

19 Citizenship and Intercultural Education in an International and Comparative Context

Jagdish S. Gundara

THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT FOR SOCIAL COHESION

An accumulation of societal changes around the globe have placed education systems in a series of quandaries. Educators are being asked to implement policies that will enhance social cohesion in contexts where social identities of citizens and non-citizens range from being hybrid in multiple as well as singular ways. These identities do not necessarily have any biological dimensions, despite assertions by a former chief schools inspector of schools, who states that children of middle-class professionals have "better genes" (*The Guardian*, May 19, 2009). In other words, working class children singular identities which made them only able to follow practical subjects. All of them raise extremely complex issues for educators. There is also an enormous amount of stress on the rights of the children and people in general. However, teachers, schools and the curricula are not prepared to deal with these complex issues because the politicians have abrogated from their own responsibilities by not developing inclusive, socially cohesive and equality-based public and social policies. Schools and teachers generally do not have supportive legislative and legal environments in which to develop effective teaching and learning strategies within currently complex and unequal societies (Gundara, 2003).

There are also differences in the way certain international legal instruments are not accepted, let alone constitutionalized within nation states. Hence, whereas Britain is a signatory to the Convention of the Rights of the Child and has been chastised for not doing enough for the rights and welfare of children, the United States (along with Somalia) is not even a signatory to this Convention. It is, therefore, not possible to ascertain whether in international terms there are any salient differences or similarities between the rights and welfare of children in Britain or the United States. In the extremely complex area of human rights, Britain is subject to the European Convention of Human Rights, but not many teachers are familiar with the Convention. Most international legal instruments present serious challenges in theoretical and practical terms for being constitutional at the nation state level.

Ministries of Education and planners of curricula have failed to fully consider implications of much of the international legal instruments and changes in various fields at the global level. Educational policies and practices in general lag behind the rapidly changing needs of the new generations of learners. Teacher 'trainers' and their institutions still merely 'train' teachers rather than provide them with professional competencies through rigorous intercultural teacher education. This is partly because teacher 'trainers' are themselves not sufficiently knowledgeable or prepared to educate teachers with the intercultural skills, knowledge and understandings that are necessary for the complex, changing multicultural global world.

This chapter will focus largely on these issues within the British context and point to the gaping holes between the overarching theoretical and conceptual issues relevant to the educational domain, as well as the actual practices which are totally inadequate in meeting complex educational challenges. The 1996 Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, entitled *Learning: The Treasure Within* (UNESCO/ICE, 1996), is considered to be a major document to provide the educational systems with a learning framework for this century. The Commission outlined four pillars of education: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. However, the Commission stressed the need to learn not only to live together but also to live together with 'others.'

In an increasingly complex local, regional, national and global context, there are very few educational institutions that can implement these UNESCO Commission principles. This is because the education systems are based within 'sovereign national state systems' and do not have the flexibility of dealing with the challenges represented by societal multiculturalism at the global level. They are not able to meet the need for layered Intercultural Educational policies and principles to enhance both the legitimacy of diversities and address inequalities, as well as confront layers of societal and citizenship values. No single nation state has a monopoly on developing inclusive civic literacy and citizenship power. As an example, whereas the Nova Scarman Trust works in civil society empowering ordinary citizens in Britain, there is a great deal to be learnt from the work developed by the late Professor Otto Feinstein of Wayne State University, working with local community groups in the area of Detroit, Michigan. Both of these organizations deal with issues of politics that require praxis, combining thought and action. Professor Feinstein developed his practice within local communities over a decade of teaching political science classes at the university (Chesney & Feinstein, 1997).

Discussions about the need for social cohesion and inclusion in a multicultural British society are taking place at a time when powers have devolved to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This provides an opportunity and a challenge to develop ideas about social cohesion, especially if the imagination of young people can be captured because they are frequently

reported to be disaffected with the socialization process. Paradoxically, neither the political nor the educational elites have a clear understanding of these complex historical and contemporary diversities. They continue to stress the contemporary dimensions of diversity through migration but ignore their linkages with the historically based features of social diversity. It is, therefore, important to underscore that community and social cohesion is not as yet something on which there is any common understanding. This chapter does not provide formal definitions but directions in which educators can actualize some of these principles. Therefore, this contribution is being delivered in the spirit of examining issues to establish a more common ground for discussion. The common framework can subsequently be used to develop policies and practices which can help to negate exclusions from societal institutions at many levels.

Here is an intention to develop a few ideas based on historical and contemporary aspects of multiculturalism and their relevance to inclusion, which can be integrative of issues of identities, citizenship and human rights, particularly in the educational context. Issues of identity, whether in its singular or multiple forms, are relevant for considering issues of social cohesion. Within complex democratic societies where globalization and technological changes may be leading to high levels of unemployment, democracies, democratic engagement and democratic institutions are subject to great stress. The need to deepen democracy entails a critical appraisal of the issues of societal diversity, equalities and the development of collaborative community participation in the public domain and public institutions. Such strategies of collaboration open up discussions about the belongingness of diverse groups in a society and its institutions (Gundara, 1993).

