' experiences but also the classroom and as well as wider institutional factors that play into students' lives in and outside of schools. By examining interacting multiple activity systems, educators can understand how nondominant students navigate across cultural spaces, deal with new and uncertain opportunities, and share their experiences with others. By communicating the importance of multicultural classrooms to the wider public, educators and policymakers can ensure that a national system is democratic, inclusive, and responsive to global changes.

Thinking synergistically about individual, institutional, and interpersonal factors and focusing on how individuals participate in dynamic activity systems expands the educators' understanding of learning, development and, indeed, of the world (Ladson-Billings 1994; Wortham 2006). Taken together, principles of sociocultural and sociocultural theory-oriented programs such as MSLI and Learning Lab show educators how multicultural education programs can be instrumental for transforming historically marginalized nondominant students. Such scholarship and programs are significant for a global multicultural education movement, whose ultimate aim is to transform institutions to facilitate expansive learning opportunities and outcomes for *all*.

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Recognizing Diversity: The Incipient Role of Intercultural Education in Thailand

Joseph Lo Bianco and Yvette Slaughter

Abstract Thailand has a long and consistent policy of denying concessions to a pluralist vision of its identity which would arise from formal recognition of differences, and has never embraced, at the official level, any discourse approximating multiculturalism. Instead, it has stressed the importance of minority assimilation to established and privileged norms, and succeeded in propagating a general perception of itself, both domestically and internationally, as ethnically homogenous. Despite this attempt to create an image of cultural homogeneity, as the first section of this chapter demonstrates, Thailand has a long history of diversity, from the polyethnic foundations of the Kingdom of Siam to the geophysical demarcation of its territory. Suppression of diversity in Thailand has resulted in ethnic stratification, the consequences of which reverberate throughout modern society. The second component of the chapter focuses on an education commission undertaken through the UNICEF Language, Education and Social Cohesion (LESC) Initiative, a component of the UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) Programme. Activities undertaken through the LESC Initiative, and through this particular mapping exercise, represent important groundwork in creating a dialogue around difference and how it is represented and engaged with in the Thai education system. In the context of the exercise in curriculum mapping, some reflections on the relevance of the notions of multicultural education for the specific setting and historical circumstances of Thailand are elaborated.

Keywords Cultural diversity • Deep south insurrection • Intercultural education • Language rights • Language policy • LESC (Language Education and Social Cohesion) • Thailand

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_10

1 Introduction

While modern Thailand is seen as a country of remarkable homogeneity in comparison to neighboring countries, Simpson and Thammasathien (2007) argue that the 'apparent "unity amongst diversity" which distinguishes Thailand from various other countries in the region…is the clear result of a hundred years of state-controlled language-planning initiatives in conjunction with sustained and highly successful efforts at nation-building' (pp. 391–2). An overwhelmingly important characteristic of Thailand's experience of difference, and how it is accommodated, is a powerful and historically sanctioned national narrative of a centralized and standardized 'Thai-ness' – language, culture, religion and politics.

Successive governments of Thailand have promoted both the image of a homogenous, united and securely bounded nation, as well as taking action to counter the lively and extensive reality of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity of the populations that comprise the kingdom. This effort to construct a cohesive national state by stressing a unitary cultural depiction of the kingdom can be contrasted to the opposite tendency of some of its neighbors, especially Malaysia. Thailand has a long and consistent policy of denying concessions to a pluralist vision of its identity which would arise from formal recognition of differences, and has never embraced, at the official level, any discourse approximating multiculturalism. Instead, it has stressed the importance of minority assimilation to established and privileged norms, and succeeded in propagating a general perception of itself, both domestically and internationally, as ethnically homogenous.

This first section of this chapter reflects on the polyethnic foundations of the Kingdom of Siam, the geophysical demarcation of its territory, and creation of 'Thai-ness'. The ensuing suppression of diversity in Thailand has resulted in ethnic stratification, the consequences of which reverberate throughout modern society. While in many ways successfully forging an identifiable and universally legible Thai-ness, inequitable educational outcomes and ongoing conflict and violence in some regions of the country illustrate detrimental aspects of this endeavor. While expressions of pluralism have been accommodated in small amounts, this review of multicultural discourse and its manifestations reveals the reluctance of state institutions to engage substantively with the implications of ethnic, linguistic and religious differences among the population. This chapter also reports on developments that point in precisely this direction and some of the pressures and openings that might indicate future lines of development in multicultural education.

The second component of the chapter focuses on an education commission undertaken through the UNICEF Language, Education and Social Cohesion (LESC) Initiative, a component of the UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) Programme. LESC has focused on research and intervention activities exploring policy and planning, particularly with regards to current practices and prevailing attitudes and values related to language throughout education systems. Central to these activities has been the role of language in civil society, public policy and the labour market, how these conditions shape language and ethnicity issues,

and how amenable they are to change. Focusing on intercultural education, this section draws from the report *An Upper Primary and Junior Secondary School Intercultural Education Framework* (Lo Bianco and UNICEF 2015)[1] to detail an exercise in mapping intercultural education as a general capability onto the Thai curriculum. This work was undertaken in consultation with the Thai Ministry of Education in 2014, but has not moved to implementation stage at this point. However, activities undertaken through the LESC Initiative and through this particular mapping exercise represent important groundwork in creating a dialogue around difference and how it is represented and engaged with in the Thai education system.

2 The Demarcation of a Nation

When tracing the intellectual history of Thailand back through to the fourteenth century, Wyatt (2002) captures glimpses of political, religious, and artistic ideation through more than 1,300 years of history. His illuminations provide insights into the multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual congregation of people in the plains of Siam during the formation of the Kingdom. In these early years, as detailed in Winichakul's (1994) influential work, *Siam Mapped*: *A history of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, boundaries were characterized by overlapping and shifting conceptualizations of cosmographic, religious and political spaces and lacked reference to bounded notions of geographical and political jurisdictions. Allegiances of overlords and local tributary kingdoms were changeable and interchangeable between Siam's rulers, as well as with rulers of neighboring states, and people moved with few restrictions across ethnic and geographic boundaries (Lo Bianco 2012; Toyota 2005).

Allegiances and political activity were also strongly influenced by the geographical position of the capital, Ayutthaya, which was located at the base of neighboring uplands, with access to the waterways of Southeast Asia. The burgeoning kingdom accommodated a polyethnic gathering of traders, settlers and explorers from all surrounding lands, expanding over the centuries to include Koreans, Japanese, Ryukuans, and colonizers of surrounding regions such as the Dutch, Spaniards, Portuguese and English (Wyatt 2002).

Change was forced upon Siam and its ruler by the imperialistic intentions of the French and British. Mapmaking undertaken by Siam, and eventually by Thailand's rulers, moved towards the explicit demarcation of space. In exploring aspects of border theory, Lo Bianco (2012) engages Winichakul's work, to illustrate how the contemplation of both the physical and conceptual reality of border creation led to the construction of a national sentiment, the nation-state of Thailand and the

[1] Materials in the second component of this chapter have been adapted from Lo Bianco and UNICEF 2015, *An Upper Primary and Junior Secondary School Intercultural Education*, with the permission of UNICEF EAPRO Bangkok.

Thai-political self. Yet, in the course of creating the Thai state and Thai culture, the 'Other' had to be created. The 'Other' has taken many complex and changing forms over Thai history. Renard (2006) argues, that it was originally a fluid construction, which allowed people to move between being 'Tai' and 'non-Tai'. However, over time, the notion of 'Other' evolved, moving from a conceptualization that did not primarily differentiate on ethnicity, language and culture, to one based on a unitary notion of 'Thai-ness'. When the threat of colonization was at its peak in Thailand, inculcation in Thai-ness, which embodied Thai history, Thai language, and Thai manner, among other distinctions, was a leading priority (Renard 2006). Through these effective strategic maneuverings, Thailand distinguishes itself from many other countries in the region in having never been colonized.

The formation of a constitutional monarchy in 1932 and the founding of the Kingdom of Thailand in 1939, led to all inhabitants of the Kingdom becoming 'Thais', a process that emphasized the civic duty of studying Thai language and Thai-ness (Simpson and Thammasathien 2007). Subsequently, a socio-political system was formed based on the three pillars of religion (Buddhism), monarchy and nation (Tais). The key mechanism for creating unity during this period was *Ekkalak* – meaning 'only one characteristic', perpetuated through the endeavors of the *Office of Ekkalak Thai* (Luangthongkum 2007).

In the decades since the establishment of the Kingdom of Thailand, the notion of 'Thai-ness', with the three pillars at its core, has been a 'cornerstone of nation building and the creation of a national identity' (Premsrirat and Bruthiaux 2012, p. 11). Thai-ness, as a nationalist construct, is based on projections of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity, with the Monarchy at its center and the king as the spiritual leader (Streckfuss 2012). Streckfuss (2012) argues that the appearance of a unitary Thai identity, both ethnically and culturally, has resulted from 'a combination of linguistics, a pseudo-science of race and ethnicity and historical revisionism' (p. 305) on the part of Thai governments, where the ethnic history of Thailand has developed alongside the centralized formation of Thai identity; the latter predominating until recent decades. The effectiveness of the assimilation process can be seen in the great reduction in ethnic diversity, which Renard (2006) argues was in the hundreds in the early twentieth century, reduced to broadly homogeneous groupings in modern times.

