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ABSTRACT
               The various ways in which countries use their
educational systems to socialize ethnic minorities to the dominant
culture is the topic of this paper. Different approaches countries
have taken toward the education of minorities are identified. In the
"recognition approach," the rights of minority languages, culture,
and education are acknowledged in national constitutions; for
example, India. The "unification approach" has been used in cases of
common nationality while preserving different languages and cultures
of minority groups. Tanzania and its official language Kiswahili
provide an example of this approach. In the "integration approach,"
schools, language, and external pressure are brought to bear on the
immigrant to integrate into the mainstream of the homogeneous
society. The United States, Canada, and Australia have utilized this
approach in recent history. The "laissez-faire" approach is prevalent
.'older countries that have had an influx of immigrants but chose to
ignore them until problems became acute and something had to be done.
Great Britain is cited as a classic example of this approach. The
paper seeks to clarify the concepts of multicultural education and
intercultural education, and discusses the problems multicultural
education has encountered in trying to achieve legitimation.
(Contains 33 references.) (DB)

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Kingsley Banya

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Education is regarded as an instrument of selection and a source of economic and political power, as well as a means for molding the character of a state, e.g. providing a system of education to meet the needs of a culturally diverse population has been a recurring issue in American education. To secure the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—the inalienable rights ——one of the major delivery systems was education (Male, 1974). Education was considered necessary for the promotion of the moral, social and economic development of the citizenry and the proper functioning of the new democratic system. The institution of a system of education, however, posed a problem. The crux of the problem, then as now, arose from the realization that the citizenry was a diverse group in spite of its basically western European origins, and that this diversity encompassed class, caste and ethnicity.

Education can preserve or promote change, depending on how the system is organized, who formulates and adopts policies, and what purpose it is intended to serve. The politics of decision-making in relation to the diversity and unity in education differs from one country to another. There is no final solution as to what is universally valid. What aspect of a national culture should be included in the curriculum is a problem policy-makers and educators have to grapple with (Bullivant, 1984). In

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the socialization of ethnic minorities to the dominant culture,
political and educational systems intersect. This policy concern
applies not only to the new nations, but every modern nation is
similarly engaged. This article examines this phenomenon in
selected countries and indicates its utility for developing the
social-political theory of dealing with the minorities. The
cultural forces of the ethnic minority can be language (Walloons
in Belgium on the Multilanguage sectiors of Switzerland),
sometimes sect (the Judaic differences within Israel) and
sometime a "native" culture (Ainns of Japan, Lapps of
Scandinavia). The second part of the paper deals with some of
the problems that multicultural education encounters in order to
achieve legitimation. The paper begins with clarifications of
the concepts of multicultural and intercultural education.

WHAT IS MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION?

There are many conceptualizations of multicultural
education--it means different things to different people--the
literature is replete with definitions that reflect the
coexistence of cultural diversity (Brown, 1988; Lynch, 1989;
Boulding, 1988; Sleeter & Frank, 1987; Secada, 1990; Ogbu, 1990;
and Gibson, 1991). One of the more definitive delineations is
that given by the American Association for Colleges of Teacher
Education (AACTE) in "No One Model America: A Statement of
Multicultural Education:

Multicultural education is education which values cultural

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pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that
schools should seek to melt away cultural pluralism.
Instead, Multicultural Education affirms that schools should
be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children
and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and
extension of cultural alternatives (1979:36).

Lately Multicultural Education has taken on new dimensions,
such as empowerment of the individual, and social, economic and
environmental goals at community and national levels. A delicate
balance is drawn between the rights and needs of the individual
and social responsibilities of others, seeking to facilitate a
creative and satisfying citizenship in an evolving democratic
society (Lynch, 1991). The combination of individual rights and
societal responsibility has not always been achieved. This has
led to the new concept of intercultural education.

With intercultural education the emphasis shifts.
Given the numbers of migrant groups that have come to participate
at the least in the economy of a particular nation, schools are
under an obligation to teach about the cultures of each group and
to permit each group to maintain many elements of its own culture
including language. Intercultural education has been proposed as
a remedy or alternative especially appropriate given the mix of
nationalities found today in most industrial countries. (Rey,
1786).