HUMAN RIGHTS AND CITIZENSHIP

Access to good education is a human right, and this entitlement to education includes acquisition of an understanding of the concepts of children's and human rights, as well as education which prepares young people to become good citizens. Citizenship is a complex issue with legal, cultural, social and political dimensions. It provides a basis of identity that includes political bonds with defined rights and obligations. Therefore, human rights and citizenship education should be integral parts of the entitlement to education (Kymlicka, 2007). Entitlement to good education ought to include not only a grasp of languages but also competencies in literacy and numerics. These skills are part and parcel for young people becoming educated and subsequently, understanding civic and political literacy and developing expertise and skills as active citizens. Whereas young people may acquire an academic understanding of citizenship in the classroom, becoming active citizens necessitates an actual engagement in the operations of a school, its community and the civil society. Recent research in England has, however,

revealed that the reading and writing skills of young people have declined in recent years despite various initiatives.

It is not only what children are taught and what they learn but also their actual experiences at school that contribute to an understanding of their rights and responsibilities in society. Because a democratic school ethos is important, it needs to be experienced in the context of the wider community (ICIS/ULIE, 1996). However, formal learning about human rights and citizenship are not sufficient: Young people need to have a democratic school experience. Furthermore, the role of youth work and other formal and non-formal life-long learning experiences are all important. There is an African adage which states that 'it takes a whole village to educate a child.' There is obviously a lot to this adage, but today it is possible that the village itself will need re-educating. This is especially true because both young people and adults may not be sufficiently educated to understand either the historical and contemporary underpinnings of society or the issues of its complexity and belongingness within it. The changing nature of identities resulting from globalization is particularly a challenge, leading individuals and communities to live in either conflict or peace and stability.

School and democratic civil society engagements have an important role in educating young people to understand that they can legitimately have multiple identities and well as multiple belongings, or relationships. In this respect, young people and adults ought to learn that whereas some people may belong to a locality through historical, cultural and nationality ties, others may belong to localities and communities by becoming citizens. In diverse communities, citizenship education ought to emphasis ideas of inclusion rather than of exclusion.

The terms 'social diversity' and 'multiculturalism,' used descriptively, raise issues about which there is no agreement. Basically, there is a common sense notion that British society has become multicultural. An assumption prevails that post-World War II immigrants, especially from the Commonwealth, have caused this diversity and led to a loss of national identity. The comparative educationalist Nicholas Hans (Hans, 1947) referred to taxonomic factors such as languages, religion, social class and territory that formed the basis of nations. If one examines British society using this taxonomy, then this society can be seen as historically diverse. In linguistic terms, the use of Gaelic and Celtic languages and different forms of regional English makes British society historically multilingual. Likewise, in religious terms, pre-Christian religions, various denominations of Christianity and Judaism have made Britain a multifaith society.

The historical distinctions between social classes and between rural and urban areas are indicators of differential access to public and social institutions. The polity has been constitutive of the Welsh, Scottish, English and Irish nations, in addition to the presence of non-territorially based and largely invisible Roman/Gypsy communities. All these indices of diversity form the historical basis of Britain's multicultural past. However, policy

makers and educators do not gaze into these historical diversities and stress the contemporary dimensions of difference and diversity. Instead, new and vulnerable communities are perceived to be the problem communities. This is an issue for teachers and schools on both sides of the Atlantic.

Ideas of writers like Samuel Huntington in his book, *Who are We?* (Huntington, 2004), and his previous work, *The Clash of Civilizations*, have influenced discussions within Britain. *The Clash of Civilizations* is miniaturized in a more recent book on the American body politic. Now it is Mexicans who appear as the local 'Muslims,' an alien unmelting presence who refuse to play by American rules. Huntington does not discuss the fact that such communities live in abject poverty. Nor does he consider that a public policy issue that could correct educational as well as other inequalities. He is 'defending America' by invoking traditional American values wrapped up as Protestant small-town values. Such a perspective does not engender intercultural excitement for the vibrancy and dynamism of various and diverse Latino and African-American cultures. Rather, it engenders fear of these groups who are portrayed as poor, menacing and a threat to the Anglo-Protestant sub-society in America. Small-town Protestant values have now become construed as national public values and culture. This perspective, however, ignores the fact that there were first other peoples, American Indians, whose fundamental belongingness through human and citizenship rights are totally ignored.

At the present time in England and at a qualitatively different level likewise, the Huntington argument is used in discussions about national identity and citizenship. No thought is devoted to developing newer and inclusive democratic, public and citizenship values but to imposing time-worn English values, not only on England but on Scotland, Wales and newly settled communities. These developments in the United States and Britain are happening at a time when constitutional and legal frameworks, as well as democratic values, need to become more cosmopolitan. Hence, an understanding of the historical and contemporary aspects of societal diversity ought to provide educators and young people with a more textured and layered understanding of polity. Such an understanding can enhance the legitimacy of multiple identities and their belonging, which will obviate conflict within diverse communities. This process can, in turn, help in the development of good values from across diverse social groups, which would strengthen democratic engagements and the legitimacy of public institutions.

Many narrow nationalists argue that the current influx of immigrant communities has made British and other societies 'multicultural,' and that previously they were historically cohesive monocultural societies. However, devolution within Britain is an indication of different social realities that presents an opportunity to develop a coherent historical and contemporary understanding of societal diversity within an academic framework, allowing young people, and in fact all people, to view as complex the notion of

belongingness of different groups. The devolution of powers in Britain also represents a challenge to develop social cohesion and inclusion within the nine English regions. However, regionalism can also raise issues of narrow nationalisms, xenophobia, racism and exclusivities. This can happen because small communities can be excluding and tyrannical rather than open and inclusive. Hence, educators, as well as public policies and practices, ought to be inclusive. Local communities themselves ought to be democratically open and nurture the civic engagement of diverse groups, which would allow for the development of common democratic values.