3 Diversity in Thailand

The depiction of difference in Thailand differs markedly between political discourse, regional discourse and the rhetoric utilized in socio-ethnic and sociolinguistic descriptions. In one respect, cultural diversity is an accepted feature of Thai political-social life. The official administrative divisions of the state acknowledge diversity, so that 'central', 'northern', 'northeastern' and 'southern' Thailand do not simply designate physical territory but also encapsulate ethnic and cultural characteristics associated with proximal states, particularly Laos in the northeast and

Malaysia in the south but actually these four divisions instantiate great historical linguistic and cultural differences. However, successive Thai public administrations have largely repudiated the use of Lao, Khmer, Malay as ways to understand, or identify, the populations of these zones, in favor of the unitary ascription of Thai (Jory 2000).

It needs to be stated that the promotion of Thai-ness as the ultimate state of representation of Thai identity, and 'Thai-ization' as the process of its accomplishment, is a project in which national bureaucracy is accompanied by an activist military and strongly participatory monarchical culture, including nationalist scholarship emanating from privileged institutions serving the project of creating a unitary national identity. However, the regional patterns of ethnic diversity, as discussed above, act as a counterpoint to the official 'Bangkok-centric' narrative, or the 'centralized' formation of Thai identity (Streckfuss 2012). Regionalized diversity is often problematic politically because it overlaps and indexes proximal states and historical territorial struggles, complicated by imperial intrusion from Britain and France, and later Japan. Proximal states (Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia and Myanmar) share the overarching supra-national security apparatus of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) with Thailand, but each has a complex and often still troubled connection of disputes over territory and hegemony.

Ethnically, the three major groups in Thailand are ethnic Thais (around 45 % of Thais), Thais of Lao-Isan ethnicity (northeast Thailand – around 30 %) and Sino-Thais (western and north-western Thailand – around 14 %). Other major ethnic groups include the hill peoples in the north and west of Thailand such as the Hmong and Karen; the Islamic Malay peoples in the southern four provinces of Thailand; the Khmer-Thais in the lower northeast of the country, and other ethnic groups such as the Cambodians and Vietnamese (north-east Thailand) (Rappa 2006). The political definition of 'ethnic minority' in Thailand, however, differs to the ethnolinguistic representation of ethnicity above and is more akin to the notion of 'stateless' people or refugee status (see Luangthongkum 2007).

Despite the ubiquity of Standard Thai, there are 76 living languages in Thailand, 65 of which are indigenous, with a further 11 classified as immigrant languages. Four regional Thai dialects predominate – Northern Thai (spoken by 10 % of Thais), Northeastern Thai (28 %), Central Thai (39 %), and Southern Thai (9 %) (Lewis et al. 2013). As a result, Luangthongkum (2007) argues, most Thais (86 %) are bidialectal in that they speak a regional Thai as a mother tongue before learning Standard Thai. Around 7.6 % of the population speak a non-Thai language. Across the Thai population, approximately 94 % speak Tai-Kadai languages, 2 % speak Austro-Asiatic languages, 2 % Austronesian languages, 1 % Tibeto-Burman languages and smaller proportions of Thais use Hmong-Mien languages.

Premsrirat (2007) argues that the hierarchical relationship of languages in Thailand mirrors the social hierarchy in Thailand (see Fig. 1). Many people, particularly among the ethnic minorities, are bilingual or multilingual but treat their languages as diglossic. Ethnic languages are spoken in the home or neighborhood, with regional or national languages used in all situations outside of these domains. 'People can change their identity and social status if they can speak the language

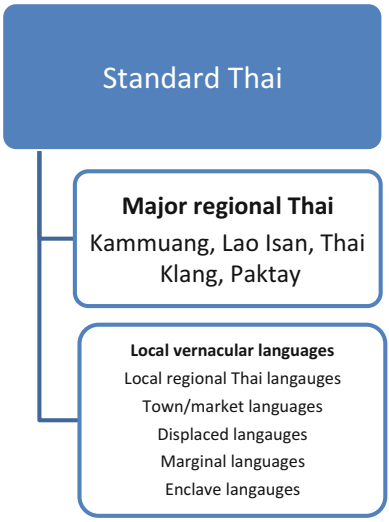

Fig. 1 Language hierarchy of Thailand (Adapted from Premsrirat 2007)

and have the education or economic status of people at a higher social level' (Premsrirat 2007, p. 79).

Premsrirat (2011) argues that the linguistic and cultural diversity of Thailand should be promoted, partly to 'reinvigorate their cultural and linguistic identity' (p. 55) but also to allow access to quality education and employment opportunities. It is pertinent that Premsrirat's (2011) work was published in an edition of the official journal of the Royal Institute of Thailand, subtitled *Harmony in Culture*, partly dedicated to the process of development of a national language policy. While the Institute officially adopted the national language policy in 2010 (see Warotamasikkhadit and Person (2011) in the same edition for an overview of the policy process and aims), Premsrirat (2011) nonetheless contends that the notion of Thai-ness 'needs to be broadened to offer ethnolinguistic groups their own space within Thai political society on an equal basis so that they may be empowered to live a dignified life with security, justice and opportunity' (p. 55).

Problematically though, neither Thai nor minority languages, enjoy national juridical recognition or any kind of local legal status even in public administration or service delivery. The 2007 constitution does not specify a position in relation to any language (although Thai is the de jure national language based on other acts and edicts (Draper 2013b)). Furthermore, in the draft 2015 constitution, 'Thai is not specified in the constitution as the national language, meaning there is no recognition of other languages, nor a framework for supporting minorities along ethnolinguistic lines' (Draper 2015a, n.p.). Additionally, while the Royal Institute of Thailand adopted the national language policy in early 2010, the document is not legally binding and is, at present, a 'brief statement of principle', although potential remains for the instrument to provide greater support for languages other than Thai (Draper 2013b, p. 9). Education reforms (see below) commenced in 1999 and

envisage local adaptations of curriculum and, if fully implemented, could represent a site of future development.

Thailand's notorious political instability, the nation with 'the most coups' (Fisher 2013), is particularly acute in the 'color struggles' between republican (red) and monarchist (yellow) loyalties of the past 15 years. These conflicts have established a broad sense that change is needed, but such change will result in strong negative reactions.

In general, though, the lack of recognition of and space for Thailand's cultural and linguistic diversity in education contributes to the diminishing of diversity. Although tens of millions of Thais are multilingual, bidialectal, or have a Thai dialect or other language as a first language (Kosonen and Person 2014), standard Thai is the sole medium of instruction in schools other than in some private schools, where occasionally English and sometimes other languages are used as teaching media. There has been a limited small scale experiment where minority languages have been used as the medium of instruction, but official Thai is the sole language of government offices and the bulk of mass media. Thai and a handful of prestige foreign languages are core subjects in the National Curriculum, commanding between 240 and 480 min per week across the curriculum (see Table 1). While English is typically taught as the foreign language in all Thai schools, other foreign languages such as Mandarin, French, Japanese and Malay are also studied. Addressing challenges around languages education in schools involves a nuanced response to multilingualism in Thai society, as well as consideration of its broader economic, regional and global requirements. English plays an important role in the Thai education system, as it does in all of its neighboring countries, and will continue to grow in importance with the introduction of the ASEAN Economic

Table 1 Learning item in hours, Grades 4–9, Thai curriculum (Ministry of Education 2010, p. 25)

Learning area/activities	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
Thai language	160	160	160	120	120	120
Mathematics	160	160	160	120	120	120
Science	80	80	80	120	120	120
Social studies, religion and culture	120	120	120	160	160	160
Health and physical education	80	80	80	80	80	80
Arts	80	80	80	80	80	80
Occupations and technology	80	80	80	80	80	80
Foreign languages	80	80	80	120	120	120
Total learning time (Basic level)	840	840	840	880	880	880
Learner development activities	120	120	120	120	120	120
Additional courses/activities provided by schools	No more than 40 h for each year			No more than 200 h for each year		
Total learning time	No more than 1,000 h for each year			No more than 1,200 h for each year		

Community (AEC) in 2015, which has English as its working language (Kirkpatrick 2010).

At this stage, space for the study of ethnic or minority languages is minimal, although Pali and Arabic are studied in religious schools and monasteries and there have been a small number of mother tongue programs across Thailand (See e.g. Premsrirat and Bruthiaux 2012).

The expanding role of other languages, and the assertive and occasionally authoritarian nationalist model of Thai-ness perpetuated by the interim military government (Draper and Streckfuss 2015), among other variables, have imposed enormous pressure on many of Thailand's languages, with Ethnologue classifying 22 as endangered, and a further 7 as moribund. Draper and Streckfuss (2015) argue that reformulation of Thai-ness, as dictated by the interim government in the form of 12 cultural values, idealizes the composition of ethnic groupings in Thailand, and contributes to the diminishing of minority cultural and linguistic rights in the country. Additionally, language shift is amplified in younger generations of Thais who do not value their ethnic languages, preferring to use the language of education and wider communication (Premsrirat 2007, 2011).

As well as contributing to the disempowerment of minority groups, lack of recognition for ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity is widely held to contribute to conflict and violence (e.g. McCargo 2014; McCargo and Hongladarom 2004; NRC 2006) and impacts directly on the education system. However, multiple calls for reconsideration of the construction of 'Thai-ness' in response to conflict and inequality has led to little change in a society where multiculturalism as a discourse is barely tolerated beyond a superficial level of acknowledgement (Vaddhanaphuti 2005).

