

# Planning for cultural diversity

Christine Inglis

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## Fundamentals of educational planning

The booklets in this series are written primarily for two types of clientele: those engaged in educational planning and administration, in developing as well as developed countries; and others, less specialized, such as senior government officials and policy-makers who seek a more general understanding of educational planning and of how it is related to overall national development. They are intended to be of use either for private study or in formal training programmes.

Since this series was launched in 1967, practices and concepts of educational planning have undergone substantial change. Many of the assumptions which underlay earlier attempts to rationalize the process of educational development have been criticized or abandoned. Yet even if rigid mandatory centralized planning has now clearly proven to be inappropriate, this does not mean that all forms of planning have been dispensed with. On the contrary, the need for collecting data, evaluating the efficiency of existing programmes, undertaking a wide range of studies, exploring the future and fostering broad debate on these bases to guide educational policy and decision-making has become even more acute than before. One cannot make sensible policy choices without assessing the present situation, specifying the goals to be reached, marshalling the means to attain them, and monitoring what has been accomplished. Hence planning is also a way to organize learning: by mapping, targeting, acting and correcting. The scope of educational planning has been broadened. In addition to the formal system of education, it is now applied to all other important educational efforts in non-formal settings. Attention to the growth and expansion of education systems is being complemented and sometimes even replaced by a growing concern for the quality of the entire educational process and for the control of its results. Finally, planners and administrators have become more aware of the importance of implementation strategies and the role of regulatory mechanisms, including the choice of financing methods and examination and certification procedures. The concern of planners is twofold: to reach a better understanding of the

validity of education in its own empirically-observed dimensions, and to help in defining appropriate strategies for change.

The purpose of these booklets includes monitoring the evolution and change in educational policies and their effect upon educational planning requirements; highlighting current issues of educational planning and analyzing them in the context of their historical and societal setting; and disseminating methodologies of planning which can be applied in the context of both the developed and the developing countries. For policy-making and planning, vicarious experience is a potent source of learning: the problems others face, the objectives they seek, the routes they try, the outcomes they achieve, and the unintended results they produce all deserve analysis.

In order to help the Institute identify up-to-date issues in educational planning and policy-making in different parts of the world, an Editorial Board has been appointed comprising professionals of high repute in their fields. The series has been carefully designed, but no attempt has been made to avoid differences or even contradictions in the views expressed by the authors. The Institute itself does not wish to impose any official doctrine. Thus, while the views are the responsibility of the authors and may not always be shared by UNESCO or IIEP, they warrant attention in the international forum of ideas. Indeed, one purpose of this series is to reflect a diversity of experience and opinions by giving different authors from a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines the opportunity to express their views on changing theories and practices in educational planning.

With increasing migration and cross-boarder settlements for economic, political or other reasons, classrooms in schools are becoming evermore diverse in terms of ethnical composition. Accommodating students from very varied backgrounds and cultures is a challenge for teachers, especially when all students are taught in the same classrooms. It is a challenge also for policy-makers and planners. Having to provide education to learners who speak different languages at home, have different levels of academic ability and socio-economic status are factors that seriously complicate the provision of education, particularly if the objective is to raise everybody's achievement and to eventually integrate them into one nation. Different countries have different policies and apply different

approaches in this respect. In all cases tackling cultural diversity is one of the greatest challenges that education systems have to face at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

These are some of the issues discussed in the present booklet, which examines the different policy and planning issues, including school organization, curricula, language of instruction and school-based initiatives. It aims to explore ways in which education systems and schools can better incorporate cultural diversity without sacrificing social stability and cohesion, which are essential to provide a conducive learning environment. IIEP is grateful to the author for sharing her valuable knowledge on the subject in a comprehensive and straightforward manner.

Mark Bray  
Director, IIEP

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## Preface

Migrations have always existed in history and they have led to more or less peaceful integration of populations and to cultural mixing. In the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, migrations have occurred in large numbers toward the so-called new countries and new territories in America and Australia. New nations and new cultures have been created – often to the disadvantage of endogenous populations – and as a result these countries have developed a specific approach towards cultural integration and diversity. In the past 15 years migrations have accelerated all over the world and, according to UN estimates, some 175 million people – roughly 2.9 per cent of the world population – are international migrants. These population movements have occurred as a result of conflicts and political instability, but largely also of the increasing social and economic disparities between countries and regions. Inequalities in standards of living, work opportunities, education possibilities and health conditions have become very obvious and are widely known thanks to the new mediums of communication. Rapid forms of transportation as well as the creation of new political entities and abolition of barriers (as in Europe) have accelerated population movements. These are largely beneficial for the recipient countries but in the short term they create a real challenge in terms of integration and nation building. Tensions between ethnic groups, between old populations and new ones are rising and may endanger peace and stability. Managing cultural diversity has emerged as one of the greatest challenges of educational planners and decision-makers in recent years. Yet it seems to be more difficult than it used to be to integrate different populations. The great expectation that education could automatically reduce inequalities and eliminate social, ethnic and economic diversity has been challenged in many settings.

With respect to cultural diversity different countries have different approaches which reflect their history and traditions. Several models can be identified which range between those that deliberately favour migration and promote the existence of diverse communities and cultural diversity, to those at the other extreme that discourage cultural diversity and social mixing and either restrict

## *Preface*

migration or enforce segregation. In between, a number of countries do not favour cultural diversity and emphasize above all integration. In fact most democratic countries try to promote integration, but they have developed different strategies to do so.

This booklet, prepared by Christine Inglis, is about how countries can manage education in an increasingly diverse cultural environment and yet foster nation building and integration. The author reviews the different policies and strategies implemented in different countries in terms of curriculum and the teaching of languages, as well as in terms of school organization and forms of education delivery. While doing so the author reviews the latest research on education and inequality, and the limited evidence on the learning achievements of migrant populations and ethnic minorities. She convincingly argues in favour of cultural diversity and notes the effectiveness of models which strengthen reading and writing skills in the language of instruction very early on. The effect of streaming and tracking, as well as of school choice, is not so clear. These are very complex issue and no evidence exists yet in favour of one model or another. The choice of model to favour (or not) cultural diversity, to emphasize (or not) social mixing, remains fundamentally a cultural and political choice. Successful integration in society depends on education, but also on employment opportunities and social inequalities.

The Editorial Board is very grateful to Christine Inglis for this innovative and challenging booklet.

Françoise Caillods  
General Editor

## Acknowledgements

The discussion in this booklet is informed by the work of those educators who have striven to address the challenges posed by diversity in a democratic manner, in order to meet the needs of students and society as a whole. In acknowledging their contributions, it is important to note that individual educators are supported by a range of local, national and international institutions and organizations. Of particular importance in addressing the issues raised by diversity is the work of UNESCO and its agencies. In the field of curriculum, UNESCO's International Bureau of Education and the work of Cecilia Braslavsky has played an extremely valuable role, complementing the contribution of the International Institute of Educational Planning, the publisher of this booklet. At IIEP, particular thanks are owed to Miriam Jones for her editorial work. Special mention must be made of Françoise Caillods and her colleagues, who commented on drafts of this text. It is a testimony to the complexities of the issues which need to be addressed that the final text is the outcome of our often lively discussions concerning the implications of particular strategies and initiatives, and the priorities appropriate in different educational settings.

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## List of abbreviations

CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
DVD	Digital Video Disk
EU	European Union
ESL	English as a Second Language
ID (card)	Identity card
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
ILC	Intensive Language Centre
IQ	Intelligence quotient
IT	Information technology
L1	Mother tongue
L2	Second language for those whose mother tongue (L1) is not the national/official language
NEP	New Economic Policy
NESB	Non-English speaking background
NSW	New South Wales
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
POL	Pupil's own language
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
USA	United States of America
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

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## Introduction

Almost daily, the media bring into homes across the world accounts of conflict and social unrest involving people from diverse backgrounds. Less prominence is given to the peaceful contacts involving international travel, trade and co-existence than to terrorism. What role can education play in minimizing conflict and overcoming its causes? For those involved or with an interest in educational policy and planning, this booklet provides a brief introduction to some of the initiatives and issues associated with providing education in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies in a globalizing world. A major part of the booklet examines popular curricula and school-based initiatives to address diversity. The relatively limited range of initiatives suggests that educators have in some ways 'solved' the problem of how to overcome the negative outcomes often associated with diversity, while at the same time maximizing its benefits. Regrettably, this is not so. The emphases on particular initiatives and manner of implementation continue to be disputed. An important underlying reason is that educational initiatives occur within the larger society. Even apparently straightforward educational innovations may be affected by socio-political agendas involving a range of stakeholders. This is particularly true in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies, where the relations between diverse groups and issues of national identity are in flux.

Given the complex set of educational challenges posed by diversity, this booklet looks beyond specific educational prescriptions and initiatives to explore ways in which education systems and schools can incorporate, in a more equitable manner, key dimensions of cultural diversity without sacrificing social stability and cohesion. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, a fear that these objectives are irreconcilable has intensified. This is due to concerns about national identity in a period of unprecedented and rapid social and economic change, which has all too frequently been associated with conflict and violence. A question addressed in this booklet is: What is the role of education in ensuring that the concerns of key stakeholders are addressed in a manner consistent with a win-win outcome for individuals, social groups and society? One of the aims

of the booklet is to examine how, while education cannot and should not be expected to solve all of society's problems, it can make a valuable contribution towards achieving the major objectives of democracy in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies.

### *Diversity in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies*

Societies are characterized by differences related to gender, age, marital status and physical attributes, including hair and eye colour and height. However, the existence of these differences does not mean that they necessarily have a social significance or are associated with distinctive cultural practices. The processes through which such differences gain social or economic significance and become involved in, or even markers of, different life chances, experiences and access to power has varied considerably from one era to another, and in different parts of the world. In this booklet, the focus is on the cultural and ethnic diversity that typifies what are widely described as multi-ethnic and multicultural societies. The populations of these societies are not demographically homogeneous. Rather, they perceive themselves and/or are perceived by others as coming from diverse ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds. Through the increasing international migration and travel and changing state boundaries that have characterized the twentieth century, very few countries are now in a position to claim that their populations are homogeneous. This is the case even if – like in Japan – their national ideologies stress the importance of a single national origin group.

While terms such as 'ethnicity' or 'ethnic group' may not always be acceptable in popular and colloquial discourse<sup>1</sup>, there is nevertheless substantial academic agreement on their importance in exploring relations between groups from different origins. Schermerhorn (1970: 12) describes an ethnic group as:

“[a] collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome

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1. French scholars have shown how the terms have been unwelcome in France because they are perceived to oppose the universalist political objectives associated with the strongly-held Republican ideology of the French state (Poutignant and Streiff-Fenart, 1995; De Rudder, 1998).

of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.”

Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992: 4) note that, despite the diverse forms of ethnic groups,

“what is common to them ... is that they involve the social construction of an origin as a basis for community or collectivity. This origin, mythical or real, can be historically, territorially, culturally or physiognomically based. It can be internally constituted by the group or externally imposed, or both. As well as a social construction of an origin as unifying the group, the idea of a common or shared fate can act in the same way.”

The common feature of these definitions is that membership and attachment to a group may be based on a variety of different criteria such as religion, ‘race’ or language. Apart from the sense of common identity, certain symbols and cultural forms are also viewed as integral to the group’s identity. Neither of these definitions views ethnic groups, nor membership in them, as immutable. Rather, they are social entities that are part of an ongoing process of social construction. This process may result from the actions of outsiders, such as Australian colonial authorities who assigned the name ‘Aborigine’ to an otherwise culturally and linguistically heterogeneous set of indigenous groups. It may also involve a process of ethno-genesis or self-construction by individuals.

The significance of ethnic groups in particular societies varies. Similarly, the basis for defining their membership boundaries can change. Power affects relations between ethnic groups. Their relationship to the state – itself a major repository of power – also varies. Many of the nation states created since the nineteenth century have claimed legitimacy by arguing that they unite a ‘people’ or ‘nation’. In such states, citizenship is initially extended to the ‘founding’ ethnic group, with immigrants and other long-established ‘ethnic groups’ located within the state boundaries constituting minorities who must establish their claims to citizenship through

other processes. The bases for membership in the state are increasingly being revisited and challenged in light of the changing patterns of interethnic relations and expansion of contacts between ethnic groups nationally and internationally.

Contemporary attention focuses to a considerable extent on the negative aspects of diversity and interethnic contacts: issues of inequality, social dislocation and marginalization, and their hindering of social harmony and unity. This includes cases where conflict erupts into violence as in inchoate street riots or, more sinisterly, in the pre-meditated activities of criminal gangs and terrorists. In the latter circumstances, diversity and difference may become associated, through the media and other processes, with stereotypes and fear of particular groups. This outcome constrains the responses of policy-makers and planners. In such situations, the positive benefits to a society of diversity are often overlooked. These include the benefits from different forms of food, artistic and leisure activities, which are individually and socially enriching. One of the hallmarks of many major historical empires and civilizations was their ability to bring together their diverse populations in ways that provided an important forum for cultural expansion and development. As these empires also showed, diversity can make a more practical, instrumental contribution to the economy through providing knowledge and skills that facilitate successful participation in rapidly globalizing economies. Today, individuals with appropriate culture, knowledge and skills are also sought by international businesses. These attributes can help identify new opportunities for international trade, while at home they are important in meeting the needs of international tourists and students. They are also important for meeting the diverse domestic population's needs for professional services and goods. To realize these positive aspirations for diversity, it is necessary to identify ways to incorporate diverse ethnic groups so as to maximize their opportunities to participate in and contribute to society. This requires overcoming social exclusion and inequality without abandoning the distinctive social and cultural resources that underlie their potential to contribute.

### *The role of education*

It is widely considered that education can play an important role in dealing with the challenges posed by multi-ethnic and multicultural diversity. Consequently, planners are faced with the complex challenge of providing for the educational, social and cultural needs of students from diverse cultural and social backgrounds, while at the same time bearing in mind the social and economic needs of the larger society. Apart from focusing on domestic diversity and addressing issues of social justice and cohesion, there are growing pressures for educational planning to take account of the impact of globalization on the opportunities and needs associated with international diversity.

Education has traditionally played two roles in society. The first derives from its role in maintaining society's values and its cultural heritage, part of which includes transmitting skills and knowledge. The second is the longstanding tradition that education can be a key agent in social transformation. There is an inherent tension between these two roles. However, in order for minority individuals to be considered on an equal basis in terms of social inclusion and participation, while maintaining the potential of their culturally and socially distinctive contributions, planners must harness the capacity of education to contribute to social maintenance and cohesion. However, the fact that the contemporary prominence of issues involving diversity in society contributes to the policy-making and planning process taking place in an atmosphere of heightened public debate and political interest poses a challenge in this respect. The immediate focus of these debates is typically on broad objectives and initiatives, overlooking the importance of implementation in determining actual educational outcomes. This is where educational planners and other educators play a key role in ensuring that the implementation of policies and programmes realizes the potential of educational intervention.

### *Scope of the booklet*

In examining educational responses to diversity, this booklet focuses on the formal education system, particularly on the primary and secondary levels, as these have been most extensively involved

in efforts to respond to the implications of diversity among students and the population as a whole. In many societies, formal education begins earlier, in kindergartens and pre-schools. Here too, initiatives can be important in promoting social and academic learning relevant to diversity. Kindergartens can benefit from implementing primary programmes that are adapted for younger children and their level of cognitive development.

Although not examined here, planning for diversity at the post-secondary, vocational and tertiary levels is also important. This is where individual students prepare themselves to enter the world of work. Among initiatives that cannot be explored in this booklet is the desirability of support services to ensure that these students have the knowledge and skills to succeed in their chosen areas. Other initiatives relate to ways in which the curricula in vocational preparation and training courses can equip all students, particularly those in service and professional occupations, to work within a culturally-diverse society, where clients and counterparts may be from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Within higher education, knowledge of different cultures is also generated, sustained and challenged (Weiler, 2004: 344).

Despite the progress made towards realizing universal education, the circumstances and resources available to education systems vary considerably, as do the ways in which diversity impinges on their school populations. The focus of this booklet is principally on the more developed and industrializing countries that have the resources to broaden their initiatives beyond organizational and structural responses to diversity. Education for refugees and those in post-conflict situations poses special challenges when addressing diversity, which all too often was a major factor in the conflict. The special policies and programmes designed to address such situations and overcome the extensive social and physical trauma present in these societies are, however, beyond the scope of this booklet. Similarly, the special needs and circumstances associated with the education of indigenous populations, especially those living in remote and isolated areas where they face special challenges, will receive only limited attention.

## *Outline of the booklet*

*Chapter I* examines the contemporary political and social changes that have brought diversity to the fore in public policy, together with those that indicate that its significance for public policy will continue into the foreseeable future. It also examines the major policy models that have guided policy-makers over the last century, but which are now facing new challenges from recent developments in inter-ethnic relations.

*Chapter II* considers the three main educational debates that have directly affected the development of educational policy addressing diversity. These concern inequality, cultural maintenance and participation in society. It also reviews the competing models proposed as guiding specific initiatives and innovations in the school and classroom. As the chapter notes, in developing programmes and policies, educational planners are constrained by both the existing educational structures and institutions and the active involvement of a range of stakeholders in the educational enterprise.

*Chapter III* reviews the range of organizational and structural initiatives that have been pursued by educational planners. The next two chapters focus on innovations that directly involve schools and teachers: *Chapter IV* examines specific strategies that have focused on the role of language in education, while *Chapter V* considers the strategies that involve other curriculum areas as well as the role of the school culture and its relationships with the local community, including students' parents.

*Chapter VI* adopts a holistic focus to highlight the continuing need for educational planning and policy-making to address social and educational diversity. In particular, it examines the strategies implemented for this purpose in four education systems: in Malaysia, Singapore, Quebec (Canada) and New South Wales (Australia). It also highlights the often highly-politicized nature of planning and implementing strategies catering for diversity. *Chapter VII* then addresses the question of what needs to be considered when actually implementing educational change to cater for diversity. The stages involved in identifying, developing and implementing innovation are set out and the political context of the planning discussed.

*Chapter VIII* concludes by returning to the question of the extent to which educational innovations and strategies can play a positive role in addressing social and educational diversity. In particular, it considers the type of educational objectives and responses that are necessary to achieve unity amidst diversity in a democratic society. Education is not, however, the only institution in society that has a part to play in this process. Educational planners should not be expected to provide a simple answer to resolving the challenges posed by diversity, although they are now better informed about the issues and options available to assist them than were their counterparts of 30 years ago. Nevertheless, they do have an important role to play in ensuring that encounters with diversity become positive, rather than negative, experiences for students and all members of society.

## I. Contemporary challenges of ethnic diversity

The massification over the last century and a half of education and commitment to basic education for all has coincided with significant changes in patterns of ethnic diversity and the (re)construction of national identity by states. By the mid-1970s, policy-makers, academics and the general public were realizing that issues of ethnic diversity, which were often thought to have lost their significance, were increasingly important in their own as well as other societies. They also recognized that diversity had the potential to affect education systems and schools, and that education in turn had the potential to influence patterns of diversity.

### *Changing patterns of ethnic diversity*

By the 1970s, the international processes of nation building appeared to be largely complete. Decolonization was well-advanced in Asia and Africa, and the newly-independent states were progressing towards building a national identity that welded together their ethnically-diverse populations. These were a legacy of their colonial experience, in which colonial administrations had established new national borders containing many previously distinct territorial and cultural groups, supplemented by immigrant labour. European nation states, whose identities were grounded in a specific ethnic or 'folk' group, had achieved substantial acceptance by their long-established minorities, while traditional countries of immigration such as the USA, Canada and Australia were continuing to settle permanent immigrants alongside their indigenous minorities, with whom their relations changed little.

The tenuous nature of the apparent stability in inter-ethnic relations was soon to be highlighted, as new developments in the international economy associated with globalization affected international migration and relations with long-established ethnic minorities. Political change also unsettled the *status quo*. Not only did the end of the Cold War, with the break-up of the former Soviet Union, pave the way for a new round of state building involving former constituting republics; it was also associated with declining

superpower interest in controlling client regimes in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. In turn, this has been associated with often bloody conflicts resulting from attempts to change the regime.

*Changes in migration patterns*

The period of growth in international migration has been called the Age of Migration (Castles and Miller, 2003). By 2005, almost 200 million people were estimated to be international migrants – a figure more than double that of 1980, only 25 years earlier (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005: 1). The first signs of change – not only in numbers but also, and of equal importance, in the type of immigrants and their countries of origin – began to appear in the late 1960s. Traditional countries of immigration, such as the USA, Canada and Australia, changed their policies that had been restricting permanent migration from Asia and other parts of the world. They soon began to accept new flows of refugees from Indo-China, while more recent political conflicts in Europe and Africa have continued to produce substantial flows of immigrants qualifying for resettlement as refugees. They have also increasingly accepted temporary migrants, as the opening up of the world economies associated with globalization has highlighted the economic advantages to be gained from encouraging the circulation of international students, highly-skilled workers and business people, as well as tourists. At the same time, they have faced an increasing number of undocumented or illegal entrants, attracted by perceived economic opportunities or seeking political asylum. The combined effect of these changes is that the proportion of immigrants in their populations has increased. Moreover, these migrants now come from a wider range of source countries. A number also have more substantial educational and economic resources than was the case for earlier generations of immigrants, as well as different expectations about their future and how they will settle in their new country of residence.

In Europe, countries that were formerly countries of emigration have now become countries of immigration. The first major flows of immigrants commenced after the end of World War II and came from the former colonies. Some were recruited to supplement the metropole's labour force. After decolonization, others followed the

colonial authorities to the metropole, where their status gave them rights of residence. Post-war economic reconstruction in Europe created a demand for labour, which led to extensive recruitment of temporary labour or 'guest workers' (*gästarbeiter*) from elsewhere in continental Europe, as well as further afield in Turkey. Although they were not initially allowed to bring their families with them, over time significant numbers have been reunited with their families, and their children now constitute a substantial part of the local student populations. Political changes associated with the expansion of the European Union (EU) have also allowed increased internal migration, including for the Roma populations settled in various EU countries. Conflict and fighting in parts of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, most notably the former Yugoslavia, have created substantial refugee flows to adjoining countries. As well as the legally-sanctioned flows, there are also continuing numbers of illegal migrants coming to seek a better economic life in Europe from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The arrival of large numbers of migrants from very diverse backgrounds, in spite of the existence of an ostensible policy of restricted immigration, has significantly changed the face of European cities. Such is the impact of this ethnic and economic diversity that some now speak of how the third world has come to live in the first world.

Elsewhere in the world, in Asia and the Middle East, economic growth has created a substantial increase in the demand for labour, which has been largely met through temporary labour migrants. While many are legal, many are not but still manage to find employment with local businesses seeking additional cheap labour. At the same time, political unrest and civil war have led to substantial numbers of refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

#### *Changes in the situation of established ethnic minorities*

The situation of long-established ethnic minorities has also changed since the 1970s. The collapse of the Soviet Union has allowed some former minorities the opportunity to establish their own independent states. Now, they must face the task of nation building and managing the changed relations with other local ethnic groups, including established Russian populations. Other minorities, such as

those in Chechnya, aspire to greater autonomy. Conflicts associated with these and similar developments in Africa and elsewhere have shown the continuing potential for instability in relations between territorially-concentrated minorities. Economic growth in the wake of globalization has also provided an impetus for greater autonomy, if not complete independence, among minorities located in areas with substantial resources or access to growth opportunities, such as Scotland and Northern Italy in Europe, and Aceh in Indonesia.

Another factor that has contributed to changing relations with regionally-based minorities is the growing support for the human rights movement reflected in the diverse range of conventions and agreements involving the United Nations and other international agencies (UNHCHR, 2003; see *Box 1*). These conventions have been of special importance to indigenous minorities in their struggles to overcome their disadvantages and experiences of injustice. They have provided a focal point for forging international alliances between indigenous groups that have been beneficial in their struggles for greater recognition and control of resources. They are also important in defining the rights of other minority groups, including migrant workers and asylum seekers.

### *Continuing influences on inter-ethnic relations*

The disruption and reorientation in patterns of inter-ethnic relations just described are unlikely to cease, despite calls for greater international involvement in peace-keeping and monitoring activities, as well as national and international efforts to discourage unwanted migration through harsher policies and stricter border controls. The influences that will contribute to the continuing modification in patterns of inter-ethnic relations are heterogeneous and it is not easy to predict their impact on specific countries or groups. What is clear, however, is that there is no sign that issues of ethnic and cultural diversity will soon lose their significance. Indeed, the number of societies that can be defined as multicultural on the basis of the diversity of their populations is increasing, as is the diversity within existing multicultural societies. Many of the influences outlined below are continuations of those that have produced the most recent changes. Others are new.

**Box 1. Selected universal instruments concerning the rights of ethnic minorities, migrants and refugees**

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National and Ethnic, Linguistic and Religious Minorities
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- Convention Against Discrimination in Education
- Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religious Belief
- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
- Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity

Other regional instruments have been developed by groups

such as:

- the Organization of American States
- the Council of Europe
- the Organization of African Unity
- the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

*Source:* UNHCHR, 2003.

*Demographic change*

Demographic change associated with aging populations and decreased fertility in industrialized countries is one factor that is likely to become increasingly important in changing the ethnic composition of societies. This is because immigration from more populous developing countries is increasingly being discussed as a means to compensate for predicted shortages in the labour market as the existing population reaches retirement age. Overcoming labour market shortages is necessary for the financial, as well as the physical, support of aging populations in countries such as Italy and Japan, where fertility levels are below those necessary for the replacement of the existing population. Another new way in which demographic change is linked to migration is the growing phenomenon of international retirement. This is already evident in

Europe, where the EU has made it easier for retirees to settle in other EU countries. However, the phenomenon is not contained only within the EU, as there is a growing movement of retirees from northern Europe to warmer retirement enclaves in the Mediterranean countries. In Japan, too, this option is also explored at the level of inter-government contacts.

*Labour market shortages*

Even in countries not experiencing problems associated with demographic replacement, the ongoing existence of labour-market shortages for skilled as well as unskilled workers creates demands to supplement the domestic labour market through migration. Indeed, one of the major economic rationales for the development of regional and supranational groupings such as the EU is that they can facilitate the free movement of labour. In the absence of immigrants from more traditional immigrant sources, employers and governments are already willing to recruit suitable workers from new source regions, as indicated by Germany's recent attempts to recruit IT workers from India. Complementing this demand is governmental as well as individual interest in countries with a surplus labour force and population. As an example, the Philippines, which relies extensively on remittances from emigrants unable to be profitably employed in its own economy, is responding to this demand by establishing specialist training courses to provide health workers with the skills needed to work overseas in the understaffed hospitals and nursing homes of Europe and North America. Continuing disparity in levels of economic development fosters individuals' willingness to migrate illegally in search of economic advantage. International trade and the establishment of branch offices in major markets and manufacturing centres will also create pressure to bring in overseas staff to manage these businesses. Another economic influence related to globalization and that will encourage long-term temporary migration is the development of international education as a major service industry, while trade and tourism generate shorter-term international movements.

*Technology's role in transnational communications*

The effects of globalization on patterns of ethnic relations are not restricted to actual mobility and the consequent increasing ethnic

diversity in a country's population. They also include the way in which technological developments, such as the Internet and satellite television, facilitate communication between different countries. This allows individuals to maintain immediate contact through the media with a range of political and economic developments, as well as with relatives, friends, colleagues and others with whom they share common interests, ranging from culture to politics and religion. Some commentators see these transnational contacts and developments as potentially changing the nature of the relationship with the country of residence. It is argued that the migrant now has less incentive to make contacts and commit to the country of residence and its society, as their access to communication with the homeland is easier, cheaper and more frequent. Extrapolating from this can be a concern that the migrants will fail to 'integrate' or 'assimilate' into the new society and may even be a threat to its culture and values. In some cases, these ties may be seen as facilitating criminal activities associated with drug- and people-smuggling or terrorism. The latter has become an increasing focus of concern since the attacks on the USA on 11 September 2001 and the subsequent call for a war on terrorism. Where these are current in the majority population, they can contribute to suspicion of particular minorities and a consequent souring of relations between the two groups.

*Continuing sources of refugee populations*

Political conflict is, regrettably, likely to continue in different parts of the world for the foreseeable future. As a consequence, refugee flows will continue. These flows may also be supplemented by new flows of environmental refugees if the predicted effects of environmental change on the populations of low-lying island states in the Pacific and Caribbean prove accurate. Refugees are a particularly vulnerable group. They have attracted the support of human rights groups seeking to ensure that they, as well as other disadvantaged and marginalized groups, are able to achieve social justice and their democratic rights. Among the rights that are the subject of United Nations conventions are those relating to indigenous peoples and minorities, labour migrants and their families, freedom from racial and other forms of discrimination, and economic, social and cultural rights (see *Box 1*). While not all countries have signed these conventions, their ratification does provide a moral force

which can be applied to states that are in violation of them. Similar conventions also exist in other regional groupings, such as the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. Together, these conventions constitute an important statement and pressure to ensure that relations between diverse ethnic groups operate on an equitable and just basis.