The term 'multicultural' is generally used in programmatic terms in English speaking countries. It would be preferable if the term 'multicultural' was used as a descriptive term, which indicates elements of diversities in schools and communities. The current usage of this term in many countries with new immigrant populations has largely been racialized because it is seen as pertaining to immigrants who are visibly different from dominant 'White' populations. It is being suggested here that a more appropriate term for discussing programs, policies and practices is 'intercultural' (Gundara, 2000). This is because issues of difference and diversity are not necessarily contingent on them only being visibly different, but may pertain to issues of linguistic, religious, social class and gender differences. These broader taxonomic features of difference and diversity are more amenable to being dealt with through intercultural policies and practices.

The development of 'intercultural' educational and social policies is important because ensuing educational practices would be inclusive of both long established and newly settled groups. This is an extremely important reorientation of policies and practice, because previous policies merely tried to focus on absorbing immigrant communities into the norms of long settled 'White' dominant communities. Many of these multicultural educational policies and practices in Britain have not been successful and their viability needs to be re-appraised. This is necessary because policy makers assumed that 'White' dominant communities were cohesive entities whose norms and values did not need to be changed to make the communities more democratic and inclusive. Issues of xenophobia and racism continue to fester and have not been seriously addressed. Many critics of these policies alleged that they were 'politically correct,' that they stressed differences and divergences, and that they contributed to the emergence of separate communities and detractions from social cohesion (Gundara, 1996).

This chapter suggests that English-speaking countries should reappraise the usage of multicultural policies and develop notions of interculturalism. The term 'intercultural' ought to receive more serious consideration as a policy term that is indicative of the complex interactions within multicultural communities. Such a focus on intercultural policies ought to include substantive measures which lead to the reduction of inequalities and an end to racial and religious discrimination. Therefore, academics and educators need to make an effort to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework

that includes use of the term 'multicultural' as a descriptive term. High levels of inequality and lack of social cohesion present social systems with at least two possibilities.

First is the possibility of intercultural conflict on the basis of linguistic, religious, racial and social class differences, as well as the continued exclusion of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Such intercultural conflicts on various indices have already taken place in northern English cities. In other areas, the rights of non-territorially based Roma communities continue to be undermined by many local authorities. Secondly, how to reverse these exclusions in the neighborhood, community and other societal institutions merits attention. Institutional exclusions on the basis of 'race,' religion, social class or language necessitate intercultural and inclusive strategies and policies. This requires an examination of the unrepresentative and sometimes undemocratic nature of many public institutions.

Communities that are not cohesive can erupt in intercultural conflict through lack of trust at intergroup levels, as well as from a lack of access to opportunities. Civil society organizations, like the Nova Scarman Group, are using local talent to build community cohesion through leadership and by encouraging community champions. The embedding inculcation of citizenship values among excluded groups cannot be undertaken through pedestrian policies. This civil society group provides people with artistic and cultural opportunities that enable their creativity and imagination so that they can become active and functioning citizens. There is an enormous amount of theoretical literature in this field, but in the British context the practice that the Novas Scarman Trust is to use the creative arts as a basis to enchant the disenfranchised marginalized groups, so that they can become active in seeking employment, housing and to become active citizens in their communities. Yet, such initiatives are not widespread enough to shift the plight of large numbers of marginalized communities in urban and rural areas.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND DIVERSITY

The challenge for Intercultural Education is molding one out of the many to construct appropriate educational responses to difference and diversity within British society, especially in light of new and emerging constitutional and institutional arrangements, and initiatives for citizenship education. The state, the education system and anti-racist activists, either purposely or by default, have failed to develop frameworks based on historical and contemporary diversity using the disciplines of history and the social sciences. In devising programs for social cohesion and Intercultural Education at the present time, these issues need to be re-addressed.

Public and education policy initiatives on anti-racism or multiculturalism, directed at 'immigrants' to the exclusion of the dominant groups or

nationalities, have not been effective. With devolution, this issue becomes even more complex, and previous assumptions about dominant and subordinate groups require re-examination. The issue of human rights becomes important within devolved nations because all minorities, even those from dominant nationalities within these nations, may be treated as second class citizens. The devolution of power necessitates democratic engagement based on more inclusive public values from all the groups in society. Schools have an important role to play in this respect; however, it all depends on how educational initiatives are structured and what importance they have within the school curriculum. For instance, in Northern Ireland, in schools where initiatives on 'education for mutual understanding' between the Protestant and Catholic communities were marginalized, there was no improvement in community relations. Initiatives that were not considered to be central in the school curriculum were also not successful in developing common and shared values.

The essentialist rhetoric of some of anti-racist or multicultural policies has led some communities to be designated as 'other' groups, and this has created binary oppositions (e.g., majority/minority, dominant/subordinate, Black/White, belongs/non-belongs, winners/losers). These polarizations have negated the possibility of creating an inclusive polity based on eliminating institutional racism, which would help the process of developing inclusive values and policies. These issues have both long-term institutional and everyday implications. However, after September 11, 2001, in New York City; March 11th in Madrid; and July 7th in London, the "Us-them" divide has become sharper and more overt on both sides of the Atlantic.

