Zsuzsanna Benkő (Editor of Series) Klára Tarkó (Editor of Volume)

DIVERSITY AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Szeged – Crewe – Lüneburg 2005

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Conceptual overview

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

Key concepts of the 21st century are change and globalisation. As Anthony Giddens argues in several of his publications, in the 21st century only one thing is certain: permanent change. For centuries, tradition was the basis and defining feature of the life-style, behaviour, culture and psychological life of families, individuals and communities. In our present world change pervades every aspect of our existence. Thus it is understandable, and no coincidence, that these changes affect education so strongly, both at the higher and earlier levels. In this particular project, with its orientation towards the professionalisation of teachers and educators, the themes that were the focus of the higher education teams of Britain, Germany and Hungary between 2002 and 2005 are inevitable – health promotion, multicultural education and social inclusion/exclusion of children and young people – all of which are connected so closely to contemporary concerns about equal opportunities.

We inhabit a Europe whose geographical and political borders are shifting, whose population migrates within and among the continents, where women participate in every domain of the division of labour to an extent history has never seen, and where it is natural that people of different cultures, nationalities, ethnic origin and religion, that is all of us, are in everyday contact with those thinking and living differently than we do.

This Europe strives for transferability among its different nation states that is not only economic, legal and institutional but also cultural in the broadest sense. However, the notion of globalisation that has become at the centre of economic development, specialist literature, public debate and analysis since the 1980s is more than that; in some way globalisation impacts on the lives of us all because we exist in the same world. But how is this so? Whilst the cosmopolitan can welcome and embrace this cultural complexity, the fundamentalist finds the same embarrassing and dangerous. However, we can trust, with reason, in the victory of a cosmopolitan perspective.

Cultural diversity and democracy are closely related, and democracy is now spreading all over the world. Globalisation lies behind the spread of democracy. It is inaccurate to think that globalisation just affects large systems. Globalisation is not only about what happens "out there" in the distance, at the same time it resonates with the "here inside", the phenomena that affect our continual

socialisation through our families, education, immediate work environments and friends etc. Globalisation is, then, a complex system of processes that works through contradictions and conflicting effects. Whilst nations may lose a great part of power they once owned, at the same time there is more potential for increased local autonomy. Local cultural identities revive for example in different parts of the world as a result of globalisation. Globalisation shifts sideways as well; it creates new economic and cultural zones within or across nations.

The topic of multiculturalism, multicultural education, the striving for equal opportunities and the question of social inclusion are key issues in the work of educators in the European Union. The idea of multiculturalism is present at every level of society, in the education system, its policies, structures, evaluation mechanisms and school ethos. It is by ensuring equal opportunities that we can make it possible for pupils to perform according to their abilities, and prevent social disadvantage that leads to failure in school, whilst making learning a positive experience. Alongside, and in close relation to the multicultural perspective, the other important factor is health and its promotion. Health is a multidimensional concept where physical, mental and social elements are inseparable, so natural and social environments, the available resources, the combating of problems, the experience of success, satisfaction and positive self-image form health opportunities in every society. The healthy school is at the same time a successful school which can fully perform its role according to social expectations in the structure of social sub-systems. The reinforcement of equal opportunities and the improvement of social inclusion within school entail a change in perspective and authority of traditional professions, and the creation of new opportunities for partnership and cooperation. This innovative approach leads to the conclusion that wellintentioned individual efforts are insufficient in themselves; there is also a need for well-planned organisational changes. The main method of these organisational changes is organisational development; its main means is through the project.

An important element of health equality is the access to health opportunities and their promotion. This involves addressing the considerable differences between the developing and the developed world and between the developed countries as well. Thus in Europe, there are not only disparities between but also within countries. This is illustrated by differences in life expectancy at birth which can be up to 10-14 years among European nations or even within a given country.

This international team aims to assist educators engaged in socialisation processes by placing the values of multicultural education, social inclusion for children and young people and health promotion into the foreground. In the development of the teaching material and the topics chosen we have formulated a

twofold objective for ourselves. On the one hand, all three themes aim to introduce universal and general values, trends and processes; on the other hand, we have striven to introduce different examples of their practical realisation illustrating the possibilities and methods in each case. The teaching materials created contain English, German and Hungarian case studies, and by so doing, these exemplify the effect of historical, national, cultural and religious versatility on the settings of everyday life.

On behalf of the teaching material developing team, I hope that these volumes will be useful to educators, and, indeed, all professionals engaged in education and human service, in their application of a broader, social dimension and values to successful practice!

Diversity and multicultural education Introduction

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

Our modern world is becoming 'one' world, a unique world-community we are all part of. The future of this community is inseparable from our own, individual future. What should we teach our pupils about this world-community and its changes? Future seems at the same time exciting, threatening and wild for pupils. Teachers are also in a difficult position, hence they committed themselves to prepare youngsters for life, and the aim is to create teaching materials that reflect the changing world. The concept of multicultural education is also related to this strive. If our pupils learn about other people and cultures that could help them avoid faulty generalisations that are the results of ethnocentric world-view. Attitudes towards minorities are characterised by huge uncertainties followed in most cases by indifference to minority problems or by hostile attitudes.

The theory of multicultural society presupposes that interactions between interacting, but unique and equal cultures create a better quality society, and partnership by the dominant social groups is an important element in it. The objective of multicultural education is to increase the performance of minority pupils and promote connections between ethnic groups through the mutual recognition and respect of each others' cultures. Cultural diversity is a social value. Multicultural education is inseparable from anti-racist and anti-xenophobic education.

Our present volume was created for in-service teacher training and its objective is to introduce all those knowledge, attitudes and skills that are essential in a multicultural and interdependent world. The specialist content of the volume builds on the expertise of higher education professionals from the United Kingdom and Hungary. It discusses issues of multiculturalism grouped around eight larger topics. In each case a general theoretical paper is followed by an article or case-study illustrating the Bristish and the Hungarian situation.

The first part examines the issues of social inclusion and exclusion, the direct and indirect ways of exclusion (Chapter 1., 1.1 and 1.2). Obstacles to inclusion include attitudes and practices that exclude various groups of people from a full share of the benefits of society, or deny them 'equality of opportunity'. These obstacles, which all have an impact on education, include sexism, homophobia, negative attitudes towards disabled people and widespread xenophobic attitudes

towards different cultures. There is one pathway into the in-groups, and that is success in the education system. One of the most excluded groups in Central Europe and more closely in Hungary are the Romany, issues concerning their state appear in several parts of the present volume. Social exclusion in the UK is exemplified in Higher education: British universities and employment providers are now recognising that widening participation is something that they all have a responsibility for.

Part two discusses the dimensions of difference (Chapter 2, 2.1 and 2.2), identifying the various aspects (social, cultural, life-style, political, economic, statistical etc.) in defining minorities and understanding the status of "being different". Minorities include national and ethnic groups, religious communities, disabled people, homosexuals and women. A Hungarian case study is provided on a project integrating children with mild disabilities to the majority kindergarten. The next paper talks about approaches to equal opportunities in Education in the UK, and about approaches to overcome underachievement by minority pupils.

Part three considers the issue of citizenship (Chapter 3., 3.1 and 3.2), how it is understood in legal, political, social or civic terms. Nowadays we are talking not only about being British or Hungarian citizens, but in case of Hungary for example we are also Citizens of the European Union. A global view of citizenship education helps pupils understand issues around them such as racism, refugees, asylum seekers and the impact of migration. It also helps develop a balanced and informed view of these issues enabling them to respond in active and responsible ways to what is happening in their own countries and in the wider world. Introduction to the content of citizenship education in Hungary is followed by the context for citizenship education in England, together with a British case study.

Part four explores the dimensions of racism and prejudice (Chapter 4., 4.1 and 4.2) from a historical point of view. Racism in Europe has deep historical roots in colonialism and imperialism. This historical context gives enormous depth to sociological analysis, and confirms its validity at all points. Prejudices are 'socially constructed' as part of a natural process of making sense of who and where we are. One of the fundamental principles and objectives of multicultural education is to work to obviate and eradicate racism and prejudice within society. The phenomenon of prejudice was widely researched in Hungary as well as the role of multiculturalism in fighting against racism in British schools.

Part five discusses celebration of diversity (Chapter 5., 5.1 and 5.2) that makes an important and often underestimated contribution to the smooth running of a diverse society. Rigorous academic and social analysis often overlooks the importance of enjoyment in life, and the contribution made by our emotions rather

than our intellect. The case study from Hungary takes the example of sexual difference and homosexuals as a special life-style group, understanding the concept of celebration as a kind of recognition, while the British case study examines religious festivals and street occasions in the UK.

Part six looks into the matter of equal opportunities (Chapter 6., 6.1 and 6.2). The most important factors of social-economic inequalities are: education, occupation, financial situation. These factors are not independent from each other. There are still other decisive factors like age, gender, geographical conditions or settlement. Social disadvantages observable along the different dimensions are destined to convert into school failure in the beginning phase of school education already. The Hungarian case study examines this issue closely. The British case study points at gender inequalities along some socio-economic factors.