Intercultural education has been built on the recognition
that the prevailing migration phenomenon place different cultures

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in contact. The resultant interdependence precludes nationalism or isolationism. Hence it behooves schools to focus on the culture of each group whose children are in attendance for their benefit and the benefit of the others that share a classroom or school. "Intercultural education....concerns all children, all teachers, the whole school community and the whole of school life, all the subjects taught and all parents and partners in education, both in the host countries and in the countries of origin" (Rey, 1986, p. 14). The intercultural encounters are seen as enriching rather than divisive.

Intercultural education lays a foundation for the acceptance of cultural differences as well as for the identification of similarities. "It is important to know that the group to which one belongs is neither the center nor the summit of the world" (Leurin, p. 9) Intercultural education is conceptualized as process and action based, for the reality of interdependence spells a need for interaction among cultural groups inside and outside one's own nation. For example, The Council for Cultural Cooperation (CDCC), the educational arm of the Council of Europe, in its Project No. 7, "The education and cultural development of migrants", arrived at eleven proposals for the implementation of intercultural education. Some of the key proposals are:

a. The intercultural approach means a mutual recognition
    between cultures of origin and host cultures, and
    between the various cultural expressions (of the

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migrants and the indigenous population) in a single community. These cultures are never static, but creative; they change according to the interactions at work...

b. Recognition of the equal value of different cultures must not obscure the fact that in reality they exist in the context of relations or economic, political and cultural dominance, that is to say the cultures of the host countries are in a position of dominance with regard to the cultural expressions of migrants and the cultures of their countries of origin. In a democratic and pluralist perspective it is therefore important that the school, through the power of legitimation vested in it, should confer enhanced status on the cultures of migrants and their countries of origin. It can do this by the place it gives to the various languages and cultures and by the interest it shows in them...

c. Since children of different cultures today learn together in schools, it is important that all pupils should be able to experience communication with others in a real and positive way, that is to say that both migrant and indigenous children should be able to share the same experience and feel equally accepted, a _sine qua non_ for the development of their own tolerance.

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d. A necessary precondition for learning is communication between school, family, the social environment in which the children live and the whole community, both migrant and indigenous (Rey, 1986:p33).

The last two guidelines for intercultural education posit the plea (1) for cooperation between countries of origin and host countries to reduce problems arising from cultural and economic differences in schooling and (2) for appropriate teacher education (Rey, 1986).

While intercultural education and multicultural education differ there is an overlap when it comes to implementation. This has to do with cultural differences found among students in a single classroom. The practices that have been initiated by different nations in this regard are informative. The typologies used here are for analytical purposes only. Within each country, there will be different interpretations of policy. With this caveat a brief discussion of each typology follows:

RECOGNITION APPROACH: The rights of minority languages, culture, and education are recognized in national constitutions, e.g., India. Faced with a multitude of languages and dialects, approximately 826 in 22 different states, at independence, the Indian government had to make language policy in three areas, viz. (a) official language(s) for administrative and official work, (b) medium of instruction and language of study in schools and colleges, and (c) development and promotion of languages and scripts as part of the preservation of the national culture

(Singh, 1986). Provisions were made in the 1947 indepe..ent constitution to accommodate the language problem---e.g. **Article 343** - sanctions Hindi as the official language of the union, at the same time English was to continue as the official language for 15 years. **Article 345** allows various state legislatures to adopt regional languages or Hindi for all or any official purposes of the state --- 15 official languages. **Article 30** allows linguistic minorities to set up schools and apply for government grants/aid (Chaudri, 1968). While India remains besite with problems related to minority issues, legal protection is provided for all. The issue of implementing laws that protect minorities is one that all nations face.

UNIFICATION APPROACH has been used in cases of common nationality while preserving different languages and culture of minority groups. Schooling however is through a different language, e.g. Tanzania and Kiswahili. Kiswahili---Arabic origin--was the lingua-franca of the east African coastal strip in the early 19th century. Despite two colonial experiences---German and British---the language has survived and is today the official language of Tanzania (Oliver and Mathew, 1962). The fact that Kiswahili is an amalgamation of various dialects, makes it appealing to various ethnic groups, since it belongs to no one group in particular. The language was effectively used in Tanzania's drive for independence from colonial rule. The fact that Kiswahili is written gives it additional advantage. This is in sharp contrast to other countries in Africa, especially West

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Africa, where English or French is still the dominant language, and where the use of local languages are treated either with hostility or severely frowned upon.