The most important current policy recommendation in Britain does not come from the field of education, but from the McPherson Report on the Stephen Lawrence murder. The issue of 'institutional racism' is of major significance for human rights issues of groups who are subject to institutionalized discrimination and exclusions. A more recent investigation presents a more complex picture and sets of strategies to minimize racial discrimination in police services in England and Wales (CRE/PFI, 2005). In the educational sector, such issues have complex realities, which require analyses based on educational initiatives. Because citizenship legally bestows equality (which is neither graded nor divisible), then racial justice or equity can only be actualized if institutional racism is absent. The issue becomes more critical as the rise of xenophobia, chauvinism and racism have consequences for even dominant nationalities, such as the English. However, the rights of those who are not citizens or even immigrants are more tenuous, especially for groups like refugees and asylum seekers. The simmering issue of religious discrimination also takes exclusionary significance at institutional levels, and Islamophobia resonates with other faiths, even if these dangers are not recognized. For instance, after the events of 9/11, Sikh communities in the United States and the United Kingdom were subjected to racial and religious harassment.

Therefore, Intercultural Education ought to recognize the possibility of a rise of reactive identities in England, which can take root in the aftermath of devolution. Among minority communities, a 'siege mentality' can develop, which is largely sustained by languages or religion. Among dominant groups this may be based on racism, xenophobia and territorial ownership at the exclusion of 'the other.' As has been stated earlier, intercultural conflicts based on a combination of these differences have already taken place.

In historical terms, not only societies but also the nature and type of human rights change. For instance, the definition of rights changes over time from the first generation of rights, which were largely civil in nature (18th century) to political rights (19th century) and then to a third generation of social rights (20th century). Given the varying levels of inequality, a state may also try, as Marshall writes, to initiate a 'tendency towards equality' (Marshall, 1977) by creating basic conditions leading toward social equality. This is a dynamic and active concept, not a passive one.

The challenge is to build social cohesion and inclusive politics which can accommodate notions of difference but can also create conditions for belongingness of diverse groups. Initiatives which can draw on the diverse resources, CAN DO mentalities and active engagement of citizens in impoverished communities can help to reduce notions of the exclusive territorial belongingness of groups which privilege's their exclusive 'ownership' of such neighborhoods. This therefore, makes these neighborhoods 'no-go' areas for 'the others,' the outsiders who are to be excluded because they do not belong. Many of these communities can build on the social assets in their communities to develop inclusive initiatives which enhance the social, political and economic capital of these neighborhoods. From an educational perspective this presents a 'creative moment,' because notions of Intercultural Education can be utilized to develop integrative mentalities based on notions of differences and multiple identities. Some aspects of diversity can be counterproductive if they conflict with citizenship and liberal democratic principles. Given that there are deep divisions and uneven development, what can be done to develop new friendships, as well as constructive and creative imaginations? There is already a legacy of the exclusive and negative phenomena of racism, xenophobia, chauvinism and sexism. However, citizenship and human rights are recent concepts to be part of the modern nation state, because in ancient and medieval societies (where monarchies, empires and chiefdoms existed), the rights of people were more circumscribed.

THE PRIVATE DOMAIN AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Modern citizenship rights are a result of many struggles of oppressed and subordinated groups. History has been disarmed, in part, because these

struggles in democratic states have settled disputes not by war but through courts, tribunals and, of course, elections. However, in many isolated and exclusive communities, and also currently through the development of 'siege mentalities,' rights acquired in modern, democratic terms are being negated by traditional, patriarchal and conservative elements within separate communities and sometimes reinforced by exclusion and racism within the civil society, as well as state institutions.

These regressive communal elements can only be countered through civil society engagement and the openness of state institutions to inclusive democratic values. In many patriarchal, conservative and exclusive communities, archaic customs and traditions need to be challenged to ensure that whole communities are able to benefit from belonging to open communities. In Britain, many liberals within the educational establishment, however, continue to interfere within the private domain to aid and abet communalist and divisive religious forces on the grounds of autonomous community rights.

Some liberal activists only have superficial understanding of complex and deeply embedded communal divides. They also ignore the difficult struggles that progressive members of these communities have fought for: the acceptance of secular humanist values within their own communities and nurturance of greater levels of democratic participation within public institutions. Bodies in the public sector ought to strengthen not only the equality of opportunity and access, but also the equality of outcomes to public goods. This is especially necessary to ensure that girls and women in unequal, socially diverse societies do not continue to remain excluded. Both civil society and public institutions shouldn't allow local communities to deny girls or women access to a good education or employment.

The conferring of citizenship and human rights entails opposing such particularistic practices that deny girls and women equality in education or employment. Hence, here the barriers to equality may not come from the state but from the customs and practices of communities. However, the cultural practice of a Sikh wearing a turban or a Muslim girl wearing a head-dress can be considered as legitimate because these practices do not impair acquisition to education or pose an impediment to gaining employment.

In Scotland, Wales and other regions of Britain, if the argument for social cohesion revolves around the "essentialist" identity of belonging, will constitutional safeguards provide a sufficient guarantee for cohesiveness in communities? The question for us is how to decide which aspects of an identity are legitimate and which are not? For the settler communities, there is another set of issues at the present. After September 11th and March 11th, subtle differences between the customs of Sikhs and Muslims, for instance, are lost. How can we build a more subtle, textured and layered but differentiated notion of religiously derived exclusions, especially through a complex and deeply based interfaith, humanist and secular education?