Part seven gives a summary of multicultural awareness and education (Chapter 7., 7.1 and 7.2). Multiculturalism is a phylosophy, a practice, a policy, and a doctrine. At its core multicultural education aims to build upon and make concrete the basic principles of freedom, justice, equality, equity and human dignity. After considering the education of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary we turn to the performance and experience (education, employment, income) of Asian women in Britain.

In the final part of the volume we introduce conflict management (Chapter 8., 8.1 and 8.2). The conscious educational management of conflicts is an important educational device, so it is not by chance that the so called conflict pedagogy gains more and more ground within Educational Sciences. The aim of conflict pedagogy is to help to create and strengthen in adults and children, in educators and pupils the level of personality that helps in meeting conflicts and trying to solve them. Learning conflict management will enable pupils to analyse social situations, to extend behaviour repertoire and to take responsibility in the given conflict situation. We then examine the process of conflict management in Hungary and in Britain.

The present volume strived at providing a comprehensive picture on diversity and multicultural education, yet the discussion of the issues is far not complete. However we hope these materials developed on a transnational base will help in-service teachers in their multiculturalism-oriented educational endeavours.

1. Social Inclusion and Exclusion

Rob Grinter (United Kingdom)

We live in a time of increasing awareness of the damage caused to society through social exclusion. It is also a time of increasingly coherent policies to develop a more stable diverse society by a policy known as 'social inclusion'. This paper focuses on social inclusion and exclusion in the educational system. It analyses the development and effectiveness of educational strategies over the last thirty years for social inclusion through cultural diversity in teaching and learning, and against social exclusion by action against racism. It also ranges more widely in an attempt to show how, although the process of exclusion is basically a simple one, a complex of inter-relationships between forms of social exclusion creates problems in making the policy effective.

These obstacles to inclusion include attitudes and practices that exclude various groups of people from a full share of the benefits of society, or deny them 'equality of opportunity' let alone outcome. These obstacles, which all have an impact on education, include sexism, homophobia, negative attitudes towards disabled people and widespread xenophobic attitudes towards different cultures. These are all immensely damaging forms of discrimination and harassment that poison relationships, deny opportunities and institutionalise unfairness and injustice. Underpinning them all are the continuing and growing inequalities of the British class structure. In terms of limited opportunities in education 'Cycles of deprivation exist where the less educated have children who will also fail in school' (TOYNBEE, 2004). The children of professionals grow up in educated environments, experience more language interactions and more encouraging language than working class children. The differences in language skills of children of different classes at the age of 10 reflect these different experiences, and all but determine levels of educational achievement and prospects in life.

As the 'case study' on social exclusion in Further and Higher Education in Britain (Chapter 1.2) points out, these obstacles identify the main 'out-groups' in society. They indicate groups that are relatively powerless, or whose life chances are reduced by deprivation, stereotyping or discrimination. This includes some, though not all, ethnic minority communities; gays and lesbians; people with physical and mental disabilities; all women striving to bring up families on in inadequate incomes, and all suffering the deprivations imposed by poverty. Between

them they constitute a significant proportion of our society, probably a majority.

The study also demonstrates very clearly that a great deal of the exclusion takes place through the way institutions operate throughout society. This may be through entry qualifications that many members of deprived groups cannot provide, which it termed indirect discrimination. This also applies to selection procedures where applicants from those same groups are unlikely to perform as well as members of in-groups. It may be through lack of physical access, inflexible hours of work, promotion procedures that reflect an in-group culture or disciplinary procedures that are applied in a discriminatory manner. These however are procedures that can be changed, even if at great personal cost.

But there are wider and less visible forces at work that create exclusion. This situation has not been created accidentally. There is a well understood but unspoken process of social inclusion that has created socially excluded outgroups, and we can understand this best by looking at the nature and operation of in-groups. In British and European society in-groups are all affluent. They are overwhelmingly professional and well educated. They are largely composed of white, male, heterosexual suburban dwellers. There is one pathway into the ingroups, and that is success in the education system.

This is not to say that in-groups do not include some people from ethnic minorities, many women and some, probably discreet, gays and lesbians. But exceptions will almost certainly have achieved their degree of social acceptance through personal skills, characteristics or qualities that have overcome the disadvantages that would otherwise have confirmed them in their out-groups, by enabling them to become powerful and affluent. These exceptions will also, whatever their race, gender and sexual orientation, have adopted behaviour that is professional, white, male and heterosexual and made them socially mobile through gaining access to ladders to prosperity. They have in almost all cases used the main pathway into the in-groups, and that is success in the education system.

Maintaining the social exclusion of members of out-groups works through a process of definition, stereotyping and discrimination that denies people their chance of social mobility, and works. Certain negative characteristics are ascribed to defined groups of people, expectations of stereotypical types of behaviour and low levels of performance are established, and all members of those groups are treated accordingly.

This process works particularly effectively through the education system. Examples of how it leads to low expectations of academic achievement and social mobility are well-known:

• West Indian boys are often seen as noisy and disruptive in the classroom,

which allows or justifies low academic expectations. Young Asian men are often seen as fundamentalist or sympathetic to fundamentalism, which allows or justifies hostility.

- 'Working class' culture is thought by many to be inimical to academic ambitions, especially for boys; this allows tolerance of high drop out rates in Higher Education for 'Access route' students, whatever their racial identity.
- In terms of gender, girls are still often seen to be primarily concerned with marriage and the caring role, which sometimes allows or is seen to justify 'appropriate' career advice and limited academic expectations.

Changes in these particular situations – for example, the recent transformation in girls' academic achievement – do not necessarily lead to a reconsideration of the process. In respect of gender, one stereotype has indeed been replaced with another. Boys are often seen as obsessed with a macho image of 'coolness', and disdainful of academic work. However, this has justified a lot of concern to make academic work more attractive to boys, rather than leaving things as they are and tolerating underachievement. In this way, the in-group would re-establish the pattern of gender discrimination from which it has benefited

It is also important to note how in this process different discriminations operate to reinforce each other:

- Class issues heighten racism as those who prosper look down on those who don't. This will inevitably include many people in 'minority ethnic groups' who experience high unemployment rates, poor housing and low educational achievement in deprived areas.
- Cultural issues come into play where communities that feel isolated, and in many cases are geographically separate, maintain strong attachment to their distinctive ways of life, whether Islamic, Romany or any other, and as a result face resentment for not assimilating to the 'British' norm.

This pattern of in-groups and out-groups has proved remarkably stable in Britain. At the root of this is the country's ingrained class system and the stability of the political situation. But there is also another process at work, and that is the way that different discriminations operate to reinforce one another. Negative stereotypes and low expectations become internalised as a result of having constant experience of them. So the process acts as a self-fulfilling prophecy for everybody involved. Every example of a stereotype operating seems to add more 'proof' to the analysis of the situation based on it. For example in education, neither pupils

experiencing discrimination by stereotyping nor their teachers who may be following these stereotypes unintentionally tend to be too surprised by their underachievement. Strategies for social inclusion therefore have to contend with very strong negative forces.

The declared aim of recent policies of social inclusion is to 'ensure that everyone, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, can achieve their full potential in life' (Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion, 2002, quoted in Ch. 1.2). The basic strategy is to identify, then lessen or remove, artificial obstacles. These are those practices that prevent progress for members of out-groups but are amenable to change through the law and/or education.

'Lifting every child out of poverty' across society is now a declared aim of national policy. Education has been placed at the forefront of strategies, as policy documents such as 'No child left behind' and 'Excellence in Cities' make clear. There has been a remarkable emphasis on provision of childcare and nursery education for all, and a determined drive to raise standards of literacy and numeracy across all age ranges, with a target of half the population having access to university education post 18. Whatever the arguments about lowering standards and narrowing the concept of education by excessive testing, there is an unmistakable recognition of the damage done to our society by social exclusion, and an equally evident determination to reduce it.

At the root of this new formulation is a high level of anxiety about groups feeling alienated from society. Every category of discrimination from homophobia to antagonism to the lifestyle of the traveller community creates feelings of alienation as people are devalued. White working class, Black British and British Muslim boys often feel no 'stake' or involvement in society. Many may be suffering from the effects of poverty, but both they both feel the effects of racism in their high rates of unemployment. For Muslim boys these insecurities are increased by the effects of the fear of Islamic terrorism, as almost all young Muslim men say they feel labelled as potential terrorists. Indeed in this climate the entire British Muslim community feels a sense of distrust and alienation that is described as Islamophobia.

This concern for alienation places education at or near the top of the political agenda. Schools have the job of developing the abilities of young people and equipping them with the skills to contribute to society and feel included and valued. This needs motivation, and any sense of alienation makes this difficult. Moreover teachers have to find ways of lessening their pupils' feelings of alienation from society because disaffection reduces motivation and creates indiscipline. They can't do it on their own, but it's in the interest of all schools and

teachers to identify experiences of discrimination in their pupils' lives and remove or reduce them wherever it is in their power to do so. At the very least schools and teachers must not contribute by their actions to those experiences – that is 'institutional discrimination' – and at best should seek to challenge and reduce feelings of antagonism like homophobia and Islamophobia.