### *Diversity: challenges for national policy-makers and planners*

State policy-makers have two major objectives in developing policy concerning their domestic relations with ethnic minorities. The first is to avoid internal conflict and disharmony; the second is to be able to continue their nation-building project. The two objectives are closely related, as conflict can disrupt the smooth operation of the state through interfering with the economic and social aspects of nation building. A variety of terms are used to describe the state's aims in avoiding conflict, including 'social cohesion', 'integration', 'social harmony' and 'unity'. Each has a slightly different connotation, but in all cases the state typically assumes a key role in setting the terms of the relationship with minorities. Schermerhorn has noted that the key factor in avoiding conflict is not the full incorporation, or complete exclusion, of ethnic minorities from society, but rather that they agree with the majority group about the preferred mode of incorporation (Schermerhorn, 1970). A substantial role in ensuring this agreement concerns the way in which the state approaches the second objective: continuation of the nation-building project. Key aspects of the nation-building process involve economic growth, while at the same time incorporating new and existing ethnic minorities into the fabric of the nation in such a manner that they can share the benefits of that economic growth.

An important dimension of the incorporation of minorities relates to the place they are allocated in the rhetoric about national identity and, even more significantly, the actual practices associated with this rhetoric. The renewed philosophical focus on citizenship and discussions about its meaning in a culturally diverse or multicultural society directly address this issue, which is not confined simply to whether minority members can acquire the legal status of citizens – important though this may be. The discussion now encompasses

the far more extended understanding of citizenship identified by Marshall (1950). In this expanded view, the issues involve access of minority populations to political rights, including the right to vote, as well as the social attributes of citizenship, which involve access to social resources and equal participation in society (Marshall, 1950). They also reflect developments surrounding increasing democratization and the growth of the welfare state. Nonetheless, how to achieve full social citizenship in a democratic and diverse society remains unresolved. In particular, political philosophers continue to dispute the relationship between multicultural citizenship and liberal democracy in terms of whether it is acceptable for group rather than individual rights to be recognized in the liberal democratic tradition (Kymlicka, 1995 and 2004).

To shift from the philosophical to the more immediate political perspective, however, it is clear that minority group members – especially those with legal citizenship – expect to be treated equitably and have the same rights as other citizens.<sup>2</sup> These expectations are supported by democratic rhetoric as well as the expansion of rights to also include those without legal citizenship (Soysal, 1994). Among the key areas of social participation where ethnic minorities seek equality are access to work, housing, and health and educational services for themselves and their families. At the same time, there is a desire that this access should not be conditional on their abandoning key elements of their own cultural heritage and identity, including their religion, language or family relationships.

One of the major practical challenges for the state is balancing these expectations of minority group members with those of members of the dominant majority. While employers may welcome the minority group members as employees, the former often encounter opposition from others who see them as potential competitors, especially in relation to employment, housing and access to other scarce resources. Opposition may also come from those concerned about the threat they perceive in the diverse cultural traditions associated with the minority groups. These fears are often focused

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2. Extensive rioting among youth of immigrant backgrounds in France in late 2005 has been attributed to a failure to realize these expectations.

around the threat posed to the civic values of the society and the cultural heritage that is seen to underlie these: respect for democratic traditions and government institutions, the rule of law and tolerance on the one hand, and minority traditions on the other (their religion, language and family relationships, especially those relating to the position and status of women). While none of these issues are new, they have gained greater prominence as the established patterns of inter-ethnic relations have changed. At the same time, the flux in inter-ethnic relations has raised questions about the established policy models of addressing inter-ethnic relations.

### *Models for incorporating diversity*

Three main types of ideological and philosophical models differentiate state policies and underpin their more detailed politically-oriented policy responses to diversity in the population. Each of these models envisages a different model of minority group incorporation in relation to the ruling or majority group (Ingليس, 1996). At one extreme is the *assimilationist model*, sometimes described as the integration model, which envisages that ethnic minorities will be incorporated fully into the society and state through a process of change in which individuals abandon their distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics, and take on those of the dominant group. In this model, there is no place envisaged for the retention of these characteristics and practices. Only by being completely absorbed into mainstream society is it considered possible for ethnically-based conflict to cease. At the other extreme is the *differentialist model*, which avoids conflict through a process that eliminates or minimizes contact among ethnic groups. The most extreme forms of this model are reflected in policies of ethnic cleansing and apartheid. State institutions are not expected to accommodate members of the ethnic minority. However, in contrast with the assimilation model, the state allows, or in some cases sponsors, the development of parallel institutions to cater for the educational, health or cultural needs of the minority. The third major policy model, which forms a bridge between the other two models, is the *multiculturalist model*. This model accepts the legitimacy of ethnic minorities' cultural and social distinctiveness. It envisages that individuals and groups can be fully incorporated

into the society without either losing their distinctiveness or being denied full participation, which is the key to keeping peace among ethnic groups.<sup>3</sup> In order to achieve this goal of full participation, state institutions may need to be extensively modified to provide equitably for those from different cultural and social backgrounds. In this process, the state plays an active role in sponsoring institutional change, which can extend from the restructuring of mainstream institutions to the support of parallel institutions. These parallel institutions are integral to the society, in contrast to the marginalized status of the parallel institutional structures associated with the differentialist model.

### *The need to revisit policy responses to diversity*

These policy models for managing diversity in multi-ethnic societies are highly abstract, even when they are enshrined in a state's political rhetoric and practices. They constitute in this way 'ideal types' which guide the day-to-day activities of policy-makers and planners. Even within the one society, the extent to which policy models are realized can vary, as does their prominence in individual institutional sectors or at different geo-political levels such as the city or the region. Thus, while the state may give prominence to one type of model, other institutional areas, such as the market and the economy, which are less constrained by the state and operate with different objectives, may pursue different practices and policies. It is also important to note that these models are neither immutable nor static, and their prominence can alter over time. South Africa provides a recent example of a society and state that has made a major change away from the differentialist model embodied in its policy of apartheid. However, as its experiences highlight, the institutional structures that supported the former apartheid policy cannot be changed overnight and are a major constraint to the work

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3. A criticism of the multiculturalist model is that it focuses only on cultural difference and ignores the importance of addressing issues of material inequality. While in certain countries such as the USA the distinction between 'multicultural' policies and 'affirmative action' policies fits with such a reading, it is not an accurate statement of the emphases that exist in countries such as Australia and Canada, where multiculturalism is official government policy rather than opposition to the existing policy (Wieviorka, 1998).

of policy-makers and planners operating with a different political agenda. A related constraint is the ongoing ideological force of these models, which can retain their influence even as political policies and practices increasingly depart from the model. This continuity in rhetoric can exist in societies with an assimilationist or a differentialist tradition.

While other countries may not have made as radical a change in their models for managing ethnic diversity as South Africa, the practical viability of traditional models are being increasingly questioned in the wake of changing patterns of ethnic diversity and the flux in relations between ethnic minorities and majorities. Consensus is breaking down between majority and minority groups about their desirability, let alone their ability, to meet the aspiration of both groups. Hence, a major search is underway for an alternative policy model that can better serve the aspirations and objectives of the state, the majority population and the various ethnic minority groups. One response to this search are the newer 'multiculturalist' forms of policy. How the search for more appropriate policy models is operating can vary from one area of public policy to another. The next chapter examines how this process is being played out in education.

## II. The challenges of diversity for educational policy-makers and planners

Educational policy-makers operate within the framework of national policies on inter-ethnic relations. Their task is to translate general principles into practical and immediate educational objectives and programmes. In the modern world, the commitment to universal education ensures that education plays a central role in society. Educators and teachers are in contact with school-age youth for many hours of the day. The expansion of secondary and post-school education further prolongs their contact with students. Indeed, other than family, educators and teachers have more contact with students than anyone else. This centrality of education is further strengthened by the way in which schooling and the knowledge and skills it provides have become a major pathway to the labour market and economic and social mobility that are now closely tied to employment. These factors that contribute to education's centrality also ensure that it plays a major role in structuring and influencing relations between the majority and minority ethnic groups. It does this even as it is coping with a changing student population and differing expectations of its expanded role in non-traditional curriculum and social areas, ranging from family relations and health to globalization.

### *Educational issues central to debates about planning for diversity*

To understand education's potentially powerful role in addressing the challenges of diversity in a multi-ethnic and multicultural society, it is important to recall that it is a major institution for transmitting and transforming a society's culture. This culture includes the society's store of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. These are all important to addressing the national challenges of ensuring social cohesion as a basis for successful nation building, including the establishment of a national identity and ensuring economic well-being and development. As economies, particularly in the industrialized world, increasingly rely on knowledge-based industries, it is important that they make full use of and develop

all their human resources. This is especially true of societies whose aging population is reducing their supply of native-born workers. Minorities and their children are an important human resource. Indeed, their participation in the economy is significant for the nation as well as for their own well-being. Given the close links between education and labour market participation, education can make a valuable contribution to ensuring their successful economic incorporation for their own, and society's, mutual advantage.

A major task for educational policy-makers and planners is to translate these broad national objectives into specific educational policies and programmes. Three major issues have been the focus of debates about how education can and should respond to diversity. Each of them is part of wider educational debates. However, they have particular significance in relation to the presence in schools and the education system of minority students from diverse cultural backgrounds. They involve inequality, cultural maintenance and participation in the wider society. These address the relationship between diversity and, respectively, equality, social cohesion and social inclusion.

The end of the Second World War was an important educational watershed marking, as it marked not only the beginning of decolonization, but also the reconstruction of societies affected by the war. This reconstruction was directed towards eliminating the circumstances that had produced the war and rebuilding societies' material and social infrastructure. Although each of the issues, and the debates surrounding them, came to the fore following the upheaval caused by the war, their impetus derives from somewhat different circumstances and motivations. Concerns about social and educational inequality and the opportunities provided by reconstruction to address these were associated with practical as well as moral and ethical considerations of social justice. In contrast, the impetus for educational attention to issues of cultural maintenance, which raises the issue of how diversity affects social cohesion and identity, has been motivated primarily by concerns for social justice and human rights, although supporters have argued that cultural maintenance can contribute to the educational success of minority students. A focus on the third issue – preparing students to participate in society – has developed more recently and is concerned with

the development of citizenship education as well as overcoming discrimination and racism. While the debate reflects concerns about both the future of society and the experience of minorities, the unifying theme is the issue of social inclusion.

### *Educational inequality*

Following the Second World War, major industrialized countries undertook significant reforms in the organization of schooling with the intention of increasing access to secondary education for all students. However, by the 1960s and 1970s, it was evident that educational inequality was continuing despite these reforms. This generated a major research effort to determine its causes and the appropriate policy responses (Tyler, 1977). Initially, the focus was on social class differentials in educational inequality. While this has continued (Duru-Bellat, 2004; Machin, 2006), subsequent research has highlighted how girls, students in rural areas, indigenous students, migrants and others from ethnic minority backgrounds also experience educational inequality. Despite the accumulation of a substantial body of research data describing and seeking explanations for the inequality, there remains considerable disagreement about its root causes. One reason is the variety of definitions of educational inequality, which include differences in students' aptitude or ability; achievement or attainment in educational tasks; families' socio-economic and/or cultural background; the school environment; and the credentials obtained at the end of schooling or in subsequent life chances. A distinction that partially helps to clarify the situation is that between 'equality', which relates to the resources available to students and schools, and 'equity', which relates to the outcomes of education. Even among studies of educational equity, there is considerable diversity in their methodology and scope. This makes it extremely difficult to establish explanations with some generality, even for the one country. Several major Australian reviews of research on inequality have concluded that it is impossible to separate the effects of social class from ethnic background when discussing educational inequality (Poole, 1981; Jakubowicz, 1985; Sturman, 1985).

The contending explanations include:

- the innate ability of children related to their membership of a particular ethnic and racial group;
- the lack of material or cultural resources available in the child's family;
- the school environment, including the curriculum, teaching styles and facilities; and
- the existence of class and stratification institutions that ensure that even the 'merit' seen as the basis of educational success is constructed in a manner that favours students from particular backgrounds.

More nuanced explanations focus on the school as the site where diverse family and community influences intersect with the dominant class and ethnic structures of society through their influence on the operation of the education system. As Bourdieu's discussion on cultural capital highlights, the value of the family's cultural background depends on its compatibility with that of educational institutions. The role of the school and its staff is seen as problematic in the process, depending on the extent of their autonomy and interest in mediating on behalf of students disadvantaged by their family and community background.

Each explanation implies a different target and initiative for policy-makers: the family; the class structure of society; and the school. Among educators, there is a preference for a policy focus on the school and education system, since it is far easier to access and introduce change in them than to target either families or other major social institutions.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the limitations of the earlier research on educational inequality, there is now a renewed research effort to examine the educational experiences and occupational outcomes of recent migrants and their children throughout the industrialized world. The immediate impetus for this research is that the experiences of this group are seen as critical in assessing whether educational and other policies of incorporation have been effective. There is a particular

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4. One example that tried to compensate for the limited cultural capital of certain families was the US television programme *Sesame Street*.

concern that the children of immigrants, the so-called 'second generation', despite growing up and being educated in their new country of residence, are not succeeding as well as they and their families might have hoped. As a result, there is concern that many may become marginalized and alienated from society and join an excluded underclass (e.g. Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, Haller, 2005).

The importance of international comparative research on equity issues is now recognized for the way in which it identifies variations not only within an individual country, but also across countries. This is particularly valuable for policy-makers, as it allows consideration of the effects on equity of variations in the patterns of migration, the settlement policies and other social and educational policies. A recent comparison of the second generation of migrants has demonstrated that there are major national differences in the educational and occupational success of those living in different countries. Those in traditional countries of immigration, in particular Canada and Australia, do somewhat better than their counterparts in Europe and elsewhere. However, their indigenous populations fail to do as well as those from migrant backgrounds (Heath and Cheung, 2007). While the explanation for these variations is tentative and requires more detailed research, class structures and opportunities for social fluidity, the extent of racism and xenophobia, and policies relating to citizenship have been proposed as explanations for the international variation. Other research on the experience of selected second generation migrant groups in several European countries also concludes that the national contexts play a major differentiating role in their incorporation. The initial findings suggest that the differences are attributable not to arrangements specifically targeting migrant youth, but rather to the general institutional arrangements for education and transition to the labour market. Thus, while students from a Turkish background in Germany are more likely to be streamed into vocational schools, they then move into employment with greater success than Turkish students in France, where streaming in secondary schools occurs later. While this gives students in France more opportunities to progress to higher levels of education, many actually do not achieve this and leave education without a diploma. The higher levels of youth unemployment in France mean that they become more vulnerable to unemployment than their counterparts in Germany (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

**Box 2. Major findings of PISA 2003 on the outcomes of schooling for immigrant students**

- PISA results suggest that high levels of immigration do not necessarily impair integration, as performance differences between immigrant and native students are not related to the size of the immigrant student population.
- Immigrant students were found in the survey to be motivated learners and have positive attitudes towards school. Strong learning predispositions can be developed by schools to help these students succeed in the education system.
- Despite these strong learning dispositions, immigrant students often perform at levels significantly lower than their native-born peers. However, performance levels vary across countries.
- In the majority of countries, at least 25 per cent of immigrant students could face considerable challenges in their future professional and personal lives as they did not demonstrate basic mathematics skills in the PISA 2003 assessment.
- Background characteristics of immigrant student populations and school characteristics only partially explain differences in mathematics performance.
- Similarly, performance differences in mathematics are not fully explained by the fact that some immigrant students do not speak the language of instruction at home. However, in several countries this relationship is quite strong and may warrant strong language support in schools.
- Policies to help immigrant students attain proficiency in the language of instruction have common characteristics but vary in terms of explicit curricula and focus.
- Countries where there are either relatively small performance differences between immigrant and native students, or where the performance gaps for second-generation students are significantly reduced compared to those for first-generation students, tend to have well-established language support programmes with clearly defined goals and standards.

The study was based on 15-year-old students from 17 countries:

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States, Hong Kong-China, Macao-China and the Russian Federation.

*Source:* OECD, 2006.

While these studies show how the educational qualifications of migrants and their children have affected their subsequent careers, they lack detailed information on the actual educational performance of students, which may play a role in their career. An important source of such information is contained in an analysis of data from the 2003 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) survey (OECD, 2006). The survey focused on the performance of 15-year-old students in key subjects such as mathematics and reading, as well as how they assess themselves as learners and their general attitudes towards schooling. Although the PISA survey covered more countries, in 17 of them the large numbers of immigrants allowed analysis of how both first- and second-generation students performed in comparison both with each other and with the native-born students. While acknowledging the limitations in using cross-sectional data<sup>5</sup> rather than tracing students' longitudinal performance, the study nevertheless demonstrates the variation between countries in the extent to which immigrant and native-born students differ in performance and learning. These variations were examined in the context of policies on immigration, the history and size of immigrant populations, and educational policies to help students learn the language of instruction used in schools. The major findings summarized in *Box 2* highlight the inequalities in the educational attainment of many immigrant children, while at the same time indicating perhaps surprising findings about the level of immigrant students' commitment and the influence of various educational responses available to policy-makers.

One of the most important findings of the PISA study for planners is that the international variations in the school-to-work transition rate of minority and second-generation immigrant students identified in the Heath and Cheung (2007) study referred to above show similarities to variations in students' performance in key areas of educational knowledge. Thus, in Australia and Canada there is little difference in the performance of native-born and immigrant students. This suggests that the educational and other policies and

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5. Cross-sectional data compares the results of different groups of first and second generation and native students collected at one time. Longitudinal data would be collected from individuals over an extended period of time. This then allows examination of the changes for individuals rather than groups.

practices that have produced this outcome also play an important role in contributing to the later evidence of greater equality in economic and social outcomes found between older immigrants and those born in the same country. Among those identified by the PISA study are policies relating to developing proficiency in the language of instruction.

### *Cultural maintenance*

Concerns about the role education can and should play in facilitating cultural maintenance among minority students come largely from those concerned with issues of social justice and human rights for both individuals and minority groups. This advocacy brings them into conflict with those who argue that different treatment for individuals or groups infringes the basic universal principles on which social and educational policy should be formulated. There is also concern regarding the potential undermining of the national identity and culture, and the compromise of social cohesion by the existence of cultural diversity. Hence, debates about cultural maintenance address the tension between diversity and social cohesion as well as that between diversity and equality. For education systems and schools, the immediate practical issue is whether and how expressions of cultural difference should be supported, while at the same time facilitating equitable educational and social outcomes.

The normative dimensions in the discussion on cultural maintenance among minority students and the broadranging, complex processes associated with assessing the positive and negative outcomes claimed for majority and minority students, have made it difficult for researchers to identify indicators that can establish clear connections between cultural maintenance and social harmony and equality. Much of the evidence used in the debates relies on descriptive analysis of societies and their educational and social policies, without exploring further the processes that actually link these different areas. As a result, many of the claims made concerning the significance of education's role in cultural maintenance remain empirically under-examined.

Two notable research exceptions relate to the role of cultural diversity in educational equity. The first concerns the links between language maintenance and cognitive development. Sociolinguists

have demonstrated that minority students who maintain their mother tongue alongside the school's language of instruction are not necessarily rendered less competent or fluent in either language (Cummins, 2003). Somewhat more controversially, it is argued that knowledge of a second language can actually contribute to a child's linguistic and social development (Cummins, 2003). The second area, where research pertinent to the role of cultural maintenance in education exists, concerns the links between the maintenance of cultural heritage and the development of an individual identity grounded in a positive self-image that acknowledges the individual's cultural heritage. Such an identity has been proposed as an important factor assisting indigenous and other ethnic minority students to overcome educational experiences that could otherwise cause them to drop out of school (King and Schielmann, 2004).

More general research on the relationship between identity and schooling has been influenced by several different theoretical traditions. One established tradition highlights how minority children are inevitably torn between the two worlds of home and school. Such research often relies on a simplistic analysis of the home and school cultures, and is based on an overly deterministic theoretical model of socialization. More recently, influenced by a postmodern theoretical tradition, research on the relationship between schooling and identity has highlighted the diverse processes involved in identity formation and the way in which racial and class structures enter the school and impinge on students' identities and educational participation (Osler, 2004). The actual relationship between the formation of identity, which resists rather than accommodates these structures, and school success remains far from clear (Hebert and Racicot, 2001). Nevertheless, it is obvious that the process of identity formation for students from minority backgrounds can be a highly complex and fraught experience.

For educational planners, even though the research remains inconclusive about precisely how positive educational outcomes can be developed among minority students, one clear message is that the school does play an important role in the process. It is a site where students have significant contacts with a culture that may be different from their own in terms of assumed knowledge, expectations and behaviour. It is also a site where student peer groups exist, with

the potential to influence social identity and commitment to the academic world of the school.

*Participation in society*

The third area of debate about the role of education in addressing diversity in a multicultural and multi-ethnic society involves the way in which individuals should relate to the larger society and to each other. The consequences of economic, social and political change in the latter half of the twentieth century have led to widespread popular concerns about their impact on the younger generation and on what are seen as traditional social values. At the same time, these changes are also rendering problematic the nature of citizenship in a period of social change, where societies are either introducing democratic values or considering the need to review their relevance to the new circumstances. There are a number of different strands to this debate. However, a common issue that they are addressing concerns the social inclusion of individuals from diverse backgrounds.

One strand of the debate relates to education's role in promoting the qualities and attributes of a 'good citizen'. This task has been given added significance since September 2001, increasing the tendency for countries in Europe and elsewhere to propose policies that require immigrants seeking citizenship to demonstrate that they adhere to the key tenets of the receiving society and its culture. As this focus on specifying the qualities desired among citizens gains strength, it becomes increasingly important to consider how those from diverse cultural backgrounds are incorporated into education and school life, which are important sites for cultural transmission. This is also linked to the second strand in the debate, which involves determining the balance between respect for agreed social values as against recognition of cultural rights and the absence of discrimination, prejudice and institutional racism.

Much of the research relevant to the wider debate on participation and the relationship between diversity and national traditions and values has concentrated on highlighting the extent of institutional racism that exists in schools and the impact this can have on the careers of individual students (Osler, 2004). While this debate connects back to questions about the role of education in cultural maintenance for minority as well as majority groups in society, it

also shifts the focus of attention from minority background pupils to all students in the school. This is because, except in officially segregated education systems, all students are expected to become full citizens of the society. As such, they are entitled to the benefits of citizenship as well as having the responsibilities of a citizen. The challenge for educational planners and managers is therefore how to eliminate racism and discrimination, and ensure that the school environment is compatible with the tenets of democratic citizenship, which the school is also expected to support and promote.

An additional, somewhat different strand of the debate about the nature of participation in society is concerned with the wider international arena and the extent to which the boundaries of 'society' extend beyond those of the nation and state. Associated with globalization, advocates stress the need to expand the geographical and cultural horizon of schools so as to prepare students to operate effectively in the wider, diverse world, to their own benefit and that of the society and state. Phrases such as 'Asia literacy', 'global citizenship' or 'cosmopolitan' multiculturalism testify to the advocacy of this wider geographical horizon for national education systems. While the emphasis may be on the specific knowledge and skills of other societies, advocates of this more international approach often emphasize the importance of overcoming stereotypes and racism as a basis for harmonious and peaceful encounters. The major challenge in this more internationalist focus is knowing to what extent it should be given priority as opposed to addressing inter-ethnic and inter-cultural contacts and relations in the domestic society.

### *Debates about school-based priorities in addressing diversity*

The major debates about how education should address inequality, cultural maintenance and participation in society are extremely important for setting the broad framework within which educators and schools develop their institutional structures and programmes. However, the need remains to bring the often broad objectives of equality, social cohesion and social inclusion down to the level of individual schools and classrooms. In this process of translation, further decisions are required. This includes how to

develop specific, workable strategies and programmes that identify priority issues and then direct their interventions to maximize their effectiveness. Questions that educational planners and decision-makers must address include whether the focus of their interventions should be on providing opportunities for students to maintain their cultural heritage; on ensuring that they are able to gain the skills and knowledge to compete equally in the wider society; or on giving them opportunities to study at higher education level for as long as possible.

An extension of the debate concerns whether programmes should target members of the minority group (with the often implicit assumption that they have a cultural 'deficit') or all students in the school, on the assumption that majority as well as minority students have much to gain from learning about other cultures and gaining awareness of how social structures construct and constrain options for individuals from particular backgrounds. In making these decisions, educators have available formulations of various school-based strategies that focus on more detailed implementation strategies than do the general debates. Before briefly reviewing the common formulations, it should be noted that the content and emphasis of a particular formulation may differ substantially from one education system to another. Unfortunately, this disparity is often overlooked in the intense debates between protagonists of the different strategies.

*Migrant education* is a term adopted in countries such as Australia or Germany to refer to the initial strategies responding to the needs of newly-arrived students (Luchtenberg, 2004: 47). It consists of compensatory programmes targeting only migrant students and their perceived deficits, where the long-term objective is the students' assimilation. Where the objective is a differentialist one of repatriation of the children to their country of origin, bilingual language education programmes are also used. With a realization of the limitations and inappropriateness of these objectives, other strategies were developed. *Multicultural education*, or *intercultural education* as it has been called in Europe (Council of Europe Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1983; Woodrow, Verma, Rocha-Trindade, Campani and Bagley, 1997), emphasizes the need not for assimilation, but rather for the support of cultural diversity in

the student population. Multicultural education has been the subject of extensive criticism for focusing only on the cultural practices of diverse minority groups in its strategy to promote tolerance of difference among all students. It has also been indicted for adopting a superficial cultural approach involving food, festivals and folkloric aspects of the culture, depicted in a static and essentialist manner. Such attacks have been particularly strong in the United Kingdom, where proponents of *anti-racist education* argue that such approaches fail to address the root causes of disadvantage and the role of power in relations affecting minority groups. Evidence of minority disadvantage and powerlessness have been identified in the curriculum, resource materials and the construction of forms of cultural racism that support the *status quo* (Ungerleider, 2004).

In fact, this depiction of the differences between multicultural education and anti-racist education is overly simplistic, since multicultural education in Germany, Australia and elsewhere often includes quite specifically the critical approaches espoused by the advocates of anti-racism education (Council of Europe Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1983; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997; Woodrow *et al.*, 1997; May 1999; Lund, 2003; Luchtenberg, 2004). What is most important about these debates on the appropriate strategies for addressing diversity in schools is that they have highlighted the limitations of particular approaches. At the same time, they have pointed to the need to make explicit the actual educational objectives being pursued and the importance of adopting appropriate strategies. In practice, it is clear that the choices need not be between one strategy or another, but rather can involve a combination of initiatives.

### *Constraints on educational planners*

While the range of issues and debates about educational responses to diversity and the more specific strategies to adopt provide guidelines for educational policy-makers and planners, their actual plans must also take into account a variety of constraints. Two are particularly important. The first relates to the existing institutional structures and heritage of the education system. An obvious consideration is the organizational structure of the school system. Is it a comprehensive system? How much is it based on a system

of examinations testing a centralized, tightly-defined syllabus? How much of it is under the control of the state? To what extent is it decentralized? A second, less obvious influence is the dominant national ideological and policy model concerning diversity (Hernes, Martin and Zadra, 2004). Although the specific models may not be overtly invoked, their influence comes from the way in which they can provide a clear direction and rationale for planners seeking a coherent policy strategy. This can be illustrated by looking at the different strategies they offer to address issues such as educational inequality. An assimilationist model does not envisage any specific policy response, since it considers it the responsibility of the minority group members to immerse themselves in the mainstream society. Once they have done this, issues of educational inequality related to ethnic background will not arise. The most pro-active response likely among those using this model is to speed up the process of assimilation by assisting students who are not fluent in the national language to gain competency. Other forms of what are sometimes called 'affirmative action' are not envisaged. For proponents of the differentialist model, the issue of inequality is academic, since society's parallel institutions will allow students and individuals to obtain separate, but equal, levels of educational and occupational attainment.

The difficulties inherent in the assumptions of both models are evident. The history of efforts to implement differentialist models and construct states with parallel systems of ethnic stratification, whether in South Africa, Singapore or elsewhere, show that the premise that it is possible to maintain parallel systems while providing separate and equal education and pathways to mobility is unrealistic. The assumptions of the assimilationist model, which places the responsibility for change on individual members of the minority, are also flawed. It is increasingly acknowledged that even where individuals may appear to have adopted the culture of the dominant group, this does not in itself ensure that they will overcome inequality and be fully accepted into the dominant group. Failure to achieve this outcome creates the potential for resistance and a rejection of mainstream society. Recent acknowledgement of the contemporary limitations of assimilation in the USA, especially with regard to education and the labour market, have led researchers to argue that the historical accounts of the extent of assimilation in

the USA were also flawed (Waldinger and Feliciano, 2004; Portes *et al.*, 2005). It is due to empirical limitations such as these in the assimilationist and differentialist models that the multiculturalist model has attracted attention and gained in popularity. While not removing choice or responsibility from the individual members of the minority, it does acknowledge the need to address systemic institutional barriers that can prevent them achieving equality.<sup>6</sup>

The second major constraint on educational planners and policy-makers comes from the need to take into account stakeholders with an interest in education. Their actual influence on policy making and planning depends on their ability to influence the policy-making process. Much also depends on how varied their demands are on any specific issue. Nevertheless, one of the features of the debates about educational planning for diversity is the way in which they can frequently mobilize substantial involvement from diverse sections of society. The most obvious stakeholders are those with a specific interest in diversity-related issues. They can include parents, community and religious groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and employers' and workers' groupings. Also of potential importance are those stakeholders concerned with other educational and social issues, since decisions made in other areas may unintentionally impact on diversity's role in education. Their concerns may include the priority given to specific curriculum areas such as mathematics or science, and expanding the curriculum to take account of new technologies, the natural environment, or the impact of social changes involving family relations, health, crime or globalization. Other stakeholders may be concerned about how education addresses a wider range of social issues such as health, or crime and violence. Stakeholders' actual demands can be highly varied, as can their ability to influence the policy-making process. However, a key constraint in planning for diversity is the extent to which decisions made in one area may, often unintentionally, affect another. There is also a need to establish priorities as a means of working in competition for inevitably scarce educational resources.