If some groups are excluded from or marginalized within the education system and schools, because they are not socially cohesive, should the state remain neutral or should it intervene? In other words, is the state fair or is it impartial? Rawls, using the principle of difference, argues that the 'better off' should not do better than the 'worst off' (Rawls, 1997). Therefore, to accord equity, the state should be 'fair' but not 'impartial.' In a democratic state, citizens are entitled to access to education and knowledge in order to equalize their life chances. If the state remains impartial, it cannot create a level playing field in educational terms. It can only do so by intervening.

We currently face an additional dilemma because social cohesion and old solidarities based on class have been destroyed, especially as the younger generation confronts greater levels of polarization by being divided into winners and losers. Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett have undertaken groundbreaking research which states that large inequalities leading to unequal societies are divisive, corrosive and lead to ill-health, violence, drugs, obesity, mental illness, big prison populations, fragmented communities and social and environmental problems. The research furthermore, is optimistic and suggests that greater equality is the material foundation on which better social relations can be built (Wilkinson & Pickett: *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better* [London: Allan Lane, 2009]).

In unequal societies with deep levels of inequalities losers feel that they owe nothing to the winners, poses a new challenge to intercultural and citizenship education. How can schools build a set of mutualities and resemblances, or create a stake among multi-divided groups in society? Where groups who are losers contain Black and White youth, they may not share solidarities or sets of resemblances. Intercultural education, therefore, has the complex role of addressing the sense of exclusion and loss among both Black and White youth. In this context, genderized exclusion presents an additional level of complexity and needs to be addressed firmly but delicately. Previous policies, which privileged one or another group, may prove to be counterproductive by exacerbating differences and reducing features of commonality among different groups. Hence, the state (through the school, youth service or career guidance service) is not impartial but intervenes, because both Black and White groups may be poor and excluded.

Schools and other institutions have an important task of turning the majority/minority issue into one of social cohesion and inclusiveness. The development of inclusiveness would entail reversing the polarities of majority or minority. This year will mark the 54th anniversary of the Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka County, Kansas, on May 17, 1954. This decision has important ramifications for educational equality and citizenship rights on both sides of the Atlantic. Its fundamental principle declared that racial discrimination in public education was a violation of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. All provisions of federal, state or local law that either permitted or required such discrimination were to cease. The

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) supported Oliver Brown, whose daughter was forced to travel by bus to an all-Black school, even though she lived close to an all-White institution. Chief Justice Warren concluded: "In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place" (Supreme Court Judgments, 1954). In ruling segregation unconstitutional, the Brown decision overturned the conclusions of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* 1896, which had given rise to the Jim Crow era.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision was intended to ensure that Black students received the same education as White students, and that the process of desegregation on educational performance and the increased contact between different types of students would eventually erode discrimination because of interracial understanding. This perception was, however, somewhat misplaced; desegregation does not imply integration. The challenge to desegregate legally is only one step in eliminating class- and race-based inequalities, because issues of institutional exclusion and discrimination are deeply embedded in unequal communities and societies. These issues in the United States are also relevant within Britain, but Black and minority communities do not benefit from the powerful legal decision by Chief Justice Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Race Relations Act (1976) and the Amendment Act (2000) in Britain are not widely enough enforceable to deal with the deep-seated racism in British society. For instance, anti-Semitism dates back to the 13th century, anti-African racism to the 16th century, racism against slaves and indentured labor from the 17th century and intense colonial racism to the 19th and 20th centuries. All of these have left a complex legacy in British society, its institutions and consciousness and are impediments to equity, inclusive citizenship values and genuine intercultural understandings.

To bring about equality necessitates development of complex policies and strategies over and above legal equality. At institutional and societal levels, these strategies should include both White and Black groups and should establish a minimum level of mutuality or resemblances within the public domain. Furthermore, Intercultural Education ought to bridge gaps between those who are considered permanent minorities or majorities, and nurture the notion of human rights for both. Such policies and processes can instill an enduring notion of fraternity or new solidarities, creating 'communities of development and hope,' as Judith Green describes it (Green, 1998). Even so, this is easier said than done because Britain, like many other states, confronts complicated issues. Habermas writes:

Today, as the nation-state finds itself challenged from within by the explosive potential of multiculturalism and from without by the pressure of globalisation, the question arises of whether there exists a functional equivalent for the fusion of the nation of citizens with the ethnic nation. (Habermas, 1998)

The above challenge presents serious issues at the present time because state education systems have marginalized measures to deal with the critical levels of deep discrimination and exclusion. The Janus-faced nature of the nation state requires a massive mobilization of resources in the public, private and civil sectors of society in order to ensure that moves toward greater levels of equality and social cohesion are not derailed. Such a negation would detract from the development of 'communities of development and hope.' Furthermore, these are not issues of 'political correctness' but essential to the development of an inclusive democratic ethos that can enhance safety and security of entire diverse communities.

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

Dominant groups in society have the privilege of adopting individual or group identities. Paradoxically, subordinated groups are ascribed a singular identity, normally referred to as 'ethnic.' The ascription of singularity of identity marginalizes minority groups even and has no relation to the lived realities of such groups.