We have observed that strategies to achieve social inclusion have to challenge a clear and powerful process of discrimination and deprivation. But we have already noted that the range of deprivations and discriminations create complex and contradictory inter-relationships. As a result professional action that aims to remedy injustices and inequalities for one out-group but ignores the complexities of situations can create hostility and antagonism from members of other out-groups. Examples of this are not difficult to locate, and once again most are drawn from education:

- We have already noted that there has been a significant though not total reversal in gender discrimination in academic achievements. Girls now outperform boys in GCSE and A Level results, and make up well over half the intake into Higher Education. This is probably the result of feminist campaigns as much as improvements in education, and has led to antagonism and alienation among boys. It demands a new response from teachers, and opens up new opportunities to make education more attractive for boys, but it also allows the assumption that the initial discrimination against girls no longer requires attention. If this is not appreciated profession action, however well intentioned can continue a tradition of neglect.
- Education for greater education opportunities for girls and against sexism can be interpreted as a racist attack on the values and family structure of other ways of life. This is particularly true for efforts to open up new career opportunities and freedom of individual action for young Asian women. This attempt to secure young women their full human rights has been criticised by some in their communities as an interference with their responsibilities to the family unit that is central to traditional culture. However, from a 'western' perspective, many will see this response as a restriction on individual freedom of action in a democratic society. As a headline in the Guardian recently put it, 'we must be free to criticize without being called racist'.
- The responses to cultural diversity that are now a required part of the National Curriculum, known as 'multicultural' and 'multi-faith' education to build mutual knowledge and understanding of different ways of life, are sometimes seen in 'white' society as an encouragement to minority cultures

- to isolate themselves from the wider society.
- In a very different way, the 'socially inclusive' policy of citizenship education which at last requires study of racism in all schools and therefore has to be a central part of all 'education for equality' is seen by some in minority communities as intended to undermine their cultures and make everybody 'British'.
- A recent campaign by the gay organisation 'Outrage' against homophobia in Black reggae music has recently been criticised for alienating black people. The campaign has been likened to 'a modern-day missionary trying to impose his views' (HARKER, 2004).

These examples show, among other things, that there is a lot of misunder-standing of what professionals in education are attempting. For example there is in fact no necessary contradiction between multicultural or multi faith education that explores different faith systems and citizenship education that seeks to eliminate stereotyping. Both these strategies contribute to a society with differing personal value systems and shared public values, The apparent contradiction arises from a widespread fear that the value systems of the various cultural groups differ fundamentally and share no common ground, and that cultural diversity implies social breakdown. What this apparent contradiction shows is how much work is needed through school and public education to break down fear of differences. An equally important lesson from these examples is that interventions need to be undertaken carefully, with a full awareness of the possible outcomes. It would not be difficult to prepare a similar list of potential hazards for every profession that involves social interaction.

A closer look at educational strategies in one or two of the areas of inequality may help to clarify these complexities and identify the difficulties and the problems of promoting social inclusion. Racism has probably received the most attention both nationally and by educators because it poses the greatest threat to the social fabric. This is despite the fact that Britain has, uniquely in Europe, had a Race Relations Act since 1976. But it is riots and murders that have brought investigations and eventually action. The initial response always focuses on the police force because this operates at the front line of public disorder, but wider implications are unavoidable. Education is inevitably among these because schools are intended to shape young adults for society. Therefore, for example, the Brixton and Toxteth riots of 1981 led to the Scarman Report on police relationships with minority communities, but also to the Swann Report in 1985, which laid out a full programme of antiracist and multicultural education. Implementation was inade-

quate, and after the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 the MacPherson Report of 1997 repeated the demand for this educational programme, within the context of eradicating 'institutional racism' in police forces and every public institution. Not only is there a full programme to be implemented, but there is also a 'general duty' to do so, with detailed specific legal duties for schools and colleges in the Race Relations Amendment Act of 2000.

These duties for schools and colleges include a requirement to monitor incidents of racism and the exclusion from schools of pupils for antisocial behaviour (which includes six times as many Black British boys as white boys, and four times as many boys from Asian communities). Other duties require each institution to monitor levels of achievement by ethnic groups and devise strategies to improve these where, as in the case of Black and Muslim boys, they are found to be below the average. Institutions must have policies for these purposes and report on their implementation.

None of these elements are new, because they were all included in the Reports of the 1980s listed above, and have all been demanded by the different communities and by socially aware teachers and educators over the last forty years. Nor has this been without some effect. Multicultural education has become the norm in most schools with multi-racial populations. Anti-racist education has been implemented in many inner-city schools that have to deal with the backlash of conflicts between communities. But the majority of schools without these experiences have taught a narrowly ethnocentric curriculum that focuses on the achievements of white Britons, and occasionally Europeans, and ignores the racist stereotypes that this fosters and confirms. Most teachers have refused to adopt anti-racist policies because they believe that this highlights and encourages racist behaviour. Indeed, many well-intentioned multicultural teachers have refused to tackle racism because they believe that teaching about other ways of life is the surest way to foster good feelings. Others believe that this has instead created better-informed racists.

But the responsibilities of educators to tackle racism have become even more urgent with the growth of antagonism towards refugees and asylum seekers, and of Islamophobia towards British Muslims in general. These issues are dealt with in some detail in the general paper on Racism and Prejudice, but must feature here as indications of how powerful a hold stereotypes have on thinking. Refugees and asylum seekers are desperate to secure their human rights, but are commonly seen as nothing but potential scroungers from our welfare system rather than potentially valuable contributors. Maybe this is because few schools have addressed the issue, but the hold of Islamophobia shows how little impact

ten years or more of multi-faith education seems to have had. No school has ever taught that Islam pursues 'holy war' through fanatical terrorism, but that label is now firmly attached to many Muslims.

When we turn to the underlying and pervasive issue of class and poverty we discover more interrelationships between issues of inequality, and examples of ways in which race and class combine not merely to reinforce disadvantage but also to create conflict between out-groups. In general terms, many ethnic minority communities trapped in poor areas suffer several disadvantages as competition for jobs, houses and limited resources encourages racial prejudice. Any 'positive action' for one community creates resentment as others continue to lose out. Class solidarity doesn't survive in this context.

However, it is important to note that class and race can also combine to create conflict between different cultural groups, and especially through different levels of educational achievement. It's well known that Chinese pupils outperform every other group, but the high level of results of Hindu, Sikh and West African pupils, related to the general prosperity of those communities, creates resentment from the less prosperous, largely inner city and academically lower achieving Black British community from an Afro-Caribbean heritage. Progress in one area produces new problems.

Similarly the same high levels of achievement by British Indian pupils, whose families are frequently professional and prosperous, creates resentment from the less prosperous and largely inner city Muslim communities from Pakistan and Bangladesh, whose pupils have relatively lower levels of academic achievement. This tension builds on the historical legacy of conflict between the cultures in British India, and between India and its Muslim neighbours since the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947-48.

In these ways progress towards social inclusion in one respect or for particular out-groups can often produce new and equally difficult problems for others. Improvement in educational achievement by ethic minority groups in general may well have reduced the force of accusations that racial stereotyping by teachers has damaged the opportunities of all 'non-white' pupils. But the fact that this is differential progress has damaged understanding between different cultures.

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that social exclusion is a pervasive factor in British society, operating in complex ways through a variety of assumptions and procedures. A simple process of devaluation lies at its heart, with a wide range of applications, but there are complex interrelationships in the way the process works with different groups. These have confused and undermined some of the separate initiatives for social justice. While the main field for analysis has

been education the same picture would have emerged in most professional areas. The thesis that emerges from this analysis is that if these varied procedures operate together to maintain social exclusion, or to reduce the effectives of strategies to reduce it, then it is appropriate that work for social inclusion follows a unified strategy. In education, other public services and all professional areas of national life a coherent strategy is needed.

It is therefore significant that national policy is moving in this direction. In this respect it is to some extent following the progress in education. As shown above, multicultural education to change the images pupils had of different cultures was followed by demands for anti-racist education to tackle issues of institutional racism that created exclusion and under-achievement. The most forward thinking at the present time has attempted to create an awareness of the cumulative effect of the full range of discriminations, and call for institutional strategies that challenge them all under the banner of equal educational opportunity and social inclusion.

National policy has followed a similar path. First institutional racism has been established as illegal in law not just in the police force but across the full range of public services and institutional activity. Secondly, there is a proposal to integrate the work of the various enforcement agencies or Commissions set up by Acts of Parliament over the last thirty years to tackle different aspects of discrimination and inequality (principally race, gender and physical disability) into a wide-ranging Human Rights Commission.