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6. This formulation of the model eschews a popular misunderstanding and criticism that a multicultural policy necessarily accepts as legitimate all forms of cultural expression.

## *Conclusion*

Education's is a major agent of cultural transmission and transformation. This makes it an extremely significant player in the way in which societies adjust to the social and political challenges posed by the evolving patterns of diversity in national and international inter-ethnic relationships. The impact of education on these relationships can be positive or negative for both society and its minority groups. It is therefore important that educational planning foster positive outcomes that facilitate democratic development. Equality, social cohesion and social inclusion are objectives that enjoy widespread support. Yet, as the debates surrounding the more specific educational challenges involving inequality, cultural maintenance and participation show, there is a lack of agreement on how to address diversity within the education system. This is partly a reflection of differences in the priorities and emphases in educational responses to diversity, which are also evident in the competing school-based strategies devised to guide schools and teachers.

The intention in outlining the various debates is to draw attention to the range of educational issues that require consideration in educational planning for diversity. Diverse sets of stakeholders have the potential to influence policy development and, in some cases, implementation. Research can play a role in the selection of a particular policy strategy. In practice, however, this is somewhat limited by the absence of research addressing the often highly complex social processes involved in the debates. Nevertheless, research can help identify the dimensions of diversity and the incidence of associated inequality and social exclusion. In doing so, it highlights the need to develop educational responses. Where, as in the case of inequality, it is possible to specify indicators or measures of equality in educational outcomes, research can point to the advantages of particular policy and planning responses. The next three chapters explore the specific strategies and planning responses adopted to address the challenges posed by diversity in education. The first area to be examined involves the organizational arrangements implemented to manage diversity.

### III. Diversity and the organization of education

In the expansion of education since the nineteenth century, there have been two opposing structural responses to the education of minority groups. One response involved a differential approach in which the responsibility to provide education that catered to diverse minorities was not taken on by the state. Rather, it was left to either the minority groups or others with an educational objective, such as missionary groups. Government control was frequently weak, reflecting the limited funding allocated by the state to education and/or the assumption that the minority was not to be incorporated within the mainstream of society. This was a common response by colonial administrations. The other major response was to use the schools as a means of assimilating the minorities into the mainstream society by providing a common schooling for all children, as occurred in the USA or France. Both responses had problems. The existence of differentialist school systems, which discriminated against particular groups, laid the foundations for future conflicts. This was the case in Rwanda, where government and church schools gave preferential access to Tutsi; a situation not solved by the use of ethnic and regional quotas in the years after independence (Obura, 2003: 43-45). Assimilationist policies of providing common schooling for all students avoided the obvious elements of discrimination and difference. However, to the extent that they were associated with either inequality in educational outcomes for particular groups of students, or failed to support cultural diversity and cultural maintenance, they too also came to be questioned.

This chapter examines the varied organizational and management responses adopted by planners and policy-makers seeking to develop education systems that facilitate equality in educational outcomes and participation, while also facilitating cultural maintenance within a framework that does not threaten social cohesion. This is a challenging task, which has implications for discussions on the value of parental choice in schooling and the role of community education in meeting local communities' needs.

### *Structural diversity in education*

Countries vary widely in the extent to which schooling is the sole priority of the state. In contrast to earlier periods, however, it is now common for non-state, private schools to operate under some control from the state. This control can relate to the educational buildings and their location; the use of the national curriculum, sometimes with modifications; teachers' qualifications; and opportunities for state funding. The aims of these private schools are to achieve academic excellence, often obtained thanks to students from elite social backgrounds; to provide for students from particular religious or ethnic backgrounds through overt curriculum offerings as well as their social ethos and hidden curriculum; to cater to special-needs students; and, increasingly, to meet the need for 'international' schools for students whose families are temporarily living outside their normal country of residence. In the latter instance, schools may follow the curriculum of a particular home country, such as Japan or Singapore. Alternatively, they may offer a curriculum that provides an internationally-recognized educational qualification at the end of secondary schooling, such as that of the International Baccalaureate.

State education systems themselves vary in the extent to which they offer 'comprehensive' education for all students or instead cater to particular groups of students. Two common bases for differentiation are gender and academic 'merit'. In the latter case, which is often called *streaming* or *tracking*, some schools cater for able students perceived as requiring a more demanding range of curriculum options that lead to tertiary study. Other schools provide students with a more vocationally-oriented curriculum. The government public school structure may also include schools for students from particular ethnic minority backgrounds – particularly where the minorities reside in isolated geographical regions – as well as schools that cater for physically-handicapped students. Aside from these public schools, which are intentionally structured to cater for various forms of student diversity, both public and private schools may find that they are indirectly catering for students from a particular class or ethnic background. This may be a result of the way in which they recruit from a particular geographical region where families from particular social or ethnic backgrounds are concentrated. In effect,

within contemporary education systems there are often a range of educational structures which, intentionally or unintentionally, offer education to particular groups of students.

State educational planners can use a variety of mechanisms to control diverse educational structures so as to achieve particular objectives associated with a positive outcome. Just as there are debates concerning whether special-needs students should be educated in special schools with appropriate physical facilities and staff, or whether it is important for them and other students to be educated in ordinary schools, albeit with suitable support networks and services, so too there are similar debates among those concerned about how best to meet the needs of students from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Except in situations where differentiated schools clearly contribute to and/or reflect the development of major fault lines in inter-ethnic relations, there can be advantages in the availability of schools that are not so entirely homogeneous in their educational structures, curriculum and practices that they fail to provide an education that facilitates the development of individual students to their own and society's advantage. Increasingly, it is recognized that centralized, homogeneous school systems can be so rigid and inflexible in their focus on providing a systemic education that they do not adequately educate their students. Their advantage, of course, is that in situations where resources are limited they may provide the most satisfactory option to ensure at least a minimum standard of Education for All.

The two major arguments concerning the development of schools catering specifically for certain groups of students relate to their dual roles of promoting equality and social incorporation. On the one hand, the existence of a differentiated school system can mean that the human resources such as teachers, and material resources, including the quality of the school building, school facilities and teaching materials, differ substantially between schools. This means that students in the poorly-resourced schools receive a poorer quality education. A second concern is that where schools cater primarily for a particular group of students, they will contribute to social isolation between these students and others in society. Furthermore, where the school population is viewed as 'disadvantaged' in economic and

social terms, there is often a concern that it will cultivate anti-social behaviour.

A number of more detailed arguments relate to the positive aspects of structural diversity. One is that where there are student populations with very different social and cultural backgrounds, as often occurs in the case of isolated and indigenous populations, schools that cater for their specific pedagogical as well as curricular and social needs can help them to transfer successfully to the general education system and acquire the skills to operate in the wider society, including the development of a positive self-image and identity. Even if schools are not specifically designed to provide this element of adaptation, those that are established in areas of minority concentration may, inadvertently, take on this role.

Another positive argument in favour of structural diversity relates to curriculum content and a school's ability to offer particular curriculum subjects and options. This is dependent on whether the number of students interested in a particular option warrants the employment of a specialist teacher. It also depends on whether it can be fitted within what is often a very crowded curriculum, with many subjects competing for a place. The existence of schools that explicitly offer particular subjects such as minority languages allows students with an interest in certain languages to attend them. This thereby creates the opportunity for them to be offered as a subject or, if the number of students is sufficient, for some form of bilingual education. Such specialization can be provided within the existing national curriculum and with teachers who have been trained and have experience in local schools. Alternatively, if the curriculum is modified and/or taught by teachers recruited from the country of origin, the effect of the schooling is more likely to be that of an international school catering for students without the intention of settling in the country. There are negative features to this response. Students attending such schools may find it difficult to continue their education in the local system if they have not gained locally-recognized credentials. It can also result in students lacking an understanding of the society in which they live and the opportunity to establish relations with other sections of the population. More negative effects occur when students in such schools are exposed

to negative attitudes and stereotypes about the rest of the local population.

Evidence on the negative aspects of structural diversity varies substantially. In the Rwandan case referred to above, access was the predominant issue. This was because missionary schools initially favoured the Tutsi population, who, given their number in the population, were substantially over-represented. Later, this situation was to be reversed by the use of ethnic and regional quotas, which created concerns among the Tutsi and other groups who had been displaced by Hutu (Obura, 2003). One major source of conflict is thus linked to how exclusion from schools (either entirely or in terms of access to the more highly regarded schools) can be a source of major social conflict, especially where it is seen to be linked to other forms of discrimination against a minority group. This occurs particularly in situations where there are strongly institutionalized forms of racial and ethnic division in the wider society.

In societies where the presence of more recent migrant populations is not necessarily associated with such institutionalized divisions between the structures of schooling, structured divisions based on merit and streaming often indirectly lead to minority students being over-represented in the less academically-oriented streams of schooling. Data from the international PISA 2003 study referred to in *Chapter II* show some evidence that migrant students in streamed systems do not perform as well as those in comprehensive systems. However, the results are not conclusive, as there was also some indication of lower performance among students in the comprehensive school systems in Denmark and Sweden (OECD, 2006: 73). On the other hand, data from the study indicate that school facilities and the quality of the school environment are not significantly associated with the actual performance of students on mathematical tests. Migrant students are, however, more likely to report a less satisfactory disciplinary environment in their classrooms (OECD, 2006: 80). While far from conclusive, both sets of results are relevant to discussions concerning the extent to which streaming and the school environment, which are often associated with structural differentiation, affect the actual performance of secondary school students from migrant families as compared with native-born

students. It appears that the general picture is that the effects on minority students are greater than they are for the native-born.

### *Mechanisms for managing structural diversity*

One mechanism used to overcome the development of structural divisions in the school system involves the use of *ethnic quotas* to determine access to schools. The Rwandan example highlights how this can perpetuate major conflicts. It also shows that it has a tendency to antagonize parents and others concerned about the way it overrides principles such as academic merit in allocation to particular types of school. Most frequently, quotas have been adopted where there is concern about the under-representation of particular groups in schools and universities. As the experiences of universities in the United States of America have shown, the use of quotas can lead to legal challenges concerning their impact on those who are not included among the targeted minorities and hence find themselves excluded, even while they have a higher assessment mark than those admitted under quotas. While the use of such quotas may be understandable in situations characterized by institutional discrimination, they can be counterproductive in situations where it leads to members of the negatively-targeted groups moving outside the education system to study in private schools or, indeed, in foreign countries, as happened in Malaysia (see *Chapter VI*).

The failure of desegregation legislation in the USA to end school segregation underlay the *bussing* strategy in the United States. This strategy was created as a means of developing more diverse school populations through relocating students from racially and socially homogeneous schools. Extensive resources were put into this strategy of transporting students on a daily basis from their own school to another. The strategy was rarely welcomed by more advantaged school communities. Often the first group of 'black' students bussed to such schools were received with hostility. In many cases, parents responded by moving their children from their local schools into private schools, or even changed their residential area in order to access another school district that did not implement a bussing policy. Evaluations of the outcomes of bussing in terms either of the educational outcomes for those students who were moved from their original school, or of the changing

relations between students from different racial backgrounds, are few. It is also difficult to determine whether the practice led in the longer-term to breaking down racial barriers between schools, with more positive longer-term consequences in the society as a whole through contributing to a new perception of the diverse 'ownership' of schooling. By the 1990s, bussing had been largely abandoned in the USA due to 'resistance' from parents. Alternative strategies have sought to make schools more attractive by using special funding to provide extra teachers and resources, as in the US Magnet and Charter schools or special school areas in Australia, France and the United Kingdom. However, they have had little impact on the diversity of the student populations.

One strategy used by governments to provide education for students from indigenous or geographically isolated backgrounds is to *relocate* them away from their families to centres with special schooling and boarding facilities. It should also be noted that these relocations are usually only from one structurally-separate schooling institution to another. Australia, Canada, China and Malaysia are some of the countries that have followed this practice. Often, parents are resistant to letting their children go for fears about their welfare. Moreover, they often recognize the policy as a means of assimilating them into the majority society and its culture. Apart from creating resistance among the minority population, the children involved often experience major problems in their social and educational experiences, as is indicated in the Australian reports on the so-called 'stolen generation'.

Less directly interventionist forms of managing diversity exist and, indeed, have been widely practiced in many school systems. One that is also closely associated with the development of neighbourhood schools and 'comprehensive' schooling is the use of *zoning*, where students are required to attend a school located in their residential area or zone. As already noted, given the tendency in many countries for populations to be grouped according to social class and ethnic background, this mechanism is often only partially successful in preventing *de facto* differentiation in school populations. Whether the homogeneity indirectly associated with these schools is such that any potential negativities can be handled by curriculum and school-based responses or the allocation of teachers

is important to consider. Arguments that this can be overcome by completely abandoning zoning and giving students access to any school they wish is particularly appealing to those who advocate the desirability of greater choice within the education system. While the issue of choice is discussed in greater detail in the next section, the reality is that all too often the abandonment of zoning results in an actual decrease in socio-cultural diversity. This is because students who change to the more highly regarded and academically successful private or government schools tend to be from families with greater access to information about the education system and financial resources. All too often, it is minority families who lack these social and material resources. The result is that their children are left behind in schools that acquire a reputation among parents and educators for having educational problems and failures. Such school reputations contribute all too readily to a vicious spiral of increasing school failure, which is very difficult to halt despite its further reinforcement of educational disadvantage among minority students.

Whichever solution is adopted, noting that in many countries immigrant children are concentrated in schools with other immigrant and native-born students from disadvantaged backgrounds, the PISA study recommends that support be provided to target these children (OECD, 2006: 80). Such support, which can range from curriculum and school-based responses to administrative strategies to ensure the presence of a stable and experienced teaching force, is an especially important consideration where students have considerable freedom to attend the school of their family's choice, as choice alone is not a guarantee against disadvantage.

In discussing the development of structural differentiation in the schools, attention has so far focused on the ways in which the access of students to particular schools is actually controlled by a variety of measures. However, other mechanisms available to educational planners include the allocation of material and human resources, including teachers and teaching assistants. With regard to teachers, the issues involved can include their recruitment, training, allocation and career development. *Teachers* are frequently seen as important role models by students, especially minority students, for whom the presence of teachers from their own background in the

schools can be particularly valuable: these teachers serve as evidence that students with similar backgrounds can succeed academically and professionally. They are also well-placed to act as a bridge or mediator between the students, the school and the larger society. Although there is extensive scepticism about the use of quotas to select staff such as teachers, an alternative mechanism that avoids concerns about lack of ability of those appointed under quotas is to develop targeted programmes to attract prospective teachers from diverse, non-traditional backgrounds. Another practice that can avoid claims of discrimination is to hire staff with identifiable cultural skills and backgrounds to work as teaching assistants to liaise with students and their families, and explain to them about the school, its educational practices and objectives, and its culture.

Education system officials have varying degrees of control over teacher training institutions and their curricula. In multicultural societies, it is particularly valuable for the pre-professional and in-service training of teachers to introduce the key dimensions of how diversity can impact on students and their behaviour in the classroom. At the same time, it is also important that teachers be provided with skills to deal with situations that could develop in the classroom and in contact with students and their families. Teacher appointment is another strategy that can be used by authorities to introduce personalities that could serve as role models and cultural mediators into schools. Where there is a strong need for specialist teachers, such a strategy could avoid problems relating to anti-discrimination in employment legislation. However, to avoid such positions becoming identified as dead-end options, it is also important to give attention to developing a career structure for those appointed.

The availability of *resource* materials to support curriculum initiatives, provision of professional development support and consultants, and existence of appropriate policies and curriculum documents are all ways in which educational administrators and planners can provide support to schools and teachers when they undertake innovations to address diversity. These strategies have financial costs associated with them. It is important that *finances* be made available to support initiatives that would otherwise fail.

Another aspect of organization and structural responses over which educational planners have control is ensuring the *continuity* of curriculum offerings from one level to the next. This continuity is particularly relevant in languages and other subjects where there is an obvious need for students to be able to deepen and extend their knowledge of the subject matter. Continuity can be facilitated by the existence either of school clusters in a particular area or the provision of opportunities to progress to a school that allows them to continue with their studies. This flexibility is not applicable only to students from diverse backgrounds. However, it is particularly relevant if the opportunities to undertake further study in a specific language are not feasible in their existing or future school due to the absence of courses and sufficient numbers of students to warrant its introduction.

### *School choice and vouchers*

School choice is not only attractive to many parents who are seeking the best education possible for their children. It also appeals to many governments and education policy-makers who view choice both as desirable and as a mechanism to introduce something akin to market-place competition into education, with the expectation that this will make schools more responsive to consumers' needs. Criticisms of current schemes refer to the potential negative effects that can develop for schools perceived (on questionable criteria such as exam results rather than student improvement) as being less satisfactory, and which thus lose students and other resources such as teachers and funding. Such 'failing' schools are very often those attended by students who are among the most socially disadvantaged and lack the resources and information to take advantage of opportunities to attend other schools, even if they are dissatisfied with students' behaviour and teacher morale. Mechanisms for promoting greater choice can include abandoning residential zoning and introducing more diversity in the type of school specialization provided by government schools. These are measures that allow parents to seek a school within the government system. More pro-active encouragement of and support for the principle of choice is where access to non-state, fee-paying schools is facilitated by the use of vouchers, which parents can 'spend' in

the school of their choice, or the provision of free public transport to school for children, even when this involves them travelling outside their school zone (Belfield and Levin, 2002).

The attraction of vouchers is that they are seen as providing opportunities for children from poorer families to be able to access elite, fee-paying schools in their areas. How this works when the schools also use a merit-based system of admission and/or require evidence of at least certain levels of academic performance remains an issue rarely addressed. Another difficulty is how the use of vouchers is integrated with other issues concerning government funding of education involving both state and private schools or students. This touches on a complex set of issues surrounding the extent and nature of government support for privately provided and supported education. It also highlights that the positive contribution of greater educational choice for disadvantaged students is very much tied to the implementation of such programmes (Belfield and Levin, 2002).

### *Community-based schooling*

There have been increasing calls for greater decentralization of the education system (the control of schools and appointment of teachers being devolved to parent and community groups, or the devolution of curriculum and assessment). This is particularly true in highly *centralized* school systems that, while they may provide equal access and educational provisions, are seen to ignore the needs of the students due to their focus on homogeneity in the education system. These moves towards decentralization exist within national education systems and are reflected in the development of private, community-based schools. One of the challenges facing such schools is that they lack the resources available to larger school systems that can draw on expertise in curriculum development, staff development and other programmes. Such access to support mechanisms is especially important for schools whose communities are socially and educationally disadvantaged, as they lack the required capital to provide the support necessary for the teachers and administrators to ensure that the school is able to serve students' needs. Another concern is that where the school's community caters for those from the dominant, majority background, it will at best be lacking the

incentives to address issues of diversity within the larger society, and at worst reproduce stereotypes concerning them.

### *Conclusion*

Educational planners and policy-makers have available a diverse range of administrative tools, which they can use to address the varied educational aspirations of different stakeholders. These tools include the ability to modify educational structures and the allocation of material and human resources. The often-political potential of their aspirations creates a particular challenge for policy-makers, as they must balance the diverse pressures while seeking responses that will facilitate social cohesion rather than conflict. The structures of education and its organization have a tendency to be inflexible. However, they coexist with a range of more detailed school-based curricular responses, whose success depends very much on administrative and managerial support. Allocation of the material and human resources, including finances and the teaching force, as well as other support mechanisms available to planners and policy-makers, are critical to the success or failure of specific programmes. This will be apparent in the two following chapters, which look at language- and non-language-based responses.

## IV. Language and diversity

Language plays a crucial but varied role in learning and education. In planning education for students from diverse linguistic backgrounds, language is involved in three different ways: first, as the means of communicating knowledge and curriculum content; second, as a subject area in the curriculum; and third, through its potential to be a marker and symbol of an ethnic group's identity. Given the importance of each of these contributions and the highly visible place of language in the curriculum, language issues often dominate the policy and planning agenda for diversity. Participants and stakeholders in the policy debates concerning language issues include not only educators, but also language communities, employers, human rights groups and international organizations. The media, itself dependent on language, plays a significant role in formulating and articulating public opinion. These stakeholders bring very different interests to the debates on language provision, which are reflected in the different rationales provided for change. These include equality of educational opportunities and outcomes, social justice, rights to cultural maintenance, facilitating intercultural communication, social cohesion, intellectual rigour and the importance of national linguistic resources. How these impact on language planning in education – including the choices available to planners, their rationales and common educational strategies – will be examined in the remainder of this chapter, which first considers issues surrounding the language of instruction, then bilingual education and languages as subjects in the curriculum.

### *The language of instruction*

For education and learning to achieve their objectives, it is critical that students understand the language of instruction. What this language will be, and the provisions made to ensure that all students are fluent in it, are therefore important policy and planning issues. In societies where there is a single, well-established national language, the choice of language to be used for instruction in educational institutions is non-problematic as the national language

is the mother tongue of the vast majority of the population. In multilingual states, this is not so. The choice of language is therefore an important political decision. The language selected can create somewhat different needs that educational planners need to take into account, involving teaching resources and the training of teachers.

*Selecting the language of instruction*

Among the newly-independent, multilingual states created over the last half century, a major part of nation building involves establishing the national identity, achieving social harmony and economic development. The identification of a national language is recognized as crucial to this task. Indeed, it is a significant political decision involving often extensive and emotional debates, and a balancing of the competing interests of diverse language groupings. While educators and linguists may advocate the advantages of providing education in the students' mother tongue, this is rarely the major consideration in the final choice of national language(s). Once the decision is made, the next question is whether this language or other 'official' languages should be used in educational instruction. This, too, is as much a political as an educational decision.

Nowhere has the task of choosing the national language been more challenging than in former colonies, where the language of the colonial ruler (such as English, French, Dutch or Portuguese) served as a *lingua franca* between disparate linguistic groups now united within the boundaries of the former colony. The adoption of the former colonial language as the national language has always been politically problematic in a post-colonial world. This is despite recognition of the utility of using a major international language able to provide access to a wide range of educational resource materials. The two alternatives to choosing the colonial language are to develop a 'new' language or to select one or more regional languages or dialects. Both have their limitations.

In Indonesia, the decision not to adopt a major regional language like Javanese, but to develop the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, from the former *lingua franca* used in marketplaces by the country's more than 300 linguistic groups, was a significant decision for unity. However, the choice of a new language necessitates its linguistic development to accommodate the wide range of functions and

usages required of a national language, including those necessary for the modernizing task of accessing scientific and technical knowledge. Its neighbour, Malaysia, also chose to develop the closely-related Bahasa Malaysia/Melayu as its national language. Similarly, Singapore, although predominantly Chinese-speaking, also chose Bahasa Malaysia as its national language when it was briefly politically united with Malaysia between 1963 and 1965. Since its separation from Malaysia, Singapore has kept Bahasa Malaysia as its national language, with English, Chinese and Tamil as the other three 'official' languages. Today, the formal situation is the same, but English has become the administrative language used in government and education. The shift to English, which had also been the language of education for the local English-speaking colonial elite, reflects Singapore's perception of its value as an international language. It was also a means of defusing competition and tension between the country's diverse linguistic groups.

Where the decision is made to select a regional language as the national language, its language community is at an advantage in gaining administrative positions, an outcome which has the potential to undermine the quest for unity. East Timor, one of the world's newest nations, resolved the question of the national language by choosing two: Tetum, the major regional language; and Portuguese, the language of the original colonial power until the mid-1970s. Other contenders were English and Bahasa Indonesia. The latter had been used by the Indonesians, including in education, after they took control of East Timor when the Portuguese left the territory in the 1970s. The problems associated with the linguistic capabilities and resources of a new language also apply to the selection of a regional language such as Tetum. They are, however, compounded when the number of language speakers is relatively small.

Selecting the national language is more straightforward for countries that have gained their independence through the fragmentation of larger states, as occurred in the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. Unlike the former colonies, the new states have based their claims to existence and legitimacy on the concept of a nation state where the state and nation are conflated through the existence of a 'folk' or 'people' with a common language, which is the obvious candidate to be the national language. However, these

new states too often contain within their borders long-established, regionally concentrated, minority language groups. These groups use the same arguments involving linguistic nationalism to seek greater political autonomy, if not complete independence. The major impetus for replacing, or complementing, the national language by a regional language in the education system is rarely solely educational. Rather, it reflects the symbolic role which the regional language acquires in social movements for greater political recognition of the region. There are examples of strengthening such demands in long-established nation states in Western Europe, where regional minorities, like Basques and Catalans, have been successful in gaining a major role for the regional language in government and education, if not independence. At the beginning of the new millennium, 15 European countries including Belgium, Finland, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom as well as Russia and Switzerland used, to some extent, one or more regional languages of instruction in their schools (Eurydice, 2005b: 91-92).

*Educational issues and the language of instruction*

The choice of language(s) to be used for instruction in an education system is not immutable. However, once the initial political decision has been made, the task of ensuring its implementation passes to educators and planners to ensure that national and educational objectives are realized. These objectives require that all students be fluent and literate in the language of instruction. Without student fluency and literacy, teachers cannot communicate with them and achieve the objectives of the curriculum, which include transmitting society's values as well as academic knowledge and skills. Nor can students learn and realize their potential to participate on an equal basis in society. As mentioned above, the results from the 2003 PISA comparative study support the importance of such knowledge. They show that longstanding language support programmes in the language of instruction (L2) with relatively clearly-defined goals and standards in countries such as Australia, Canada and Sweden are associated with levels of achievement that approach, if not surpass, those of native-born students (OECD, 2006: 155). Low levels of educational attainment have significant implications for social cohesion and inclusion where they limit students' chances to use education as a means for social and economic integration and

mobility. The effects are not merely personal or economic, as the resulting marginalization, alienation and social exclusion associated with this outcome can reinforce other language-based markers of diversity and inequality. The practical importance of ensuring fluency in the national or official languages is also given normative force in documents such as ILO Convention 169 of 1989 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries and the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families. This last document specifically notes the importance of linguistic fluency for integration into the school system.

The simplest strategy but, as Australian teachers discovered in the 1960s, the least successful, is the assimilationist *osmosis* or *submersion* strategy (not to be confused with the structured immersion programmes in bilingual education; Martin, 1978). This strategy assumes that children that do not speak English (or other language of instruction) will simply acquire it through immersion in the classroom. While some may learn the classroom language, this can be an extremely lengthy and *ad hoc* process that often results in serious gaps in their language skills. In the meantime, children unable to comprehend what is happening in the classroom often become a major source of disruption through restlessness and other behaviour that interferes with the teaching and learning objectives of the teacher and other students. A not uncommon response from monolingual teachers is that the students lack intellectual ability. As a result, these students find themselves directed to lower ability levels of education or discouraged from continuing their schooling beyond the legal minimum age. Other responses to classroom misbehaviour can include punishment, exclusion from the classroom, or even suspension from the school. These are temporary measures for dealing with difficulties in classroom management. They can lead students to join other school dropouts involved in truancy and socially disruptive behaviour, which puts them at risk of becoming even further marginalized in society. A recognition of these difficulties, associated with an education system working with a homogeneous assimilation model, was a major factor that led Australian teachers to seek changes to the education system to provide more pro-active responses to linguistic diversity in the classroom (Martin, 1978).

Pro-active responses range from establishing programmes to teach the second language to the use of team teaching (involving a bilingual teacher working with the regular classroom teacher) and bilingual education. These latter responses can only be considered if there are sufficient numbers of students from the same language background, which is more likely to be the case among indigenous or regionally-based minorities than immigrant groups. Where immigrant and other minority language students are in schools with very diverse language populations, special second language programmes in the official language, such as English or German, have become an increasingly popular method of addressing their needs. They can however take very different forms.

The 2003 PISA study examined the policies used to help students gain fluency in the language in question. While the study highlights the widespread development of programmes designed to actively facilitate language acquisition by migrants, it also notes that there was considerable variation in the details of specific programmes (OECD, 2006: 134). These ranged from what might be called the *osmosis* or *submersion* programmes in French-speaking Belgium, Luxemburg and Spain, to the more common programmes that offered some type of support to students involved in immersion programmes. Less frequent were special preparatory programmes or bilingual education.

### *Second language acquisition programmes*

From initial extremely *ad hoc* efforts in the 1960s, second language acquisition programmes have gained increasing linguistic sophistication. This is reflected in their curricula, pedagogy and modes of delivery. Their starting point is the understanding that children lacking the language of instruction (L2) are part of a society where this language is widely spoken. It is therefore not as if they were learning a little-used, 'foreign' language, hence the methodologies for developing their proficiency must recognize the language as their 'second language'. While the initial Australian ESL (English as a Second Language) programmes were predicated on the assumption that they would cater primarily for recent immigrants, it soon became apparent that students with some knowledge of English, often born in Australia (so-called 'second-' and 'third-phase learners'), could also benefit from them.