4 Multiculturalism in Thailand

There is little literature, though it is growing rapidly, on distinctive approaches to ethnocultural accommodations in Asian settings. Kymlicka and He (2005) offer a rare exploration of debates and conceptions of social pluralism in South and East Asia, incorporating legacies of precolonial and colonial traditions and experiences. In the volume, arguments around 'western' models of liberal theory and social pluralism, and the misfit with the 'Asian values' of the 'East' inevitably arise. He and Kymlicka (2005) argue that while these debates have been largely discredited, several chapters explore nuanced notions of more communitarian forms of multiculturalism, focused on local ethnic, religious and linguistic communities, rather than on obligations people feel to nation-states. However, He and Kymlicka (2005) stress 'the mutual learning and cross-cultural influences that have shaped public debates in the region', arguing that 'the people of Asia show a strong desire to understand their local debates in the context of global trends and international norms' (p. 7).

Although there is little discourse around multiculturalism as an ideological concept in Thailand itself, there is evidence that the notion is entering public discussion and gaining a foothold in proposals for future national direction. In posing the question as to whether assimilationist policy making had conceded enough space to allow for multiculturalism to emerge in Thailand, a symposium was held in 2012 for the commencement of a new doctoral studies program in multicultural studies at Mahidol University in Bangkok. The panel of experts concluded that there have been limited policies of selective multiculturalism and ethnic pluralism, and that there have been some signs of rethinking around cultural 'Others'. Yet, it was evident that ethnic minority groups still lacked collective and cultural recognition and that any movement towards rights based on any such recognition was not yet 'sincere' (Horstmann 2012).

In such a context Yoko (2006) considers talk of Thai multiculturalism 'contrived', and notes that absence of any official discourse around the concept deprives the nation of an important ideology that could frame public acceptance of diversity and difference. However, multiculturalism remains a promising potential framework to organize ways to understand how areas of activity, such as education, tourism policy, local development and foreign relations, might develop. Yoko (2006, p. 285), for example, in investigating the potential for change through increasing recognition of difference and diversity, draws on the multicultural notion to identify contexts where changes are occurring, how recognition of the 'other' is formulated, and how the notion of multiculturalism can be locally configured to be acceptable to a wide range of groups and agencies in Thai society.

In her deliberation of the promise and possibilities of 'debating multiculturalism' Yoko (2006) argues that while recognition of diversity is underway in particular, if restricted, contexts in Thailand, it is critical that the representation of difference and diversity that is officially allowed is subjected to critique. She exemplifies the need for this by analysis of exhibit displays and their ideological presuppositions at the museum of the Tribal Research Institute (1962–2002) in northern Thailand, currently under the management of the Tourist Authority. Yoko (2006, p. 285) describes the three floors of the museum as follows:

1. The first floor – traditional hill tribe cultural artefacts, alongside a narrative of endeavours by the Thai government bringing 'occupational, social, educational, and moral development' to the people
2. The second floor – a display on hill tribes and Buddhism, and
3. The third floor – displays demonstrating the devotion of the hill tribes to the King and his benevolence towards them.

Care must be taken, Yoko (2006) argues, in not allowing local culture to be 'standardized and appropriated through emphasis on performance and display' (p. 289), reducing culture to mere 'object', in what is essentially an antiquated display of visible and safe objects to be passively observed. By presenting a benign and superficial display of difference in these ways, such as that seen at the TRI museum, difference becomes 'domesticated', denying space for critical discussion for minority needs and claims to sustain living culture though action on citizenship-based rights

or diverse kinds of community development. Essentially, this is a critique of a docile presence of difference within an unchallenged overarching national hierarchy of cultural practices.

Still, increasing space has been allowed for the expression and recognition of difference, and many developments have been welcomed, such as the acknowledgement of more than 30 ethnic groups and their unique cultures by the Ministry of Culture in 2003 (Yoko 2006). Diversity of culture has also been increasingly recognized through the development of tourism, particularly into the north of Thailand; in media content – radio, television, movies, etc.; in explorations of regional musical influences, and through the opening up of Thailand's national borders facilitated by various levels of administrative decentralization (Draper 2013a, 2015b; Jory 2000; Yoko 2006). The increasing accommodation of difference can be seen, argues Jory (2000), in the growing popularity of popular culture and music of the Yuan culture of northern Thailand, which has transitioned from folk genre to commercially successful folk rock, as well as in the progression of attitudes towards identification with 'Lao', from pejorative to more positive. Increasing expressions of Chinese culture in Thailand – a reclaiming of Chinese identity from ethnic groups generally perceived to be well assimilated into the overarching canonical Thai culture, is posited by Jory (2000) as further evidence of a renewed interest in the varied historical, linguistic, and cultural histories of Thailand's regions.

These kinds of commodification of 'difference', in popular music, museum display practices, or exotic tourism promoting cuisines, are increasing, although Horstmann (2012) and others argue they are too few and often too banal to constitute genuine progression towards policy recognition of pluralism in Thailand. Streckfuss (2012) notes that Central Thais have had a defining role in Thai-ness and 'Thai' history, but that such a center-based history, 'ultimately cannot make sense without its periphery'. He argues that

> …it is possible to see the vague contours of an ethnic rendering of a history that is no longer Thai, but nonetheless has been expressed from within the boundaries of 'Thailand', both geographically and ideologically… Rather than continuing with a century of the center occasionally looking out, the time has come for a history of the periphery looking in. (Streckfuss 2012, p. 324)

5 Consequences of the Singular

The demographic, ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences, briefly traversed to this point indicate that Thailand is best understood as an ethnically plural entity. However, unrelenting pressure to demand conformity to a unitary notion of Thai-ness has resulted in sustained struggle. In some situations this has led to protracted conflict and violence. Examples from the north and the south of the country illustrate tensions in what is essentially an ongoing struggle between unitary constructions of Thai-ness compared to an alternative pluralistic shared Thai citizenship based on fuller acknowledgement of cultural diversity. Although ethnic questions

are complex by nature, and always underpinned by multi-causal issues in Thailand (Vaddhanaphuti 2005), given the centrality of education in this volume, we will maintain a narrow focus on the impact of these struggles on the education system.

6 The Deep South

The 'Deep South' became part of Thailand when the Anglo-Siamese treaty finalized the Thai-Malay frontier in 1909. The treaty, a historic agreement which ensured Siam's independence, created a division through the northern Malay states, generating the conditions for decades of conflict in Southern Thailand (Brudhiprabha 1998). Ethnic Malay Muslims represent approximately 85 % of the southern provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, with smaller populations in neighboring Satun and Songkla provinces. This population can be considered an 'enclave community'. It is a relatively intact ethnic/linguistic and religious group, forming a distinct community, with its own history, institutions and self-perception as a discrete community, but located within a geographical and political space that differs substantially in its ethnic, religious and political structure.

The conflict in the Deep South, erupting into violence in 2004 after a period of relative calm, has complex causes that involve identity, culture, religion and history, but an important factor is the high degree of state centralization in Thailand. Strong opposition from the local community is focused on the use of Thai as the only medium of instruction in schools, the primacy of Buddhist ethics and character across the curriculum, the nationalization of Thai culture, and the lack of adequate recognition for Malay Thai's own local history, language and religion within the school system (von Feigenblatt et al. 2010). Resistance to the singular notion of Thai-ness, explicitly promoted through the official curriculum, has often been violent. The Patani Freedom Fighters (*Pejuang Kemerdekaan Patani*), effectively the paramilitary wing of the *Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani* or *Barisan Revolusi Nasional*, the main but not sole independence militant group in the Deep South against the Thai military, has called the national education system 'a symbol of infidel occupation and suppression of ethnic Malay Muslim identity' (Human Rights Watch 2007, 72; Boonlong 2007). Schools and teachers have been direct targets of militant action resulting in many killings and injuries among civilians, including teachers and students.

The conflict and its militarization have had an enormous impact on the education system, which goes beyond even the targeted killing of teachers, closures and destruction of schools, and extends to the fracturing of the social fabric of inter-community relations and social cohesion. Two parallel systems of education have emerged, government and Islamic private schools, which has resulted in the de facto segregation of most children and youth into Buddhist and Muslim education streams, divided by language, cultural identity and religion, through the demands of adult interpreters of history and designers of an unintegrated future. Although this

segregation has long historical roots, since 2004 it has been at its highest level of intensity (see e.g. Melvin 2007; Narongraksakhet 2006).

Education based amelioration initiatives have been undertaken by official, educational, community and civic organizations. This has included the major involvement of international and UN agencies, applying concerted efforts to encourage student-centered approaches to building awareness and fostering understandings of the role of education in exacerbating divisions and grievances. This involvement has seen extensive UN promoted research and intervention, activity by Thai intellectuals and agencies, and many others in attempting to incorporate 'difference' into public life, including education, to promote reconciliation and social cohesion. Activities include financial assistance to students, academic support, experimental bilingual education, and other work to alleviate the significant 'ethnic gap' in literacy and academic achievement (Draper 2015b; Foreign Office 2011; Smith 2013; Lo Bianco and UNICEF 2015). However, the persistence of violence and conflict dramatically impacts on education and the entire struggle with difference and its management within the state requires major politico-administrative change (Jitpiromsri and McCargo 2008).

Furthermore, as education is directly linked to students' social development, according to Von Feigenblatt et al. (2010), even direct policy innovations in multicultural education would be inadequate since:

> What is at stake is not only the content of history textbooks but the security of thousands of people belonging to ethnic minorities, their incomes, the natural resources of the country, and the economic opportunities of millions of people in the provinces. Thus, education is linked to political and economic development. (p. 293)

The conflict in the Deep South continues despite recent attempts at peace negotiations, its cost on life is high as bodies such as Deep South Watch which monitor the violence have documented (Jitpiromsri 2015), but the political and administrative measures that are proposed for its resolution remain as elusive (Satha-Anand 2012). The conflict however, appears to be quarantined from national consciousness, constituted for the most part as the problem 'in the south', somewhat removed from the lives of mainstream Thais. This is especially the case in communities north of the Malay speaking provinces and its administration, which is subject to levels of military involvement beyond those applying elsewhere in the national territory.