There is little doubt that this must be the way forward. It is consistent with the present Government's instinct for 'joined-up' policy-making and administration. Still more important is that it places what have been separate campaigns in the context of a national commitment to full human rights for all citizens. It is nevertheless interesting that the proposal has attracted strong criticism, particularly from the Commission for Racial Equality some of whose members fear that energy and clarity of purpose will be lost in the compromises necessary to resolve contradictions of the kind briefly indicated in this paper. As Joseph Harker put it in a recent Guardian article 'What would happen if a gay man accused a black man of homophobia who then countered with a racism charge? Who could decide the outcome, given that one body was supposed to represent both sides? If the commission chief was black or gay, who could have faith in justice being done?'

This question encapsulates some of the problems inherent in work for social inclusion. It indicates the need for further thinking and probably some prioritisation among strategies. Nevertheless if a unified strategy can be drawn up, this must be an improvement on a situation in which separate campaigns for groups

whose interests sometimes conflict cut across each other and do not always secure justice or full inclusion.

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Paragraph

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- 13. see Professor Sally Tomlinson: 'Race, ethnicity and education under New Labour', Oxford Review of Education 31. (1) March 2005.
- 14. for Islamophobia and the fears of the Muslim communities in Britain after the London bombings of July 2005, see KAREN ARMSTRONG: ('Unholy Strictures' Guardian 11.8.05) and Abdul-Rehman Malik: ('Hear the true voice of Islam' Guardian 24..4.05), also 'Grassroots' (Guardian 3.8.05).
- 17. see GCSE results 2004 (DfES and Guardian 3.8.04) and Higher Education Statistics Agency (Guardian Education 18.5.04)
- 18. see Polly Toynbee: 'We must be free to criticise without being called racist' (Guardian 18.8.04)
- 21. see J. HARKER: 'Hands off the mobos' (Guardian 26.10.04)
- 23. see John Lea: 'The MacPherson Report and the question of institutional racism' Howard Journal of Criminal Justice 39 (3).
- 25. see C. Gaine: 'No problem here' (Trentham 1985) for the shortcomings of 'all-white' schools in educating for a multicultural society, and 'Still no problem here' (Trentham 1995) for the continuation of this situation.
- 26. See 'Islamophobia: a challenge for us all' Runneymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (1997).
- 28. for ethnic achievement levels at GCSE 2004 see DfES Ethnic Minority Achievement Service.
- 32. for the evolution of educational policy and practice, see Robin Richardson, 'Controversies in Race and Education three perspectives' in 'Daring to be a Teacher' 1991 (Trentham, 1991)
- 33. for the proposed new Commission for Equality and Human Rights, see Guardian 12.10.04 'Legislation soon for new rights body'.

1.1 Social exclusion, ethnicity

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

The extent and nature of poverty is changing in Eastern-Europe. Not only the rate of the poor has increased dramatically, but according to many researchers, the nature of poverty has also changed. Social scientists thought in general, that during the time of modernity poverty was primarily defined by demographic factors. Families with many children, old or ill people became poor. According to certain observers, in the postmodern age the main reasons of poverty are social stance, ethnicity and sex.

According to several researchers, with the formation of market economy it is more and more probable in East-European countries, that some will remain poor for all their lives, or the poorest are more segregated in space from the less poor than it was previously the case. A "new poverty" can be observed in post-communism. To put it in an other way, a society under society, an "underclass" is being formed in the post-communist era, especially when poverty and ethnicity are connected, that is, poverty is concentrated on one or some ethnically definable social groups. According to the central hypothesis of LADÁNYI JÁNOS, many Romany people live in extreme poverty and has no hope to escape from adversity ever, and they are segregated more an more in space from the non-Romany and from the less poor, and the same fate is awaiting children too. In this respect writes LADÁNYI about the Romany "society under society", Romany "underclass".

There are some who state, that poverty characterises not only certain minority groups, but the rate of women among the poor is also higher than the rate of men, so poverty is "feminised". The feminisation of poverty means, that those households where the head of the family is a woman will have a more chance to become poor than families where the head is a man. Also, within poor households the burdens of poverty are put more on women than on men.

Who are the Roma? What is the number of Roma people in a given country, in a region of the World or all over the World? These questions preoccupy social scientists for a long time, and quite different answers can be given to these questions. These debates concern the problem scope of biological definiteness of ethnicity or "race", which is why researchers dealing with ethnicity are very interested in the topic (BARTH, 1969; ESCHBACH-GOMEZ, 1998; WATERS, 1992 and 1999).

So far the best romologists of the Central-European region (see KEMÉNY, 1976; KEMÉNY, 1997; KERTESI, 1998; KERTESI-KÉZDI, 1998) has started from the presupposition that there is a possibility to define the Romany population objectively, and so we can definitely estimate the numbers or rate of the Romany population within a society.

The number of those considering themselves Gypsies could change from one population census to the other, depending on the extent they were afraid of anti-Gypsy prejudice at the moment of the census. To make up for this "mistake", KEMÉNY at. al. decided to consider those people Romany who are considered to be Gypsies by their "social surroundings", instead of considering those people Romany who consider themselves to be Gypsies. The "social surroundings" are considered to be a "jury" of professionals.

Such professionals are the social workers, teachers, local governmental or police officers. Kemény made a Romany survey in Hungary in 1971 and in 1993 with the help of the above method. One of the main aims of his research was in both cases to give a reliable estimate on the numbers of the Romany population in Hungary (KEMÉNY, 1973; KERTESI-KÉZDI, 1998).

At least three classification systems of Central-European Romany population can be mapped with the help of empirical methods of social sciences:

- 1. the ethnic self-identification of the questioned who considers him- or herself a Roma?
- 2. classification by professionals dealing with the Roma or with "Roma issues" (who are considered to be a Gypsy by teachers, local governmental officers, social workers, nurses, doctors, policemen etc.)
- 3. who are considered to be Romany by interrogators who make surveys of commercial or scientific aims?

In the following part of the study the image the present Hungarian society has on the Romany will be introduced.

Everyday experiences and sociological researches agree that those whom the majority considers to belong to the Gipsy minority were among the disadvantaged groups appearing after the change of regime. As a structural consequence of the change of regime a great mass of the Roma minority dropped out from the social division of labour, and their adult members capable for work became unemployed, and the employment opportunities of entrants have ceased virtually.

On the other hand, the state of the Romany minority is further aggravated by the fact that already existing, though invisible prejudices by and discriminative tendencies of the majority came out into the open and were intensified after the change of regime. On the third hand, as poverty is also viewed differently by the public opinion, the Romany have at the same time to face revulsions evoked by cultural and ethnic difference and hostile explanatory schemes interpreting Roma poverty in a prejudicial way.

Ten years after the change of regime the authors (SZÉKELY, ÖRKÉNY and CSEPELI, 2001) carried out a national representative survey to learn about the image the Hungarian population has on the Romany. The most important question was if the members of the Hungarian society want to decrease Romany segregation and if yes, how. To be able to answer this question the researchers had to find out first how the Hungarian society defines the Romany: as a homogeneous group that is an outsider in the majority society and does not have an internal structure, or on the contrary, as a group organised into a structured society. If the majority considers the Romany as a hierarchically ordered group, there are necessarily poor and well-to-do ones, unsuccessful and successful people. In this case members of the majority society have to have a picture on the background prerequisites of success and failure in case of the Romany. From these ideas it is easy to unfold which part of the majority society wishes to exclude the Romany from the majority society, who are those who would like to include the Romany into the majority society through assimilatory strategies, or through integrative strategies.

In their study the authors (SZÉKELY, ÖRKÉNY and CSEPELI, 2001) would like to create path-models that show the value structures and thinking schemes guiding people of different social status towards considering segregation, assimilation or integration strategies the solution of the "Romany issue".

Estimates of numbers, social structure, stereotypes and attributions of poverty and failure considered to be characteristic to the Romany are examined. Then the authors present the extent the acceptance of anti-Romany discrimination works in those questioned and finally whether the questioned considers segregation, assimilation or integration strategies as to be followed the most by the majority or by the Romany society.

Sociological background of the majority, definition of status: education, income per person, provision of permanent consumer's goods, possession of high-value personal property and realty, and subjective status.

Status is explained the most strongly by the type of settlement and age: from villages going towards towns we meet higher and higher status, while status decreases by the increase of age. This relationship gains importance in connection with general tolerance: Higher status does not generally increase tolerance, as the strength of this relationship results partly from the fact that life circumstances

accompanying higher status provide possibilities for people to keep themselves away from "problem situations", and from conflicts resulting from everyday encounter with difference.

Tolerance

Under normal conditions no group can compete with the own group, that is necessarily the measure of judging every other group. The own group is the birthplace of ingenuousness, self-evidence and normality, compared to which every other group is different. The question is: to what extent is otherness accompanied by negative feelings resulting from peculiarity, that make us keep distance, what kind of stereotypes are built on these feelings and how deeply prejudices permeate the forming inter-group relationship.