The initial Australian pattern of delivery was to use withdrawal classes. In this structure, groups of students were taken from their regular school classes to work with a specialist ESL teacher for a part of the school day. Two difficulties – one educational, the other social – were identified with this approach, especially among secondary-school-age children. The educational problem was that while attending their ESL classes, students were missing the subject material being taught in their regular classes, which interfered with their academic progress. The social difficulty was that being sent from the regular class to a ‘withdrawal’ class had the effect of differentiating, if not stigmatizing, the students in the eyes of the other pupils in their class. This social effect was compounded when teachers identified students for ESL on the basis not of their language skills, but rather by stereotyping according to pupils’ names or presumed ethnicity. As a result of this and the existence of second- and third-phase learners, an important dimension in the development of second language programmes is the need for assessment tools that can identify students who would benefit from the programmes. Developments in curriculum research and the training of specialist ESL teachers have helped overcome such difficulties, particularly in the assessment and identification of students who would benefit from ESL support programmes.

There has also been increasing diversity and innovation in the delivery of second language programmes. Corson has identified 16 ways of delivering support that are used by schools, either individually or in combination (Corson, 2001: 136):

- reception units;
- integrated and co-operative teaching;
- paired teaching;
- parallel teaching and programming;
- withdrawal teaching;
- ESL extension;
- correspondence school enrolment;
- peer support systems;
- enrolment in ESL evening classes;
- first-language support;
- development of student skills;
- familiarization programmes;

- language support across the curriculum;
- incidental teaching;
- rotation teaching; and
- special purpose teaching.

The age at which linguistic-minority students first arrive in a different school system is also relevant in deciding the most appropriate strategy for ensuring second language acquisition programmes. One group of students who experience particular difficulties are adolescents, for whom the change to schooling in a different language, with a new and often exam-oriented curriculum, adds to other pressures as they adjust to the social changes associated with migration and adolescence. Australian research suggests that these students, especially the young men, are more likely to leave school at the end of compulsory schooling (Cox, 1971). The strategy adopted to deal with this problem of integration into the new school system has been to establish Intensive Language Centres (ILCs) for newly-arrived secondary-school-age students. At these schools, they study the regular secondary school curriculum with specialist ESL teachers, so that while they are acquiring English they are also learning the regular curriculum. The ILCs also introduce students to the culture of the Australian school and the wider society through excursions and other activities. The time spent at the ILC depends on the student's English competency. Once a certain level is reached, they transfer to a local secondary school where they receive ongoing support from that school's specialist ESL teachers.

Similar programmes involving 'initiation classes' were introduced in France in the early 1970s for both primary and secondary students. Up to the 1980s, they catered only to an extremely small proportion of foreign children (less than 7,000 in a total population of more than 1 million). While after nearly 20 years they have not been systematically evaluated, critical assessments reiterate many of the concerns that affected the early development of the now widely institutionalized Australian ESL programmes. These include the need for appropriate French as a second language methodology, suitably trained teachers, and appropriate measures to integrate the teachers and classes into the regular schools in a way that avoids their isolation and ghettoization. Another difficulty noted with these classes is that, in certain cases, French pupils with

limited intellectual abilities are placed in these classes alongside non-French-speaking students, as though the educational needs for students with intellectual disabilities were similar to those of students with linguistic difficulties (Costa-Lascoux, 1989: 70-73).

The lesson to draw from this comparison of apparently similar institutional and organizational responses to L2 acquisition for children from linguistic minority backgrounds is that the effectiveness of the structural response depends on how it is implemented and included in educational policies. This includes such basic educational processes as curriculum and pedagogical developments, which build on research in L2 acquisition; attention to the administrative integration of the classes into the education system; and correctly identifying students whose needs match the objectives of the classes. All too often when considering educational innovations, these detailed areas of curriculum design, including documentation and resource materials, teacher preparation and administrative arrangements are overlooked. This is despite the importance of their role in the success of new programmes.

Given the resource limitations that characterize most education systems, it is also important to consider whether some of the objectives of second language acquisition programmes may be achieved through alternative strategies. Following her critique of the French initiation classes, Costa-Lascoux points out that:

“[t]he training of teachers and a reduction in the numbers in certain ‘normal’ classes with foreign pupils, along with extra-curricular support, might have been more successful in attaining the objective of ‘non-ghettoization’ and at a lower cost” (Costa-Lascoux, 1989: 73).

Further alternative possibilities are also contained in Corson’s list summarized above.

The value of providing second language acquisition training to all teachers likely to be working in schools with children from linguistic minority groups is important. This is particularly true for those situations where the small numbers of students make it difficult to justify the provision of specialist teachers and classes. Recent developments in systemic functional linguistics and genre

analysis also provide a basis for developing new pedagogies in the classroom that can benefit both native and non-native (L2) speakers, through introducing students to the analysis of the different genres or forms of writing and language (Christie and Martin, 1997; Christie, 2005).

Second language programmes may be seen as assimilationist, given that their objective is to ensure that the students become fluent in L2. However, they constitute a marked shift from the *osmosis* response, where minority students are placed in an L2 classroom and left alone to sink or swim in this immersion approach. Since a major rationale for L2 programmes is to assist the incorporation of students into the wider society through their acquisition of the national or official language, which is the prerequisite to success in education and the labour market, the programmes highlight the tension that arises when trying to balance strategies designed to promote equality against concerns that they ‘assimilate’ students into the majority culture. Such concerns about ‘assimilation’ overlook the fact that students acquiring a second language do not necessarily lose fluency in their first language. The processes of language acquisition and loss are far more complex. They relate to support for languages not only in the formal education system, but also in the wider society. This is particularly true where the existence of diglossia in the general population and in institutions such as the media, the labour market and government are significant (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1999: 76-77).

### *Bilingual education*

In contrast to second language acquisition programmes, bilingual education can be defined as “using a non-dominant language as the medium of instruction during some substantial part of the school day” (Corson, 2001: 99). The non-dominant language referred to is the mother tongue of language minority students. The term ‘mother tongue’ is actually ambiguous. While sociologists may emphasize the origins and first language learnt, linguists refer to competence or the language one knows best, socio-linguists privilege the language one uses most frequently, social psychologists refer to the language one identifies with, and popular conceptions refer

to the more 'automatic' language in which one thinks or dreams (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 18).

Despite these differences, linguists strongly agree on the desirability of bilingual education programmes (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981; Corson 2001). Together with educators, they emphasize the cognitive advantages that minority children in particular can derive from being educated in their L1 as well as in the national or official language (L2). A social argument for bilingual education is that it allows students to continue using their mother tongue, while at the same time gaining the linguistic skills needed to participate in wider society. The effects are viewed as developing a positive identity and self-image for students, through their ability to move between different social worlds. This in turn is an important factor contributing to educational success. Bilingual programmes are viewed as extremely important from the perspective of social justice by human rights advocates and UNESCO, which sees it as "a means of promoting both social and gender equality and as a key element of linguistically diverse societies" (UNESCO, 2003: 32).

Bilingual education is also supported by minority communities, including students and their parents, for two main reasons. The first emphasizes the parents' desire for their children to become literate in their mother tongue and maintain a connection with the family's cultural heritage. Such a desire does not, however, necessarily mean that parents wish this to occur at the expense of their children's command of the working language (L2) in the country where they are growing up and where they anticipate long-term residence. Migrant parents in particular are aware of the advantages for their children of being fluent in the national language, thus avoiding many of the difficulties which they themselves have faced in their own settlement experiences. For these parents, bilingual instruction can provide a way of achieving fluency in both languages.

The second reason is prominent in situations involving 'linguistic nationalism' characterized by calls for greater opportunities and regional autonomy for the linguistic group. Such communities may have a preference for their own linguistically-based school system. However, where such separatism is not feasible due to government educational policies and/or the limited opportunities available in the

labour market for those lacking literacy in the national language, bilingual education programmes are attractive as a means of partially addressing their objectives.

Despite the advantages claimed for bilingualism, there is much debate about the actual research evidence. This is not least because of the complexity of the issues involved in evaluating the outcomes of bilingual programmes. Thus, the 2003 PISA report cites research that questions whether proficiency in L1 is a crucial prerequisite for L2 acquisition (OECD, 2006: 145). Among the factors that can affect the generalization of research findings on the outcomes of bilingual education are whether the children come from bilingual or highly-educated families, whether they belong to a majority group and whether their mother tongue has high status (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 64-65). Outcomes may also be affected by the type of bilingual programmes evaluated and whether there is a diglossic language environment, in which different languages are used for different functions and situations. In contrast to an earlier view of the negative effects of bilingual education, a more recent assessment of a diverse set of outcomes by a prominent scholar concludes that:

- bilingualism has positive effects on children's linguistic and educational development;
- the level of development of children's mother tongue is a strong predictor of their second language development;
- mother tongue promotion in the school helps develop not only the mother tongue, but also children's abilities in the majority school language;
- spending instructional time through a minority language in the school does not hurt children's academic development in the majority school language;
- children's mother tongues are fragile and easily lost in the early years of school; and
- negotiation of identity is a crucial factor in minority children's academic success (Cummins, 2003: 61-64).

#### *Transitional and maintenance bilingual programmes*

Two main types of bilingual education programmes exist. The first, and arguably most common among immigrant students, is transitional bilingual education. This has been described as a means

whereby “[m]inority languages are primarily considered as media for introducing minority children into the majority middle class school system” (Extra and Vallen, 1989: 166). What this normally means is that children commence schooling in their L1 and then are exposed to increasing amounts of instruction in the formal language of instruction (L2). At some point close to the transition from primary to secondary school, instruction then shifts entirely into L2. In contrast to the transitional bilingual programmes, in the ‘maintenance’ bilingual programmes students study L1 and L2 as subjects while also being instructed in both languages. These maintenance programmes continue throughout primary and secondary schooling. The distinction between these two types of bilingual education relates to their objectives. The objective of the transitional or ‘subtractive’ model is to use the mother tongue to facilitate acquisition of the language of instruction and thereby incorporation into society primarily through use of that language. In contrast, the objective of the ‘additive’ or maintenance model is to facilitate extensive bilingualism and the potential to use either language as a basis for transition from the world of school to the world of work and further education.

The realization of these programme objectives is very much dependent on how they are implemented with regard to the pedagogical approaches to bilingual instruction and how it is integrated with the general curriculum content. Are certain subjects taught in L1 and others in L2? If so, how is this decision made? What opportunities exist in the school for students to use both languages outside the classroom? Is there an adequate supply of suitably trained teachers with appropriate levels of language expertise? As the 2004 survey undertaken by the Eurydice network shows, in Europe the provisions for what is called ‘content and language integrated learning’ (CLIL) are actually complex and extremely varied, though rarely cater for the majority of students. They are most likely to be offered in areas where there are long-established regionally-based minorities, rather than as programmes involving major migrant languages (Eurydice, 2005b: 30).

Particularly in the case of transitional programmes, the first indicator of their success relates to the educational pathways taken by students leaving the programme. Do the educational structures allow

them to transfer into the mainstream schools? If so, do they do so on an equitable basis? Where there is a stratified school system based on academic and non-academic or vocational pathways, are students from the transitional programmes more likely to be concentrated in the non-academic schools, as appears to happen in some European countries such as Germany? If there is such concentration, what are the reasons for it? Does it relate to their experience in the transitional programmes in terms of their actual L2 competence; the range of subjects they can study; and/or the role of the teachers, fellow students, or their parents who directly or indirectly discourage them from pursuing an academically-oriented career?

Another objective for bilingual programmes, especially among members of minority language groups and those concerned with social justice and human rights, is to contribute to the maintenance of the mother tongue as well as their cultural heritage. Linguistic maintenance of the mother tongue may or may not be realized in the transitional, or indeed maintenance, programmes. Indeed, the success of these programmes depends on the existence of a diglossic language environment where there are discrete sectors in which each language is used. This is because, as Fishman argues:

“[B]ilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional both in terms of the linguistic repertoires of speech communities as well as in terms of the speech varieties involved per se. Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separatism of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)” (Fishman, 1967: 36).

Setting aside such issues as external support and opportunities to use both languages, even in the more extended maintenance programmes the ability of students to become bilingual and bicultural is problematic. Indeed, just as ‘balanced’ individual bilingualism is rare, so too are balanced bilingual and bicultural programmes. As already noted, the tendency for bilingual programmes to be provided for minority students means that the concentration of students from the same language background can lessen opportunities for contacts with students from other language backgrounds. An additional factor

is whether the programme actually has a differentialist objective in which the intention is not to incorporate the minority students into the society but rather to facilitate their separation/repatriation, as was the case with the initial German Turkish bilingual programmes (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

Advocates of bilingual education lament that education policy-makers ignore the opportunities they provide to benefit students from minority (and potentially majority) language backgrounds (Cummins, 2003). One clear reason for their lack of popularity is disagreement about the research findings produced by their advocates. It may also be the case that encouraging and supporting minority languages through provision of bilingual education is seen as opposing assimilation and integration objectives. However, it is also evident that there are significant organizational and resource difficulties to be overcome. These include the structuring of school timetables, provision of trained teachers with the necessary language and content expertise, and administrative arrangements that can ensure viable class sizes in situations where schools have students from different language backgrounds. From an organizational perspective, it is certainly true that bilingual education is most easily provided when students from particular mother tongue backgrounds are concentrated in the same schools. Where this is not the case, the major option used for mother tongue maintenance may depend on the teaching of the mother tongue as a regular subject in the school curriculum.

### *Languages as subjects in the curriculum*

There has been a long tradition of language learning in western education. Knowledge of Latin and other Indo-European classical languages were hallmarks of a cultivated person able to access the cultural heritage of the western world. They also served the instrumental purpose of opening access to careers in law, medicine and religion. From the late nineteenth century, educational expansion coincided with increasing international trade and travel. The result was that additional languages, seen as relevant for diplomatic, military and economic purposes, were introduced into schools. Knowledge of languages became a sign of academic ability and intellectual capacity, as well as contributing to cognitive development. These

trends, which are important motives for language learning based on cultural and intellectual enrichment and instrumental considerations relating to their economic and foreign policy value for trade, diplomacy and occupations, have a particular appeal to those from the dominant language background. In contemporary European education, there is a strong emphasis on the importance of language teaching, with at least one foreign language being the norm, if not compulsory, in most education systems. However, very few of these 'foreign' languages are actually the languages of immigrant groups (Eurydice, 2005b: 30).

Other rationales characterizing the teaching of minority languages reiterate those advanced for bilingual education: maintenance of the languages as a means of ensuring communication within the family and community; preserving cultural heritage; contributing to self-esteem and a positive identity among the younger generation. This in turn can contribute to educational success, particularly if the language is a subject that can be studied for end of secondary school assessment and university entrance. Additional support for teaching minority languages comes from others outside the minority communities on the grounds of social justice and human rights, and the desirability of maintaining and expanding the country's linguistic resources. International normative support for these arguments comes from the United Nations and the European Union, which advocate mother tongue instruction.

#### *The selection of languages to teach*

Even in countries with relatively limited linguistic diversity, the task of selecting languages to include in formal school curricula can involve educational planners in a complex political process. The complexity is magnified in the increasingly-frequent situations where as many as 20 languages may be contending for inclusion in the formal education curriculum. The challenges inherent in selecting languages to be given priority support by national educational planners are evident in the 1987 Australian *National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco, 1987). This policy was the outcome of an extensive process of consultation with representations from supporters of indigenous, 'community' (i.e. migrant/'heritage'), foreign and sign languages, as well as business and academic groups and language teachers. The

final policy identified nine languages that should be taught more widely in Australia. These were: Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. The list was a judicious mix of both traditional 'foreign' languages (French and German), community languages (Arabic, Chinese, German, Modern Greek, Italian, Spanish), and languages of regional and international importance (Arabic, Chinese, Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Spanish). As the list indicates, several languages had claims for inclusion on several bases.

The introduction of specific languages into the school curriculum is influenced by the rationales provided in their support, the lobbying effectiveness of their supporters, and more practical considerations relating to their implementation. The Australian distinction between 'foreign' and 'community'/'heritage' languages reflects an effort to legitimate the latter's claim for inclusion on the grounds that they are widely spoken by individuals in the community. The distinction also draws attention to the potential need for different curriculum and pedagogical approaches in the teaching of minority as opposed to foreign languages. This highlights the more practical and organizational considerations that, at the level of the education system, include the need to develop a curriculum and resource materials as well as assessment procedures; the availability of trained teachers; ascertaining student numbers and demand; and developing mechanisms for delivery of courses. Similar considerations apply at the school level, particularly if only a certain number of languages can be accommodated in the range of subjects offered. Where the school has students from diverse language backgrounds, the question of which language should be given priority over others cannot always easily be settled where the demand for several languages are similar. Additional concerns also exist about how the languages can fit into the school timetable and their effect on demand for other existing subjects in the curriculum. Underlying all these considerations, planners also need to consider the financial costs associated with providing the human and material resources for teaching the languages.

*Effective implementation*

Once the languages to be taught are selected, the next challenge facing policy-makers and planners is to ensure that the language programmes are effective and achieve their stated educational and social objectives. Within a narrow educational framework, their effectiveness can be assessed. The criteria used could include, for example, the numbers of students studying the language and the level of skills they acquire in the language. The immediate practical planning concerns relate to the mechanisms for delivery of the language programmes and their curriculum. Significant advances have been made in language teaching based on developments in applied linguistics. While previously the emphasis in language teaching was on grammar and vocabulary, with a focus on skills in reading and writing, over the last two decades there has been a major shift towards communicative approaches to language teaching. These involve students acquiring skills in speaking and using languages prior to focusing on grammatical rules. The pedagogical emphasis is on language as part of a living culture, through the use of everyday, real life materials and documents. These are widely seen as making language learning more attractive to students and providing skills that allow them to rapidly develop their ability to communicate effectively with others. These developments set the context for more detailed planning for the implementation of language programmes.

**(i) Identifying the students**

The starting point for planning is identifying the students who will be studying the languages. The first question is their level of education: are they pre-school, primary or secondary students? Are they non-mother tongue speakers of the language? If they are mother tongue speakers of the language, what is their level of existing language skills? Another important question often overlooked in general discussions of language teaching is how to accommodate students who speak non-standard or dialect forms of languages such as Arabic, Chinese or Spanish. In many cases, the rationale for language classes is to cater to mother tongue speakers. However, the reality is that students may speak varieties of the language that are not the standard national language. For example, in the case of Chinese there are many different forms, such as Cantonese, which

are linguistically distinct from the national language of Mandarin Chinese; they have different vocabulary and grammatical forms reflected in writing as well as speech. Moreover, there is the widely recognized political dilemma of whether to use the traditional characters and forms of romanization favoured in Taiwan, Hong Kong and many overseas Chinese communities, or the simplified characters and romanization used in the People's Republic of China.

### **(ii) Resource materials**

The availability of resource materials and textbooks also poses a major challenge in implementation. This is not least because the communicative approach emphasizes the importance of realistic teaching materials and documents. Simply taking materials and texts used in the language's country of origin to teach children in other countries is far from satisfactory, since they have been developed for students who have grown up speaking the language in an environment where it is widely used. They also contain cultural material that is unfamiliar to students studying the language in very different societies and cultures. A partial alternative may be to use materials developed in a third country for teaching the language as a foreign language. Even then, however, cultural differences remain. Where the aim is to teach the language to those living outside the country without immediate plans to return or to live there, the preference is to develop local materials appropriate for the language skills and needs of students.

### **(iii) Teachers**

A major challenge when introducing new languages into the curriculum is to find suitable teachers. Until training courses are established for local teachers, several options should be considered. Although each has limitations, these can be offset by specialist training programmes. The first option is to seek locally-trained teachers who (a) either speak the language, but will need training in language-teaching methods, or (b) have trained as language teachers, but will need to learn the language they will be teaching. Another option is to use foreign-trained teachers already living in the country, although they may need training to familiarize them with the language and culture of the classroom and the education

system (Inglis and Philps, 1995). They will also need training in language-teaching methods where the language is not widely spoken. The third option is to recruit teachers from overseas. However, like the locally-resident foreign-trained teachers, they also need training to assist them to operate effectively in their new educational environment. Another short-term option is to use volunteers from the language community. This is most appropriate at the pre-school and primary levels, where language teaching often focuses heavily on cultural aspects associated with singing, games, food and festivals. However, these volunteers could also benefit from training programmes to allow them to adapt their methods of teaching to be in line with those of the regular classes.

#### **(iv) Programme delivery**

The preferred method for delivering language programmes in terms of quality and support is as a formal part of the regular school curriculum. This assures students that they will be able to continue with their studies in a cumulative progression from one level to the next, and that they will be able to attend all their classes during regular school hours. There is also an intrinsic social value to be gained where the language is a compulsory part of the school curriculum. Teachers may be faced with students with very different levels of existing language skills and backgrounds, and will have to adapt their pedagogical approach to suit the mixed-ability class. On the other hand, where the language is not a compulsory part of the school's curriculum, as is particularly likely at secondary level where students typically choose among subject options, the possibility arises that not enough students will want to study the language to offer an ongoing programme. A similar difficulty can arise when students move from primary to secondary school, if their new school does not offer the language they have been studying at primary level.

A variety of organizational responses can address these situations of discontinuity. One, which is also applicable to bilingual programmes, is to identify schools to specialize in the teaching of particular languages. Another possibility is to develop a programme of cluster schools in which language teaching is co-ordinated between primary and secondary schools in the same geographical cluster. Other strategies involve developing delivery modes outside

the regular day schools. Correspondence or distance teaching is one option that has benefited greatly from new technological innovations, which allow more extensive student-teacher contact. Another option adopted in Australia is that the formal education system offers the regular secondary curriculum for languages in less demand outside normal school hours on Saturdays, at special government 'Saturday schools'. Attendance in these classes is recognized as part of regular school attendance and workload, and students can take the end of secondary school examination in these languages. In 2005, for example, the Saturday schools in Sydney taught over 6,000 students in 24 languages: Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Dutch, Filipino, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Khmer, Korean, Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Modern Greek, Maltese, Polish, Serbian, Slovenian, Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian and Vietnamese (OECD, 2006: 146).

Another possibility is to devolve the provision of language courses to the linguistic communities themselves. While they may be given financial and other support in training teachers to provide classes, they are usually left to develop their own curriculum and resources. This response has been used in Australia for nearly 30 years. While it is a way of ensuring that a range of courses are available, especially for primary-school-age children, the content and quality of the courses are largely outside the control of the government authorities, even where they are providing financial support. There is a tendency for these classes to be based on pedagogical approaches such as rote learning and to focus on grammar and vocabulary, which have been superseded in the regular school language classes. This tendency is related to the often large class sizes and their relatively short duration of one or two hours per week. Furthermore, even if the teachers have formal teacher training, they have often have been trained in more traditional pedagogical approaches. Given these limitations, the effectiveness of these community-based classes for teaching language skills is often considered sub-optimal.

Teaching languages as part of the regular school curriculum has a long tradition. However, with the growth of multilingual populations, the range of languages competing for a place in schools has increased rapidly. While some minority languages are studied mainly by students from that background, where they are available

to speakers of other languages they can provide a bridge between the diverse ethnic groups in the society. Despite the diverse rationales given for studying languages in general, and also for the study of particular languages, their availability in the school curriculum is less compatible with a differentialist model of educational provision than with a model oriented towards both domestic and international – or cosmopolitan – multiculturalism. In the absence of bilingual education, offering languages as subjects in the curriculum is seen as partially meeting some of the same objectives, particularly as they relate to minority languages. It is therefore interesting to note that the 2003 PISA report concluded that “very few countries generally offer supplementary classes to improve students’ native languages in their schools” (OECD, 2006: 154). While their survey concentrated on what education systems identified as the languages of ‘migrant’ students and so did not cover the full range of languages taught, it certainly suggests that the arguments favouring learning minority languages have not resulted in such programmes being established in education systems in many OECD countries.

### *Language planning and diversity*

A key factor in the significance of language issues in planning for diversity is the symbolic power exercised by language in the political realm. For the state, the instrumental role of the dominant or national language in its day-to-day political, economic and social life is given extra importance when it is also a significant component in both the national identity and ongoing process of nation building and establishing social cohesion. Given the symbolic importance often attached by minorities to their own distinct language as defining their identity and culture, the juxtaposition with the national language can create the potential for conflict and confrontation between majority and minority languages. This is especially so where calls to preserve and support the minority language are rallying points for social movements seeking wider objectives, including overcoming disadvantage and discrimination. Also contributing to the focus on languages in educational planning is that their inclusion, or exclusion, as individual subjects or part of bilingual education programmes, is a highly visible response by educational policy-makers to calls for change.

**Table 4.1** The range of language responses to diversity

Educational response	Target group	Target group	Rationale for response	Outcome anticipated
	Minority language speakers (L1)	Non-minority language speakers (L2)		
Second language programmes	Yes	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• avoid educational disadvantage</li> </ul>	knowledge of national language L2
Transitional bilingual programmes	Yes	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cultural maintenance</li> <li>• identity</li> <li>• human rights</li> <li>• social justice</li> <li>• cognitive development</li> </ul>	knowledge of national language L2, and some maintenance of L1
Maintenance bilingual programmes	Yes	Rarely	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cultural maintenance</li> <li>• identity,</li> <li>• human rights</li> <li>• social justice</li> <li>• cognitive development</li> </ul>	maintenance of L1 and knowledge of national language L2
Language as a subject	Yes	Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cultural maintenance</li> <li>• identity,</li> <li>• human rights</li> <li>• social justice</li> <li>• cognitive development</li> <li>• linguistic resources</li> <li>• intercultural understanding</li> </ul>	Knowledge of L1

As can be seen in *Table 4.1*, language-based responses to diversity target primarily the needs of linguistic minorities given the objectives of cultural maintenance, identity construction, social justice and human rights. However, another dimension is equally important for both the minorities themselves and the larger society: The extent to which language programmes assist in overcoming educational disadvantage and inequalities, thereby reducing the potential for conflict, while also making it easier for the state's values and culture to be transmitted. Second language programmes are of primary importance in achieving this outcome. Bilingual education and the teaching of individual languages can also contribute to this

objective in a less direct fashion, through developing cognitive skills and contributing to positive self-esteem. Another outcome of teaching minority languages to students from non-mother tongue backgrounds is that it provides a deeper knowledge of the culture of the language and facilitates social contacts with native speakers. They also provide a basis for increasing the linguistic resources of the society and serve as a path to greater cultural knowledge and enrichment. In a globalizing world, such outcomes can carry valuable economic and socio-political benefits for both society and individuals.

While the objectives underlying the various language programmes are in themselves laudable, programme implementation is critical in determining whether they are realized. Simply establishing bilingual education programmes in, for example, Turkish or Arabic, or second language acquisition in German, can be welcomed by language activists unfamiliar with issues surrounding implementation. However, it does not ensure that they will be effectively implemented and survive to realize their objectives. Moreover, it should be noted that a response such as bilingual education may actually serve different objectives, depending on whether the focus is a transitional or a maintenance programme.

Once the commitment is made to establish such programmes, attention then needs to be given to how they will actually be delivered to students and integrated into existing educational programmes, including their place within the administrative structures of schools. Just as choices must be made with regard to these administrative arrangements, so too do decisions need to be made on the curriculum and pedagogical responses and on the provision of educational resources, including trained teachers and appropriate resource materials. Factors influencing this implementation are not always under the control of the school or education system. Thus, the patterns of language usage and existence of diglossic language communities, which are necessary to the survival of individual languages, may be absent or weak. While alternative, compensating opportunities to use the languages internationally may also be limited, recent technological developments associated with globalization have increased access via the Internet, DVDs and other new technologies

to real-time reporting of news, sport, and entertainment as well as contacts with family and friends via e-mail and video telephony.

The importance of these additional factors complementing the work of the school have been noted in an assessment of the effects of the expansion of types of schooling in the Basque region to include those where both Castilian and Euskera (Basque) are used as languages of instruction and those in which Euskera is the language of instruction, but Castilian is taught as a subject. While schools are seen as playing a major role in an increase in the percentage of Basque-/Euskera-speakers, six other conditions are seen as making the policy of revitalizing Euskera successful. These are: social motivation to keep the language alive and the role of private schools in doing this; state support indicated in legal actions and financial support; the creation of domains where Euskera can be used outside the home and school; the teaching of the language outside the compulsory school system to adults, which has also provided the supply of teachers necessary for the schools; the regular adaptation of language policy based on data collection and the way the language is seen as being associated with a move to modernity (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1999: 77-79).

These considerations help in appreciating a cautionary warning made more than 20 years ago on the limitations of individual language programmes to realize the range of objectives attributed to them (Quinn, 1981). While recognizing the commitment and good intentions underlying the rationales to support the introduction of specific minority languages into the curriculum, Quinn argues that the three major types of rationales characterizing calls for supporting specific minority language programmes are essentially ill-conceived. This is because school programmes do not have the power themselves to achieve the objectives. The three rationales and their limitations he identifies are as follows:

**(i) Preservation of the nation's linguistic resources**

This, he argues, cannot be achieved if the society does not value bilingualism and multilingualism and provide additional institutional support for the maintenance of these resources in the labour market, media and other areas of public life.

**(ii) Social justice and the right of a community to maintain its language and culture**

The maintenance of a language, Quinn suggests, is dependent more on the extent to which members of the ethnic community seek to maintain their language and their close ties with their families and community, including marrying within that community.