A major challenge is how democratic processes in society and experiential democratic education can be a guarantor for social integration in highly differentiated contexts. There are already positive examples among many young British folk that defy identities based on simplistic constructs of race or ethnicity. Das of the Asian Dub Foundation describes himself as a 'Hindi British Asian, English, Bengali European.' Pandit G, who operates the decks, describes himself as 'a half-Irish, Asian Scot' (*The Times*, 1999, pp. 2-7). Professors Steven and Hilary Rose state that these complex identifiers "speak both of a new ease and pleasure in difference and of a political demand that racism become history" (*The Guardian*, 2005, p. 4). Andrew Marr stated a few years ago that multiple Asian identities were a contributory factor in the improved educational performances of children of Asian origin. He also wrote about the difference between Edinburgh and Belfast. In Edinburgh:

They began to juggle multiple identities—British, Scottish, and European. The Scottish home rule movement, including the SNP, has been vigorously developing the rhetoric of liberalism and democracy (pp. 4-7)

Conversely in Belfast:

The Ulster Unionist people meanwhile, huddled inside a simple, singular view of the world that deliberately avoided complexity or intermingling. As a result, today they have no open door to the outside world. Their identity is too strong, too single. In 1999, that is a tragic predicament for any people. Ask the Serbs (*The Observer*, 1999, pp. 4-7).

One cannot ignore the grave dangers of old, historically entrenched, ethnic identities of nationalities. This historical multicultural past may create more division than the differences arising from contemporary migrations.

However, pervasive racism and a lack of democratic engagement also has led to more singular notions of identities among dominant groups (on the basis of nationality) and among the settled communities (on the basis of religion). Hence, citizenship education confronts a major challenge in trying to deal with this proliferation of identities. This is especially true if bullying and violence ensue and disrupt the educational process. Because a school is part of the community in which it is situated, school-community links, informal learning and youth clubs need to be strengthened. Such links should include parental involvement to ensure that peer and gang cultures do not remain autonomous. Specificities of identities in and of themselves may not be a problem but reactive identities, which are exclusive, can be problematic.

The development of siege communities and siege mentalities arises partly because of economic uncertainties, unemployment and downward mobility. Penalizing these groups further not only consolidates reactive politics but can lead to conflict and violence. Economic regeneration of these localities and development of democratically inclusive civic cultures, as part of public and social policies, need serious and urgent consideration.

The rejection of democratic engagements by young people in siege communities is one issue which necessitates consideration. Currently, young people only demand their rights but do not necessarily accept that they have obligations. The public culture and domain, therefore, has to be inclusive of positive values derived from minorities and majorities, not just from dominant groups in society. Intercultural education must have an inclusive notion that symbolically and substantively captures the imagination and enchants disenchanting young people. In order to engage young people who are disaffected by the political process, it is appropriate to use constitutional and human rights principles, as well as other progressive and democratic struggles, as part of the curriculum in a democratic school. The experience of democratic schools is as important as the school curriculum.

Among young people, the notion of being part of and belonging to socially cohesive communities and complex localities is important. Hence, the notion of territorial belongingness, that is not exclusive but shared, is worth exploring in schools and youth clubs. There is a need to develop non-exclusivist neighborhoods that are not no-go areas for others but are confederal communities. Such communities would be based on mutuality, shared resemblances and values that are neither racist nor patriarchal. At the level of the community, mutuality compacts can assist this process. In British and American societies where market fundamentalism has privatized large sectors of public domain there has been an erosion of public values and secular moralities. This necessitates not only a renewal of modern

political and citizenship values but of engaging with similar initiatives from democracies which have worked on these issues in the past. It is necessary to revamp the old Greek concept of 'Paidea' or the German notion of 'Bildung' in order to develop interactive and intercultural dimensions within complex schools and their communities.

The erosion of public and educational values is reflected by the increasing grip of markets on the schools. The older notions of the importance of learning and 'learning for the sake of learning' have been forgotten and lost. Schools on both side of the Atlantic do not seem to understand the profound values of education and of teaching and learning. For instance, in New York schools young people are to receive monetary payments if they do well in standardized tests.

The Department for Children, Schools and Families in England, however, has not quite understood the grave need of these deep intercultural public values to build the character of young people as good citizens as well as, developing inclusive public institutions so that citizens of the future feel that they have a stake in the public and civic life of the societies they live in. Instead of developing strategies for making schools safer for all children and learning from the problem of violence in the United States, the Department would like for boys between the ages of three and five to be able to play with toy weapons (*The Guardian*, 2007). The Department seems to ignore the fact that many young students in recent years, especially from Black and other minority communities, have died or been seriously injured by their peers. Instead of countering negative media messages and images in the development of aggressive male cultures, the Department has completely ignored the necessity of promoting inclusive values that would create safer schools for all children, whatever their gender. The year 2007 has seen 27 teenagers killed in London, especially in poorer communities, and many of them are so taken by films and media that they cannot distinguish between reality and fantasy (*The Observer*, 2007).

Safer schools and inclusive cultures are only the first precondition, however, for obviating conflict-ridden, violent cultures in English society. This process also needs to be undertaken through academic, formal political and Intercultural Education, as well as active citizenship engagement. Underclass or pauperized groups of whatever nationality or religion will not activate their own separatist 'politics of recognition.' Such dynamics could heighten notions of fragmentation with even further divisive political consequences. Even if these groups are statistically small, they cannot be written off as having no political consequences. Urban ghettos and rural blight have a way of permeating the body politic; prisons and internal security cannot contain their corrosive potential. Hence, social fragmentation and insular group demands on the public square, propelled by inequality and injustice, are more likely scenarios than are those of social inclusion. To avoid this negative forecast, more proactive public education and socially inclusive policies need to be put in place.