INTEGRATION APPROACH. In this context, the schools, language, and external pressure are brought to bear on the immigrant to integrate into the mainstream of the homogeneous society. The assumption is that it is only through integration that the immigrant can fully benefit from the prevailing social system. This used to be the policy in the U.S.A., Canada, and Australia (Wirt, 1979; Keholu, 1982). In Australia for a long time the "myth of homogeneity" dominated the educational system. Blatant assimilationist policy was pursued on the assumption that Anglo-Saxon was best. While earlier waves of immigrants accepted cultural dominance with relative passivity, in the late 1970s, postwar immigrants, displaced persons, often highly qualified in their own cultures, rebelled against their treatment. Since the late 1970s, efforts have been made through the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs to promote a cohesive Australian society through the sharing of diverse cultures (Bullivart, 1984; Ogbu, 1983).

It is worth observing that assimilation does not in itself help social mobility; if a dominant majority wishes to exclude a minority and refuses to share certain kinds of jobs with it, it can continue to do so, no matter how culturally assimilated the group might become, e.g. the Jews in Nazi Germany and the

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holocaust; the Welsh of Britain (Wirt, 1979). A loss of core
elements in an ethnic culture does not itself guarantee equality
of treatment in occupational and social life, e.g. second
generation black Canadians (Wilson, 1990). Even where schools
overlay most aspects of ethnic minority behavior, this is not
likely to obliterate all traces of ethnic origin such as surname,
physical looks and mannerism and cultural residues. Minorities
can still be identified as not belonging to a majority group
despite valiantly trying to embrace dominant culture in its
entirety. African Americans have lost most traces of their
African cultural past but are not made any more acceptable to the
dominant group. Ogbu (1986) refers to their "caste-like
minority" status within America despite nearly three hundred
years of experience. The concept of assimilation also posit
problems for analytical and empirical purposes. With total
assimilation, any sense of distinction from the dominant culture
is lost, e.g. the Pomeranians of the Pre Unity Germany. Thus for
analytical purposes, the minority must have some visibility in
social and political life, meaning some differences fron the
dominant culture. .7

The **LAISSEZ-FAIRE APPROACH** is prevalent in older countries
who have had an influx of immigrants but chose to ignore them
until problems became acute and something had to be done. The
official policy pursued is laissez-faire, with the decision left
to individual local authorities. The British are a classic
example of this approach (DES, 1988; Lynch, 1986; Jeffcoate,
1979; Wirt, 1979). Since World War II Britain increasingly
became a multiracial society. Not only has the country served as

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a haven for political refugees from the Third Reich, and
subsequently from Eastern Europe and then the Middle East, but
Britain also has received, albeit often reluctantly, people from
her former colonial empire. People from Third World countries
are now well represented among Britain's resident population,
especially West Indians, Indians and Pakistanes.

The DES (Department of Education and Science) for many years
used "in-explicitness" as a policy preference--thus denying that
a problem existed, distinctions were kept as blurred as possible;
officially, the relevance of color was minimized; no special
educational programs were in placed, aimed directly as non-
whites, and race played only an inexplicit part in the policy
making calculus (Male, 1980; Rose et al 1969; Kirp, 1979). For
example, DES started out by using the term "immigrant problem",
it qiuckly became the "colored immigrant problem", and now
frequently in Britain is referred to as the "education of
blacks", meaning not only the West Indians but also immigrants
from India and Pakistan. Even today (1992) race is tacitly
understood but not mandated as "social need". The DES rationale
was that given time, things will work out; all efforts were seen
as unnecessary and possibly harmful. The major reports of the
60's and 70's, (i.e. The Robbins Report, 1963, The Newson Report,
1965; The Plowder report, 1967 and The Green paper, 1977) made
only passing reference to minority issues. In many of the
reports, only a sentence or so was devoted to the education of
"Blacks".