**(iii) The multicultural, interactionist perspective that argues that language programmes in schools are the key to social interaction between culturally different groups**

Quinn first questions the academic argument, which he sees as ignoring the importance of separate diglossic language communities as a basis for maintaining an ongoing bilingualism. This is despite the aim of the multicultural perspective to break down barriers between groups, thereby disintegrating diglossic boundaries. In response to the more populist ‘folk’ version, which suggests that by learning the language non-members of the linguistic minority will become involved in positive social interactions, his criticism is that this overlooks the limited linguistic competence that can be gained through school language programmes. Furthermore, he points out that knowing the language does not necessarily lead to either interacting with or appreciating the linguistic group.

Following from these criticisms, Quinn does not reject the desirability of linguistic minority programmes. Rather, he cautions that they need to be seen in the context of more limited objectives which are shared with traditional language programmes that now focus on providing “an authentic experience of a cultural reality” (Quinn, 1981: 95). In doing so, he highlights that language teaching in general has undergone major changes over recent decades as a result of major advances in applied linguistics. It is important that those planning language programmes addressing multilingualism in society take advantage of the new knowledge about the potential of and limitations in language education. Another issue that must also be considered is the cost-effectiveness of individual programmes (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1999).

While Quinn’s criticisms certainly have a pessimistic tone, they serve as a timely reminder, from a linguistic perspective, of the

limitations in what the school alone can achieve through language education programmes. The role of the school in addressing diversity is not, however, confined to language education. Nor is all diversity linked to language. How education can address these other, non-language-based dimensions of diversity is the subject of the next chapter.

## V. Other responses to diversity

Linguistic differences among multi-ethnic and multilingual societies are not the only challenge for education systems. Even when they are a significant factor in the diversity distinguishing minority and majority groups, language-based responses cannot solve the myriad of issues associated with inequality, cultural maintenance, positive identity and self-image among minority youth. Nor can they ensure social cohesion and contribute to nation building for the society and state. One major limitation is that they cannot directly address the problems of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and racism, which so often characterize tense relations between the various ethnic groups.

As teachers and educational policy-makers are aware, there is a need to develop responses involving different aspects of education and different participants in the school communities. What unites these non-linguistic responses is that they address the role of education as a major institution for the transmission of culture, understood broadly as the repository of a society or group's knowledge, values and skills. The school and its education system also have their own culture. This is embodied in the curriculum, both formal and hidden; in pedagogical practices; in teacher-student interactions inside and outside the classroom; and in the relations of the school with its wider community of parents. With the different expectations, interests and cultural backgrounds of individuals in a school, it should not be surprising that the school and its culture can become the site for potential misunderstanding and conflict that create opportunities and need for change. This chapter will review the responses that have been developed in the areas of curriculum, pedagogical practice and assessment, the culture and social relations of the school, and school-community relations.

### *Curriculum, pedagogical practice and assessment*

Extensive curriculum review and reform have been a major feature of contemporary education research. Despite variation in the stated reasons for change, the structure, content and methods

of the emergent curricula are quite similar (Braslavsky, 2004: 239). The effects have included an expansion of curriculum subjects and content, and increased awareness that the knowledge embodied in the curriculum reflects the influence and power of different stakeholders. This problematizing of the formerly 'taken-for-granted' content of the curriculum has opened the way to efforts to broaden or alter the content of curricula to incorporate both domestic and international examples and material from different cultural backgrounds and perspectives. The effect of these changes can be seen in the changes to the curriculum content of existing subject areas and the development of new subjects or curriculum areas.

A major reason for introducing curriculum changes highlighting diversity is that they extend awareness of the range of cultural practices and achievements in everyday life, the arts and science. This extends the range of cultural choices available to all students while creating appreciation and tolerance for different cultural solutions to such universal concerns as the needs for food, shelter, care and creative expression. Through this awareness, stereotypes and prejudices are challenged and the conditions for positive intercultural relations created. This outcome is welcomed by those emphasizing the need for education that prepares students for a more international and global world. For them, the challenges of diversity are played out internationally rather than domestically.

Kymlicka (2004: xvi) has distinguished such 'cosmopolitan' multiculturalism, with its emphasis on enhancing the cultural capital of individuals, from 'domestic' multiculturalism, whose aim is to remedy the historic injustices and exclusions that disadvantage or stigmatize particular groups within a nation-state. Nevertheless, the same rationale is recognized by those whose focus is on the domestic challenges of diversity. What distinguishes their interest is that it extends to the way in which curriculum change can address issues of social justice within society. For them, the benefits of the changes are twofold: students from majority groups gain exposure and understanding of cultural diversity, which challenges stereotyping and prejudice; and those minority students whose cultures are positively presented gain a sense of pride. This latter contributes to a positive self image rather than embarrassment and negativity *vis-à-vis* their background and that of their families. In turn, this positive

self-image facilitates their successful participation in education and schooling, and contributes to overcoming inequality in educational attainment and outcomes.

These new perspectives on diversity in the curriculum have produced two main responses. One is to incorporate material relating to cultural diversity in the general curriculum provided for all students. The other, sometimes called ‘ethnic studies’, develops a special curriculum targeting students from a particular minority group. The major objective of the first strategy is to build bridges between students from diverse backgrounds, whereas the second is concerned with the development of the minority group’s self-understanding and self-esteem. Whether to direct curriculum changes towards a particular minority group or the general student population is linked with similar choices in the development of language programmes and whether they should separate, if not segregate, students from a particular minority background from their peers. In practice, ethnic studies programmes are more fully developed and typical of schools that cater mainly for students from a single ethnic background, as is common with indigenous students or territorially-based minorities.

Regardless of whether the material about ethnic diversity is provided in the general curriculum or only in that catering for particular ethnic groups, developers must decide which aspects of the culture and society to include. This is not an easy task. There are at least four major options:

1. Focus on the historical background of the ethnic group in question. This is often of more symbolic than immediate relevance in the lives of contemporary students. The course material used might focus on the Golden Age of Greece more than two millennia ago, the Ottoman Empire at the height of its power, or the pre-colonial history of countries in Africa, Asia or Latin America.
2. Focus on the society and culture at the time when the migrant group or their ancestors left the homeland.
3. Privilege the contemporary culture and features of the emigrant homeland, which may have changed substantially since departure as a result of political change or modernization.

4. Focus on the place of the minority group in the current country of residence: their community structures and culture, how they are incorporated into the wider society, and the challenges they face.

The choice between these different options needs to be made in the light of the programme's objectives. For the minority group, a focus on the golden age of their history (option 1) may be a source of symbolic pride. In contrast, a focus on the circumstances relating to their current situation (option 4) may provide a basis for understanding the factors associated with their minority status and disadvantage in the society. For minority students, this may provide a basis for either personal or community action to redress this situation. For students from the majority group and other minority backgrounds, either focus may lead to a better appreciation of the glories and achievements, as well as the struggles, in the history of the particular minority. However, it may also contribute to a negative view of the minority group if the message taken from the course material is an image of poverty and backwardness, or an inability to maintain their former status and power. The other two approaches (options 2 and 3) similarly provide bases for understanding the reasons for emigration and how change has affected the country of origin.

Pedagogical practices and teaching methods in the classroom, together with assessment procedures, play an important part in achieving the objectives of curriculum developers. An emphasis on teacher-centred transfer of information assessed through a multiple-choice test may be satisfactory in teaching certain key facts, such as dates or formulae. However, it is less satisfactory when the objective, which is a major part of many of the new curriculum initiatives designed to address diversity in schools, is to involve students in creative activities or in learning new values, attitudes and behaviours. Here, recent developments involving more child-centred pedagogical practices may be valuable in educating students from diverse backgrounds. Changes in curriculum and pedagogical practices raise questions about the appropriate form of assessment when the focus shifts from assessing knowledge to assessing change in behaviour and attitudes.

Teachers are key to the adoption of innovative pedagogical practices. Appropriate in-service and pre-service training is important to introduce these new developments and the skills required to implement them. So too is the existence of a school environment where a more child-centred focus – implicit in many of the curriculum content innovations – is viable. Large class sizes and the existence of a system-centred focus in teaching, often linked to formal examinations, are not conducive to addressing the needs of individual students. Nor are topics involving sensitive and potentially emotional themes. They are also not conducive to allowing teachers to experiment with varied pedagogical methods that may be appropriate for students with different learning styles. Research has shown that, especially among indigenous students who come from a tradition of education based on oral transmission, the modification of more traditional western pedagogical methods can be extremely valuable (King and Schielmann, 2004: 33-35).

While not rejecting the need for innovations that extend the curriculum content to address diversity, a note of warning has been issued by researchers. They argue that the increasing popularity of progressive pedagogies in schools, although perhaps welcome as providing a child-centred focus, can create difficulties for students whose learning styles and cultural resources do not equip them to deal with the emphasis on ‘process’ rather than curriculum content inherent in the shift towards progressive pedagogies. Their specific concerns centre on the epistemological presuppositions of progressive curricula, including:

“the centrality of the critical ego in the making of knowledge and learning. Thus motivation and self-esteem are seen to be prerequisites to effective learning, learning how to learn and making one’s own knowledge” (Kalantzis, Cope, Noble and Pointing, 1990: 232).

The concern of the authors cited above is that these principles are culturally specific and therefore do not necessarily mesh well with the learning style of minority cultures, which places a greater emphasis on accepting externalized knowledge as gospel. In this traditional pedagogy, it is up to individual students to draw their own conclusions using the knowledge received and their own

personal experience. Particularly given the tendency to focus on process rather than content, Kalantzis and her colleagues argue that the lack of guidance and structure in progressive pedagogies can be disadvantageous to students who lack the necessary skills and cultural resources to work inductively.

The following sections consider efforts to broaden existing curriculum content and their potential to address diversity and the challenges this involves. A recent survey of European responses to diversity noted that history, geography, religion, foreign languages and the language of instruction were the subject areas most likely to involve adaptive changes (Eurydice, 2004: 59). However, science, mathematics and the arts are additional areas where changes can be made. New subject areas or perspectives involving citizenship, moral education and intercultural education also provide important initiatives.

### *History*

The history curriculum is the repository of a nation's origins and depicts those elements crucial to defining the national identity and role played in its formation by diverse groups in society. Developments in historiography have given impetus to the question of most significance for curriculum development in a diverse society: 'Whose history?' Where the contemporary origins of the society are contested, the history curriculum may avoid the issue by concentrating on a distant or international past. Thus, in Singapore historians and other experts took several decades to agree on the appropriate content to include in the history curriculum, which covers Singapore's history since the end of World War II and independence. In India, the treatment of religion and the relations between Hindus and Muslims in curricula and textbooks recently provoked public protests (Oommen, 2004: 346-349). In the United States of America, teaching about slavery and the experiences of other minorities was the cause of more disputes. Here, as in the case of indigenous groups who have experienced colonization, the history of the group as perceived by its members may be very different to that portrayed by the former colonial masters. Not only may colonial atrocities be highlighted, but the extent to which the indigenous groups actively resisted the colonial power or worked together with the colonizers in

a harmonious manner is significant for the contemporary self-image of the group. Debates in Australia concerning ‘the history wars’ spread to such an extent that history syllabi were redesigned to include an aboriginal perspective that attempts to redress the older Eurocentric view of the history of Aboriginal-white relations. However, given history’s role as a major mechanism for restating and supporting national identity, this revision remains contentious, even while providing an important example of significant issues in historiography and the construction of the historical past.

*Geography and the social sciences*

Opportunities to explore the lifestyle and relationships between individuals and their social and physical environment on a comparative basis exist in geography and other social science areas. Where they address the everyday lives of individuals, they are valuable for providing a wider understanding of alternative ways in which societies are organized and people live. The national and international content in these subject areas provide an important basis for introducing students to the different solutions that exist for earning a living, providing shelter and food, communication and transport. One of the main challenges in the presentation of such material is to redress stereotypes and prejudices, rather than confirming them or introducing new stereotypes of an exotic ‘other’.

*Literature and the arts*

Through its ability to bring to life a range of experiences, literacy is a more poignant way of introducing diverse experiences, including those of minority group members, into the classroom than through abstract social studies materials and activities. Where the themes discussed resonate with students and involve additional activities, they can provide insights into diverse minority experiences as well as developing skills in literary analysis. Efforts to introduce more diversity into the curriculum in literature, the performing and the visual arts have not only involved those concerned with the representation of minority group culture. They have also involved teachers and others concerned that the classical canon, or high cultural forms, are preserved in the curriculum at the expense of art, music or writings that relate more readily to the life of their students, whether this is the music of the Beatles, negro spirituals, rap or hip hop, or posters,

advertising and web art. The cultural wars that surround the place of the ‘classics’ in education provide potential supporters, as well as opponents, for those seeking to diversify the curriculum content. The latter consider it beneficial to broaden students’ conception of what constitutes literary or artistic merit beyond the great works of Shakespeare, Goethe, Mozart and Rembrandt.

*Science and mathematics*

The areas of the curriculum most likely to be seen as factual and based on ‘hard knowledge’ with an unproblematic presence in school curricula are science and mathematics. The debate between evolutionary and creationist or intelligent design approaches to science indicates that this is too simple a view. Without questioning the rational and experimental bases of contemporary science and mathematics, these curriculum areas have a scope to recognize that the origins of much of what passes for modern ‘Western’ science derives from traditions in other societies in Asia and Africa, where developments in astronomy, mathematics, medicine and other areas have been critical to the development of contemporary scientific knowledge. Reference to different systems of counting – such as those found among tribal groups in Papua New Guinea – or methods of solving mathematical calculations can open students’ minds to appreciate the value of exploring various solutions. Such changes have the potential to address the ethnocentrism and negative stereotypes that can characterize students’ evaluations of the worth of other societies, culture and individuals from those backgrounds. They also provide a reminder of the importance of the social context and culture in scientific endeavours (FitzSimons, 2002).

*Religious, moral and citizenship education*

In the subject areas considered above, where the major emphasis is on the transfer of knowledge, albeit in an ostensibly ‘neutral’ manner. In contrast, other subject areas have an overt focus on moral and ethical values, which constitute the major rationale for their existence. While in some cases these values are described as universal, in many other instances they are specifically seen as integral to the society and symbolic of its national identity. These areas, which may be labelled as citizenship, civics, moral or religious education, have been given increasing prominence in the face of

public concerns about the need to reassert the traditional values seen as the foundational core of a society in a period of extensive and rapid social change (Braslavsky, 2004: 248). Particularly where the moral fabric of society and social discipline are perceived to be under threat, the school is called on to play a direct role in ensuring the maintenance of such widely assumed traditional values as obedience, respect for individuals and the institutions of the family, and law. More recently, fear of religion-related terrorism has led to attention being focused on the religious bases for different value systems.

Religion's role in the curriculum varies, as does the content of religious education. It is widely seen as a major determinant of ethical and moral positions. However, in countries with a strong secular tradition such as France and Australia, religious instruction is excluded from the public school curriculum, although allowed in private schools. In other countries with different traditions concerning the relationship between religion and the state, religious instruction in the tenets and practices of a specific religion may be included in the public school curriculum. This is especially true in countries with an official state religion. In schools where religious instruction or observances are compulsory, regardless of religious belief or preference, issues concerning the right to freedom of religious expression are raised. In other situations, the major objectives of courses in comparative religion is not the promotion of a specific religion, but rather an understanding of religious phenomena and approaches to life through the comparative study of different religions. Such a focus can help overcome misconceptions and stereotypes about the beliefs and practices of particular religious groups. Care needs to be taken that the curriculum does not itself promote disharmony. This occurs if it negatively portrays members of other religious groups, as in Christian accounts of the crusades or the crucifixion of Christ, that respectively blame Muslims and Jews. Just as there are tensions between the major world religions, so there are within them; for example between Catholic and Protestant Christians, or between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims. Representations of one by the other can lead to stereotyping and blame, which can aggravate relations between the majority and minority religious groups. Northern Ireland is a clear example where religious

differences are overlaid on other social divisions, resulting in social conflict.

Citizenship and moral education courses may not make an overt reference to religious beliefs. However, they often share with religious education the aim of instilling appropriate values. In the case of citizenship education, the broadly-defined objective is the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens in a period of rapid social change and challenges. Diversity is an important dimension in many of the commonly cited challenges, such as:

- the rapid movement of people within and across national boundaries;
- a growing recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities;
- an increasing global population;
- the creation of new forms of community organization (Kerr, 2002: 225).

These are the type of challenges that have led philosophers and other social scientists to revisit the concept of citizenship and its meaning in increasingly multicultural societies (Kymlicka, 1995 and 2004; Gutmann, 2004). How citizenship is understood and incorporated into the curriculum, however, varies. A recent comparative study of civic education by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 24 mainly European countries explored three core domains in citizenship education: the meaning of democracy; the sense of national identity; and social diversity and social cohesion (Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta and Schwille, 2002: 10). The findings of the study indicated that the authors of the 24 case studies shared a broad general understanding of citizenship as involving human rights and a universalistic orientation that coexisted with a particularistic focus on cultural rights and multiculturalism. Most of the authors claimed that these were being fostered in their national policies and education systems, although not without controversy (Lee, 2002: 45). At the same time, the case study authors tended to de-politicize and de-ideologize citizenship. Particularly in those European countries that were also addressing the establishment of

a 'European' identity among the countries of the European Union, there was a tendency to look at citizenship more in terms of its supra-national and global dimensions (Eurydice, 2005a). Another significant finding was that economic concerns were as important as those for human rights, as democracy was frequently linked to economic wellbeing (Lee, 2002: 51). The educational ideal for citizenship education was identified as involving competencies and attitudes, such as democratic, open-mindedness, tolerance and critique, alongside expectations that national identity would be set in terms of belonging and loyalty as well as social equality (Lee, 2002: 57). In close parallel to these findings are those from a survey of European initiatives in citizenship education. This survey explored the extent to which social inclusion and active citizenship for the new European social agenda and development of a knowledge-based economy, as adopted in the Lisbon process, is being implemented in schools. These are seen as the main mechanism for implementing equity, inclusion and cohesion (Eurydice, 2005a: 7). In this project, 'responsible citizenship' involves political literacy, critical thinking, and the development of certain attitudes and values and active participation (Eurydice, 2005a). A somewhat different view of citizenship emerges from another study involving Asian educators. The three distinctively Asian features identified in this study involve an emphasis on harmony, spirituality, and the development of individuality and the self. The latter is sometimes expressed in terms of moral quality, rather than the individualism associated with Western models. (Lee, 2004). The effect of this difference is that Asian citizenship education is described as being characterized more by conceptions of moral virtues and personal values than by the civic and public values common in Western depictions (Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004: 293).

Regardless of differences in the understanding of the key features of citizenship and citizenship education between European and Asian educators, within the European case studies the realities of what was involved in the actual schools was often very different from the ideal. Several approaches were identified. Variations exist in the delivery of citizenship education, which is either provided as a specific subject, inserted into other subjects, and/or as a cross-curriculum perspective (Eurydice, 2005a: 59). Drawing on

material from the IEA study, Kerr shows that the reality of citizenship education is extremely varied and ranges along a continuum. At the minimal end, a narrow definition of citizenship seeks to promote particular exclusive interests, such as the granting of citizenship only to certain groups in society. At the maximal end, a broad definition of citizenship seeks to actively include all groups and interests in society (Kerr, 2002: 215; Eurydice, 2005a: 215). Kerr describes the minimal end of the continuum as 'civic education', which is largely content- and knowledge-led. It involves formal education programmes transmitting information, including the country's history and patterns of government. This content lends itself to didactic teaching and learning processes, with little opportunity for student interaction or initiative. The outcomes are measurable through written examinations and even multiple-choice tests.

At the opposite end of the continuum is what Kerr calls 'citizenship education'. This involves providing information to help students understand and improve their capacity to participate. This is done through a variety of didactic and interactive teaching and learning approaches, both inside and outside the classroom. The result is that it is difficult to measure the extent to which the outcomes of the maximal approach have been achieved. In this type of citizenship education, a formal subject in the curriculum and school timetable may not be identified. Instead, the principles of citizenship education are incorporated in existing subject areas such as history or social studies, and also extend to activities in the so-called 'hidden' curriculum of structured school experiences in the playground and extra-curricular activities. While civic education can be seen as education *about* citizenship, citizenship education is far more concerned with education *through* citizenship and *for* citizenship (Kerr, 2002: 216). In contrast to civic education, which focuses very much on education that reinforces the existing structures of government and political culture, citizenship education, as described by Kerr, has the potential to address issues of diversity through the ideal values of citizenship education outlined above. Whether this is achieved depends very much on its implementation.

*Intercultural communication and other across-the-curriculum perspectives*

Implementation issues are also important in other curriculum responses, variously described as intercultural communication, multicultural education and anti-racism education. All require innovative responses, including across-the-curriculum perspectives, with relevant material incorporated into a range of subject areas. The skill and attitudinal dimensions of education are given at least as much emphasis as the transmission of knowledge. They are also more likely to make explicit the significance of pedagogical practices and the culture of the school as factors that affect the educational experiences of all students through reinforcing or minimizing discriminatory practices and attitudes.

The recognition that the school has its own distinctive culture, embodied in its organization and curriculum and implemented by the teachers, opens the way for considering what happens when this culture is at variance with that of students and parents from diverse social and educational backgrounds. Historical studies of educational expansion in the nineteenth century have highlighted how a major factor in this expansion was a desire not simply to improve the skills and knowledge of the working and under-classes, but also to socialize and control them. Historians have highlighted how laws on compulsory education and the minimum working age were necessary to enforce attendance among sections of society resistant to this educational objective and project. A similar educational objective existed to socialize, and incorporate through control, the large numbers of migrants arriving in the United States in the early twentieth century (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). The existence of different cultural practices and expectations within the contemporary school can still lead to misunderstandings and potentially more serious conflicts that have a negative effect on the educational outcomes of minority students. This is true even if they do not go to the extent of promoting 'resistance' to the whole educational enterprise of incorporation identified in some studies (Willis, 1977).

**(i) Intercultural communication**

The importance of effective intercultural communication in overcoming culture-based misunderstandings was first recognized in international settings involving negotiations and dealings between businesses, diplomats, international agencies and others involved in cross-cultural dialogues. The strategies and techniques developed in this international and cosmopolitan focus have now been recognized as important in domestic multicultural education settings where similar communication problems exist. These involve teachers communicating with students and parents, as well as communication between students in the school and the larger society.

The focus of intercultural communication programmes is to increase awareness of the difficulties that can arise in intercultural communication and to give teachers and students the skills to overcome them. This can involve teacher training and support, as well as in-school activities.

Frequently cited examples of difficulties in classroom intercultural communication involve teachers' ignorance of 'etiquette'. A teacher who places his or her hand on the head of a child from an Asian culture may not realize that this is offensive to the child. Similarly, a teacher may instruct a student who has misbehaved to "look me in the eye". Instead, when the child looks down because this is considered the appropriate response of contrition in the student's culture, the teacher assumes that the student is being defiant.

Rather than being one-off incidents, each case of misunderstanding and miscommunication has the potential to escalate counterproductively. In the first example, the student may feel demeaned. This may feed into other behaviour affecting classroom attainment. In the second case, the teacher may develop further negative assessments of the student's attitude, which can result in self-fulfilling behaviour leading to an end result where the student's actual educational attainment is impaired. Both of these examples highlight the importance of teachers avoiding such misunderstandings through having accurate cultural information about their students' cultural and social backgrounds. Particularly where students come from many different backgrounds, it can

be difficult to have specific knowledge about their cultural and experiential circumstances. In these circumstances, it is important that teachers have the general skills to assess whether there have been misunderstandings, and, if so, to address them.

The inclusion of intercultural communication in the school curriculum involves a focus on addressing issues of misinformation, stereotyping and prejudice, as well as on providing students with opportunities to develop their own intercultural communication skills. Indeed, the classroom can provide real-life examples of problems in this area, which the teacher can use to teach students the issues and skills involved in effective intercultural communication. Strategies can also be developed so that this learning continues outside the classroom in other school activities and, ideally, also outside the school.

## **(ii) Multicultural and intercultural education**

Closely related to intercultural communication are developments in what is often called ‘multicultural’ or ‘intercultural’ education. While both approaches take cultural diversity as their starting point, the multicultural perspective has a broader focus than intercultural communication. It emphasizes the need to expand the content of particular subject areas to take account of student diversity, as well as ensuring that the diversity within the school community is reflected in all school activities both inside and outside the classroom. This means paying attention to pedagogical practice and ensuring that the different cultures in the school community are recognized in contact with parents and in diverse activities such as school concerts, fêtes and other fundraising events. The aim is to ensure that cultural difference is recognized and becomes an accepted part of the everyday life of the school (Ungerleider, 2004).

As with intercultural communication, multicultural education targets all students in the school. Indeed, in addition to providing cultural enrichment, it has the more important role of overcoming the difficulties encountered by students from minority backgrounds as a result of lack of information, stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination. For this kind of education to be successful, all students must be involved and multicultural perspectives across the curriculum favoured. Frequently criticized for having a perceived

focus on what are considered ephemeral aspects of culture, such as food, festivals and folklore in countries like Germany and Australia, multicultural education has had an equally important focus on addressing structural outcomes associated with cultural differences including inequality, discrimination and racism (Luchtenberg, 2004: 48). Gutmann, who refers to this form of multicultural education as an “essential element in achieving civic equality, toleration and public recognition”, considers it to be the essential democratic approach to multicultural education (Gutmann, 2004).

### **(iii) Anti-racist education**

In countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America, where racial differences are seen as more deep-seated and enduring than those involving other minorities, an emphasis has been placed on anti-racism educational strategies. A major focus for these strategies has been to address the power relations inside the school and the wider society, which are seen as contributing to discrimination and prejudice. Alongside concerns about the existence of discrimination and prejudice in interactions between teachers and students and among students, there has been particular concern about forms of institutional racism. These involve practices which, wittingly or unwittingly, disadvantage particular groups of students. They can range from the exclusion or negative depictions of groups in the curriculum and resource materials, to specific practices that exclude students from particular educational institutions on the basis of their racial background (Ungerleider, 2004).

While cultural dimensions are important in many of these practices, such as the ostensibly neutral assessment and IQ tests used in assigning students to particular educational pathways, the tendency in anti-racist education is to focus on the primary importance of power relations and material interests associated with them, particularly among the dominant ethnic majority. Although overcoming stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes is important, much of the attention in anti-racist education is on addressing examples of racist behaviour. There is therefore a tendency to focus on the hidden curriculum and behaviour outside the classroom in interactions between students and teachers. Given the difficulties associated with changing long-established attitudes, especially those which students and teachers bring into the school from outside, a

common strategy is to make explicit the sanctions applied for racist behaviour. The assumption is that if racist behaviour is suppressed and treated as unacceptable, a process of re-socialization will begin. In some situations, this leads to discipline being seen as the key to addressing racism rather than as a means to treat a symptom of a more deep-seated problem that requires exploration of its root causes. At the interpersonal level, these involve stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination.

Anti-racist education and intercultural and multicultural education emphasize the need to address these issues in the curriculum. However, they have also highlighted the importance of recognizing that the school is itself a community with its own culture and patterns of social relations. These latter are themselves important in constructing and changing these stereotypes and behaviours, and must be considered in developing educational responses to diversity. The next section examines some of the issues and strategies involved in doing this.

### *The culture of the school*

School is where the curriculum and structures of the larger education system connect with the teachers, students and parents involved in the local school community, which has its own sub-culture and patterns of social relations. This is not to say that all participants share the same culture and perspectives; rather that there is a dominant pattern of relations and cultural practices closely associated with the teachers and other staff in the school, partially linked to their common professional training. Furthermore, their positions in the school give them considerable authority and power to influence social relations and practices. These are closely connected to the so-called 'hidden curriculum', which refers to the range of structured learning experiences outside the formal curriculum of the subjects taught in the school. This hidden curriculum, which includes values and norms about the nature of education, the characteristics of 'good' and 'bad' students, and the desirable patterns of social relations in the school, has an important influence on the educational experiences of students. It also intersects with the student culture (Willis, 1977; Walker, 1988). Where the student culture opposes or resists that of the school, the scene is set for confrontations that can

result in students leaving school early unless strategies are developed to address the situation. Some of the major ways in which the school culture has an impact on students and their families are outlined below.

*Sending the message*

The response of the school culture to diversity can be gauged from the presence, or absence, of individual initiatives and practices that send a message to members of the school community about how the school views diversity. One of the most public opportunities for sending this message to parents and the wider community are school concerts and functions such as *fêtes*. These also provide occasions for the diversity in the school population to be publicly recognized through the activities and participants. Parents feel great pride when their children are acknowledged as performers and when they see aspects of their own cultural heritage included as part of the celebrations. Such recognition by the school of the diversity of its community can also contribute to overcoming the sometimes uncertain and difficult relationship between the school and parents. Indeed, these latter may be unfamiliar with the school's particular culture and the role they are expected to play in relation to it and the teaching staff.

Many of the curriculum developments already described are also relevant for out-of-classroom activities. The response of the school to these opportunities will be influenced by the extent to which it has adopted less traditional pedagogical approaches. However, the success of such initiatives, including anti-racism practices, depends very much on the extent to which the school culture makes clear that it does not condone such activities among students or staff. Clear statements about the need for tolerance, and evidence of the school's opposition to prejudice and discrimination in formal documents and through the sanctioning of undesirable behaviour in the playground or classroom, send a powerful message that its objectives are to teach appropriate social skills for dealing with interpersonal conflict.