THE ECONOMIC GLOBAL, INTERCULTURAL AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

The global macro economies do not necessarily work hand in hand with local micro economies, nor do power structures located largely in the north deal equitably with the poorer south. A similar relationship of inequality is evident between southern parts of Britain and the poorer north. More democratic governance at local to global organizational levels may be one way of legitimizing 'mondialisation' or global governance. However, the political economy of the global corporate order is based on integrating production/consumption patterns on a monocultural basis. Through this process, finance relations and services as well as labor standards are leveled out through centralized control and the concentration of power. These processes do not only have a local economic impact. Giddens refers to the impact of the global on the local as follows:

Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space. (Giddens, 1999)

'Local transformations' include the rise of chauvinism or local nationalisms. Where these are conflictual in nature they can destabilize a locality, a nation or a region. They may even have wider reverberations. Therefore, globalization processes have many strands and do not have a single trajectory.

These issues present a major challenge to developing socially cohesive communities because of the growth of global economics and the technology at the expense of what is political, social and cultural. In diverse societies, this becomes a critical issue because of the massive unemployment that can affect young people. Intercultural education that nurtures political knowledge, understanding and skills is crucial to strengthen engagement in the public domain, in order to obviate the binary and oppositional cultures of winners/losers. Active citizenship, which only relies on weak and impoverished institutions in civil society, is not sufficient because it does not currently possess the leverage necessary to interest young people. Academic learning about citizenship in schools and all types of active citizenship engagement by young people are very far removed from the lives and concerns of many young people, especially those who come from poorer communities. Intercultural dimensions of citizenship education and active citizenship can only be effective if the good public values from diverse sources are reflected with all civic and public institutions

In England, citizenship education was introduced in secondary schools in 2002 and, according to a recent OFSTED Inspectorate Report, only a minority of schools has embraced it with any enthusiasm. Furthermore, the quality of lessons is considered inadequate (*The Guardian*, 2006). Schools have not considered the serious societal implications of an inclusive citizenship education that has high status within the school curriculum, with the school functioning as a democratic institution. Also, the Inspectorate may have only partial understanding of reasons for the inadequacy of citizenship education, because a learner's lack of interest may be another factor.

Underlying concerns of learners in the younger generation may range from preoccupation with the fissiparous tribes of electronically engaged members of the body politic (who are not susceptible to modern politics defined by control 'freakery') to facing inflated career expectations and the grim realities that inform swathes of contemporary pop culture. One of the biggest hits in 2005, a single called "Cash Machine" by the British group Hard-Fi, was a doleful glimpse of life in which Day-Glo consumerism is constantly dulled by the rattle of small change. 'I scratch a living, it ain't easy, you know it's a drag,' goes its chorus. 'I'm always paying; never making, but you can't look back.' Its end, frenziedly shouted at the band's gig, runs thus: 'There is a hole in my pocket, my pocket, my pocket' (*The Guardian*, 2006, p. 9). How do citizenship education and old style schooling address the profound concerns about brick walls that thwart the ambition of young people?

The first prerequisite for active citizenship is having the tools for young people to control their own lives and improve their life chances. This should not only include improved educational outcomes but also enhanced knowledge and skills to become autonomous citizens in economic terms. In situations where improvements have been made, dynamic young people are involved in programs of active citizenship and have made a difference in the schools and localities in many regions of England.

Divisive aspects of the 'politics of recognition' are a powerful issue in the United States as well as other parts of Britain and Europe. Groups that demand recognition of their particularistic identities also demand separate schools and a 'curriculum of recognition.' Such demands, which normally take the form of denominational schools, detract from the development of intercultural understanding. An inclusive curriculum based on diverse sources of knowledge is relevant to complex and diverse modern communities.

Most understanding of the rights of young people in Britain comes from the media and not the school. Young people are not taught to read these messages critically. Important considerations are raised for teachers, curriculum planners, schools and other educators concerning what education systems need to do about Intercultural Education, either in tandem with or in response to the media. There are, however, very few coordinated initiatives of citizenship education that are central to the lives of schools and are qualitatively able to make a difference in the lives of young people.

Notions of how to develop democracy based on deep and active social participation require urgent attention. The role of mixed economies becomes important because the role of social capital among people is now recognized by the World Bank. This reflects some acceptance of the possibility of many voices with social and civic virtues at the universal level, along with the deep values of human rights that democracy demands. The activation of civic values in public and private domains puts into place a new, non-traditional understanding of these rights.

The solution for resolving contradictions, dilemmas and complexities lies partly in a recognition of multiple identities and political loyalties. In the contemporary British context, being an active member of a local street association, as well as Scottish or Welsh, British, European and global, are all consistent markers of deep citizenship. Acceptance of democratic engagement, which includes recognition of areas of disagreement, can only be inculcated if groups feel that they are part of the polity and have a stake in it.

BELONGINGNESS

One other issue in discussions about social cohesion is the 'belongingness' of all groups in British society. Dominant nationalities tend to see the polity as 'theirs,' and 'others' are regarded as aliens who do not belong, or are seen to encroach upon the dominant domain. There are obviously specificities of different localities, communities, families and groups that provide a diversity of colors, textures and hues to different parts of society. There are also differences in local politics, economies and histories, and these intersect and interact differently within local, regional, national, European and global contexts.

Sharing of space by dominant and subordinate, colonizer and the colonized, rich and poor comes together in politics in ways that make the functioning of modern democratic society complex. This complexity includes the way in which material and social goods are produced and distributed, including the political, economic, literary, cultural and media output. The 'other' is no longer "out there" but here, and as Chambers states, there is an intersection of 'histories, memories and experiences' (Chambers, 1994). It is important to develop an agenda for public and social policy to create spaces where we can negotiate the complexity of our societies, both in rural areas and cities.