"Otherness" or "difference" is never an abstract phenomenon but appears in the presence of a concrete other group. Table 1. contains the answer to the following question:

Table 1. Would you agree if the following people would move into your neighbourhood? (percentage)

	Yes	No	Don't know
Transylvanian Hungarian immigrant	78,4	21,0	0,6
Jew	71,1	28,3	0,6
Ethnic German	69,3	30,2	0,5
Communist	62,9	36,4	0,7
Black	51,8	47,6	0,6
Chinese	46,5	52,9	0,6
Romanian	40,4	58,9	0,6
Arabic	40,2	59,0	0,8
Refugee from Bosnia	36,3	63,2	0,5
Homosexual	28,9	70,3	0,8
Gypsy	20,5	78,6	0,9
Skinhead	13,5	85,9	0,6

The biggest aversion to a possible neighbourhood was in case of skinheads and Gypsies, who have conflicts with each other as well.

Xenophobia is also part of the attitude towards otherness. Xenophobia or hate of strangers was measured by three questions. Table 2. shows the distribution of answers.

Table 2. Xenophobia as an identity (percentage)

Do you belong to the group of people who	Rather yes	Rather no
– do not like foreigners	28	72
- would be more rigorous about receiving refugees	78	22
- would restrict the number of coloured people	50	50
living in the country		

It is hard to form an opinion of the relationship between this method of self-categorisation and the nature of the measured attitude, however it is sure that the existence or lack of xenophobia depicted this way is in line with tolerance towards difference.

It seems that the higher the social status is the stronger tolerance towards difference becomes. It is also visible, that people accept or refuse different minorities in terms of being content with their own situation. The more content they are with their situation, the more tolerant they become, and vice versa. At the same time we must see that none of the variables go strongly together.

Romany stereotypes

In their questionnaire the researchers asked answerers to agree or disagree with two statements containing a very prejudiced negative presumption referring to the Roma minority. One of the statements said that the problems of the Gypsies would be solved if they would finally start to work, the other statement said that criminal inclinations are in the nature of Gypsies. The two statements were aggregated into a negative hetero-stereotype index.

Answers to the following statements were on the factor measuring discriminative inclination: the country should not spend on educating the Roma on their mother tongue; we can agree with the fact that there are places of amusement where the Romany are not let in; the safety of the country is threatened by the increase in the proportion of Roma population.

Higher social status makes people susceptible not only to accepting difference but also to refrain from negative stereotypes, though it has hardly any effect on discrimination attitude. The rejection of difference goes together with the acceptance of Roma-related stereotypes and is strongly related to the approval of Roma-related discrimination.

The nightmare of Roma offensivity

The faulty estimation of the numbers of a minority group can be a simple know-

ledge-level question. Results of sociological studies reveal that twenty years ago the actual proportion of the Romany was hardly more than 5% in the Hungarian society. Those asked overestimated this proportion by 7% in average. If we consider the rate of overestimates and the rate showing lack of overestimates we can say, that 27% of people asked had not overestimated the 20 years ago Romany proportion. The present situation brakes the tendencies of overestimation loose much rather. According to the sociologists the present 7% rate was overestimated by 15% in average, and only less than one tenth (!) of those asked did not give any estimates to the numbers of the Romany.

Discrimination tendency against the Romany

Table 3. Types of discrimination

	The size of clusters, percentage
Racist	39
Friend of the Roma	33
Makes distance	28

The group of racists is characterised by: an extreme antipathy against the Romany; strong identification with the group of the majority society that dislikes the Romany, feel a large social distance from them; and largely support every discrimination possibility. When characterising this group we should mention that they fear the most that the increase in the numbers of the Romany would threaten the security of the whole Hungarian nation. The rate of racists is unbelievably high; more than one third of the population belongs here.

The group of friends to the Romany situates at the opposite end. This group takes to the Romany and does not identify with the anti-Romany group. It does not feel a social distance from the Romany, denies every form of discrimination, and does not fear the security of the nation at risk due to the increase in the number of the Romany. This set of attitudes characterises 33% of the population.

Between the two ends we find those who are keeping a distance, those who deny discrimination against the Romany, though not so strongly as the Romany-friends do. At the same time they feel a certain social distance against the Romany and they feel a considerable antipathy against the Romany. For them antipathy against the Romany means an identification with the standpoint of the majority, hence the rate of those thinking their aversions are not personal but they belong to the "big family" of people who dislike the Romany, is extremely high. The percentage of people belonging to this group is 28%.

Sociological studies prove that there is a consensus in the Hungarian society in the question of being anti-Romany. The sign of the consensus is that education does not affect the strength of aversion against the Romany. This is proved by the present research as well. The rate of those who has inclinations towards discrimination is about 39% in every level of education. The rate of the friends of the Romany is strongly decreasing by the increase of the level of education. A social consensus, according to which tolerance towards the Romany and denial of discrimination against the Romany counts as deviance, starts to prevail.

The dimension of success

According to our hypothesis, the Romany strategy of success can be depicted in three ways. The first one is relying on internal strengths like talent, willpower and diligence. An other possibility is the assimilation strategy meaning, the minority that desires success loses its old face and assimilates into the majority society. In these cases the prerequisite of success is hiding the Romany origin, good connections and luck essential to all these. The third possible way of success is that the Romany keep their ethnic identity and become full members of the society this way, that is they integrate. The integration strategy is characterised by the undertaking of Roma origin and the helpful social environment.

The prior notions were reinforced by the data.

A kind of anti-Romaness is well visible in all the three standpoints, hence while answerers think the Romany could integrate into the society through diligence, willpower and talent, they deny the responsibility of the society.

The other possible strategy is assimilation. The path model ending in the assimilation strategy of success containing the denial of Romany identity has a more simple structure and is more consistent than the previous model. The denial of assimilation can cloak the aim of social exclusion as well.

The third possible success strategy professes Romany integration. The positive nature of the integration strategy of success is proved by the fact that it has the strongest denial of anti-Romany discrimination behind.

Conclusions

According to the first conclusion, the increase in the general tolerance level results at the same time in the decrease in aversions against the Romany.

The second conclusion refers to the fact that the negative Romany image most of the population possess can be overcome if the complementary relationship between Romany categorisation and success comes to an end in public thinking. This should be promoted primarily by mass communication.

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1.2 Social Inclusion In Further and Higher Education

Gaye Heathcote and Orlagh McCabe (United Kingdom)

In British culture we have come to the conclusion that in order to see inclusion we must first focus on exclusion, and those groups of people who are excluded from certain aspects of society. British universities and employment providers are now recognising that widening participation is something that they all have a responsibility for. They accept that social and economic issues can have an affect on the choices people make. People who are considered to belong to what have been deemed as 'out groups' are those suffering from poverty and related deprivation; those disempowered on grounds of social class, race, gender and sexual orientation; disabled people, or those discriminated against and marginalised by mainstream society, as well as those deprived of life chances. It has been identified that deprivation is often concentrated in urban neighbourhoods, or scattered in pockets in rural areas.

"Widening participation is now focused on that sector which has the lowest participation rates. Half the population is termed 'manual working class', but only a quarter of young entrants to higher education are from these classes." (Education Guardian.co.uk)

Throughout the past two decades, the provision of higher education within the United Kingdom has increased dramatically. This has resulted in an increase in representation across all social groups, however despite this increase, the gap between the levels of participation of affluent and disadvantaged people has remained.

At every level of the higher education structure there are issues related to access and the gap between those people choosing to study in higher education and those people who choose not too. Although universities are taking steps to remove the obstacles to participation by people from the groups with low representation, these obstacles are still affecting access to education, thus promoting a less socially inclusive society.

"Social inclusion is the process by which efforts are made to ensure that everyone, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, can achieve their potential in life. To achieve inclusion income and employment are necessary but not sufficient. An inclusive society is also characterised by a striving for reduced inequality a balance between individuals' rights and duties and increased social

cohesion" (Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion, 2002).

As well as identifying the individuals and groups that are "excluded", it is also important to understand the barriers that prevent many from accessing education. This is not simply about opening hours or appropriate physical access, but also about culture, the nature of services and the manner in which they are delivered. The barriers also include, for instance, racism, xenophobia, and sexism, as well as a lack of access to power and resources. Many Government initiatives have been implemented in order to widen access and raise the aspirations of those groups of people ('out groups') who would never normally consider continuing in further education.

Action on Access was established by HEFCE and the Department of Higher and Further Education, Training and Employment in January 2000. This team for widening participation aims to provide national support and co-ordination for the funding bodies to implement strategies including special initiatives, specific national developments and pilot projects. In 2003 Action on Access formed an alliance with the new National disability team to ensure that disability issues are mainstreamed.

The mainstream disability allocation stands at £10 million for 2003-04 for the sector. This is allocated in respect of those students who receive Disabled students allowance, this is given to institutions who recruit and support disabled students. The Special Educational Needs and Disability act 2001 places emphasis on learning and teaching strategies and the accessibility of the curriculum. It states that it is unlawful to discriminate against a disabled person "in the provision of services provided wholly or mainly for students or those enrolled on courses. This includes provision such as courses of education, training and recreation, leisure and catering facilities or accommodation" (Disability Discrimination Act, 2001).