7 Northern Thailand

Isan or the Thai Lao, are the largest minority in Thailand, numbering around 15 million speakers. While most Isan people are of Lao descent, Isan identity is varied and complex (McCargo and Hongladarom 2004). The Isan region is the poorest, as well as the most populous in Thailand, although many Isan people live in the Bangkok area, servicing the industrial, construction and service industries. Some Bangkok Isan retain registration in the home provinces and return annually to assist

in the labour intensive rice planting and harvesting seasons (McCargo and Hongladarom 2004). Isan identity is still deeply stigmatized (Keyes 2014) and the image of Isan as a 'marginalized and disadvantaged group which has missed out on the benefits of Thailand's remarkable economic growth since the early 1960s' is enhanced by the combination of 'economic deprivation, ethnic minority status and seasonal residence patterns' (McCargo and Hongladarom 2004, p. 221).

As noted earlier, minority languages have no formal standing in Thailand and no recognition in the education system. In Northern Thailand, 85 % of people use Northern Thai at home and for working class populations, proficiency in Standard Thai is generally low (Kosonen 2008). Adult literacy rates in Standard Thai among most minority groups in the north are low, as low as 10 % among the Akha and Lahu, and among groups with higher literacy rates, such as the Iu Mien, can still be as low as 30 % (Kosonen 2008). Consequently, many children commence school without any proficiency in the sole and exclusive medium of instruction. Although the oral use of non-dominant languages by teachers in regional locations is quite common, a lack of access to literacy development in the initial years of schooling contributes significantly to inequalities in educational attainment (Kosonen and Person 2014). In general, minority language speakers underperform in all school measures in comparison with their Central Thai counterparts. Results from both the Thai-based Ordinary National Educational Test (O-NET) and the international PISA test show significant disparity in scores between Central Thai students and students from practically all other ethnicities and areas, across most areas of north Thailand (Fry 2013; Kosonen and Person 2014).

Beyond this, there remain issues of a socio-political nature facing many northern Thai communities concerning citizenship rights, language rights, cultural preservation and access to the full range of education. However, increasing numbers of non-governmental and civil organizations have made significant progress in these areas in recent decades. There has been considerable improvement in gaining greater public and governmental awareness of the significant educational disparities that persist for students from many ethnic minorities and the role that mother tongue education could play in alleviating such disadvantages (Kosonen and Person 2014). In 2013, for example, work began on the development of a curriculum for the mother tongue in northeast Thailand, with an Isan curriculum introduced into 11 schools that will be expanded into 18 schools by 2016 (Draper 2014, 2015b). This example however, serves both to mark a positive change and to illustrate the small scale and limited dispersion that recognition of difference is allowed.

8 An Intercultural Curriculum in Thailand

The imposition of homogeneity in Thai society, particularly through a relatively inflexible curriculum and a slow-to-adapt education system, entrenches ethnic stratification, strongly correlates with academic underperformance across most measures of attainment, and presents considerable post-schooling challenges such as

low adult literacy rates, poor employment prospects and poverty (e.g. Draper 2014; Kosonen and Person 2014). From a social cohesion perspective, ethnically stratified education systems pose a considerable danger when these stratifications coincide with or reinforce academic underperformance and reduced literacy, employment and social opportunity. This is made considerably worse still when students' experiences and understanding of their broader community are limited and marked by hostility and distance. Tied by cultural, linguistic and religious particularities into non-interacting communities, prospects of inter-ethnic understanding or even interaction become intermittent, and occasionally, deformed by fear of the other (UNICEF 2008).

In response to these considerations we will now describe a UNICEF initiative that focuses on introduction of intercultural perspectives and content into the official and normative Thai curriculum, as detailed in the report *An Upper Primary and Junior Secondary School Intercultural Education Framework* (Lo Bianco and UNICEF 2015). This activity was undertaken through the UNICEF Language, Education and Social Cohesion (LESC) initiative, a component of the UNICEF Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) Programme (2012–2015) funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Netherlands. Part of the focus of PBEA has been to encourage practical intervention (tools and methods) to alleviate conflict, and to support research into conflict analysis (increasing understanding of the ways in which education can hinder or support social cohesion). The overall vision is to strengthen policy and resilience in society, to foster social cohesion and human security in countries at risk of conflict, experiencing conflict or recovering from conflict.

The premise of the LESC Initiative in Thailand has been to ensure a much more engaged education system in the urgent task of fostering social cohesion, overcoming conflict in a durable way and in forging a stronger sense of both personal and communal resilience. In negotiation with senior Thai educators, public officials, researchers, and community representatives across the country, ideas towards curriculum reform are proposed in this work, informed by situation and conflict analysis, and best practice intercultural and peace education schemes from other Southeast Asian settings. Intercultural or multicultural education that fosters knowledge of and encounters with social 'others' cannot succeed on their own, especially if small and experimental, unless they are reinforced by measures to redress bias and inequality in educational arrangements across the board (Bush and Saltarelli 2000). Nevertheless, short to medium term action is possible and strongly advocated by educators across the country. It becomes critical to design and apply cross-curriculum initiatives that have a chance of being practically effective in the local conditions of education and which respond to robust understanding of how social relations are negotiated and perceived through curriculum activities (Lo Bianco 2013; Smith 2013).

At this stage, little or no identifiable component of the official curriculum is devoted to or labelled 'intercultural' or 'multicultural' with the exception of activities and curriculum content associated with foreign language study, especially English, and a growing body of ASEAN related content. What is described below

are activities undertaken through the LESC initiative mapping onto the existing national curriculum intercultural and multicultural content that could be realistically adopted and implemented by teachers. The groundwork for this mapping is extensive community and governmental consultation between 2012 and 2014, as outlined in the materials from *An Upper Primary and Junior Secondary School Intercultural Education Framework* (Lo Bianco and UNICEF 2015), some of which is reproduced here with UNICEF's permission.

9 Interculturality, Identity and Education

According to UNESCO's (2013) definition, interculturality presupposes multiculturalism, which refers not only to cultural diversity – ethnic or national culture, but also to other elements of diversity including linguistic, religious and socio-economic diversity. The key feature of interculturality is that it allows space for multiple perspectives and voices. It is a dynamic concept which involves intercultural exchanges and dialogues between cultural groups and is not limited to international contexts, but refers to exchanges at the local, regional, national or international levels.

Intercultural understanding encompasses both cognitive and affective learning. Having an awareness or knowledge of another culture, a knowledge of historical, political, social, economic, religious and anthropological aspects of a culture, does not necessarily result in an intercultural understanding in and of itself. A critical component of intercultural understanding is a positive disposition towards another culture. This does not preclude critical analysis of difference, but includes empathy and respect, and an understanding of the existence and necessity of differing perspectives (Hill 2006).

As we have seen in the earlier part of the chapter, the construction of culture and identity in Thailand is often dependent on the interwoven relationships between politics and power, shaped by the longstanding centralization of power and influence. Internally, dissent, political conflict and advocacy have caused some change, but external forces such as globalization, the Internet and social media, migration within and across national boundaries, and other contemporary influences also contribute to cultural change or evolution. The result of these influences is the formation of dual, multiple and hybrid identities, 'characterized by domination and resistance as well as participation and community' (Lo Bianco 2006, p. 224).

Concepts of culture and education are, in essence, intertwined. Culture forges educational content, operational modes and contexts because it shapes our frames of reference, our ways of thinking and acting, our beliefs and even our feelings. All actors involved in education – teachers and learners, curriculum developers, policy makers and community members – invest their cultural perspectives and cultural aspirations into what is taught, and how it is conveyed. Yet education is also vital to the survival of culture. As a collective and historical phenomenon, culture cannot exist without continual transmission and enrichment through education and organized education often aims to achieve this very purpose (UNESCO 2013, pp. 12–3).

The parameters for non-authorized cultural expression are relatively narrow within the Thai curriculum, and the construction of personal and societal cultural identities, consciously or unconsciously, results in the perpetuation of difference as seen through differential education attainment, as well as ongoing social tensions. It is therefore vital that the education system and curricula are more reflective of the pluralism existing within Thai society and within the student population, and that work is done through the education system to move towards a more equitable and peaceful coexistence.

10 The Purpose of (a Potential) Intercultural Education in Thailand

The purpose of engaging with intercultural education in classrooms in Thailand is to allow students the opportunity to articulate the differences within and between groups and to work towards accommodation and acceptance of differences. In doing so, students aim to reconstruct a positive conceptualization of the intergroup relationship, while diminishing negative intergroup relations (see Bush and Saltarelli 2000). In the longer term, the integration of intercultural education as a component of the curriculum would aim to develop programs supportive of positive experiences of diversity, leading to intercultural and interfaith dialogue across the breadth of Thailand. In this context, it is hoped that students develop the complex thinking and affective capacities that underpin intercultural understanding, both as members of a multicultural society, as well as global citizens.