A major part of a school's hidden curriculum is contained in its official statements about its educational role and the values it seeks to pass on to its students. Often these are written documents, but they also include public addresses on occasions such as speech days and

school assemblies. The school's response to diversity is inevitably contained within its wider educational role. This can directly affect its responses to diversity.

One of the most contentious areas can relate to the role of religion in the school. Where countries have a state religion (a reflection of religion's importance to national identity), this is usually reflected in the curriculum and activities of its public schools. In these situations, provisions made for students from other religious backgrounds deserve attention. Are they required to attend the religious observances and instruction in the official religion? Or are other options available to them, such as attending moral education courses instead? Do they have a choice to attend publicly-financed secular schools or private schools? In secular schools, what is the attitude towards students' expression of their religious beliefs? Food and participation in sporting activities are also areas that may be affected by religious differences; if a school serves meals, are the dietary restrictions relating to various religions respected and catered for? Are sporting activities organized in a way that allows girls from Muslim backgrounds, for example, to participate in a manner that respects their religious practices?

The role of religion and religious authorities in schools can be highly contentious, as numerous historical examples illustrate. The present debate in France, Germany and Turkey concerning the wearing of the *hijab*, or head scarf, by Muslim girls in school is an example of the sensitivity of the issue. In France, wearing a head scarf in school<sup>7</sup> is now illegal, as is any visible manifestation of religious affiliation. This is due to history, and to the longstanding objective of the state school to promote 'republican' values and integrate all citizens in one nation. By way of contrast, Australian public schools with a similar secular tradition accept the wearing of head scarves, but only that prescribed as part of the compulsory school uniform. This shows that, while a school located in a society with a multiculturalist policy can remain secular and neutral in relation to the promotion of any religion, students can be allowed to express their religious commitment. This illustrates the difference in conceptions of how a commitment to secularism should be implemented (Obin, 2004: 162).

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7. As in any public service.

While both have the same objectives, the first view, as reflected in the Australian response, is more sensitive to individual freedom and rights. The second, as reflected in the French position, is more concerned with equality of treatment and the promotion of a common set of values, which are seen as being challenged by an increasing proportion of more conservative Muslims in the population.

*The Pygmalion effect*

Every day, teachers are called upon to make immediate decisions about how they will manage classroom behaviour. Their decisions do not, however, occur in a vacuum. Rather, they are influenced by their views on appropriate classroom behaviour and whether students conform to this ideal and perform according to their assumed abilities. Teacher training programmes and the use of assessment tests play a big part, but so too does the culture of the school. This is conveyed through the perceptions of other staff members regarding the abilities of particular groups of students and individuals from particular backgrounds. The teachers' staff-room is an important site for conveying information about students and groups considered to be 'problematic'. This label is often attributed to those who are felt to come from backgrounds where education is not valued and lack high educational and occupational aspirations (Inglis, Elley and Manderson, 1992; Osler and Vincent, 2003: 159).

Such assessments of students, their abilities and behaviour have been widely seen as affecting students' school careers. This is not merely due to teachers conveying students' assessments to them in a manner that affects their future educational trajectory; it is also because teachers have the power to make decisions that directly effect students' educational experience (Osler, 2004). These decisions include assigning them to less academic classes or streams as well as the use of discipline, which leads them to unite with rebellious peer groups and possibly become involved in truanting and anti-social behaviour. The students then do not achieve their educational potential, to their own detriment and to that of the society. But the educational outcomes can be positive as well as negative for minority students identified by teachers as 'able'. The Pygmalion effect refers to a well-known experiment that claimed to show that students, who were arbitrarily labelled as 'bloomers' or able students

at the beginning of the experiment actually outperformed their peers at the end of it (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968). The explanation given was that they were encouraged by their teachers. Subsequent research questioned the long-term effect of this process among primary school children. A similar process was noted, however, in an Australian study of educational attainment. This study found that teachers were often responsible for hampering the educational aspirations of children from particular ethnic backgrounds. Yet, some selected students considered as able were given every support so that they could excel academically. This was explained in terms of the teachers' commitment to the meritocratic ideology of educational success that is strongly entrenched in the Australian and many other education systems (Martin and Meade, 1979).

### *The peer group*

Attention was drawn to the importance of the peer group for the educational attainment of young people in Jencks's 1972 study on inequality, in which the roles of both the family and schoolmates were analyzed (Jencks *et al.*, 1972: 30). Subsequently, the research literature has explored how the peer group, usually male, promotes resistance to the school's ethos of academic success (Willis, 1977; Walker, 1988; Osler and Vincent, 2003). However, the peer group can also have more positive effects, such as promoting intellectual challenge and competition among students for better achievement. It can also contribute to raising the cultural capital of minority students enrolled in a school which is attended by a large number of middle-class students. Hence the importance of adopting a system of school admission that promotes social, cultural and ability mixing in schools. In discussing the role of the peer group in relation to diversity, one dimension to consider is the extent to which they are homogeneous or multi-ethnic in composition. In the latter case, do they also include members from the majority group? If so, this suggests a pattern of inter-ethnic social relations within the school.

### *Teachers' professional ideology and the role of the community*

The existence of a professional ideology and culture among teachers is very influential in school culture. While initially formed in teacher training programmes, ideology and how it defines the professional role of a teacher continues to be formed throughout the

teacher's career, including through the influence of colleagues. A common feature of teachers' professional ideologies and cultures is that they view the input of community and parent groups to education as problematic. These groups are frequently seen as lacking an understanding of the realities of teaching and learning and the detailed expert knowledge and skills needed to participate in the school's activities (Turney, Inglis, Sinclair and Straton, 1978). One effect of this belief is that teachers are reluctant to explore with parents the accuracy of their own preconceptions about the students, and parents' aspirations and what they expect for their children. All too often this can uphold the negative stereotypes, with the negative outcomes noted above for students' educational experiences. It also can preclude the possibility of developing more productive ways of working with the family and school community to achieve common aims. A variety of strategies have been developed to improve school-community relations, some of which are discussed below.

### *School-community relations*

Education systems have very different expectations regarding the nature of the relationship between the school, the students' parents and the wider community. In some countries, parents and the community are not expected to intrude in the work of the school since the school is conceived as a professional organization with complete responsibility for education. These are the type of education system in which schools can be depicted as 'fortresses' that exclude non-professionals from involvement in education. At the other end of the spectrum are countries where parents and the community are seen as having a significant role to play in the governance and administration of schools. They may also be involved in actual classroom activities, albeit under the supervision of trained teachers. However, even in the latter case, teachers may, due to their culture, be hesitant to allow a higher level of parental and community involvement.

A recurrent theme in discussions on the role of parents and the community in the education of minority students is misunderstanding and miscommunication between the school and the parents. On the one hand, the school may be operating with an inaccurate understanding of the parents' circumstances, aspirations and expectations for

their children. Similarly, parents may lack understanding of the educational rationales behind the school's decisions. The outcome is that opportunities for productive dialogue and the defusing of potential conflicts are ignored. In the absence of information about the school, parents often rely on the most visible signs of what is happening within the school walls. This can mean that they focus on the importance of homework, discipline and the appearance of students' uniforms, or their general demeanour. As many parents are familiar with traditional forms of schooling, where homework and discipline are taken as indicators of a serious approach to education, different practices in a new education system can reduce their confidence in the education their children are receiving. Given the power and status of the school and teachers, it is important for them to take the lead in approaching parents to develop a better understanding and dialogue to address misunderstanding.

From the school's perspective, it is important that parents receive and understand the information and messages that the school is sending them. Where minority parents lack fluency and literacy in the school's official language, the use of translation and interpretation can help overcome problems in communication. However, while the students themselves are often asked to take on this job, this is a far from satisfactory solution. This is because they are often required to translate issues relating to their academic progress or behaviour.

Translation may also be insufficient, as the school's actual message may not be correctly understood if parents lack an understanding of how the school and education system are organized and operate. In some countries, for example, children may not be allowed to move to the next grade of schooling unless they have passed the exams for their existing level. When parents move to a school where progression is automatic and not necessarily restricted to children performing up to a particular standard in their assessment tests, it is easy for them to gain the impression that their children are actually performing well in their schooling, even when this is not the case. The provision of orientation programmes for parents of new students, offered with the presence of an interpreter, is only one of several ways in which the school can seek to obviate such difficulties. Another strategy is for the school to employ support staff to liaise

with families from minority backgrounds. Assistance can also be sought from prominent figures in the local minority community.

In addition to the school benefiting from having its message effectively conveyed to parents, it can benefit from strategies that allow it to gain an understanding of their concerns and resources. In some cases, organizational mechanisms facilitate communication between the school and the parents. All too frequently, these are not structured so as to facilitate the involvement of minority parents and provide opportunities for more general discussions and sharing of information. Again, strategies that use support staff familiar with the minority group can be valuable. The outcome of these discussions can be improved understanding between the school and the parents. They may also lead to opportunities for minority parents to become involved in working with school staff as assistants in the school and classroom, or to be involved in the school decision-making process where this is part of the school's organization and administration.

### *Conclusion*

The variety in the non-language-based responses and strategies developed to address issues of diversity in the school reflect the multidimensional nature of the challenge posed by multi-ethnic student populations. *Table 5.1* summarizes some of the key features of the changes developed in response to diversity. One of the most striking features by comparison with language initiatives is that most target not the minority groups, but rather the whole student population. The major exceptions are religious instruction and ethnic studies programmes. Although ethnic studies programmes were not reviewed in detail, much of their content fits within the framework of existing subject areas such as history, social sciences, literature and the arts. Cultural maintenance, and through this the development of a positive identity, are key rationales for these programmes. The concentration on responses targeting the whole school population and community indicates, in the first instance, that they are developed for schools with a diverse student population rather than for those with a predominantly minority group of students. It also suggests that it is recognized that in order to adequately address issues surrounding diversity, it is necessary to change the attitudes and behaviour of the majority group. Prejudice, discrimination and racism are practices

involving the majority as well as minority groups. The type of changes identified and implemented range from adding new content and perspectives to existing curricula and structures of knowledge to more substantial changes in the way the school fulfils its educational role. The adoption of across-the-curriculum perspectives and more explicit efforts to move to active learning strategies, including those outside the classroom and in relations with the community, indicate the way educators have perceived that the transfers of knowledge typical of traditional subject areas are insufficient to achieve the major changes in behaviour and attitudes considered necessary in multi-ethnic and multilingual societies.

When discussing the specific cultural content to be included in curriculum changes, two different orientations were noted: One was the longer-established domestic focus on social justice, while the other was the more recent cosmopolitan focus with its individualistic orientation. In identifying the orientations associated with the various responses, it will be obvious that the situations are far more complex than presented in *Table 5.1*. It should also be noted that, in many instances, both orientations can make a valuable contribution. This is because recent international developments mean that both majority and minority ethnic groups have interests that are not confined within national boundaries. As an example of the complex relationship between domestic and cosmopolitan orientations, the identification of changes in history as primarily domestic does not suggest that only national history should be taught. Rather, it highlights that in its role as a key definer of the nation's identity, history's prime orientation is domestic.

**Table 5.1 Non-language based responses to diversity**

Educational response	Target group and changes	Diversity orientation domestic/cosmopolitan	Rationale	Type of change
History	All students minority perspectives	Domestic	National identity Identity/recognition	New content
Geography/ social sciences	All students minority examples	Domestic and/or Cosmopolitan	Stereotypes Prejudice Discrimination Enrichment	New content
Literature and arts	All students minority examples	Domestic and/or Cosmopolitan	Identity/recognition Enrichment	New content
Maths & science	All students minority examples	Cosmopolitan	Identity/recognition	New content
Religion-instruction	Specific religious group	Domestic and/or Cosmopolitan	Cultural maintenance Identity	No change
Religion-comparative	All students minority religions	Cosmopolitan	Enrichment Stereotypes Prejudice Discrimination	New content
Ethnic studies	Specific minority group	Domestic and/or Cosmopolitan	Cultural maintenance Identity	New content
Citizenship/ moral education	All students mainly majority concerns	Domestic	National identity Social cohesion	New content and/or pedagogy
Intercultural communication	All students across curriculum	Domestic and/or Cosmopolitan	Stereotype Prejudice Discrimination Enrichment	New content and/or pedagogy
Multicultural/ intercultural education	All students across curriculum	Domestic	Social justice Stereotypes Prejudice Discrimination Enrichment Identity	New content and/or pedagogy
Anti-racism	All students Across curriculum	Domestic	Social justice, Stereotypes Prejudice Discrimination	New content and/or pedagogy
School culture	All students cultural diversity	Domestic	Social justice	Changed practices
School-community Relations	All students inclusion of community	Domestic	Social justice Stereotypes Identity/recognition	Changed practices related to changed roles

When considering the major rationales for change in non-linguistically-based areas of education, it will be obvious that, given their focus on both majority and minority students, overcoming inequality in educational outcomes is not an immediate objective. Instead, the emphasis is on overcoming stereotypes and prejudices through strategies designed to increase knowledge and recognition of the positive qualities inherent in diverse ethnic groups' culture and way of life. Advocates argue that these changes are valuable in themselves and as a means of enhancing the self-esteem of individuals from minority backgrounds. In turn, it is anticipated that this will enhance their educational outcomes. Despite the strength of supporters' claims for these initiatives, their effectiveness in contributing to educational attainment is far from easy to assess. This is due to their generality and the difficulties in identifying appropriate measures of the impact. In contrast, changes in the culture of the school, including how teachers cope with diversity in their classrooms, are easier to identify and link to the educational experiences of minority students. To the extent that they encourage students to continue with their education, these changes are an important component of ensuring social justice and promoting equality for minority students.

These measures achieve their full potential where there is mixing of students of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds in schools. This has implications for the model of school organization as discussed in *Chapter V* concerning school choice versus neighbourhood schools, or concerning different systems of school vouchers.

One of the most notable features of the responses reviewed here is that, with the exception of those involving history and religion, but also possibly school choice, they rarely become a focus of major public debate. This contrasts with the situation involving the provision of mother tongue languages in the schools. What links language to history and religion is its close relationship to core dimensions of national and ethnic identity, which have a strong emotional component. Often, language, religion and historical understanding are the focus of social and political movements. Where this is the case, how schools address these issues is often a major focus of minority social movements and stakeholders. The

absence of extensive public debate in other educational areas allows educational policy-makers and planners greater freedom to identify appropriate educational strategies in a less emotionally-charged environment. However, among educators and teachers, the types of changes involved in implementing these responses to diversity, which are listed in *Table 5.1*, still generate considerable debate about their desirability and the priority they should be given.

In the absence of an extensive body of research that clearly establishes the effectiveness of particular strategies, the debate continues without any clear or unambiguous guidelines for educational planners and policy-makers. In practice, the major source of guidance comes from examining the strategies and innovations adopted in other education systems. The next chapter examines how four somewhat different education systems have responded to diversity.

## VI. Four examples of educational responses to diversity

While the previous chapters have considered various types of educational responses to diversity, this chapter adopts a holistic focus to illustrate specific examples of the responses of different education systems: those of Malaysia, Singapore, Quebec in Canada, and New South Wales in Australia. Shifting the focus from individual initiatives to the whole education system provides an opportunity to identify the impact of the larger society and state on educational policies and implementation. It also highlights the way in which educational planning does not, in practice, rely on a single initiative. Instead, initiatives to address diversity continue to develop in response to the impact and effects of the initial initiatives as well as developments in the wider national and international arenas. Of the selected examples, Malaysia and Singapore were both British colonies before gaining independence after World War II, and nation building involving their multilingual and multiracial populations has posed a major challenge over the last half century. They contrast with the two other cases from Canada and Australia, which are frequently cited as traditional countries of immigration. The Canadian province of Quebec has undergone major social changes and also sometimes has a tense relationship with the rest of Canada. The state of New South Wales in Australia has the largest and most diverse population of all the Australian states.

### *Malaysia*

The educational legacy of British colonial rule that Peninsular Malaya carried over into independence consisted of four language-based, ethnically-structured systems of schooling. Government provided primary education in Malay for all Malays except for sons of the Malay elite. The latter received an English education at the Malay College in Kuala Kangsar. Primary and secondary schooling was provided in the Chinese language by the Chinese community, while Indians were educated in schools mainly located on the plantations where their parents worked. English

language schools, often established by Christian groups with some government funding, catered for predominantly Chinese and Indian students. The English schools were the avenue to social mobility and provided the workforce needed for the colonial administration and commerce. In addition to these schools, a number of traditional Islamic religious schools, or *pondoks*, also continued to operate.

After Britain regained control of the Malay Peninsula from Japanese forces at the end of World War II, preparations for independence began. The expectation was that political control would be handed over to the Malay population, with the economy being dominated by the immigrant Chinese population, which today still constitutes a quarter of the population and an even higher percentage in West Malaysia. The contentious issue of devising suitable national schooling was resolved by the continuation of the four 'vernacular' streams of schooling with government funding and a common curriculum, including the teaching of the new national language, Bahasa Malaysia, and English. In reality, this effort to bring unity through education was ineffective. Highlighting the challenges were the bloody 1969 riots, in which numerous Chinese were killed.

The government's response to the riots, interpreted as a reflection of Malay frustrations with their economic disadvantage, was the New Economic Policy (NEP). In the case of education, the measures to address Malay disadvantage and lack of social inclusion involved changes in the school structures. The vernacular schools were converted into national schools, which gradually introduced Bahasa Malaysia as the language of instruction – a task completed by 1982. Chinese and Indian schools were allowed to continue as national-type primary schools, albeit with the national curriculum and teaching of Bahasa Malaysia. Their students had to spend an additional year in a 'remove class' concentrating on their competency in Bahasa before transferring to a national secondary school. University education was changed into Bahasa and entry quotas gave substantial priority to Bumiputera students (Malays and those from other indigenous backgrounds) over other qualified students. One unanticipated effect was that rather than creating greater unity, wealthy families sent their children overseas to continue their secondary and tertiary education in English or Chinese. There was

also a growth in student enrolments in the national-type schools. This process has continued. By 2002, only 2.1 per cent of Chinese, 4.3 per cent of Indian students and 2.8 per cent of other non-Malay groups were actually enrolled in the national schools. At secondary level, the percentage of non-Malay students increased to some 30 per cent, which was nevertheless below their almost 50 per cent share in the national population (Abdul and Schier, 2005: 25-26). The few classes in the pupils' own language (POL), which are offered where there are at least 15 students to study a language such as Chinese, Tamil or the indigenous languages spoken in Sabah and Sarawak, also highlight the limited participation in schools of those from non-Malay backgrounds. Growing numbers of Malay students are, however, also enrolled in the national-type schools. These latter are seen as preferable due to their levels of discipline and better results in examinations, particularly in subjects such as mathematics (Asmar, 2003).

Being Malay is inextricably associated with being Muslim, and the place of Islam is guaranteed in the constitution. In the national schools, Islamic studies as a subject in the curriculum is compulsory for all Malay students, while others study the alternative moral studies. This is seen by critics as a form of separation between students that precludes Malay students from the potential benefits of the moral studies curriculum, while at the same time also leading to social separation. From the 1970s, there was a growth in fundamentalist Islam, which has had a major impact on many aspects of public life. Several assessments of the effects of the post 1969 restructuring of the school system have noted that one of the factors hindering the effectiveness of the national schools as a means of incorporating all students has been a perceived 'Islamicization' of the life of the school. This extends beyond the role of subjects such as Islamic and moral studies, a point which was acknowledged by the Director-General of education in a recent workshop (Singh and Mukherjee, 1990; Abdul and Schier, 2005: 75-76).

Half a century after independence, the role of English (the former colonial language) is still a matter of dispute in education. With its status as the national second language, competence in English is seen as important for gaining access to international economic developments, knowledge and expertise. With the passing

of time and the successful development of Bahasa Malaysia as the national language, in which non-Malay language students are performing equally as well as Malays, there are now proposals to give greater prominence to English in the higher education system and schools (Wong and James, 2004). Proponents argue that this may compensate for the perceived lowering of English standards, which is detrimental to national development and makes Malaysian education less attractive to international students. There are also hopes for a return to the days when the English schools and universities were meeting places for the youth of the country's different ethnic groups. Resistance still exists to the expansion of English in education, to the extent that opposition to teaching science and mathematics in English affected the implementation of the change (Abdul and Schier, 2005: 29).

While Malaysian policy advocates the democratization of education, including addressing issues such as access, equality and quality, the Director-General of Education, Datuk Abdul Rafie Mahat, has acknowledged that the path to national unity has been neither smooth nor easy. "Identity based systems at schools have influenced social interaction, political alignment and economic participation in the wider society" (Abdul and Schier, 2005: 25). He went on to conclude that "racial integration towards national unity depicts a work in progress in the Malaysian education system" (Abdul and Schier, 2005: 27).

### *Singapore*

Before gaining independence, Singapore, as part of the British Straits Settlements, had the same pattern of education as Malaya. The city-state's smaller and predominantly urban population, three quarters of whom are Chinese, has led to different issues surrounding the development of the education system and conflicts over the place of languages in education. Unlike Malaysia, where the major issues centre around the relationships between the Malay and non-Malay populations, in Singapore the major fault line at independence was between the Chinese educated in community-run Chinese schools and the elite educated in English-language schools. Suspicions about the loyalty of the former and their support for the new communist government in China and the Chinese-led Malaysian

insurgency added to concerns about the extent of their economic power and potential to threaten the ruling English-educated elite. Among the Chinese-educated, frustrations about their exclusion from government jobs and higher education led to bloody riots over the status of the Chinese schools in the lead up to independence. The resolution was similar to that in Malaysia, with the establishment of four vernacular streams of government-funded schooling, where Chinese, along with Malay and Indian, students were taught in their mother tongue as well as learning English and Malay. This latter became Singapore's national language following its brief political alliance with Malaysia between 1963 and 1965.

In contrast to Malaysia, Singapore, freed from the political constraints of a substantial Malay population, pursued a highly successful policy of promoting the advantages of English language education while subtly discouraging Chinese-language schooling, graduates of which were still facing barriers to employment in the public sector. A major impetus for change was the 1979 Goh Report, prepared by the then Minister of Defence. This report grew from findings that the earlier policy of language education had been so ineffective that recruits entering national service training had to be grouped into their own mother tongue units, as they lacked the linguistic skills to work in multilingual military units. The subsequent major restructuring of schooling revised language-teaching methods and introduced ability-based streaming from the end of year three in primary school. Streaming was justified on the basis of avoiding 'wastage'. Only the most able students were able to continue with the more extensive language study deemed a prerequisite for higher education. The emphasis on language-linked meritocracy has fuelled a highly competitive education system in which parents pay large sums for private tutoring for their children. Poorer groups including the Malay population, which has been substantially underrepresented in the higher streams of education, are disadvantaged through their inability to afford such tutoring. Instead, they must rely on assistance from various community agencies and, in the case of the Malays, the Mendaki Foundation, which was established under government auspices to address problems in Malay education.

With declining enrolments in the Chinese-language schools, the Chinese-language Nanyang University was merged in 1980

into the English language university, which was renamed the National University of Singapore. This decision was a watershed in the government's shift towards making English the language of instruction in education. Since then, the government has continued to emphasize its commitment to the mother tongue languages of Singaporeans through a policy of bilingual education. This involves all students studying their mother tongue and the maintenance of the role of mother tongue languages in providing access to higher levels of education. The government emphasizes its commitment to Chinese through supporting Special Assistance Plan (SAP) Chinese schools and promoting the Mandarin language above the Chinese dialects spoken in most Chinese households. With the emergence of China as a major economic power, an economic rationale for promoting Mandarin now complements the underlying local political rationale. Concerns still exist about the effectiveness of the language-teaching programmes. In 2004, the first inquiry results were announced heralding further modification of mother tongue language programmes, which remain the organizational basis on which Singapore officially builds its strategy for dealing with ethnic differences in the population. Students are assigned to mother tongue language classes not on the basis of their actual language usage, but on the basis of their 'race' as shown on their father's national ID card. This is a cause of growing concern, particularly among Indians, Malays, and other families whose home language may be Hindi, Punjabi or English rather than Tamil or Malay. The requirement that their children study Tamil or Malay as their mother tongue is felt to disadvantage them in the competitive bilingual education system. It is also seen as excluding them from studying as their second language Chinese, Malay, or another language which might be more useful at an international level (Gopinathan, Ho and Saravanan, 2004).

Underlying the government campaign to promote English as the official language of Singapore was the intention to use it as a means of promoting unity across the different communities. It was also promoted for its value to Singapore's economy, which relies on developing knowledge-based, high-technology and service industries. The government's success in promoting English has now led it to focus on what it sees as a major limitation of English; i.e. that

through acquiring English, students will become rootless as they lose touch with their traditional heritage and forget their moral values, which may well be replaced by individualistic Western values. To counter this danger, an important part of nation building has been to emphasize a range of educational programmes to promote the development of a Singaporean identity grounded in Asian values which are, however, further linked back to the individual's mother tongue. Subjects such as moral education and religious knowledge have therefore played a significant role in the curriculum. These subjects further construct ethnicity with a religious as well as a linguistic dimension: Chinese students study Confucianism or Buddhism; Malays Islam; and Indians Hinduism. While the intention was that students study these subjects in their mother tongue, this has not been possible, as students lack the necessary language skills. However, not all nation-building activities reinforce ethnic boundaries in the structure of the schools and their curriculum. The emphasis on compulsory extra- or co-curricular activities is viewed as an important part of general citizenship education, in which all students participate together.

At the time of independence, few would have anticipated that the Singaporean Government would have been able to achieve such a substantial shift as changing to an English-language-based education system. Its success points to a major change in relations between local ethnic groups, including the Chinese-educated. Still, the use of bilingual education as the main mechanism has resulted in rigidities that pose challenges to Singapore's proactive involvement in globalization. Singaporeans working overseas have problems educating their children in accordance with the two-language policy, which is necessary if they are to continue with their education in Singapore. Government responses have included the provision of boarding accommodation at schools in Singapore, as well as establishing 'Singaporean' schools in Hong Kong and other centres with a substantial Singaporean population. The policy also poses challenges for the strategy of selling Singaporean education to overseas secondary and tertiary students, who are also viewed as potential skilled workers for the economy. Another effect of globalization is that Singapore schools now have growing numbers of children whose highly-educated parents have come from China,

India and other countries to work in Singapore. These students are the cause of some concern among local parents, who see them as competitors posing a threat to their own children's success and access to higher education (Gopinathan and Saravanan, 2003). Among the Indian and Malay minorities, these concerns add to their other concerns about the preferential place of the Chinese language in Singapore.

### *Quebec, Canada*<sup>8</sup>

Canada is regularly identified as one of the traditional immigration countries, with some 18 per cent of its population born overseas. The country has an official policy of multiculturalism. Its policy, which is also enshrined in legislation, was a response to concerns by immigrants not belonging to the two original groups of European settlers (the English and French Charter groups) that the 1967 Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission was entrenching the policy of official bilingualism at their expense. The founding of this commission was one of a number of attempts to address tensions between the two charter groups, or more accurately between Quebec and the rest of Canada, amid concerns that the former might seek to separate itself from the latter. In the Canadian constitution, education is one of the areas under the responsibility of the provinces. Recent developments in migration policy have also allowed provinces to take a role in selecting their own migrants, and Quebec has been particularly active in recruiting French-speaking migrants to compensate for its declining birth rate. How Quebec has responded to the increased diversity created by this immigration allows us to explore an example of ambiguity in ethnic dominance at the local or provincial levels. As McAndrew notes, there is little disagreement that whereas in Canada French-speakers are a demographic and political minority, they are a majority in Quebec, although there is less consensus as to whether they are also an economic or linguistic majority when compared with the English-speaking and new immigrant groups (McAndrew, 2003: 187).

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8. The material in this section draws extensively on the work of McAndrew (2001; 2003).

Until 1867 in Quebec, religion was a defining marker of language and ethnicity. This was recognized in the religious control of education, with French-Canadians attending Catholic schools and WASPs (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants) attending Anglo-Protestant schools. For the next century, this pattern of religious, linguistic and educational groupings continued, although the patterns became more complex with the establishment of new Anglo-Catholic, Franco-Protestant and private religious schools to cater for those immigrants who did not attend the existing schools. This differentialist solution was one on which both the French-speaking and English-speaking communities agreed (McAndrew, 2003). When the nationalist *Parti Québécois* came to power, one of its first actions was the passing of Bill 101, which made French the sole official language. In relation to education, it decreed that, with certain exceptions that included allowing English-educated families to continue receiving education in English, French was to be the language of schooling for all students in Quebec. The major impact was not on the institutional completeness of the English-Canadian community, nor on the degree of school segregation between the French- and English-speaking communities. Rather, the impact was felt by the immigrants who were now required to study in French. It was also felt by the French schools themselves, which were transformed from homogeneous institutions aimed at the cultural reproduction of the French-Canadian community into pluralistic common schools (McAndrew, 2003: 192). Recognition of the role of the immigrants in preserving the province's importance led the provincial government to develop its own form of multiculturalism: the policy of *cultural communities*. This stated that each group would be encouraged to preserve its own cultural identity, provided its members agreed to use French as the common language of the province. This was an effort to reconcile the French nationalist ideology with the reality of a pluralist Quebec (Dorais and Stockley, 1994: 398).