The 1980's brought some changes in official policy, for
example: While the Government's Swann Report (1985) in

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educational issues related to minority population implied that
cultural pluralism was the goal and not assimilation into the
dominant English culture, practices in London schools often
believe that position (DES, 1985).

There have been some local developments to address the issue
of racism. For example, the Inner London Education Authority has
adopted a city-wide policy of "positive help" for all ethnic
minorities in a context of "cultural pluralism" (IlEA, 1988).
The Institute for Race Relations has made efforts to publicize
racism in the country. Local developments, positive as they are,
have come too late and cover too little. Signs of separatist
development in light of lack of government policy and continuous
racism, are discernible, e.g. Muslims and Hindu group have
established separate High Schools and there is talk of eventually
having a complete system with universities, and teacher training
institutes (Taylor, 1974). Militant groups have arisen among the
various minority groups with a view of violently opposing the
established system. This is seen for example in the race riots
of the summer of 1984.

The second part of this paper discusses some of the
dilemmas in multicultural education. One of the pressing issues
is that of legitimation. The amorphous character and undefined
parameters of multicultural education have raised questions of
legitimacy. This nebulous situation has led both its advocates
and opponents to raise several basic questions: Is multicultural
education a discipline of ethnic studies? Is it a philosophy?
Is it cognitive or affective, or both? Is it compensatory
education for minority racial groups? Is it a panacea for the

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ills of minority students?

Another issue is that of what **structure** multicultural education should follow. Should it be operationalized as a group of separate ethnic studies? There is a danger that the very nature of their separateness will fall short of the multicultural ideal and may result in what Cuban (1987) calls "educational enclaves without introducing substantive changes." The original reason for starting multicultural education was largely as a palliative to minority demands, and it was designed basically to pacify rather than educate.

The **division** between bilingual education, global education, gender, handicap, social class and multicultural education needs to be re-examined. This dichotomy has led to the tragedy of individuals who are committed to these areas aligning themselves against each other along the false line of demarcation and expending their energies fighting each other for inadequate resources. The ignoring of the prima facie relationship between culture and language is saddening. Language is not just a component of culture, its very essence comes from culture.

There is an urgent need to distinguish **compensatory** education from multicultural education. Compensatory education is improving the school environment with remedial programs and special activities which can compensate for many of the disadvantages experienced by all students and can result in more effective learning and greater educational achievement. In the past, and to some extent even now, minority students, for

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whatever reasons have been assigned to this type of education.

The lack of suitable educational **materials** is another issue.
At present the educational market is flooded with the coloring
game and the materials reek of velvet racism, i.e. many books
have added a black face here, a brown face there, without any
fundamental change in the text. What is needed is culturally
pluralistic materials, not tokens (Whitehead, 1988; Elkin &
Triggs, 1986).

Funding is always a problem in education and is made doubly
so when a program relies on "soft monies"--federal government,
corporations and the surplus "crisis" funds in the budgets of
school districts. Multicultural education exists on such soft
money--especially Title 9 of Heritage Act in the U.S.A. How will
the programs sustain their existence when grants are fewer as the
cross-cultural crisis abates? To be truly successful hard money
is needed to support multicultural education. Multicultural
education has never been targeted for federal funding, its
development has been subsidized from related areas such as Ethnic
Studies, Bilingual education and Teacher Corps. The 1980's has
not been an auspicious decade to seek funding for multicultural
education.

Another vexing issues is who should be the **recipients** of
this type of education. Many believe it is for minority children
only--this is not true. Multicultural Education is for <u>all</u>
children. It is crucial for efforts in this direction to begin
in the schools, if not in the homes. Teacher Education

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Institutions have a special role to play in this as NCATE
(National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education) seems
to agree, i.e. Multiethnic courses or experiences for teacher
education students is a prerequisite for a school to be
accredited (NCATE, 1990).