Such an initiative can also build on previous non-government, informal education initiatives in diversified localities such as Southern Thailand (for example, Building Peace by Teaching Peace (NISEA 2014)) and the positive work of peace educators who have founded the Committee on Peace Education in Southern Border Provinces of Thailand (COPE) and facilitated acceptance of the concept and practice of peace education by education officials, school directors and local leaders (Ferrer 2012). The intercultural education initiative could also works in more directly with the Thai curriculum, in particular, with ‘LIFE skills’, one of five core competencies in the standard curriculum regulated by the Office of Basic Education Commission (OBEC) (Ministry of Education 2010). The Life Skills framework assists students in developing skills and capacities to better know and care for themselves and others; to cope with and manage emotional stress; to prevent harm to themselves and others and to improve their self-esteem, dignity, confidence and wellbeing. Emphasis on analytical, critical and creative thinking supports problem solving and decision-making, while the development of enhanced communication skills facilitates exchange of thoughts, perspectives, feelings and emotions.

11 Thailand, ASEAN and the Role of English

Discussions of Thai modernity and students' interaction with cultural difference in general, arise for most students in their formal and obligatory study of English. Thailand was one of the founding members of ASEAN and has played an important role in the development of the regional body. Thailand has already undertaken significant preparation work for participation in the ASEAN community with the launch of a center, run by the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), whose aim is to facilitate integration with the three pillars of the ASEAN community: the ASEAN Political-Security Community; the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. Educationally, significant work has been undertaken by the Spirit of ASEAN development program through curriculum development workshops and the publication of ASEAN-focused general information and curriculum resources. The ASEAN Youth Forum (AYF), further supports these peace-oriented values through the involvement of young leaders in the region and beyond in discussion of issues related to diversity, promotion of friendships beyond boundaries, and initiation of people-centered reforms.

As the sole official and working language of ASEAN and AEC, English plays an institutionalized role in regional affairs. ASEAN activities are invariably undertaken in English, which was declared 'official' by all ten member states of the organization, despite its previous informal status (Kirkpatrick 2010). As ASEAN has proposed closer economic integration for Southeast Asia it has also promoted cross regional curriculum innovation stressing engagement, interaction, contact and communication (Lo Bianco and UNICEF 2015). The claims made for increased English proficiency and capability across Thai education that result from these developments, also elevate various intercultural education activities and concepts. One of the claims proposed here is that the multicultural/intercultural activities needed to address intra-national concerns can be used to satisfy extra-national aims through English study. This includes direct engagement with the cultures and societies of partner ASEAN countries and indeed across the wider Asian region.

12 Mapping Intercultural Education onto the Thai Curriculum

The Thai curriculum allows incorporation of intercultural education as a *general capability*, which expresses outcomes intended to operate across the whole curriculum to be applied through content in learning areas. The Thai curriculum describes the promotion of thinking skills, self-learning strategies and moral development as being at the heart of teaching and learning. These capacities emphasize communication skills, interpersonal relationships and concern for the environment, which are in line with similar principles of 'learning to live together' commonly in conventional multicultural education in multi-ethnic societies. Points of entry include references

in the Thai National Curriculum to building social cohesion, and references to local communities and how education is to make a contribution to meeting the real needs of localities and regions across the country. Numerous references are made to the study of local histories, geographies and to traditions, cultures, literature, performing and visual arts, and wisdom found among Thai people. These openings towards local realities reflect the spirit and inspiration of the 1999 National Education Act which has pointed towards changed management and administration of national education, even legislating for the decentralization of administrative responsibilities to the local level, with the consolidation of education planning at the central level. The full implementation of the provisions of these reforms, and their application to all parts of the country, are a promising source of future potential for a more robust notion of cultural difference to be incorporated into curriculum activity. Such reforms represent a remit for development of multicultural content and a Thai-specific set of capabilities that would be generated within the specific stocks of knowledge the curriculum would inculcate. All this, however, awaits full adoption and implementation of the reforms.

The reformation process had led to the establishment of 175 Education Service Areas (ESA) by 2003, increasing to more than 180 in late 2014. At the provincial level, education development plans, 5 year plans and operational plans are prepared and implemented. Local authorities are responsible for the formulation of local education policies and planning and management of education (Punyasavatsut 2013). The Basic Thai curriculum executes this legislation. Explicitly, the Thailand Ministry of Education (2009) states that 'flexibility is built into the curriculum in order to integrate local wisdom and culture, so that it is consistent with set learning standards in each of the core subject groups' (p. 3). The Thai curriculum appears to be designed to allow for the integration of local narratives and histories and to provide opportunities for integrating multicultural activities in mainstream learning areas. Specifically, it refers to the time allocated for *Learner development activities* or the curriculum space allocated to *Additional courses/activities provided by schools* (see Table 1).

The model utilized to map intercultural education onto the Thai curriculum was the *intercultural learning continuum* (Fig. 1), which is positioned as a general capability in the Australia national curriculum. The purpose of intercultural education as a general capability is to develop students who are active and informed citizens with an appreciation of Australia's social, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, and the ability to relate to and communicate across cultures at local, regional and global levels (ACARA 2014, p. 1529).

The intercultural learning continuum consists of three interrelated organizing elements as illustrated in Fig. 1 below and each element has three key components:

1. *Recognising culture and developing respect*
   (a) Investigate culture and cultural identity
   (b) Explore and compare cultural knowledge, beliefs and practices
   (c) Develop respect for cultural diversity

2. *Interacting and empathising with others*

   (a) Communication across cultures
   (b) Consider and develop multiple perspectives
   (c) Empathise with others

3. *Reflecting on intercultural experiences and taking responsibility*

   (a) Reflect on intercultural experiences
   (b) Challenge stereotypes and prejudices
   (c) Mediate cultural difference.

In his extensive work on culture and education over many decades, James Banks has developed a four-level paradigm for integrating multicultural and intercultural content into curricula (see e.g. Banks 2006). In Fig. 2, we can see the four levels of activities building towards an intercultural perspective, which aim to encourage students to become agents of social change in their educational, personal and community environments. In Banks's schema the first two components, *contributions approach* and the *additive approach*, do not require change to the structure of curriculum. What is required is integration of themes, concepts and perspectives into the existing structure of teaching, learning, assessment, and reporting. These approaches can be important 'gradual and cumulative' steps towards the higher levels of content integration (Banks 2006, p. 143).

However, both of these are content or information centered and research into the acquisition of intercultural capability highlights that acquisition of knowledge in and of itself does not necessarily foster intercultural capabilities or transform

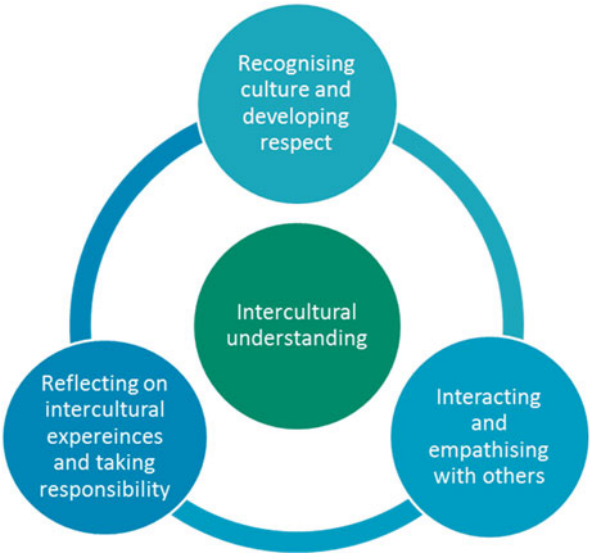

Fig. 2 Organizing elements for intercultural understanding (ACARA 2014, 1549)

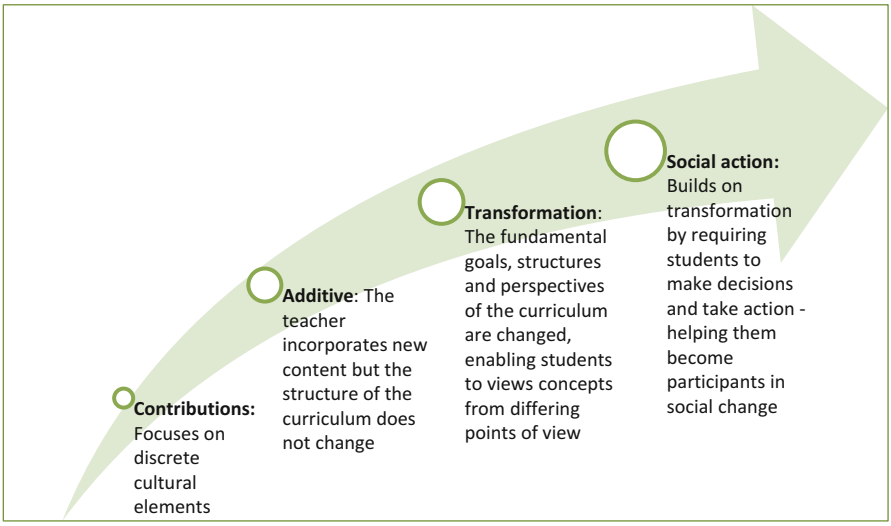

Fig. 3 Bank's integration framework for education (Banks 2006, pp. 140–143)

thinking towards principles of interculturalism. Such deeper changes rely on the transformation and social action approaches depicted in Banks's framework and the importance of including of a range of perspectives from different groups across society so that students can extend their understanding of the complexity present in their communities (Banks 2006) (Fig. 3).

Given the dominance of Thai-ness and its associated aspects in the existing curriculum, and lack of systematic preparation in pre-service education for these activities, much of this will pose a significant demand and additional burden to practicing teachers. They will require a range of starting points in mapping perspectives across the curriculum, and considerable assistance through professional development, even to undertake the first components of including diverse 'contributions' and 'additive content'. However, in consultation with the first author across Thailand over the past 3 years many have expressed more substantive concerns, including the fact that merely suggesting the topic of systematically teaching cultural differences is often rejected by authorities at the school and district levels. Some have made the more troublesome point that there is no readily available way to express the need or purpose of intercultural education since it is sometimes construed as a criticism of the overarching primacy of national cohesion and unity.