The further education sector can be considered inclusive in a number of ways as it offers provision for

- Vocational Education
- Non-vocational education
- All ages 16 plus (and in some cases to under 16s)
- Basic literacy and numeracy
- Training for work
- Provision for students with learning difficulties and disabilities
- Short courses
- Evening and weekend courses
- Outreach work
- Distance learning.

The higher education sector has become significantly more inclusive over recent years through

- Credit accumulation and transfer
- Non-traditional entry qualifications
- Increase in mature students
- More flexible provision
- Introduction of foundation courses to facilitate transition to degree courses.

These developments have led to much greater diversity of provision and much greater diversity in the type of learner. It is now recognised that everyone is a "learner". Learning is not something which happens at set points, rather each learner experiences episodes of learning at different times in their life. To accommodate the changing patterns in learning, many of the Government initiatives have resulted in changing delivery methods. These methods may include:

- the establishment of learning centres/workshops etc
- outreach work
- distance learning
- networks for learning
- virtual learning environments
- managed learning environments
- production of learning packs.

There is a need for funding initiatives to promote increased collaboration between institutions and other learning providers, but at the same time, there is still the tension of increased competition between institutions. Despite the fact that many of these initiatives have had proven results in widening access, the gap between represented and non-represented groups still remains and more needs to be done in order to ensure that all sections of society are equally represented in higher education.

The issues surrounding access to education by are varied and problematic. The government takes widening access seriously, however, increasing the amount and range of people taking up university education is more than simply putting into action government policy.

Although provisions have been made in order to promote social inclusion, improvements must be made in order to make education and employment more accessible to these groups which have been labelled excluded.

"Women and ethnic minorities are well represented but participation levels

are still low for people with disabilities and those from poorer social classes. Thus an 18 year old with a disability or other health problem is only 40% as likely to enter higher education as an 18 year old without a disability or health problem. And poorer social classes have significantly lower participation rates than others, occupying the same low share of places on courses in 1999-2000 as they did six years previously" (National Audit Office Press Notice, www.nao.org.uk).

Combating social inclusion involves understanding and working towards the elimination of the sources of exclusion. Reducing disparity, discrimination and disadvantage while recognising the value of diversity, will enable individuals, communities and institutions to move towards a more inclusive society.

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2. Dimensions of Difference

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

Possibilities to understand the concept of minority and "being different"

In the third part of the 20th century and in the 21st century the social sciences became more and more interested in those "being different", including social, cultural, and life-style differences that were rooted not only in differences among financial status, education, occupation, place of living, that is, social status differences.

Many times the concept of minority is seemingly a statistical concept. The concept of minority refers not only to the fact that there is a group in society the relative proportion of which is less compared to the proportions of the other groups. The case in fact is that the minority possesses less from the three main types of capitals – political, economic and cultural – P. BOURDIEU conceptualized and proved by empirical researches, than the majority. It is quite self-evident that the minority does not have power and economic resources. The considerable lack of cultural capital prevents members of the minority from emancipating in the economic and political sense. The essence of the cultural-type minority definition is depriving of values defined by the majority. This manifests itself in depriving the minority of its history and communication possibilities. It is deprived of its language. The principle of every homogenisation strive is to inhibit the minority from speaking its mother tongue. The minority is deprived of its language, of the right to define itself. They use categories compelled by the majority and consequently the most serious seizure happens, the seizure of identity.

It is not by chance that social issues like the process of pauperisation and its ethnic respects, the change in the identity and living circumstances of the youth or the significant change in the status of women play an important part in changes concerning the status of and opinions about ethnic and minority groups.

So it is understandable that the strengthening desire for minority identity plays a considerable role in the minority-ethnic renaissance, and it can not be denied, that scientific debates on the issue and its appearance in educational projects has also intensified.

Difference, identity, equality and inequality as problems guiding thinking are modern concepts. Not as if there had been no inequality before the civil societies, rather it existed as natural part of world-order and as such it was meaningless to interpret or measure it. Standardisation, norm was a natural

product of the machine-made mass production of the industrial revolution, and as a matter of fact, uniformity on the basis of comparison becomes a value at that time: while hundred – hundred and fifty years ago value meant that there were no two alike panels on the ceiling of a huge banqueting hall or every water-shoot of a church was given a unique face, now the huge building of the London World's fare, the crystal palace containing completely similar elements in size and patter is considered to be the miracle. The accomplishment of the era is not the creation of unique pieces but the production of an optional number of completely alike objects. The means of control and comparison is the quantifiable measure. Norm, standardised norm, the "objective" thing created by the majority on the basis of statistical indices is not the product of religious or personal authority as it used to be earlier. Experiment and observation follows scholastic contemplation, and the personal will substitutes the indifferent order of science. All these also mean that diversion from the norm upwards or downwards can be defined objectively and in a quantified way as well.

The everyday philosophy of industrial revolution concentrating on quantity also meant that the value of things lied in their dynamics. Development appears as the process of expansion, value is connected to the rate of expansion. The seeds of the DARWINIAN ideas fell obviously to the fertile ground of this scope of ideas at the time of socio-Darwinism being born, when SPENCER created his famous axiom (survival of the fittest), or when MALTHUS created his legendary theory on the extinction of human races. To be able to explain difference we should examine the genealogy of identity-difference concepts and the concepts of development.

The philosophical legitimization of strangeness and identity as linguistic and conceptual antinomy, that is the connection of the two concepts as counterparts, is a CARTESIAN idea. The importance of DESCARTES lies in the fact that his system meant a change from the holistic world-view that builds on analogies through research into similarities to an analytic and comparative system of thought looking for differences. After DESCARTES the world is discussed according to the order of concepts and not of things, the world is arranged first in alphabetical order (encyclopaedias) then into correct taxonomies (LINNEUS, Systema naturae, 1758). LINNÉ systematizes the species first, with men among them, though there is still a rough mixture of characteristics and anatomic observations in his system.

An other dimension of the quantitative method of thinking that builds on differences and differs from the synchronic system of taxonomy is the increase in the importance of time that becomes important when divided into units and systematized, like in case of the order of things. Time is at the same time the benchmark of the World's development too, and as such it is a unit differentiating between the lower and the higher state of development. DARWIN makes a step forward in the history of thinking by providing the taxonomy seemingly with a time dimension, actually with a value dimension. The peculiarity of taxonomy is hierarchy, inferiority and superiority, the extent of complexity, the place in evolution appears in an implicit manner on its levels. DARWIN's evolution theory opened up a road to the evolutionary interpretation of synchronous, simultaneous differences, that is, to be able to find the previous (obviously more primitive) step where the deviance in question belongs, after the diagnosis of difference compared to the contemporary norm according to the evolutionary taxonomy. going downwards in the hierarchy according to the extent of deficit. In practice this meant that a modern scientific explanation could be created for the synchronous versatility of human species and their legitimate categorization. The scientific, that is quantifiable and statistically analysable comparative study of primitive, that is non-European nations and humankind provided a reassuring answer to the legitimisation questions of minority dominion.

After DARWIN it was BROCA who first tried to explain sub-normality by evolutionary reasons, with the help of craniometrical measures. PAUL BROCA, the respectable founder of the Anthropological Society in Paris, explained the superiority of the white, talented, of good social background, adult and male race mainly by the calibre of the skull, or rather by the size of the brain. Do not think that these ideas remained hidden: MONTESSORI, who taught anthropology at the University of Rome, also accepted the arguments of BROCA. So much so that he himself measured the head perimeter of children and predicted a better future for those with bigger brain. The root of the matter is the statement anatomists of the end of last century agreed in: the brain of black people, women and children show similarities that can not be gainsaid.

FRANCIS GALTON, DARWIN's celebrated cousin, the maniac of measures and statistics has studied the families of 415 famous men at the end of the last century and found that the sons of 48% of famous men, the brothers of 41%, the fathers of 31%, the grandfathers of 17% and the grandsons of 14% of famous men are also famous. The appearance of skills above a given level, the idea of the super scientist is also a product of the XIX. century: In the macro-sense the racist application of the DARWINIAN evolution theory prevails in the phylogenetic explanation of difference. On the domain of ontogenesis difference required ontogenetic explanations, the logic of the era however – which as we have seen chained the phenomenon of disabled – mad – stranger - savage – started to work

here as well. The concept of retardation appears in a typically XX. century approach meaning backwardness in development. We find the ontogenetical interpretation of the DARWINIAN evolution theory in the developmental psychology OF PIAGET, that considers childhood a road to adulthood, and as long as we reach the end of this road we remain deprived beings. The more norm-abilities the individual lacks the more child-like he or she remains, this means that the disabled, the strangers, the mentally ill and the deviants get into the ontogenetically definable level of childhood, partly in the area of professional thinking and almost completely in the area of public thinking. FREUD and JUNG also thinking on the same track when they research the structure of the "ego" and connect the creature of impulse in us to the young ego.