Analysis of this type should be inclusive of all groups who live within a particular society. In establishing such a context, past and current exclusions need to be "put right," making it possible to initiate a dialogue between all those living in complex localities. Interaction and intersection of the histories of cultures and languages enables construction of a more realistic understanding of the past, to better inform us of the present which may,

in turn, have implications for constructing a less biased and a more meaningful future. For instance, the teaching of British history should include the contributions of Islam, Judaism, Blacks and regional nationalities like the English, Scottish, Welsh (their cultures, civilizations and history). This includes issues of antipathy, conflict and cooperation, and is, therefore, a history of all those who are British, informing the history of these islands. Hence, the goal is not ethnicized histories for ethnicized groups, but an inclusive understanding of history. This ought to lead to a non-centric curriculum, not one that is narrowly Anglo-centric or reinforces 'Fortress Europe's' mentalities.

Communities are not only situated within their localities but have other identities, both at national and supranational levels, all of which lends an enormous range of heterogeneity to the life of society. Such complexity defies simplistic definition by either dominant or subordinate cultures. Political systems, in most parts of the world, have not come to terms with the public policy implications of this reality.

Communities as such embody notions of 'belongingness' cohesion as well as alienation. They have universalistic features as well as particularisms and local differences. Yet, non-confederal localisms can become parochial, racist, insular, stagnant and authoritarian. There are thick and textured layers of political, social and economic contexts that intersect with history, culture and language. Communities in Britain, therefore, provide possibilities and prospects of an infinite nature and yet, can also be lonely and confining. The confederal nature of society requires that integrative thinking and structures can link individual groups with other groups and localities. The challenge for political and educational systems is to develop democratic strategies at the public level that can lead to development of a basic common value system, in which inclusive rights and responsibilities will be developed as an outcome of the work of schools, social and political institutions.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed issues of intercultural and citizenship education in the British and, especially, within the English context. It has tried to illustrate that issues within these islands resonate with issues across the Atlantic, especially in the United States, and have largely multinational dimensions. Hence, citizenship education currently is not an issue which is clearly confined to the sovereign national context, but has extraterritorial dimensions. Civil society engagements have enriched notions of active citizenship, but their implications for the non-formal institutional context have not yet had major impact on societal inequalities. Therefore, concepts of citizenship remain largely marginalized within both the formal and informal sectors of society. Citizenship education needs to move creatively across the formal and informal

sectors of society. Currently, it does not have the dynamism to capture the imagination of the younger generation. Arts, literature and other cultural facets need to be integrated to make it more attractive.

Intercultural education as an overarching concept is, likewise, not widely or systematically implemented. Within all sectors of the education system, teacher educators, schools, curriculum planners and the Department of Education and Skills have dismally failed to develop a systemic approach to implementation of this concept. Hence, the potential for intercultural understanding within an increasingly multicultural and globalized world has not been actualized, and the realities and possibilities of intercultural conflict remain a threat to the body politic. Therefore, educational and political realization of cosmopolitan demos, at both nation state and global levels, still remains a distant vision.

REFERENCES

- Chambers, I. (1994). *Migrancy, culture and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Chesney, J. D., & Feinstein, O. (1997). *Building civic literacy and citizen power*. NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Commission for Racial Equality. (2005, March). *Final report of a formal investigation by the Commission for Racial Equality: The Police Service in England and Wales*. London: Commission for Racial Equality. The nominated commissioners were: Justice Sir David Calvert Smith, Mr. Ravi Chand, Mrs. Nuala O'Loan and Professor Jagdish S. Gundara.
- Giddens, A. (2006, September 30). *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 64.
- Green, J. (1998). 'Educational multiculturalism: Critical pluralism and deep democracy.' In C. Willett (Ed.), *Theorizing multiculturalism: A guide to current debate*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwells.
- The Guardian*. (2006, September 30). London.
- Gundara, J. (2003). Professorial Lecture: *Intercultural Education: World on the brink?* London: Institute of Education University of London.
- Gundara, J. (2000). *Interculturalism, education and inclusion*. London: Paul Chapman.
- Gundara, J. (1996, Winter). 'Political considerations: Equity and interculturalism.' *Education Review*, 10(2), 56–61. London: National Union of Teachers.
- Habermas, J. (1998). *The inclusion of the Other: Studies in political theory*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p. 117.
- Hans, N. (1949). *Comparative education: A study of educational factors and traditions*. London: Routledge.
- Huntington, S. (2004). *Who are we? The challenge to America's identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- International Commission on Education. (1996). *Learning: The treasure within*. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century, Paris.
- International Centre for Intercultural Studies. (1996). *Sagaland—Youth culture racism and education. A report carried out in Thamesmead; and Routes of racism—The social basis of racist action*.
- Marshall, T. H. (1997). *Class, citizenship and social development*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- The Observer*. (1999, July 4). London.
- Rawls, J. (1997). *Theory of justice*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press.
- The Times*. (1999, July 2). London.
- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. (1989). United Nations General Assembly Resolution 44.
- U.S. Supreme Court Judgments. (1997). 'Oliver Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka.' Cit. 347, US 483.
- Wilkinson R., & Pickett, K. (2009). *The spirit level: Why more equal societies almost always do better*. London: Allen Lane.