There are issues related to general pedagogical practice as well, so that while nearly all models of intercultural and multicultural education invoke activities that are student-centered, many teachers are not comfortable with the pedagogy this implies. Many concepts and activities in multicultural education expressly aim at subjectivity transformations among learners, an ideal of identity and self-becoming in the interests of promoting not merely cognitive development but affective, attitudinal and even ideological change. Extensive experimentation with intercultural

education specific to Thai contexts and realities are needed, buttressed by research, pre-service training for future teachers and in-service professional development for existing teachers. Despite such limitations, the experience of the past 3 years under LESC, and that of many Thai innovators in this area, shows that some teachers independently begin using *contributions* or *additive* approaches, but may need support and training and to work with the assistance of colleagues, school boards and local authorities to move to *transformative and social action* approaches.

The mapping framework reported below was developed in response to requests from Thai officials to illustrate how intercultural activities can be mapped against the existing framework and content of the curriculum across a range of subject areas. The tables should not be seen as a finished product available for implementation, this is not their intention, but as a demonstration guide for teachers and administrators to create their own priorities and foci in the proportion of the curriculum which will be made available for localized innovation.

In deciding how to proceed and what to priorities, it has been suggested in workshops conducted in Thailand that teachers and administrators construct local 'situation analyses' of diversity, local circumstances, the school community and wider social context, and that these inform the early stages of the sequence, but that the mapping exercise should consider that:

- Intercultural education involves understanding the self, as well as others – locally, nationally and globally;
- An intercultural education program should contain structured progression from a *contributions* or *additive approach* through to more complex activities leading to social change, as outlined in Bank's integration framework for education (Fig. 2).
- Certain subjects and subject areas lend themselves more readily to different types of activities and different levels of complexity. For example, a simple additive activity investigating culture and identity could be mapped to Mathematics or Science, but a more complex activity involving a community of enquiry and activities promoting social change may be better located in a subject such as Social Studies, Religion and Culture. Consideration should be given to resource availability and the achievability of different activities under local circumstances.

In the original project, the three elements and their sub-elements were mapped against the Thai curriculum for students in Grades 4–6 and students in Grades 7–9. That is, the first table mapped the element of *Recognising culture and developing respect* and its three sub-elements against the curriculum, providing brief outlines of activities through which to explore each component. Due to the constraints of this chapter, only the mapping of one element will be included to illustrate the exercise followed between 2012 and 2015, for children in Grades 4–6 and 7–9. That is, the same element and sub-element mapped for different year levels.

It is important to note that these examples are brief outlines of possible activities that can be undertaken in existing classrooms using the typically available resources of Thailand schools. Local 'ownership' of the activities is imperative of course and, in areas of major conflict, agreement and understanding of the relevance and impor-

Table 2 Example of curriculum mapping

Recognising culture and developing respect (Years 7–9)	
Investigate culture and cultural identity	Example activities
Subject:	**Concepts of time**[a]
Mathematics;	Identify regions in Thailand and across the Asian and Asia Pacific region within the same time zone
Social studies, religion and culture	Investigate the history of Greenwich Mean Time
What is learned:	Explore how and why time is manipulated through 'daylight savings'. Which countries in the region utilise daylight savings and why?
Measurement;	Investigate the linear and non-linear construction of time across cultures
Civics, culture and living	

[a]Adapted from *The Australian Curriculum*. Unit **ACMMG199**

tance of such curriculum innovation needs to be recognized by the major stakeholders.

An example table is provided to illustrate how the elements and activities were mapped against the Thai curriculum and its descriptors (Table 2). This activity is based on element 1: *Recognising culture and developing respect* and the sub-element: to *Investigate culture and cultural identity*. The activity is mapped to one or more of the subject areas in the Thai curriculum. In Table 2, these are the subject areas of *Mathematics* and *Social Studies*, *Religion and Culture*. The activity is then mapped to explicit learning elements within the Thai curriculum. In Table 2, this involves the learning elements of *Measurement* within the subject of *Mathematics* (Ministry of Education 2010, 62), while for the subject of *Social Studies*, *Religion and Culture*, the activity engages with the Thai curriculum learning element of *Civics*, *Culture and Living* (Ministry of Education 2010, 162). The activity itself is detailed on the right side on the table.

The following two tables illustrate the mapping of the element Recognising culture and developing respect for students in Grades 4–6 and Grades 7–9 (Tables 3 and 4).

13 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we have discussed the broad context of 'differences' in Thailand, as well as mentioned some of the historical and political conditions and their special significance and problematic character. The national curriculum of Thailand is a vehicle of increasing promise within the education system that is progressively becoming more open to incorporation of difference of religious identity, linguistic community and cultural affiliation. In the past, the curriculum has been the primary

Table 3 Recognising culture and developing respect (Grades 4–6)

Investigate culture and cultural identity	**Example activities**
Subject: Social studies, religion and culture; Thai language	**Investigating the significance of a cultural event**
What is learned: History; civics, culture and living; literature and literary works	Read a text that is used across cultures, and explore variations in characters and storylines. For example, 'The Ramayana' story which is told to children across Asia, including in Thailand, as well as India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Burma, Laos, Tibet and Malaysia
Subject: Social studies, religion and culture	**Protection and care for natural resources in the environment**
What is learned: Geography; civics, culture and living; science	Examine a case study of a community in one of the ASEAN nations, or beyond, where people have worked together to save animals threatened with extinction
	Examine a similar case study in Thailand. What do these case studies highlight about the responsibilities humans have for caring for living things? Were the approaches similar across cultures? What different obstacles are people working to overcome?
Explore and compare cultural knowledge, beliefs and practices	**Example activities**
Subject: Mathematics; arts	**Understanding the geometry and visual aesthetics of pattern**
What is learned: Geometry; visual arts	What are tessellations and how do they provide symmetry, shape and pattern?
	Explore the shapes of regular tessellation – square, equilateral triangles and hexagons. Have each student work with the same shape, illustrating each one and then using their shapes to construct a class tessellation. Set an overall theme for the tessellation, allowing each student to provide their own interpretation. Can you do the same activity utilising irregular tessellation?
	Are there forms of tessellation that can you see in your local community?
	Research the tessellated tiles of Alhambra in Southern Spain and the Islamic cultural heritage represented in the architecture
Develop respect for cultural diversity	**Example activities**
Subject: Social studies, religion and culture; Thai language; foreign languages; arts	**Investigating language in the local community**
What is learned: Civics, culture and living; language and the relationship with community and the world; visual arts	Create a survey to record the dialects of Thai used in your local community. Observe and record the types of Thai spoken in students' families. In what situations are dialects or other languages other than Thai used, and when is Thai used?

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

Subject: Art; social studies, religion and culture	Examine images or artefacts of different arts forms across Thailand, such as silk designs or musical instruments from different regions of the country. How do they differ regionally?
What is learned: Visual arts; music; dramatic arts; civics, culture and living	Can you find an equivalent art form in a neighbouring country? Can you identify differences, for example, in the use of materials and techniques to make the instruments or in how the instrument is utilised?

vehicle of the longstanding national project of establishing a bounded, practical and symbolic closure to differences, favoring instead a centrally prescribed idea of Thai-ness.

Secessionist violence in some parts of the country and non-violent conflict in others, expressly repudiates the overt purposes of the curriculum and its reinforcement in many other practices of national life. Alongside these 'bottom-up' demands for a more inclusive and pluralistic vision of the national state, extra-national pressures from the immediate region, as well as pressures of economic globalization and population mobility into and out of Thailand, also push Thai education towards building wider and more pluralistic understandings of the cultural messages of the curriculum and the cultural capabilities it imparts. Prizing open curriculum space for the admission of content about difference itself makes possible a wider discursive possibility about other kinds of difference. The represented and included selections might range from the use of English in tourism to support activities promoting regional cuisines, popular music and ethnic traditions. Many of the latter are currently tied to safe displays of ethnicity in commercial tourism, yet these play a role in raising consciousness of diversity within even the established canons of national life. To link these to more critical representations of national crises so that they foster social cohesion, cross-ethnic communication, and peaceful co-existence in a context of often bitter conflict and tension requires substantial pedagogical innovation.

The supra, or extra-national, and the sub-national press for conceptualizing diversity is not identical and may be irreconcilable, yet both foster cultural knowledge, communicative skills and attitudinal dispositions that are broadly pluralistic and inclusive. Innovation in Thailand's education will need to respond to multiple points of pressure and kinds of diversity. Recognition of difference has taken significant steps through initiatives of the Royal Institute of Thailand and its decade long interest in a multilingual language policy (Warotamasikkhadit and Person 2011) and in wider fields (Vaddhanaphuti 2005; Premsrirat 2011). Language policy innovations have been held back by political turmoil in recent years but major work has gone into conceptualizing Thailand as a multilingual, multi-dialectal and pluralistic society representing probably the biggest intellectual investment in national reconceptualization in decades. That the source of this innovation is the Royal Institute (2007, 2009), attached to the highest academic institutional life and to the monarchy, the central institution of the country, is of major significance.