The transposition of the adult-child relationship can be observed in several cases in examples taken from fiction, which are exceedingly suitable through the method of philosophical archaeology for the exploration of the hidden dimensions of public thinking. The appearance of the story of Robinson Crusoe in the literature of the XVIII. century is not a coincidence. Civilization and culture seemingly confronts the natural man or human nature. Robinson is the civilised man in the wilderness. With his behaviour he wants to prove that a gentleman, the civilised man, is a gentleman in hell as well, and behaves accordingly. Opposite to the general belief Robinson does not create but reproduces civilisation in the desert island. The difference is considerable since the hero does not adapt to the circumstances with creating a new, unique culture, system of habits etc., but is building his home-, a rather English and rather middle-class civilisation out of the local materials. For Robinson the normal civilisation is important. If we would like we could catch ROUSSEAU in the act at that point as he suggests this novel as the only reading for his Emily. The slogan "back to nature" (that by the way Ro-USSEAU had never said) means therefore the formulation of the civil middle-class norm, the norm compared to which being different will be interpretable. Difference does appear in the second half of DEFOE'S novel in the form of the cannibal savage man whom Robinson treats as a child (and this is mentioned several times in the novel) who is physically an adult and even skilful. Using the language of analytic psychology, Robinson's counterpart, Friday, is the childlike and natural ego of Robinson, and the novel is actually about the victory of the Robinsonian cultural adult superego over the creature of impulse, the child.

At the end of the second millennium the topics of ethnicity and identity became more and more popular either in the sociological or in the political sciences sense, let us mention the sudden ethnic conflicts in Europe after 1989, or the paradox phenomenon that the importance of belonging to a community on the

basis of cultural heritage is increasing in an era that is seemingly defined by dialogue among nations and interest in the Other.

In the normative sense, though the "race" can no longer be used for the categorisation of human groups, it is a well-known fact that *racism* afflicts the members of such ethnic minority groups whose disparity is not depicted by racial or biological concepts any more. Yet the introduction of the concept "racial discrimination" – referring to the discrimination of groups or individuals on the basis of recognisable racial characters – is useful in terms of the exact definition of the targets of racism.

In the last decade we could witness how the observable forms of racism increased in numbers and how the prevailing theories essential to their knowledge had to be reformulated. As opposed to this, the racism-enemy as a viable movement faces a crisis: it is consumed by the lack of unity, realizable strategy and public support. The western society is unable to cope with the necessary consequences of "multiculturalism", which is embodied in the racist discrimination of "racially" different minorities.

Two, seemingly contradictory propositions should be mentioned in this context. On the one hand, our present western societies are considered to be multicultural and this is actively supported by the Media and the advertisement industry as well (e.g. the pop-music dumping). On the other hand, multiculturalism, a liberal view originating from North-America, emphasizing the preservation of cultural difference, followed the previous assimilation strategies.

The study of racism and discrimination should be driven back to the domain of politics; racism, the possibilities of anti-racism and the atmosphere created by multiculturalism should be re-examined in the context where the visible cultural differences became more important than ever in the search for identity.

To be able to understand the crisis of anti-racist movements we should consider the followings:

- 1. The present theories deserve more attention.
- As an answer to the approach that blames the unsuccessfulness of antiracist movements for the new racist theories, the central role of racism in the formation of European nation states and in the development of universalistic theories should be examined.
- 3. Finally, we should realize that the use of "race" as a critical concept can no longer help the fight against racism, anti-semitism and xenophobia.

To examine these views LENTIN reviews the theories of three authors: PIERRE-

ANDRÉ TAGUIEFF, ETIENNE BALIBAR and PAUL GILROY.

The multinational western societies have cultural versatility accepted more and more, yet for this reason the survival of racism and the success of ultra-right-wing parties deserve more attention. TAGUIEFF has introduced the concept of "new racism" that is based on cultural and not on biological differences between nations.

The developing anti-racist theories declare that the cultural phenomena are autonomous, this way cultural identity rules mentality and life-style, and every culture should be considered equal. On this basis TAGUIEFF blames the opponents of racism for replacing the racial approach as a useful concept by the "culture" definition the positive nature of which is easy to identify with, yet its domains defining personal and group characteristics were not carefully considered.

TAGUIEFF tried to call attention to the fact that while anti-racism is ruled by economic explanations, racism draws on the source of these ideas – on the notion of cultural and not of biological difference. He also proposes that anti-racist thinking lies on three pillars: the invalidity of the notion of "race", the central role of cultural difference and the equal status of all cultures.

BALIBAR's interpretation reveals why TAGUIEFF's insistence on culturalist racism that replaces the "traditional" approach to human populations distinguished on the basis of biological race is problematic. According to TAGUIEFF this new racism purposefully conceals its more pure form, the biological racism. Basically it would be better and more honest to say that there are no considerable differences between theories verifying the discrimination of the Other, may these be on biological or on cultural basis. Rather, the despair over the failure of assimilation strategies could lie behind the blaming of anti-racist movements. Unifying efforts that would like to decrease the difference of minority cultures with the help of assimilation melt into the integration policy programmes which though acknowledge the existence of different cultural groups, consider them homogeneous within.

With the help of assimilation, or with merger nowadays, every western society makes an effort to decrease the effect the existence of ethnically and racially separated minority groups exercise on the social status quo as small as possible. Whether we try to handle cultural differences this way or that way, the state overprotects us and enforces racist standpoints accordingly.

In spite of his critique against TAGUIEFF, BALIBAR can also be interpreted as someone who falls into the same trap, because he avoids the institutional and the political interpretation of racism as well. He does not speak about racism openly in terms of unequal powers prevailing in the modern society.

Recently PAUL GILROY argued against the use of "race" as a critical

concept. GILROY takes a more and more critical stance concerning anti-racism that is monopolised by different institutes and biased lobbies and he is strongly against the depolitisation of anti-racism as a viable movement. GILROY calls attention to the fact that if even the activists of anti-racism keep the racial definitions of difference what chance we could have to convince others of the senselessness of these. On the other hand, the wide-spread use of racial categorisation in the advertisements and in the Media, the support of difference as a positive characteristic has paradoxically led to the situation in which the concept of "race" can no longer be omitted, as "in the world of privatised universal multiculturalism ... racial difference gained strong economic value." The observations of GILROY, similar to the observations of BALIBAR has led to the statement that the historical analysis of the development of the "race" concept is inevitable for creating usable critical concepts, and as a try to renew anti-racism. This he does together with the related and accompanying concepts. GILROY is haunted by the same problem, which refuses the critical applicability of "race" as a category, because without such proven and verified concepts the importance of anti-racism gradually goes down.

For the reconceptualisation of anti-racism as a theory and practice three things should be emphasized according to the author:

First: understanding the structural embedding of racism into the western societies requires a historical way of looking at things, which shows how the generalising rationalisation of human differences promoted the acceptance of inclusion that in the worst case had led to the Nazi genocide.

Second: the idea to distinguish between the "old", biological and the "new", cultural racism denies the fact that aversion to difference itself and not the disgust of biological and cultural characteristics leads to the continuous survival of racism.

Finally: the omission of "race" as a critical concept had emerged in a period when mixing among the different ethnic groups, the spread of black and other minority cultures intensifies, racism however still exists. It is essential then to rework antiracism as a political programme to avoid a racist view that emphasises identity, community, culture and tradition and at the same time does not acknowledge overlaps and politics itself.

Who are minorities then? One possible approach to minorities distinguishes between four dimensions:

- 1. historical minorities
- 2. Jewish, Gipsy minority (ethnic minorities)
- 3. immigrants from close countries.

4. immigrants from distant countries

Nationality and national *minority* as a historical-political and social-sociological *concept* has not yet been fully, exactly and plainly clarified, though the lack of a consistent name causes problems basically for each discipline. After the Second World War the word 'nationality' was in fact widely used in politics, public thinking or in the specialist literature almost exquisitely, while after the First World War the *'minority'* concept was predominantly used. When talking about nationality issues in Central and South-Eastern Europe, more closely in Hungary, we refer in fact to national minorities and not to nationalities. In the state-, interstate- or international level legal regulation and in the political or scientific view of this scope of questions we work not only with simply exchanged or occasionally used expressions, but rather with a kind of unique way of thinking and approach of which the terminology is a mere close and consequent expresser.

The use of the 'nationality' concept refers to the fact that we are not talking about thinking in terms of "the" nation or in terms of the nation and the state synchronously, but about thinking in terms of the state primarily, or in terms of the "dominating" nation that consists the state. More precisely, we are talking about that perspective that roots in the XIX. century but which becomes stronger than ever in the second half of the XX. century, in which the state is superior to the nation and vice versa. Starting from the priority of the state this kind of approach acknowledged only the "dominant" nation as nation, those living in a minority status were considered to be only citizens (this way it did not consider them the integral part, member of their own "mother nation", by so doing depriving them from one another).