One of the most interesting aspects of this change is that linguistic markers, rather than religious or other cultural ones, now define the borders between the two major school systems, i.e. the French and the English. Despite the evident indication of the minority status of the English-speakers and the challenges for the French schools,

there is what McAndrew describes as a continuing ‘consensual segregation’ between the two main groups. Significantly, she notes that after 20 years of change in ethnic relations and schooling, no one appears interested in discussing more structured educational contacts between the two communities, let alone common schooling. With a precarious equilibrium attained, and some jointly-shared characteristics of a ‘siege mentality’, revisiting the school issue would clearly be opening Pandora’s Box.

Paradoxically, the English and French schools have been rendered more similar through the process of school reform, in that both have now become secular, with the key marker being language rather than religion. They are also more pluralist, with a decreasing congruence between language and culture given the presence of immigrant background groups in both systems. At the same time, the economic and educational gap has almost been bridged, with the French majority rapidly closing the gap between them and the English minority (McAndrew, 2003: 206). Yet, the actual structured and informal contacts between English and French speakers are now less frequent than when they shared denominational school boards.

These changing institutional structures of schooling in Quebec reflect changes in the relations between the English- and French-speaking populations. Indeed, the latter have seen a gradual change in their ambiguous status, from a demographic majority to a socially and politically powerful majority. Provisions for the increasing numbers of immigrants were also increasingly being addressed after 1977 in the French-language school system, since, even if they only represented 10 per cent of the school population in the province, they counted for nearly half of the French school population in Montreal (McAndrew, 2001: 14). As in many other countries, the Quebec education system passed through various stages in developing its responses to immigrants. The first phase was the teaching of the French language, which commenced in 1969. The second was the introduction of the languages of the immigrant groups (1977) and material on the culture of the groups represented in the schools, a trend which reached its height in the 1980s. In the third phase, the Montreal schools then began systematically adapting to diversity, leading to greater cultural sensitivity in programmes, pedagogical approaches and materials as well as in the

selection and training of teachers and the organization of the school and its relations with students' families. In this phase, intercultural education concerned with 'knowing the other' was replaced by a growing focus on citizenship education, with its emphasis on 'living together'. Educational debates concerned the relative importance of the recognition of diversity and issues of inequality, as opposed to respect for common values (McAndrew, 2001: 16).

While similar trends can be noted elsewhere, there were several special features in the evolution of educational responses to immigrant diversity in Quebec. The first was that there was no clear link between socio-economic disadvantage and ethnicity. Historically, the established French-speaking community was viewed as the most disadvantaged. However, with its access to power, and the arrival of immigrants from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, the lines became blurred. Another difference was that it was not until 1997 that the Ministry of Education released an official policy, entitled *Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle* (school integration and intercultural education policy). This delay was linked to immigration being seen as a problem not for the province of Quebec, but specifically for Montreal schools, where the majority of immigrant students were concentrated. At the same time, the process of responding to diversity in the schools was related to lack of a resolution on how to incorporate diversity within the Quebec identity. However, while waiting for the policy, a considerable amount of research accumulated relating to key aspects of the integration of students (McAndrew, 2001: 17).

One result of the transformation of the French-speaking community into the social and political majority was that relations between them and the immigrants lost the ambiguous character that had existed earlier, when the English-speaking minority was more clearly dominant. This 'normalization' has been reflected in the immigrants becoming a more obvious minority group and resulting in a loss of their bargaining power. This can also be seen in the declining interest in teaching their languages of origin and an emphasis on citizenship education, which shows the preoccupations of the majority population. There is also a tendency for migrants to be concentrated in certain schools, although this segregation is nowhere near as striking as it was prior to 1977, when there was

a predominantly religious divide. Within the French schools, however, the boundary markers are increasingly becoming religious and racial. Visible minorities – especially Muslims – are becoming the focus of concerns about inequality and debates on cultural issues such as the wearing of the *hijab*, the teaching of Arabic and the place of religion in the school. The major challenge is for Quebec policy-makers, educators and the public to adjust to the changes in their schools. This is hampered by the fact that they hold on to the memories of when they themselves were among the disadvantaged minority, whereas they are now the majority and immigrants have taken their place (McAndrew, 2001: 216-218).

### *New South Wales, Australia*

In contrast to the three previous examples, language has not been such a focus of debate and conflict in Australian society or schools. Nor has increasing diversity been viewed as such a serious challenge to the power and influence of the dominant Anglo-Celtic majority. Although a country with a substantial migrant population (one quarter are overseas-born and at least two out of five are either migrants or have a migrant parent), only 20 per cent speak a language other than English at home. In addition to those of recent migrant background, 2.2 per cent of the population have an indigenous heritage. While there is extensive diversity in Australia, the fact that none of the many different but relatively small ethnic groups challenge the dominance of the English language influences policy and planning. Australia has a federal form of government where education is constitutionally the responsibility of the individual states. However, since the 1960s, the national government has increasingly used its control of finances to influence educational policy. While there is greater similarity between states in their education systems than in Canada, the focus here will be on New South Wales (NSW) – the most populous state, home to one third of Australia's population, and the one which now has the most ethnically diverse population. Sydney, the nation's largest city of 4 million people, is home to almost two thirds of the NSW population. Nearly one third of Sydney's population was born overseas and, by 2001, the major languages spoken after English were Chinese (4.9 per cent), Arabic (3.6 per cent) and Greek (2.1 per cent), indicating the impact of

recent non-European migration. It also has the largest concentration of the indigenous population in the country.

First settled by Europeans in 1788, for almost the next two centuries migrants were expected to assimilate into the essentially British society. The establishment of free, compulsory and secular public education in 1883, however, led the Irish Catholic minority to establish their own parallel system of education. This continues, although it now receives financial support from the government, as do all private schools required to follow the state education curriculum. This financial support from the government has facilitated the establishment of private schools catering for Greek, Turkish and Islamic students, although none have been established by the larger and wealthier Chinese population. The policy of assimilation began to be challenged in the 1960s, as evidence accumulated that the increasing numbers of immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds were not assimilating as expected and were facing major difficulties settling in Australia. Initially replaced in the late 1960s by a policy of integration, the significant change came in the 1970s, with the shift to a policy of multiculturalism. This included active support for services for immigrants, and funding assistance to ethnic organizations to deliver these services.

Education was one of the first areas where the problems of migrants and their children were recognized by non-migrants. Initially, these were seen as the students' problems. However, teachers came to appreciate that the cause lay not with the students, but with the education system (Martin, 1978). The first step in catering for migrant students was the introduction of classes in English as a second language in the early 1970s. This coincided with a major focus on efforts to redress educational inequality following the 1973 Karmel report, which recommended that substantial financial resources be allocated to overcome the effects of educational disadvantages among groups, including those of working class, rural, indigenous and migrant backgrounds. The extra funding to schools with substantial numbers of students from these backgrounds were used to employ extra teachers and ethnic aides to liaise with students' families and the community, since cultural as well as financial factors were seen as underlying the inequalities in educational attainment. By the late 1970s, ethnic community groups

gained support to expand opportunities to learn their languages. This marked a refocusing from issues of inequality to issues of cultural maintenance. A range of initiatives included providing funding to ethnic communities to run their own after-school language classes, appointing bilingual teachers to government schools and the establishment of special Saturday schools that prepare students for the secondary school examinations in more than 20 languages. To support these initiatives, language curricula and examination syllabi were developed, along with support materials and textbooks. Paralleling these initiatives were curriculum developments targeting all students, not merely those from migrant backgrounds. Their aim was to promote knowledge and understanding of other cultures and groups and to teach skills in intercultural communication.

Giving force to all these initiatives was a policy on multicultural education, which was mandatory for all government schools. A similar policy followed soon afterwards for the extensive Catholic school system. Other mandatory policies were applied in Aboriginal education and, from the early 1990s, anti-racism policies were introduced in all schools. These policies target the majority population as well as the ethnic minorities described in Australia by the collective term 'non-English-speaking background' (NESB). This indicates that limited English is seen as the major basis for their inequalities and, at the same time, flags their difference in terms of other cultural attributes. When first launched, all these policies were supported by the appointment of curriculum consultants and in-service training. The importance of the policies was that, in addition to allocating resources, they provided a basis against which schools and teachers could be evaluated. Developments in a number of specific curriculum areas have also introduced material to reflect what is referred to as a 'multicultural' perspective that reflects Australian diversity, as well as key values and examples of what it means to be 'Australian' and the origins of this national identity. With the emphasis on multiculturalism, these descriptions have increasingly come to include the contribution of diverse migrant groups and a re-appraisal of the nature of relations between the indigenous and settler groups. Following the bicentennial of European settlement in 1988, there has also been a focus on developing citizenship education, although it is not taught as a separate school subject.

By the mid-1990s, 20 years after the first initiatives to address diversity through multicultural policies, a review highlighted the need to revisit multicultural education. While it had become 'institutionalized' in schools, the report identified new challenges involving major changes in the class and ethnic background of immigrants as well as in Australian education. The latter changes included extensive funding cuts, competing curriculum initiatives in areas such as information technology, increased retention rates to the end of secondary school, and devolution of responsibility to schools in conjunction with the growth of a more segmented and diversified pattern of selection for entry to schools based on special selection tests (Cahill, 1996: 145). The report concluded that there had been major advances in the schools linked to the professionalism of teachers, the existence of skilled specialist teachers and supportive principals, and the fact that the simplicities of the 1970s had now given way to greater complexity alongside a certain complacency. Areas where a retreat of efforts was identified were parent-school interaction and language maintenance (Cahill, 1996: 146). In the latter case, this was due in part to the way in which students themselves were reluctant to continue with language programmes unless they felt it would assist them in getting into university through improving their tertiary entry score at the end of secondary school. This attitude was partially linked to a rapid language shift towards English in Australia.

The impact of globalization in Australia has influenced educational responses to diversity in several ways. A revision of the NSW Multicultural Education Policy refers to the importance of an education that prepares students for living in a more globalized world, including providing opportunities for cultural enrichment and potential economic benefits associated with work and trade. Major features of this educational preparation include knowledge of other societies and cultures, linguistic skills and cross-cultural communication skills. Thus, the domestic focus of multicultural education with an emphasis on social justice is being shifted towards what Kymlicka calls 'cosmopolitan multiculturalism' (Kymlicka, 2004). The two approaches are not, however, necessarily opposed. Many students from migrant backgrounds see themselves as benefiting from combining their Australian education with their migrant heritage to gain work in Australia or overseas. A less direct effect

of globalization on education is the changing nature of immigration. As Australian economic policy shifted to focus on developing its professional service sector and knowledge-based industries, it also changed its immigration policies. Today, a substantial proportion of permanent and temporary migrants are highly-skilled professionals whose expectations for their children's education are somewhat different from earlier, less-educated, groups of migrants. Many of them owe their professional success not to maintenance of their mother tongue, but to their high level of educational attainment and command of international languages such as English. Hence, for them, having their children educated in their mother tongue is less of an issue than ensuring their access to the best universities and their command of English. Language maintenance may not be a key part of their agenda for maintaining their cultural traditions and heritage. Where it is valued, other options than formal schooling can be pursued, such as in-country language training or private study (Inglis, 2003; Ong, 2004).

### *Conclusion*

One of the most obvious conclusions to be drawn from these four examples is that, despite apparent similarities in their patterns of ethnic diversity and interethnic relations, education systems can diverge substantially in the way in which they address diversity. This was particularly obvious in the cases of Malaysia and Singapore, which, despite their origins in the same colonial education system, have increasingly diverged in their strategies to use education to develop social cohesion and inclusiveness in the context of nation building. Among the factors that play a role in this variation is the dynamic of inter-ethnic relations involving established ethnic groups. In Malaysia and Quebec, two numerous but formerly politically and economically impotent groups have gained control of the education system as part of the process of reversing their minority status. In Singapore, the contest was between those within the one 'racial' group who came from different language traditions. In each situation, language has been a dominant marker of the groups and a focus for the way in which the education system has responded to the changing diversity. However, it can also be intertwined with

other aspects of diversity such as religion, as occurs in Malaysia and Quebec.

The impact of immigration on education has been most obvious in Australia and Quebec, with greater numbers of recent immigrants arriving in their schools. In both situations, the changing flows of immigrants have meant that responses addressing specific cultural and social backgrounds have been expanded to accommodate the experiences of the new groups. In this, they differ from Malaysia and Singapore, where greater emphasis is put on achieving national unity among the major long-established ethnic groups.

As the four examples also illustrate, the educational strategies for diversity are continually evolving in response to a variety of internal and external circumstances. These include gaining greater political independence and autonomy (Malaysia, Singapore and Quebec); expansion of the population through migration for economic and other reasons (Australia and Quebec); and addressing the effects of globalization on their economies (Australia and Singapore). As already noted, schools and education systems are often key institutions involved in the patterns of interethnic relations due to their symbolic and instrumental roles. As such, changes in interethnic relationships also impact on them and involve the development of new educational responses to address concerns ranging from ensuring nation building to social cohesion. More immediate reasons for changing educational responses can be related to changes in the student population as a result of migration.

The preference of educational policy-makers and planners to respond to linguistically-based diversity through structural and organizational innovation is evident in the examples. At the same time, it is also evident that existing parallel educational structures have a remarkable resilience in periods of change, even where their forms and function undergo modification. These changes are often unanticipated by educational policy-makers, as in the cases of Malaysia and Quebec. In Malaysia, the failure of the national schools to attract non-Malay/Bumiputera students presents a particular challenge to policy-makers' intentions of using education to achieve national unity by means that go beyond the successful promotion of Bahasa Malaysia as the national language or the existence of a

common curriculum. Indeed, in those examples where ethnic groups continue with their education in different educational structures, the immediate question is whether, regardless of the existence of a shared curriculum, social relations between the groups can overcome the institutional divide. Certainly, in both Quebec and Malaysia educators are now asking whether there has actually been a decline in interethnic social contacts within their school systems, reflecting a concern that this *de facto* separation is counterproductive for future social cohesion.

In both Australia and Quebec, where there are parallel systems of schooling (English and French in the case of Quebec, and public and private in Australia), the impact of immigration on both systems has been substantial. It has necessitated changes in their curriculum and other aspects of school organizations and culture. Particularly in Australia, this impact is such that schools are no longer seen as being the preserve of a particular ethnic group, partly because religious adherence has ceased to be a major dividing line within the community, as was the case historically between Catholics and Protestants. However, with increasing numbers of students from Muslim backgrounds in Australian and Canadian schools, and a growing public discussion about terrorism and fundamentalist Islam, the stage is set for a return to discussions on the way in which secular state schools accommodate students from diverse religious backgrounds.

Although planners and policy-makers have favoured the use of organizational and structural changes as the first stage of responding to the educational challenges posed by diversity, the extent to which they are then followed by changes in the curriculum and educational practices within schools varies. Schools in New South Wales and Quebec have certainly gone further than either the Malaysian or Singaporean schools in adopting a diverse set of strategies to cater for student diversity. In the course of doing so, they have become aware of the complexities and challenges involved in producing positive change in the social, as distinct from the academic, knowledge-based outcomes of education.

Despite the many changes that have taken place in the four education systems and their schools, what is perhaps most surprising

is the limited prominence given in contemporary educational debates to issues of inequality in educational outcomes. Although inequalities continue to exist, the changes made in equality of access and the focus on opportunities for cultural maintenance would appear to have met many of the public concerns about inequality. Whether inequality becomes again a major educational issue that planners and policy-makers will need to address may not only depend on developments in education and the labour market; it may also depend on the ability of different stakeholders to make known their views and have them addressed in their respective political systems. These opportunities vary substantially, from Singapore's essentially one-party system to the multiparty politics firmly entrenched in Canada and Australia. The latter countries also allow more questioning of the role of the national language and religion than is the case, for example, in Malaysia, where their role is enshrined in the constitution.

Political considerations concerning inter-ethnic relations as well as the dominant ideological models associated with them have clearly been very influential in the way in which these four education systems have addressed issues of cultural diversity. A similar point has been made in other discussions of how education systems have responded to diversity. These have highlighted how policy-makers and planners have used a variety of ideological and policy models in developing their responses to diversity (e.g. Hernes, Martin and Zadra, 2004). Within these broad constraints, educationists, including policy-makers, planners and teachers, have also had the opportunity and been called upon to play an important role in the development of curricula and a range of other initiatives to address social and cultural diversity. The practical lessons to be drawn from these examples and others, and the relevance of their experiences for those responsible for developing educational plans to address diversity, is the focus of the next chapter.

## VII. Implementing change

The preceding chapters have outlined the range of responses developed by educational policy-makers and planners to address the challenges posed by diversity in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies. They include changes in the structures and institutions of schooling, in curriculum and pedagogy, as well as in the development of practices that extend beyond the classroom and involve the school's relations with parents and the local community. While some are dependent on 'top-down' support, others involve change from the grass roots upwards. Their scale and impact on the education system varies. The focus of this chapter is on the key question of how, faced with such a range of choice, policy-makers and planners select and successfully implement appropriate changes. Educational innovation is not a new area. There is substantial literature on relevant factors, including the existing types of educational structures and practices, the extent of centralized control, existing curriculum areas and pedagogical practices, including the extent to which these are linked to an examination-based form of assessment, and the importance of administrative and financial support. Rather than revisiting these general issues, this chapter will consider the ways in which the challenges related to diversity require attention to particular aspects of change. Three major considerations relate to the often highly politicized nature of the debate about educational responses, particularly those involving language: the potential scope of the changes; how they constitute an ongoing agenda for change; and how they may involve strategies for learning that can be confrontational and often touch on sensitive and emotional issues for students and teachers.

The stages involved in implementing innovation and change are well established. They begin by identifying priority issues from among the many ways in which diversity affects education. Once this decision is made, the second stage involves selecting appropriate innovations and responses. The third stage is especially critical for successful innovation and involves identifying appropriate implementation strategies and ensuring access to adequate resources. While the importance of evaluation and monitoring of innovations

is widely acknowledged, they all too rarely occur. This is despite the fact that they play a key role in decisions on institutionalizing successful innovations and identifying the need for additional initiatives. The use of a model of stages of implementation implies a highly rational and essentially technical process. However, as the examples considered in the previous chapter highlight, this can be an overly simplistic view of how innovation actually operates. This chapter concludes by considering the political and other factors that particularly effect change in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies.

### *Identifying priority areas for change*

Policy-making in education, as in other areas of public policy, tends to be reactive. It responds to the identification of a particular problem by stakeholders, ranging from teachers to parents and community groups, the media and government sectors. The importance of issues surrounding diversity, such as inequality, disadvantage, inclusion, social cohesion and national identity, ensure that the debate is frequently undertaken in a highly politicized environment and that the final decisions on the type of change to be made involves formal government policy. While the advice of educational policy-makers may be sought, often their major role is to implement the policy decisions already made at the national level. Since educational problems are often identified at the national level in very general terms, the precise areas to be changed often need to be more closely specified. This provides scope for educators to become more actively involved in prioritizing the problems and areas of change. In doing so, they may be shielded to some extent from outside influence. However, once implementation of change begins, it is important to recognize the ongoing political nature of the process. An acknowledgement of the political influences at work in setting the agenda for diversity-related changes is important, since they can affect and, if not appropriately dealt with, even undermine the change strategies implemented.

In contrast to identifying problems requiring attention at the national, school and local levels, educators and teachers potentially have more scope to identify issues that arise in their day-to-day experiences in the school. However, here too the articulation of the

problems and their priority may be contested by parents, community groups, and even the students, all of whom have their own analyses of what constitutes an appropriate learning environment, curriculum and pedagogical methods. Calls from teachers for smaller class sizes to allow greater attention to individual students may be countered by parents arguing for stricter discipline and more homework. Efforts to expand the curriculum content to include topics such as sex education may encounter opposition from parents. Affecting the expression of such overt opposition is the nature of decision-making traditions in the education system and whether this is devolved to the school and community levels. Even if parents have little formal voice in final decisions, if the school wishes to gain their support in developing effective strategies for their children's education, a process of dialogue can be extremely valuable. This is especially so where this is organized with the assistance of a facilitator, who can help the parties overcome any cultural issues relating to linguistic misunderstandings, expectations and procedures.

### *Selecting appropriate innovations*

The identification of a problem necessitating educational change frequently includes a diagnosis of the problem's origins and a prescription of the appropriate policy response. The accuracy of the diagnosis, and hence the relevance of the prescription, cannot always be assured. Hence, the first task confronting policy-makers and planners is to assess the accuracy of the diagnosis presented to them. Only when this is done should the appropriate planning response be selected. For example, if children from minority backgrounds perform badly in an intelligence test, this can be taken as an indication that the children lack intellectual ability and should therefore be placed in classes catering for less-able students. The fact that their low test scores often reflect the cultural biases built into the tests is often overlooked, for example the language difficulty for students not fluent in the test language, and the need to be familiar with the particular culture and society on which the questions are based. A number of prescriptions follow from this alternative diagnosis, including developing alternative assessment instruments and procedures that are less culturally biased; not using the tests to assess students who have only recently arrived in the country or who

are recognized as having limited knowledge of the test language; or developing programmes to ensure that students acquire fluency in the test language, which is usually also the language of instruction. All of these prescriptions constitute relevant and compatible responses to dealing with the culturally-based nature of testing. Ideally, each of these changes should be made. However, where there are limited financial and human resources to implement all these changes, policy-makers must prioritize them.

Often the simplest and least expensive option is chosen. In the present example, this may mean not using the existing tests to assess students with limited language skills. From a longer-term perspective, establishing second-language-acquisition programmes addresses problems of cultural bias in the assessment tests as well as additional problems associated with students lacking competence in the language of instruction. These include: behavioural problems in the classroom; low levels of educational attainment; consequent difficulties in gaining employment and incorporation in the social mainstream; and missing out on the education system's nation-building efforts to create harmony and commitment.

Other pragmatic considerations that come into play include whether the proposed interventions are compatible with existing educational practices and structures. A related consideration is the level of education involved. The tendency for primary schools to emphasize general basic education taught by one generalist teacher allows them to adapt more easily to offering cross-the-curriculum initiatives than is the case in secondary schools. In the latter, education becomes more specialized, with individual subjects being taught by specialist teachers who are often constrained by an examination-oriented syllabus. At secondary level, new curriculum content in existing subjects may hence be potentially easier to implement than more general cross-the-curriculum changes.

The choice of innovation can often benefit from not relying solely on such pragmatic considerations as simplicity, cost, their potential to also address other educational and social problems, and complementarity with existing educational practices or level of schooling. By looking beyond their immediate education system to the national and international arenas, planners may identify more

creative and durable strategies. The range of rationales associated with both language- and non-language-based changes has been outlined already. What is needed when identifying appropriate innovations for a specific situation is to consider local and international strategies that have been developed to meet comparable needs. One benefit of adapting existing strategies is that it is possible to benefit from the experiences involved in the course of their successful implementation. Their ‘success’ can also contribute to their ‘legitimacy’ in the eyes of local educators. Before a final decision is made, however, it is necessary to assess their suitability and compatibility with the local education system and practices. Thus, in writing about citizenship education, Kerr emphasizes the importance of context, since the complex and contested nature of the concept of citizenship leads to a range of definitions and approaches to citizenship education:

“there was a general recognition that the transfer of approaches and programmes of citizenship education from one country or location to another could only succeed if the transfer took account of the unique historical, cultural and social traditions of the new context ... What works in one context cannot simply be transported to another. Careful adaptation rather than wholesale adoption should be the watchword. This applies whether at national, regional, local, school or classroom level” (Kerr, 2002: 218).

This advice also applies to many other curriculum areas, particularly those newer areas that are concerned as much with attitudes as they are with specific knowledge and skills. It is also relevant to innovations involving relations between the school and its community.

When implementing this advice to assess the relevance of particular innovations, there are several questions to ask about the potential innovations:

- Are their stated objectives the same as those required in the current situation? Questions to ask include:
  - Who are they targeting? Minority or majority students, or both? Teachers or parents?
  - Which aspects of diversity are they targeting? Cultural differences? Educational attainment? Issues of identity?

Attitudes towards other ethnic groups and relations with them?

- What are the similarities or differences between the educational context where they were implemented and the local one? This includes questions about:
  - the national social and policy framework, and ideology concerning multi-ethnic and multicultural relations in the society;
  - the organization and structure of the education system;
  - the extent of decentralization in educational decision-making and curriculum design;
  - approaches to curriculum, pedagogy and assessment; and
  - the human and financial resources available for implementation.
- Were these innovations successful? Were they evaluated? What recommendations or proposals for modification result from these assessments of their success?
  - Are the factors that affected their success (positively or negatively) present in the local situation?
  - Are any negative factors present in the local situation, or is there an absence of key positive factors?
- Are there examples of similar innovations being trialled in the local education system? If so, have they been successful? What factors have affected the success of their implementation?

As part of the assessment process, when considering specific innovations it is also important to gather relevant information about the student population as well as the general educational and social features of the education system and/or school. This is well recognized in the area of language planning, which emphasizes the need to understand the patterns of language use and attitudes of the speech community, and, it should be added, also of other speech groups. Citing the work of Fishman and Lovas, Horvath calls for:

- a survey of languages and [linguistic] varieties used by both parents and children including the domains or functions of the languages and their varieties;
- a rough estimate of the performance level in each domain of language;

- some indication of the community and school staff attitudes towards the languages and their varieties and toward their use in various domains; and
- an indication of the community and school staff attitudes towards changing the situation (Fishman and Lovas in Horvath, 1980: 6).

This is a minimal list of information, since she notes the need for more extended information and research focusing on general community language use and attitudes, detailed linguistic analysis of language patterns, usage and shift, educational experiences with language innovations and language policy-making. Although the context here is developing bilingual education programmes, the information referred to is also relevant for those considering introducing programmes to teach specific languages as subjects within the curriculum, since the demand to study them and appropriate pedagogy to use are influenced by students' linguistic backgrounds.

In planning non-language-based initiatives, it is harder to identify such a precise range of information to use in assessing the potential of specific innovations. The most obvious information needed relates to:

- the minority groups represented in the community and school population and their respective numbers;
- the social and economic circumstances of the groups, including their welfare and employment status, educational background and whether they are recent migrants, refugees, members of indigenous or other long-established minorities; and
- the attitudes and stereotypes that exist in the community, and especially among teachers and other school staff, towards these minority groups.

This information, which indicates the extent and nature of diversity in the school population, can assist in making decisions on the feasibility of or need for programmes for children from particular ethnic backgrounds. They may require these due to their cultural background or as a result of experiences related to their ethnicity, including interrupted schooling or trauma, which are often experienced by refugees. Teachers play a critical role in the success

of educational innovations in the schools. Particularly where these innovations relate to overcoming misunderstandings and prejudice, it is important to identify teachers' own positions, in order to ascertain whether an important element in any innovation may benefit from first working with them to overcome potential issues relating to stereotypes or prejudices.

A final step that planners can adopt in identifying an appropriate innovation is to establish a pilot or trial programme. This allows them to identify the relevance of the response for their local circumstances and, at the same time, the resources and specific strategies that contribute to its success or difficulties. The success of the pilot project, including identification of and addressing the potential difficulties associated with its development, allows it to operate as a well-tested and practical response that can be applied with some confidence at the national, local and school levels. The importance of the trial as a 'working' model cannot be overestimated, since time and resources are scarce in many education systems that are often highly sceptical of the claims made for untested innovations. An established model is an important tool in gaining support from the educators and teachers who are being asked to actually adopt the innovation.

### *Implementation*

Closely connected to the process of identifying appropriate innovations is the need to gather relevant implementation information concerning the target population and educational setting. This is critical in the effectiveness of any innovation. Also important is preliminary work with the teachers and other key participants, so that they understand the objectives of the innovation and are given a sense of 'ownership' of the project. This is particularly important when the innovation is being handed down from higher up the education system. Without a sense of ownership and understanding of the objectives, it is all too easy for potentially valuable innovations to languish or even be resisted at the level where they are to be implemented. Also critical to success is addressing the resource needs of the project for suitable curriculum materials, teachers and additional financial and human resources to provide ongoing support for its implementation.

**(i) Curriculum and resource materials**

Innovations involving curriculum change should not only identify the objectives of the change, but also offer either a detailed syllabus (if that is how curriculum is organized in the particular education system), or at least a detailed set of curriculum guidelines to highlight the specific changes proposed. Even in education systems that favour school-based curricula, inertia and competing pressures all too often work against effective curriculum change, unless support is offered to staff to take advantage of opportunities to develop programmes for new school needs. Particularly where these needs involve minority students, guidelines are also valuable as a means of countering the potentially negative effect of stereotypes about their abilities, interests, aspirations and values.

Schools vary in the extent to which they rely on textbooks or more varied teaching and resource materials. In all cases, however, they must have access to appropriate teaching and resource materials for the innovation being implemented. With the increasing availability of material on the Internet, teachers and planners may be tempted to make extensive use of materials from other countries and education systems. However, just as care is needed in adapting programmes developed in other education systems, the same also applies to using non-local materials without careful evaluation. A case in point are the limitations of language materials developed for mother tongue, first-language speakers when they are used for such students, or indeed non-mother tongue speakers being educated in another country. The level of language difficulty, as well as the style of language and content, can all too easily detract from the effectiveness of the language teaching.