Table 4 Recognising culture and developing respect (Grades 7–9)

Investigate culture and cultural identity	**Example activities**
Subject: **Mathematics**; **social studies**, **religion and culture**	**Concepts of time**
What is learned: Measurement; civics, culture and living	Identify regions in Thailand and across the Asia Pacific region with the same time zone
	Investigate the history of Greenwich Mean Time
	Explore how and why time is manipulated through 'daylight savings'. Which countries in the region utilise daylight savings and why?
	Investigate the linear and non-linear construction of time across cultures
Subject: **Arts**; **social studies**, **religion and culture**	**The birth of modern art in Thailand**
What is learned: Visual arts; history	Investigate the life of Silpa Bhirasri, his influence on modern art in Thailand and the establishment of a University of Fine Arts (Silpakorn University). Explore the theme of intercultural connections between Italian-Western Art and Thai Art
	Document and describe some of Bhirasri's monuments spread throughout Bangkok
Explore and compare cultural knowledge, **beliefs and practices**	**Example activities**
Subject: **Science**	**Science as human endeavour**
What is learned: Astronomy and space; nature of science and technology; history	Research scientists such as Ptolemy, Copernicus, Khayyám, Galileo and Kepler and the different ideas they contributed to the development of models of the solar system. How did their beliefs differ and/or build on each other's theories?
	Research developments in the understanding of astronomy. For example, al-Battani, who determined the length of the solar year and predicted eclipses, in the tenth century
Subject: Social studies, religion and culture	**The historical development of mathematics**
What is learned: History	Research the achievements of Islamic mathematicians such as al-Khwārizmī (algebra), Abū Kāmil (irrational numbers), al-Uqlidisi (decimal fractions) and al-Qūhī (equations), and their contributions to the development of modern mathematics
Develop respect for cultural diversity	**Example activities**

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Subject: **Social studies, religion and culture**	**Language variation and change**
What is learned: civics, culture and living	Explore language use in your community. What is the result of interaction between languages and dialects in your community (e.g. Thai, Pattani Malay and Chinese)? Identify vocabulary and expressions from other languages in the community that have become part of your own language. Can these items be categorised? E.g. cultural, religious or technical expressions
	Look at language use in social media. Is there a combination of the languages and dialects used across your community or does it include other languages as well?
Subject: Art; social studies, religion and culture; foreign languages	**A picture tells a thousand words**
What is learned: Visual arts; civics, culture and living; language and the relationship with community and the world	Undertake a photographic investigation of the use of language in your community. What signs are displayed in which languages? Where is multilingual signage utilised? Does the language determine who the services or goods are intended for? Are foreign languages represented visually in your community? What is its role in the promotion of goods and services?

From all of these sources, a new and distinctive Thai intercultural curriculum, Thai national language policy, as well as a rejuvenated notion of Thai multicultural pluralism are made possible, if not inevitable. This is despite the extreme political tensions and the suspension of the democratic processes resulting from the military coup of 22 May 2014 in which the Royal Thai Armed Forces, led by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, launched a *coup d'état* (the 12th since 1932). Today Thailand is ruled by a junta called the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) and no date has been set for a return to electoral democratic politics and no definitive account has been offered of what kind of political dispensation will follow. All executive and legislative powers reside in the leader of the junta, while the judicial branch of the state is subject to influence or directives from the NCPO. Civilian rule is promised and few doubt it will be restored in some, probably modified fashion, but even under the current arrangements considerable work proceeds to re-imagine a pluralistic future vision of Thailand.

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Learning from Difference

Joseph Lo Bianco

Abstract It is clear that notions of 'unity' and 'diversity' characterize a growing number of national settings where the concept 'multicultural' has been recruited to inform and even to shape public education and education policy. The nine national case studies included in this work all demonstrate however, the immense differences concealed by the terminology and that what abstractions like unity and diversity precisely mean are highly contingent on the perceived history of group relations in difference settings and how questions of difference relate to the material and symbolic patters in individual states. Yet, we are able to imagine and construct a conversation about comparative practices in which substantial new learning is available to us. The terms therefore, can function, for all their limitations, to stimulate the beginnings of conversations about conceptualizations and responses to difference in education practices. For example, the very concept of 'learning from difference' which is the title of our volume, as much as the specific content, can provide portable lessons and critical dimensions of not only approaching difference, but of responses to real world scenarios to benefit educational outcomes for larger numbers of learners in each case study.

Keywords Learning from difference • multicultural education • diversity • globalization • multiculturalism

Aydin Bal's chapter ("From Deficit to Expansive Learning: Policies, Outcomes, and Potentials for Multicultural Education and Systemic Transformation in the United States") writing about the United States, notes that 'the concept "multicultural" pulls in two directions', expressing the dynamic trajectories of single words used to capture profoundly divergent settings and experiences of public policy shaped around demographic diversity.

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J. Lo Bianco, A. Bal (eds.), *Learning from Difference: Comparative Accounts of Multicultural Education*, Multilingual Education 16,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-26880-4_11

At a high level of conceptual abstraction it is clear that notions of 'unity' and 'diversity' characterize a growing number of national settings where the concept "multicultural" has been recruited to inform and even to shape public education and education policy. The nine national case studies included in this work all demonstrate however, the immense differences concealed by the terminology and that what abstractions like unity and diversity precisely mean are highly contingent on the perceived history of group relations in difference settings and how questions of difference relate to the material and symbolic patters in individual states. Yet, we are able to imagine and construct a conversation about comparative practices in which substantial new learning is available to us. The terms therefore, can function, for all their limitations, to stimulate the beginnings of conversations about conceptualizations and responses to difference in education practices. For example, the very concept of 'learning from difference' which is the title of our volume, as much as the specific content, can provide portable lessons and critical dimensions of not only approaching difference, but of responses to real world scenarios to benefit educational outcomes for larger numbers of learners in each case study.

Robust discussion about how 'culture' is conceptualized, and the historically grounded experiences that differentiate practices, not least legal, political and economic conditions within which differences are negotiated, can arise from the ground clearing work of description of specific settings undertaken in these chapters.

'Diversity' is frequently cited as a concept worthy of recognition in policy, able to be celebrated and worthy of celebration. Yet, diversity as a historically loaded term is associated in the minds of many social groups and individuals as eroding social cohesion.

The Australian case study focuses on the historically specific demands for educational representation made by and on behalf of 'minority groups'. This chapter notes that these demands arise in 'contested space', seeking to dislodge existing privilege and its association with particular social norms. The Australian experience indexes the norms of a prosperous liberal western democracy in which the political voice of minority and minoritized populations occurs within a shared political (i.e. civic non-ethnic) citizenship. The dominant policy voices for multicultural education thus come from locally born children of the labour force recruited by the state in the post-world war II context. Such voices overwhelmingly extend from the secure and uncontested place of English, allowing policy concessions to be granted by policymakers without invoking the particularly US conflicts (see Bal) nor the Canadian setting (Joshee, Peck, Thompson, Chareka and Sears) where a second language is privileged in policy and marked off from multicultural discourse by sovereignty-based constitutional arrangements. What has not proved possible in Denmark (see Horst, who shows convincingly that public policy has been quarantined from multicultural influence, but not schooling, research, and higher education where generation of ideas have more influence) has been the main feature of both Australian and Canadian practice. Unlike South Africa and Brazil, however, and like the US and Canada, in different ways, the Australian political compact around multicultural education has so far involved education initiatives to ameliorate social inequalities, and to forestall radical social change by fostering social

mobility, because it implies and helps to produce 'minority acceptance of the extant order of social privilege'.

Crain Soudien and Carolyn McKinney's discussion of the 'character' of multicultural education in South Africa reveals how multicultural discussion is deeply conditioned by the country's persisting social inequalities and how these are symmetrically aligned to racial categories. Consequently, South African diversity is 'of a kind that has caused immense difficulty politically and economically', so that multicultural education policy is not a strong feature of the nation's response to and management of difference. South Africa's 'dealing with difference' is understandable only within the sociological character of that nation's make up, and the past practice of its management, which included many injustices of the apartheid period. The spectre of the past is evident in how discussions of multiculturalism inevitably invoke the concept of 'native intellectuals' as the only means for advancing a multiculturally-based premise for public policy and education.

Yongyang Wang, Hong Ye and Andrew Schapper offer an account of multicultural education linked very closely to language policy and reveal that it is highly variable not only across the highly diverse Chinese landmass but also the tumultuous periods of modern China's post revolutionary history. The authors give an account of the ways in which China's approach to linguistic diversity has often fluctuated in response to the ideological goals of its highly centralized political mechanisms, and show how integral language policies have been to communist conceptions of national identity and the role that language plays in its construction. While still buffeted by ideological shifts and political events so that during the Cultural Revolution period, 'difference' was repressed into interests of communist solidarity, China's multicultural experience varies mostly according to whether groups of minorities are linked with secessionist possibilities. In Southwest China liberal language policies are common, but in the Xingjian Uyghur Autonomous Region more restrictive policies apply.

Christian Horst's analysis of the educational responses to 'ethnic complexity in education' in Denmark is an important counterpoint to other cases. Interestingly, however, the Danish context nonetheless has little or no resemblance to Australian, Canadian or US practices. In Denmark, according to Horst's discussion, 'intercultural and multicultural education is not a recognized educational perspective'. The official domain of Danish public policy does not incorporate multicultural education concepts into how policies are devised or implemented, 'despite the increasing ethnic complexity in the citizenry'. While Danish political rhetoric excludes a multicultural trajectory for its future, many layers of the overall education enterprise do operate with multicultural understandings and objectives, in research, teaching and other service provision. Ethnically complex societies can be expected to generate concepts and social understandings of themselves that draw on and are influenced by their multicultural character. However, the Danish case underscores how visions of the role and purpose of education can transcend these, constructed as it is as a kind of blueprint for the future of the society rather than its present state. For Horst however, the multicultural character of the society is an indispensable component of the practice of all education to ameliorate and overcome racial/ethnic disparities in

educational outcomes that are influenced by systemic and social responses to language and cultural differences in national school systems. A political vision of a mono-cultural future, to be constructed partly on the basis of effective negation of present multiculturalism, might still require transitional multiculturally inspired practices. In Horst's discussion, the role and impact of international comparative educational statistics which could, if they differentiated achievement against disaggregated background characteristics, also fail to stimulate multicultural policy. Horst indicates the kinds of developments, in research, policy rhetoric, teacher training and teaching, which have the potential to modify the current state affairs.