Finally who should teach multicultural programs? It is the
belief of many in the educational world that unless a person is a
member of a minority group, he/she cannot be a valid instructor
in multicultural education-- "experience philosophy syndrome."
This question is paramount in terms of teacher education,
especially when one realizes the large number of teachers
teaching minority students and not having the necessary skills
and competencies to provide a culturally pluralistic program.
The typical elementary teacher, is white, female, middle class,
with a narrow cultural base. In order to avoid ethnocentrism, it
is important that all teachers have a culturally diverse
repertoire of experiences, thus enabling them not only to relate
positively to a multicultural population, but also to be able to
provide multicultural experiences for their students. The NCATE
prerequisite is a necessary first step. However, to make it
worthwhile it should be treated as the core of a teacher training
program not an "add on." The programs need to be
reconceptualized to include as a basic component an underlying
philosophy of cultural pluralism. It is not enough to just
espouse multicultural education or make the overt gestures like
celebrating ethnic festivals and holidays featuring song and

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dance, cooking and tasting ethnic foods, or national costume
shows, exotic places which obscure more subtle, implicit, and
invisible differences.

Teachers, in particular, must be especially sensitive in
what they say or do in and out of class, to avoid unconscious
remarks that can be interpreted as racism, e.g. a student asks a
teacher if a class is easy, the teacher answers "I don't know but
most of the football players take it" or a teacher says in a
class of diverse cultural and ethnic students, "I see no color
and I treat all my students the same." The teacher would not
label herself/himself as racist. On the contrary, the teacher
would probably veheme: ly deny racism. The teachers' actions,
however are racist (Gay, 1982).

It is imperative that those concerned with minority
education take into consideration the compatibility or
incompatibility of the home and school cultures of minority
culture children. The minority culture members should not be the
only ones to develop competence in the dominant culture, it
should be vice versa. The present reform movement in teacher
education e.g.--The Holmes Group project--fails to address the
issue seriously. In West Germany for instance, it is possible to
major in education of minority children at several teacher
colleges.

What is the state of the field at present in the U.S.? It
seems that multicultural education is not progressing as quickly
as in the late 60s and 70s. Policy making in the area seems to

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be stagnant or in limbo. What little resurgence is toward
process oriented study not content, i.e. infusion into existing
curricula. There is little discussion of policy. The
conservative agenda and the move by some state to declare English
as the official language indicate little progress. In some areas
the civil rights gains of the 60s and 70s have been rolled back,
e.g., the reduction/elimination of special recruiting and
assistance programs; lessened federal emphasis on Affirmative
Action coupled with changes in federal aid from grants to loans
may be reducing minority enrollments at universities--there was a
decline in the Black student population from 9.4% in 1976 to 6.6%
in 1986 and the trend points to slight improvement. The
percentage increase is now 10% (CES, 1991). Blacks have become
endangered species at universities.

Racial incidents at campuses all over the country, limiting
enrollment of certain ethnic groups in the sciences points to the
sad state of affairs in race relations. The continuous
dependence of blacks on affirmative action underscores their
caste-like status despite all the social and legislative programs
of the early 1960s.

Conclusion

This paper has set forth a heuristic framework for
understanding basic pattern in the efforts of nation - states to
achieve some degree of understanding of minority issues. The
cases studies illuminate a basic typology and suggest several
modes of interaction developed from a basic paradigm. The

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typology rests upon minority acceptance of dominant values and
minority acceptance into the decision – making subsystems of the
dominant culture.

The world culture is multifaceted; each facet is essential
to its totality and to heighten its richness. If the manifest
function of education is to transmit the cultural heritage it
must recognize the multifaceted nature of that heritage. It
seems, therefore, that schools should become more responsive to
cultural pluralism and committed to multicultural education as
the vehicle for achieving goals consistent with the needs of the
clientele they serve. We do live in a culturally pluralistic
society and our strength lies not in our ability to mold everyone
to the same pattern, but in our ability to draw from our unique
differences for the common good. The need for multicultural
education can not be over stated.

These are indications that education must function within a
changing social scene that is aware of and sensitive to cultural
diversity and, at the same time, it must realize that all
cultures interact with and may have implicit commonalities with
all others. Education must recognize the importance of educating
individuals to behavior that reflects commonalities. The
schools, therefore, must concern themselves with the preparation
of individuals to live in a society and world of varied races,
cultures and life styles.

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