One of the most difficult challenges for teachers can be to teach about social and cultural diversity while avoiding marginalization and disempowerment of the group studied through a depiction of the 'other' person and culture as either a victim or romantically exotic. All too often, resource materials and textbooks can promote this process of 'othering' and stereotyping. In the absence of more appropriate materials, it is important that teachers be trained to identify such biases in the material and work with it in a way that develops students' own skills to identify and analyze the deficiencies in the resources.

**(ii) Teachers**

Educational structures, curricula and resources are certainly important. Ultimately, however, the success of innovation that involves changes in the curriculum and the operation of the school depends on the support of teachers for their success. As Kerr writes, “[t]he power and durability of teacher culture should not be underestimated in attempts to review and renew citizenship education” (Kerr, 2002: 226). This comment also applies to other areas of innovation that problematize the established approaches to curriculum and the school while asking teachers, who are themselves influenced by the society’s traditions and norms, to implement them. Particularly where changes are perceived to involve more work for often hard-pressed teachers, there can be considerable passive resistance to implementation. In such circumstances, various strategies are needed to prepare teachers and gain their support.

Educational planners and administrators are all too aware of the difficulties that can exist in staffing schools in remote or ‘difficult’ environments. Often, these are the very schools that may have substantial numbers of minority students. Yet all too frequently, they are staffed by newly-qualified and inexperienced teachers or those unable to find work in ‘easier’ schools, although they are the very schools where experienced teachers can make an extremely valuable contribution. A variety of strategies have been developed by education systems to improve the staffing levels and schools in such environments and overcome the sometimes high levels of teacher absenteeism that only add further to the learning difficulties of students. Positive rather than negative inducements are most valuable. These can range from paying special bonuses or providing preferential treatment in subsequent postings or promotions, to offering support services and staff to assist teachers posted to these schools.

Particularly in relation to the introduction of new language programmes, educational planners also need to devise ways in which they can obtain staff with the necessary linguistic and pedagogical skills for the programmes, pending the development of a sufficient supply of teachers through pre-service training. Undertaking a skills audit of their teaching staff can be a valuable way of identifying

existing teachers with the necessary language skills, which can then be supplemented by language training methodology. Alternatively, existing language teachers may be given training in the specific language. Often, education systems recruit teachers from overseas to fill the gap. However, experience has shown that for such teachers to be effective in the new school system, they must be offered orientation courses to familiarize them with the new school environment and issues involved in teaching students with widely varying skills in a language and varying opportunities to use them outside the classroom.

The growing classroom diversity in all societies now makes it even more likely that, at some stage in their teaching career, teachers will find themselves in a school and classroom with students from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. It is therefore increasingly important that, in their initial professional development and pre-service training, teacher trainees be equipped with the skills and knowledge to work confidently and effectively with diverse groups of students. Their preparation must also alert them to the sensitivities involved in working with students and their own hitherto unexamined values and attitudes. There are many lists of the type of training that can provide knowledge, skills and attitudes, including techniques for classroom management, relations with parents and others in the school community, and the ability to develop and evaluate curriculum materials (e.g. Hickling-Hudson, 2004; Ungerleider, 2004).

The significant role of principals and school executives in the success of innovations also highlights the importance of ensuring that they too develop their skills and knowledge of issues involved in the education of minority students. As well as offering specialist professional development programmes, the inclusion of knowledge of these areas in regular teacher assessment exercises and promotion applications can serve as a valuable incentive for senior staff. Educational planners can also benefit from such specialist training. In the case of specific innovations, in-service training programmes are important for all teachers involved in them, as are other support strategies, which include culturally-informed teaching assistants, curriculum advisers and counsellors to work with teachers and the community.

The cost of these training and support needs for staff should be included when planning innovations. The budgets should also include the costs of necessary resources and services, such as employing people to translate the school newsletter and notices into the home languages of major language groups in the school (alternatively, the education system may provide a translation and interpreter service to schools). Although the costs are relatively low, the impact of such innovations can be substantial in contributing to overcoming the barriers and misunderstandings that so often hinder relations between schools and their community members. From the perspective of the parents and community, these initiatives are often seen as an important effort by the school, indicating that their participation is valued.

### **(iii) Administrative and organizational supports**

So far, the discussion has focused primarily on the resource needs at the school level. However, many important innovations involve system-wide responses, including the appropriate physical infrastructure and equipment that can accommodate new pedagogical approaches that do not rely on the traditional teacher-centred ‘chalk and talk’ approach that has influenced the design of classrooms for many decades.

Administrative and organizational changes may also be needed if individual schools have very diverse minority populations that preclude them from offering language or other programmes targeting particular minority groups. A school may also commence offering a particular language programme but be unable to continue offering that language due to a reduction in student numbers or the transfer of the teacher. To avoid such situations, the education system may need to change its rules to allow students to move to a school that offers the language. Another administrative response may be to establish a cluster or grouping of schools that will co-ordinate their language offerings to allow students to continue with their language studies as they move from primary into secondary school. *Chapter IV* discussed other alternative delivery strategies, such as the use of distance education and Saturday schools. However, such innovations require administrative and organizational support, including provision of accommodation and staff. One of the tasks of educational planners

is to decide whether financially such solutions are preferable to other alternatives, such as providing separate schools. As already noted, in countries such as Malaysia where this has developed on a *de facto* basis, there is considerable debate about the social costs incurred when students lack contact with students from other backgrounds in their day-to-day education. Decisions regarding these alternatives are not easy. However, they can be made easier if the planners are able to refer to evaluation studies that examine the effects of a homogeneous school population on other objectives involved in planning educational responses to diversity.

### *Evaluation*

The importance of evaluation studies as a means of identifying relevant innovations and implementing them successfully has already been discussed. However, evaluation is often ignored or underrated in the planning process. Sometimes innovations are trialled as pilot programmes to identify the necessary modifications before being promoted more widely. Programmes that receive external funding often come with a requirement that they be evaluated. Unfortunately, such evaluations are all too often undertaken in a perfunctory manner, which does not provide the information that could be gained from a more thorough evaluation. This loss of potentially valuable information that could explain the success or failure of innovations is regrettable. Indeed, in multi-ethnic and multicultural situations it is important to determine the extent to which initiatives developed to address the needs of a particular minority, or groups of minorities, can be relatively easily translated into programmes that meet the needs of other groups.

Especially in the case of school-based innovations, this is particularly unfortunate. One of the benefits often claimed for school-based innovations is that they offer valuable flexibility, which allows individual schools to respond to their own specific needs. Furthermore, in contrast to top-down initiatives, which can face problems of acceptance and ownership at the school level, such bottom-up or grass-roots school-based initiatives are advocated as being less hindered by a lack of ownership among the participants. In the absence of adequate evaluation that identifies the factors contributing to success or failure, the opportunities to transfer a

successful school-based programme to other schools or to extend it throughout the education system are foregone.

Many forms of evaluation address different objectives. Ongoing evaluation and monitoring strategies are particularly valuable tools that can identify and solve difficulties in the implementation of innovations as they arise. However, the timeframe for evaluations of diversity-related innovations cannot solely be in the short term, as many of the educational objectives relating to diversity are long-term and it can take a long time for their effects to be evident. This is particularly the case where the objective is a change in attitudes and values, and not simply the acquisition of skills or particular items of knowledge. Another challenge of this type of educational innovation is that, by its very breadth and generality, it can be difficult to identify the key dimensions that indicate whether or not implementation is successful. However, simply because an objective is difficult to measure or evaluate does not mean that it should not be implemented. This problem is not unique to diversity-related innovations.

### *Institutionalization and beyond*

The institutionalization of successful innovations is an important outcome in educational planning. However, the processes involved can vary according to whether the innovations are top-down or grass-roots and school-based. While top-down strategies can be fairly easily imposed on education systems, they are also susceptible to resistance and to being undermined by those implementing them. Some of the strategies that can be used to overcome these have already been discussed above. In the case of grass-roots innovations, there are potentially fewer problems of 'ownership'. Instead, their challenge is to ensure their institutionalization and continuation in the school where they have been trialled, and their adoption in other schools where they could serve a valuable purpose. One of the most important factors affecting the success of both types of innovations is the support they receive from the principal and other school leaders. This is because it is these latter who control the distribution of resources and are responsible for key administrative decisions within the school. Efforts to gain their support are therefore crucial in effective implementation.

The institutionalization of a specific educational innovation relating to diversity does not necessarily signal the end of the process of educational change. Given the multifaceted and multidimensional nature of the issues involved in addressing diversity, a successful innovation is often the start of a long-term process of change. In outlining the stages of the change process, no particular area of change has been identified as the preferred starting point. This is because the impetus for change will arise in different ways and in relation to different parts of the education system. However, once a change has been made, it often provides a catalyst for further changes that are seen to add to the benefits or address the unintended consequences of the first change. A problem in the school playground may lead to consultation with parents and, subsequently, proposals to introduce language classes for minority students, more regular contact with mothers and a teaching assistant familiar with the minority group.

The importance of accepting that there is no one quick innovation that will 'solve' diversity-related issues needs to be complemented by flexibility in developing responses. In the short term, flexibility may be needed in adapting to a changing student population that introduces a new language and set of cultural experiences into the school. It is also needed to respond to transformation in the wider society caused by changing attitudes towards diversity. These changes can be towards greater acceptance of diversity by wider society, which in turn facilitates a refocusing of the emphases within the education system and the school's responses. Alternatively, significant events, such as those involving the attacks on the USA in September 2001 and more recently in Europe, including the bombings in Madrid and London, the murder of Dutch film-maker Theo van Gogh and the riots in the French suburbs as well as the violent riots in Australia which targeted Lebanese youth, have also become a catalyst for educational change. The focus here is on addressing problems associated with failures of society to realize the objectives of social harmony and cohesion.

Although it is not possible to set down a structured set of 'stages' through which schools can develop and expand their responses to diversity, certain common variations in how they include diversity within their activities can be identified. While the material below is not meant to be interpreted as constituting a necessary unilinear

progression, it highlights common features of more extensive commitments to developing a 'whole-of-school' response to the issues associated with diversity. The six major types of school-based responses to diversity listed below have been adapted from patterns found in Australian schools (Hannan, 1983) as follows:

1. A curriculum catering to diversity is seen to be one that helps minority children and the children of minority families to fit into the general society. This approach is common in schools that do not perceive themselves as having a minority student population. In such schools, their activities might involve school excursions to areas seen as reflecting minority cultures and activities. Their limitation is the potential to depict minorities as 'exotic others'.
2. A school programme is thought to cater to multicultural and multi-ethnic diversity by planning a number of discrete activities, some of which are outside the curriculum, such as 'ethnic nights' or 'international days'. While this approach involves recognition of diversity, it may remain superficial and not link these activities to other parts of the formal curriculum.
3. A more extensive curriculum response reflects an overall attitude to the subject matter and organization of the school. In this, it begins to resemble a whole-of-school approach. The danger, however, is that it will lead to the conclusion that either you have a right attitude and therefore will do the right thing, or that a range of disconnected and incoherent activities will be initiated and linked to the approved attitude without further justification.
4. An integrated curriculum catering for multicultural diversity is seen as a substitute for minority language programmes, because it reaches all students and provides them with an understanding of different cultures.
5. A diversity-related multicultural programme is seen as a necessary support and complement to a minority language programme.
6. A multicultural programme is seen as the introduction of a set of values to the conventional areas of the curriculum, thereby changing their content.

While it is easy to criticize some of these initiatives for their tokenism and limitations, they nevertheless constitute a basis for developing a more extensive commitment to changing the way in which schools and education systems respond to diversity in an inclusive and democratic fashion that also addresses issues of educational inequality and racism.

Whether these positive outcomes are achieved must, however, be seen as problematic. Changes adopted to address diversity in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies are not necessarily intended to have positive or benign outcomes for particular minorities. Instead, they may be implemented as part of a wider strategy to protect the interests of, or benefit, a particular ethnic group – typically the one that already enjoys a dominant position in the society. Even in the absence of such conscious intentions, these negativities may be the outcome of particular planning initiatives. The practical limitations of differentialist and assimilationist approaches to policy developments for interethnic relations have already been noted as a factor having led to a discussion of alternative ‘multiculturalist’ approaches to policy formulation and minority incorporation. However, the politicized nature of public debates about educational planning for diversity in many countries is often couched in terms of an assimilationist model. Regardless of whether the main political protagonists in the debates are aware of the limitations of the assimilationist model, their adherence to it constrains the policy options available to educational planners. Furthermore, since teachers and others in the school community are themselves part of the society where this debate is continuing, it also has implications for the way in which innovations perceived as not reflecting this model are received and implemented.

## VIII. The role of education in multicultural and multi-ethnic democracies

Implicit in the earlier chapters of this booklet is the view that education *can* make a positive difference in responding to the contemporary challenges posed by diversity. This is true even if the task is more complex than the general public and policy-makers often assume. This final chapter explores realistic expectations for education in contributing to the development and realization of multicultural and multi-ethnic democracies internationally. It will begin by briefly reviewing the features of such societies prior to exploring the limitations that hinder education from playing an autonomous role in the process. While there are limitations, there are also many features in contemporary education that help it to make an important contribution. After discussing these, attention is placed on the complementary role played by education in supporting initiatives in other institutional areas with the same objective. It is evident that no one area of public policy is by itself sufficient to ensure the growth and strength of democratic societies. However, education has a necessary role to play in this process.

### *Multicultural and multi-ethnic democracies*

The contemporary transformation of the international political, economic and social order has called into question the ability of societies and states to work with the former broad policy approaches of either the assimilationist or the differentialist models. From a practical perspective, they are clearly unable to deliver social harmony and stability. Yet this is the underlying national concern given the changes in the world order, and the changing aspirations and expectations of minority groups and individuals seeking alternative modes of incorporation. Particularly with regard to the assimilationist model, this is not to imply that the minority members do not wish to become full members of the society and enjoy the rights and responsibilities that ensue. However, they question the extent to which this should necessarily be on the condition that they abandon their own cultural heritage and take on that of the society

of residence, especially if in many areas of social life they find themselves marginalized or unable to enjoy full social citizenship despite their efforts to accommodate to the society.

As was noted at the very beginning of the booklet, Schermerhorn points out that social harmony and absence of conflict is ultimately dependent not on physical force or sanctions, but rather on an agreement between the majority and various minorities in society on the model of incorporation sought. The desirability of the assimilationist and differentialist models is also questioned by the international community's ethical and moral commitment to democracy. Democracy is understood in many different forms, ranging from a structural focus on the existence of elections and multiparty states to more abstract, rights-based definitions referring to the recognition and support of justice, equality and human rights. The philosophical debates surrounding the achievability of a multicultural citizenship are extremely important. However, from the viewpoint of both individuals in the minority and majority groups, and educational planners with the task of realizing the objectives of a democratic society, Gutmann's discussion of a democratic education based on her ideal of civic equality is particularly helpful. This is not least because she emphasizes that it operates with a "principled pragmatic core" (Gutmann, 2004: 90). Her approach to education in a multicultural society is that it is informed by a democratic ideal of civic equality, which requires that individuals be treated and treat one another as equal citizens, regardless of their gender, race, ethnicity or religion:

"Democratic education – publicly supported education that is defensible according to a democratic ideal – should educate children so that they are capable of assuming the rights and correlative responsibilities of equal citizenship, which includes respecting other people's equal rights. In short, democratic education should both express and develop the capacity of all children to become equal citizens" (Gutmann, 2004: 71).

Education can promote civic equality in two ways. The first is by expressing the democratic value of tolerating cultural differences that are consistent with civic equality, and the second is by recognizing the role that cultural differences have played in shaping society and

the world in which children live. By bringing together tolerance and recognition, she overcomes the counter-productive reliance on one or the other response:

“The first [i.e. tolerance] is privatizing differences in order to realize a public realm around principles – such as equal liberty and opportunity – that are often (misleadingly) called culturally neutral principles. The second option [i.e. recognition] is publicly recognizing differences and thereby dividing up the public realm into equally valuable but separatist cultural group identities” (Gutmann, 2004: 77).

The similarity between this description of competing options and the assimilationist and differentialist models described in this booklet are clear. Gutmann acknowledges that efforts to develop a democratic basis for education in multicultural societies is now a worldwide movement, albeit one that encounters a variety of cultural, socio-economic and political conditions, even in democratic countries. The claims made by minority groups are also varied. However, instead of seeking to differentiate between them in terms of whether they are voluntary or involuntary minorities (Ogbu, 1991; Kymlicka, 1995), Gutmann argues for the priority of civic equality as a means of determining claims for toleration and recognition between groups (Gutmann, 2004: 73). Equal treatment may not be sufficient to achieve civic equality for all groups. While some groups will need relatively little support, others with long histories of experiencing negative stereotyping and discrimination, such as many indigenous groups or long-established minorities, will in her view need not an alternative to civic equality, but rather creative interpretations of what it requires in educational practices and institutions (Gutmann, 2004: 93).

Absent from Gutmann’s discussion is any substantial treatment of inequality. However, it is clear from her brief reference to the limitations of what she describes as a ‘civic minimalism’, involving the principle of parental choice and its potential to contribute to civic ‘inequality’ (Gutmann, 2004: 88), that her arguments for civic equality encompass the more pragmatic and materially-focused discussions of educational inequality that have played such a major role in educational debates on catering for diversity. This is also

evident in her critique of the other alternative model to civic equality, which she terms 'communally-based schooling'. In this model, the democratic state subsidizes schooling while exercising little or no authority over the structure, curriculum or pedagogy of the schools, which operate as 'silos' separating each of the major cultural groups in society. This can result in these schools educating their students not for civic equality, but rather for subordination, unequal liberty and participation (Gutmann, 2004: 86-87).

Gutmann's discussion of the links between civic equality and democratic education are very clearly focused on the project of equality within the borders of a multicultural democratic state, with its consequent emphasis on achieving social justice. However, her approach does not preclude opportunities to also address the cosmopolitan dimensions of an increasingly multicultural world. Indeed, it is evident that the increasing range of international contacts and experiences are important dimensions that must be integrated into the focus of providing education that promotes civic equality. Not only must it be realized that culture is not itself static and inflexible; there is a need to move beyond an essentialist conception of culture that specifies cultural forms as immutable. It must also be acknowledged that individuals also change. They must have the choice to seek the form of incorporation that suits them, rather than automatically being assigned to a particular minority or ethnic group. This element of voluntarism is all the more important since, as a result of increasing interethnic mixing and marriage and residence in diverse countries, it is increasingly necessary to recognize that an individual's ethnic identity and cultural heritage is complex and difficult to encapsulate in a single 'policy' label such as 'visible minority', North African or Chinese. Banks highlights how one of the important challenges in educating young people for citizenship lies in the way in which the individual is now involved in a range of cultural, national and global identifications and attachments that affect behaviour and are influenced by many diverse factors (Banks, 2004: 8-9). The key point that he shares with Gutmann is that, in these situations, the existence of non-reflective and unexamined cultural attachments can prevent the development of a cohesive nation with clearly defined national goals and policies. The role of democratic education is thus to overcome these issues of identity. As Gutmann

and others have recognized, this is not an easy task. However, there can also be a productive tension in the debates between those who argue respectively for tolerance or recognition. As she writes, “it is a reasonable democratic hope that disagreement within the bounds of equal toleration and recognition will be on balance creative” (Gutmann, 2004: 75).

### *Limitations of education in introducing social change*

Two major factors limit the ability of education to introduce substantial social change. The first reflects the extent to which educational institutions and practices are embedded in the wider society and its institutions. The second relates to the nature of the educational enterprise, in particular that it involves a lengthy process of both knowledge and skill acquisition as well as attitudinal change.

The issue of education being embedded within the larger society has several effects that impact on its potential to change society. The first concerns the way in which teachers, students, parents and the community do not come to the school as *tabula rasa*. They have preconceptions and experiences that relate to how they consider that issues of diversity should be settled and worked through in the larger society, including in the school. Their existing cultural baggage includes attitudes and perceptions of the diverse groups who constitute their multi-ethnic and multicultural society. Often, these may be at variance with the aims and objectives of the school and efforts by educators and planners to innovate and change these very attitudes and stereotypes. Given that in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies the major focus is as much on changing attitudes and perceptions as on imparting skills and knowledge (itself socially constructed), the process of change is likely to be extremely complex and involve successfully overcoming these negativities, even while they may be supported by influences outside the school.

Another dimension of the limitations associated with education’s lack of autonomy operates in a somewhat different direction, related to the way in which education is only partially embedded in the wider society. The result is that, as students progress from the world of school to the adult world, other factors may intervene to undermine or

redirect the immediate transfer of school and educational attainment from its anticipated trajectory into the adult world. This in itself may not be undesirable where it allows for alternative routes to success. Concerns exist where it involves individuals facing discrimination, which deflects them from their aspirations and expectations.

A further limitation of education's ability to be actively involved in promoting social change is related to the many years it may take for the full effects of education to be realized. While it is true that specific information and skills may be transferred to students relatively effectively and promptly, this is not necessarily the case when we consider the important role of education in constructing attitudes and values. This involves a far longer process, akin in many ways to (re)socialization. In contrast, the events that may turn attention to education as a potentially important source of change can often involve a sudden and relatively clear event that acts as a watershed affecting society's approach to diversity. Thus, the events of 11 September 2001, the 2004 murder of Dutch film-maker Theo Van Gogh, the 2005 bombings in the London underground and the riots in the French suburbs have all turned attention to the potential for education to deal with the social problems underlying them. However, it is not only a matter of educational bureaucracies and schools not being able to respond so promptly. It is also that it will take a long time for the effects of their responses to become fully visible.

When considering the assumed limitations of education to address problems of inequality and conflict in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies, all too often those outside the education system presume that the deficiencies and problems in catering for diversity will be overcome by changing the structures of education, or by introducing new curriculum subjects or approaches. As was evident in earlier chapters, this is to overlook the very real significance for their success of how such innovations are implemented. At the most obvious level of difficulty, it is impossible to run an adequate bilingual education programme without teachers who speak both of the languages involved in the programme. Similarly, initiatives that require teachers to adopt a less traditional pedagogical style may fail either because of resistance to change or due to lack of confidence in their skills to use the new pedagogy.

### *Reducing the limitations on social change*

One of the first factors that helps education compensate for some of the limitations just described is that it does have some degree (though varying and often small) of autonomy. As a result, there is scope for varied factors to contribute to the potential for change. In the case of educational responses to diversity, one of the first considerations is that recent decades have led to the accumulation of knowledge about the process involved in education. This directly affects attempts to implement changes in the curriculum and pedagogy involving not just knowledge, but also attitude change. The increasing sophistication can be invaluable when seeking strategies for effective innovation.

Another element favouring change is where there has been social mobility involving students from minority backgrounds. Particularly as they enter the teaching profession and gain access to more senior roles in the education system, they are well placed to act as a bridge between the needs and aspirations of minority students and communities, and the objectives of the school system. The process is not unproblematic, since successful individuals may also start from the meritocratic premise that if they managed to succeed professionally without any particular assistance, others from their background should be able to do the same. Even if this less-than-positive commitment to act as change agents exists, their presence alone in school is important. This is because they provide role models for students, who see them as examples of successful individuals.

A third factor supporting educational change is that changes in other policy areas and parts of society can support and reinforce efforts for educational change. These may be closely related to how the effects of education on earlier cohorts of students are reflected in their lives outside the classroom and after they leave school. Where students from the dominant social groups and majority have been influenced by the civic equality ideals of education, they can then implement them in their day-to-day lives in institutions where they can influence the reform and modification of these institutional structures. In the case of minority students, an important effect can come when they gain confidence and see themselves as able to take

an active role in deciding their future, instead of adopting a passive and victim-oriented approach to it.

One of the somewhat paradoxical factors that can contribute to a greater role for education occurs where emergencies or the recognition of the existence of ‘problems’ lead to renewed interest in how education may contribute to potential ‘solutions’. In the case of the 2005 French riots, one of the immediate responses was to consider the need for educational change to address the situation. While such sudden events obviously put considerable pressure on education to deliver solutions, they do ensure that consideration is given to making available resources for educational interventions. Even more importantly, they can create a climate where there is considerable public support for change to occur not only in education, but also in many other areas of society.

A final area of support for educational interventions and initiatives comes from the international arena. This includes direct pressures associated with the implementation of international treaties and calls for respect of various human rights. A somewhat different influence comes from the perceived advantages promoted by businesses and other institutions. This sector aims to apply the skills and advantages of the entire population to the new patterns of economic relations and trade. In Australia, one of the three main dimensions of rights incorporated alongside the rights to cultural maintenance and social justice was that of economic efficiency. While the actual label was a response to the dominant model of economic rationalism driving Australian economic policy, the basis of this principle was that all Australians should have the right to develop and use their skills and potential to the benefit of all. It provided a more directly commercially-oriented policy of ‘productive diversity’, which was intended to convince those from the majority group that they could benefit alongside minority groups if there was a mutual working together for economic benefits.

### *Complementary institutional support in a changing society*

In discussing the factors that can facilitate the work of education in contributing to social change, we noted that changes in other parts

of society can support the role of education. However, some might potentially counter the effects of educational change. One obvious area of support comes from sections of society such as the family, which provides a child's primary socialization and introduction into society. Religion is another institutional area with a direct interest in the training and ethical and moral development of children. How religious groups fulfil their role can vary considerably. However, when their concerns focus on social justice issues, they can play an important role by weight of their moral force, even in societies where there is an emphasis on the separation of church and state. The media also has the potential to play a significant positive role in constructing the terms of public debates on diversity-related issues, including positive attitudes and questioning stereotypes.

Economic institutions can also make a positive contribution. This is most likely to occur when they see a benefit from the perspective of their own material interests. This can occur when a skills shortage is identified and a decision made to offer training to the local minority population to increase their human resources, rather than to pursue other alternatives such as importing labour or moving to less labour-intensive methods of business. An even more concrete contribution that complements the role of education in change involves the government implementing laws and regulations that contribute to civic equality. These include access to citizenship and anti-discrimination and anti-racism strategies. One of the difficulties attached to legal change is that while it can create the preconditions for major behavioural change, with the potential that follows from this to influence public attitudes, it often remains a very blunt instrument whose effect is most evident only at very gross levels of change. In this, it resembles the effects of politicians and decision-makers who focus their attention on educational structures.

While there are limitations in each of these 'alternative' strategies for change (or resistance to it), they do have the potential to complement the role of education. This highlights the importance of recognizing that no one policy area has all the answers to address the changes required. The advantages of co-ordination are potentially very significant, but unlikely to be realized unless there is a direct policy commitment by government to a multiculturalist model or

other model closely related to the civic equality model advocated by Gutmann.

### *Conclusion*

An awareness of the challenges for education in the contemporary world, where the problematic impact of diversity has re-emerged as a major social and political concern, has resulted in a plethora of writing directed at educational policy-makers and planners. The analytical and normative nature of the discussion has taken two somewhat different directions. On the one hand, we have accounts that analyze policy in general as well as comparative terms. Their aim is to identify policies that can sustainably achieve the national objectives of social harmony and absence of conflict in the context of political and economic nation building, while ensuring equality and inclusion for individuals without unnecessarily sacrificing their cultural diversity. At the opposite level of generality are detailed recommendations and recipes for school-based changes. Both are important. What they lack, and what this book has attempted to provide, is a link between the broad generality of policies strong on policy identification but not implementation, and the specifics of implementation, which often downplay the relevance of the context where they are to be implemented. In doing so, its intention is to identify the educational practices and institutions that lend themselves to the creative interpretations noted by Gutmann (2004) as necessary to meet the differing needs of all groups to achieve civic equality.

This has been done by first outlining the circumstances that have led to diversity becoming an inescapable part of education. Public education is increasingly expected to accommodate students from ever more diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Much of this change is a result of increasingly varied and extensive flows of international migrants. In many instances, long-established minorities and indigenous populations are moving from their territorial concentrations into the major cities alongside these immigrant groups. Even where this is not the case, their expectations about their place in national society is changing, requiring altered responses from policy-makers and planners. The other challenges relate to education's role in preparing all students to confront their

own, changed society as well as the wider international world. In addressing these challenges, three interrelated foci affect youth. These are: first, overcoming the disadvantage experienced by minority youth; second, ensuring that all young people gain from the changes within their own society associated with increasing diversity; and thirdly, ensuring that all young people can take advantage of increasing international opportunities to contribute to their own and the nation's growth and development. All too often, the challenges are posed in negative terms, with education being asked to solve problems rather than maximize opportunities for both minorities and majorities. The latter perspective, which aligns with the transformatory role of education, is often overlooked.

This booklet has examined the varied responses that take place at different levels of education, from the national or system level down to that of the school. It has also considered the role played by language- and non-language-oriented educational responses. Given the varied responses available, the previous chapter asked how policy-makers and planners realize their objectives in developing appropriate, viable and sustainable responses. The conclusion was that there is no one answer and that it is impossible to generalize. However, multilevel and multidimensional strategies that contribute to an ongoing cumulative response are important. In this chapter, while taking into account the valuable lessons learnt from analysis and evaluation of existing initiatives, we have examined what it is reasonable to expect from education. The four case studies examined in *Chapter VI* demonstrate Gutmann's point that "[d]emocracies are variously multicultural, and the varieties of groups make a difference in the kind of education and the progress toward civic equality that can be realistically expected at any time" (Gutmann, 2004: 94). That said, while educational planners should not expect a simple answer to the complex problem of achieving unity amidst diversity in a democratic society, they have an important role to play in ensuring that the outcomes of encountering diversity becomes a positive, rather than a negative, experience for students and all members of society.

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