Helena Chamlian and Daniele Kowalewski reveal the recency of the presence of multiculturalism in both education and even in research on racial and ethnic diversity in the immensely complex setting of Brazil. This recency of focus in such a pluralistic society has invested the Brazilian experience with several special features in relation to dealing with difference. Like South Africa, the overriding question of education discussion is economic inequality, the sharp and longstanding disparities in the outcomes of education along racial and racialized categories and their history of treatment. Diversity, the authors argue, and economic inequality, 'mark our social life and consequently, our schools'. This creates a condition which produces a 'political problem' in relation to national democratization specifically in relation to demands based on 'militancy of the Black and Indigenous movements'. A key and critical feature of the Brazilian case, the authors argue, is 'miscegenation among white, indigenous and black people, as well as other ethnic groups'. What are the means and prospects of fair public policies in education, policies which *recognize* difference, as they seek to overcome the association of these differences with economic inequalities, when a crucial feature of the population is deep hybridity? How can 'uniqueness' of differences be reconciled with integration and social inequality? These questions are posed against the scholarly generation of new ideals of the nation, as well as what respect for difference actually constitutes in a context where processes of integration serve to diffuse the very differences on which the pluralizing process is premised. The Brazilian case therefore, recirculates questions of a philosophical character about culture and 'universal nature', both in terms of equal citizenship but also in relation to common humanity. The concept of common humanity is inevitable in all the cases and indeed in any case where multicultural education is present and when the practical problems of dealing with difference are addressed. How do human subjects understand the specific constituents of their identities and their relation to the universally available possibilities that these identities index and make possible? And, how do these particular and universal characteristics relate to the national/political settings in which they arise? The Brazilian chapter invites us to see the lines of progress in intercultural dialogue which avoids the traps of cultural essentialism, anti-cultural economism or of universal human nature, and the acceptance of legitimacy of hybrid and multiple identities.

Reva Joshee, Carla Peck, Laura Thompson, Ottilia Chareka and Alan Sears in their discussion of multicultural education, diversity and citizenship in Canada provide precisely this kind of contrast with the other settings included in the volume. However, their analysis strongly recalls elements of the Australian and US

encounters of dealing with difference. The authors point out that Canadian concepts of multiculturalism refer to questions of cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity, specifically in response to immigration. This notion of cultural pluralism is traced to the origins of the Canadian polity in its struggles with harmonizing the relationships between the 'founding nations' (British and French colonial states), and later projects of assimilating immigrants, and the administration by the states (the francophone and Anglophone ones) with First Nations peoples, the indigenous inhabitants. In all its diverse manifestations the vector of much of this policy and practice has been education, so that as 'historical underpinnings of multiculturalism' have been resolved, (e.g. through legalization of national bilingualism) the project of multiculturalism has moved on to deal with remaining challenges in the management of differences. The Canadian model, long the world template for a certain kind of toleration politics in multiculturalism, as the authors show, 'has gone from valuing diversity as a strength and a source of national identity to decrying diversity as a threat to the safety and security of the country'. This radical destabilization of the diversity principle is attributed to economic discourses of neoliberal reconstruction and 'neoconservative discourses' in which pluralism is seen as a deep problem for effective education in competitive global markets with 'minoritized students as having deficits that need to be addressed'. Concerns about the unraveling of social cohesion pits a social justice approach to multicultural education against one which invokes multiple kinds of national vulnerability, recalling some of the discourses noted in the Denmark setting, vulnerabilities in the personal security of individuals as well as in harmonious relations among citizens, especially from religion-based political radicalization.

Aydin Bal outlines 'the national context and diverse practices that inform the depth and breadth of multicultural education in the United States…today'. Moving from its manifestations in the early twentieth century to the contemporary setting of US education, he examines demographic change, evolving conceptualizations of culture and multiculturalism to provide a detailed consideration of an expansive approach to multicultural education serving youth from historically marginalized communities. As noted earlier the chapter identifies ambivalence in the notion of multiculturalism, its celebratory tendency and its predilection to foster a national curriculum infused with a reconciliation of the twin notions of diversity and unity. The author pays strong attention to dialogue and student and community participation and the ways in which, in given settings but also more widely, the notion of the multicultural, and its specific application, are conceived, interpreted and applied. Sociohistorical data are recruited to show the rich, nuanced and polyvalent character of the notion of culture, which is the central episteme in the entire enterprise of dealing with difference in all the case countries. However, as in all discussions in this volume, it is also clear that the world of the cultural is irreducibly tied to the material world of demography, education opportunity, economic rewards and disadvantages, as well as to the profound consequences of educational failure on the lives of individuals and entire communities.

The idea of 'learning from difference' in the case studies of Thailand and Turkey, suggest major new thinking is needed about multicultural education in the form in

which it is represented in the Australian, Canadian, Danish and US chapters. This could be called the classical or inherited form of multicultural education, and when contrasted with the radically divergent experiences of the other settings discussed in the volume, ones not normally linked immediately to the field, especially Brazil, China, South Africa, Thailand and Turkey, we recognize both benefit of comparative accounts of 'learning from difference' and how these expand the assumptions and activities which define multicultural education. In the case of Turkey we are invited by Seçkin Özsoy and Sabiha Bilgi to adopt a critical perspective to every one of the inherited concepts of what I might call 'canonical' multicultural education. The Turkish writers demonstrate a lively and vigorous debate about the claims that are conventionally made for multicultural education. These debates appear like a welcome corrective to the laudatory tone of much of the literature not simply because they are prone to challenges and question cherished notions – that are absent from multicultural education in other settings – but, rather, how the claims for the benefits of multicultural education intersect with interests of different groups not only the intended beneficiaries, minorities usually, but the advocates as well. This light shone on the field, its operations and ideals might not be welcomed by all but Özsoy and Bilgi rightly caution against an unquestioned view of multicultural education which becomes a fetish without proper interrogation.

Thailand however, exposes a different set of both practical and intellectual fault lines. Joseph Lo Bianco and Yvette Slaughter's discussion of this setting reveals that Thailand is experiencing violent subnational upheaval and supranational economic pressure, both of which are pushing against a long history of difference denial. However, today there are many signs of innovation and development in Thailand's response to difference. Thai-ness as a national project assumed by all authorities as normative and unquestioned is being openly debated even in the halls of the Royal Institute, which has shown itself to be highly creative in crafting a national language policy to recognize and support multilingualism. The Royal Institute's work draws on local and international expertise but its unique location at the center of intellectual life in the Kingdom, and its association with the monarchy, allow it an authoritative voice capable to influencing national conversations about the future of the country and how its minority populations are imagined within an expanded sense of citizenry. The chapter elaborates on moves to insert within existing curricula for schools content that pushes the boundaries of identity.

All multicultural education is deeply affected by globalization, which has destabilized some of the central ideas that have helped form national languages. Globalization has made international flows of knowledge possible, as well as increased contact and connection between different populations. Many scholars first imagined globalization as a recipe for ubiquitous cultural homogenization, yet today it is often regarded as bringing multiculturalism to all parts of the globe. Several of the chapters here show that clearly: national experiences with multiculturalism arise with economic globalization, but all other instances are also affected by the interlinked economic world we all inhabit. Deep communication effects arise in this reality, as migration of peoples is accompanied by instantaneous communica-

tions technologies to make multilingual and multicultural realities, rather than national and 'foreign' ones, increasingly challenge curriculum and teaching all across the globe.

As was discussed in the introduction today's world is characterized by an intensity and depth of human movement which is unprecedented in scale (Castles and Miller 2009) and which is intensifying. All have expanded, so that more people move, in more directions, for a much more differentiated set of purposes and durations. People are also moving in diverse kinds of legality, converting the experience of multiculturalism into one now permitting comparative analysis and multiple kinds of nuance. Immigration-caused diversity in many countries, but not all, interacts with other kinds of difference marking in society, and itself pluralizes the kinds of social difference that societies and education systems must negotiate and manage, giving rise to 'flexible citizenship' and the 'nomadic subject' (Ong 1999, p. 3, 124) within the challenges of transnationality. In recent years, Steven Vertovec's (2007) notion of 'superdiversity' has attracted a considerable following. Superdiversity is intended to account for some settings which are distinguished by 'dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socioeconomically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants' (p. 1024). What is being accounted for is urban (in this case, British) pluralism – not however, more diverse than 'traditional' linguistic diversity in Melanesia (Lo Bianco 2015). Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a multiplication not only of difference but of types and relations of difference.

The new sociolinguistics proposed to account for contemporary times foregrounds mobility, and change (Blommaert 2010) and would itself impose both a new order of interpretation about language and new dimensions to understandings of multicultural education. Our volume indicates that the term 'learning from difference' that aims to capture this wider enterprise of activities in education that seek to respond to pluralism of racial/ethnic and linguistic character, inevitably cultural, speaks to policy and practice grounded in local experiences of global patterns of development originating in economic and political upheavals.

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