In the meantime it is not always clear, who the subjects of different ethnic – national – minority groups are. Political, legal or social–cultural definitions of national and ethnic minorities are not always separate in the literature as well.

In terms of group identification the cultural respects have remained mostly and the dominance of traditions is extremely high.

Data referring to national and ethnic minorities are small and controversial. It must be emphasised though, that these differences are primarily not a result of professional incompetence, faulty measures or false information, but of the fact, that things can be analysed and empirically documented from several aspects.

A unique aspect of the social existence and role of ethnic minority groups appear when we study the social perception of national and ethnic minorities. The starting point of this approach here is not the viewpoint of the minority member, but that of the "other world", that is the majority society surrounding and incorporating the minorities, its optics.

When the sociologist wants to collect data to be able to measure and judge social facts, phenomena or processes, he or she presupposes, that these facts and processes exist not only objectively, but both the questioner – observer – researcher and the interviewee has real knowledge and information on these things.

An other, maybe newer, approach mentions among the minorities also the:

- women
- people with various disabilities, and
- homosexuals.

In case of the female society, if we look at their numbers, many people find their minority status unbelievable, as in several countries there are more women than men. Here we are evidently talking about a social category and it is worth looking at the issue in terms of the equal and unequal opportunities dichotomy, which is to be understood along their position in social stratification and its main characteristics. Connections among level of education, role played in social division of labour, and assignment, and the formal and informal possibilities of exercising social interests.

Sociologists often research the "feminization" of poverty, poverty becoming a female characteristic. Women are more and more over-represented in the poor population either in the developed, or in the developing countries. The considerable poverty gap between the sexes alters considerably the nature of poverty itself and the political reactions to it as well. For example, when women suffer from poverty in higher and higher numbers – as compared to men – children also possess more chance to become poor, and this will exercise a long-term effect on social mobility and stratification. While the poverty of old people might affect political decision making, the poverty of adult women leads to the reinterpretation and stratification of motherhood (often connected to the ideas of nationality and ethnicity), and directs the efforts of state redistribution from the labour market to the protection of mothers. In their study comparing the western developed capitalist societies, CASPER at al. found that the rate of female poverty compared to the rate of male poverty – that is the poverty gap between the sexes – ranges from the highest value, 1,41 measured in the United States, through 1,29 in Germany, to the almost complete equality found in the Netherlands. Some scientists research nowadays the effect state welfare allowances exercise on the poverty gap and has found that in those countries where the state allowances are more generous, universal and socially less stigmatized, the gender differences in poverty are less.

In special needs education disabilities are understood, typified and handled

on the basis of medical – biological – special needs. The starting point of the sociological approach is that disabilities are socially defined. While it is impossible to "call someone disabled" in case of evident disabilities, in case of not so evident disabilities the issue is often the opposite: someone or some people are "named" disabled to be able to validate negative discrimination towards them. It is sociologically proven, that for example in Hungary (and possibly in other countries also) the different classes, strata, groups of people are relatively evenly represented among people with evident disabilities (deaf, blind – visually impaired, physically disabled, serious mental handicap). At the same time the lower and marginal groups of the society – low-level education, unskilled, Gypsies, the Poor – are highly over-represented among those with non-evident disabilities (among people with mild mental handicap mainly).

The sociological approach – as a kind of strive for interdisciplinarity – is important with respect to getting to know the state of the disabled, as not only disabilities are understood in social terms but the life of the disabled is also lived within social organisations. The special educational needs cases mean one aspect of a special and total life-situation. A disabled person either has a family or not, either works or not, either has friends and other social relationships or not, either has an income or not, consumes, saves, deals with politics, and does several other things people without disabilities also do. These factors of his or her life however are interwoven with the aspects of disability as a state and as a social judgment. The fact and experience of being different stems mainly from the fact, that the institutions and objective elements of the society in the modern world are formulated according to the needs of the majority, non-disabled groups. On several domains of life there are no alternative solutions to human lifestyle considering the disabled state. And this changes disability as "being different" a disadvantage. The different physical makings become social disadvantages this way. The majority world consequently excludes the disabled. The life of the disabled is a closed world in the sense also that it is based on being excluded (voluntarily or out of necessity) from something.

The broadness of narrow life balks for some disabled is to a decisive extent dependent on the sociologically describable general position of the given disabled person. The social-demographic characteristics of parents and the family, sex, age, place of living, education, skills of the disabled person interrelatedly influence the opportunities of given disabled persons and groups for asserting oneself in the society. In case of disabilities of the same extent even there are rather different opportunities for asserting oneself in the society for example for disabled persons coming from town white-collar families or from village unskilled families

lies. When considering quality of life, all this means that disability and the characteristics of the disabled are strongly interwoven with sociological characteristics. The life situation of a disabled person is last but not least defined by his or her relationship to his or her circumstances.

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2.1 "Integration of special education needs children into the majority kindergarten"

László Lippai and Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

1. Aim of the programme

Act 1993. LXXXIX. 86§ (section 2.) modified by Act 1996. LXII. conceptualises the followings in its chapter on "The tasks of Public Education, the obligations of Local Governments": "Obligation according to section (1) also includes the attendance of disabled, sensory handicapped, mild mentally retarded, mild speech and other impaired pupils who can be educated together with other children and pupils." At the time when this Act was born there was a lack of Hungarian practical experience essential for integrated education; that is why the need for launching a city-level project arose. The aim of the project was to prepare the professional backgrounds of integrated education, to launch it and to monitor and evaluate the process. The project required an intersectoral cooperation: apart from kindergarten teachers and special needs educators the local government called for the involvement of special care and higher education also. This was reflected also in the project organisation called forth within the National Health Promotion Institute: the cooperation of city kindergartens, local government- and higher education institutes, and independent professionals.

2. Steps in fulfilling the programme

The project was launched in September, 1998. The actual start was preceded by a one year long preparation by the "children of special care and education" workgroup of the National Health Promotion Institute (NHPI) – Mental Health promotion Programme. This contained a needs analysis, the coaching of cooperating kindergartens and looking for means essential for effective project work.

The formal frames of the project began with the 25th of June, 1998. Resolution of Szeged County City General Assembly. For fulfilling the programme by NHPI – Mental Health Promotion Programme, in this assembly the Local Government created a 1.5 person travelling special needs educator status starting from the 1st of September 1998, within the Educational Institute of the Human Service Centre. The project covered three special needs areas: surdopedagogy, logopaedics and somatopedagogy.

A decision on which kindergartens and children would take part in the pro-

ject was made next. An important task was also to prepare kindergarten communities for kindergarten activities corresponding to the spirit of the project, for receiving "different" children. In this phase the everyday work of the previously prepared kindergarten teachers was supported by professionals (for example at the parents' meetings, etc.).

During the project the special needs educators, together with the kindergarten teachers, has created correctional programmes in which children with mild disabilities could be integrated without segregation into the kindergarten community of unimpaired children, on the one hand. On the other hand, they fulfilled tasks required by the development of children with mild mental disabilities. They also took part in other research and teaching activities emerging during the project's lifetime.

3. Professional results of the project

A positive attitude was shown by the kindergartens, the parents and the professionals in the surveys also made during the project's lifetime. Three main topics came to the front when compiling the survey questionnaire. The first topic was an enquiry about the direction of attitudes related to the disabled children. The second topic was a survey on parents' knowledge concerning integration. In the third topic we proposed questions to measure the relationship between the kindergarten group and the parents, and the possible changes in this relationship.

1. Parents' questionnaire

The direction of attitudes towards disabled children. Concerning this topic, first we measured preconceptions in connection with disabled children. The following

categories were created during content analysis of answers:

- 1) was happy about it 36,3%,
- 2) had no objections 13,7%,
- 3) was surprised 13,7%,
- 4) considered it natural 27,3%,
- 5) had doubts about 4,5%,
- 6) did not know about it 4,5% (see Figure 1.). As it is well visible, this kindergarten educational method is acceptable, or at least tolerable for the majority of

1 40.00% **2** 35,00% **3** 30,00% **4** 25.00% 20,00% **5** 15,00% **6** 10.00% 5.00% 0,00% Figure 1. Attitudes towards disabled children

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parents. It is however possible, that the results of thorough and successful briefing

by kindergarten teachers and other professionals dealing with integration is also reflected in the results.

Then we asked about first impressions on the disabled child, that can relate to the manifestation of adult attitude directions towards the child. The following categories were set up during the content analysis: 1) partially is the same as the other children (27,3%); 2) favourable picture (36,5%); 3) pity (13,7%); 4) needs more attention (4.5%); 5) more difficult to communicate with him or her (4.5%); 6) interest (4.5%), 7) no answer (9%). It is visible that the majority of the parents used attributes that are the signals of positive attitudes towards disabled children.

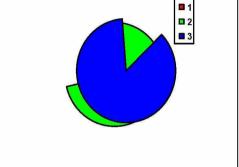
2. Survey on knowledge concerning integration

In this topic we were interested in the information the parents of healthy children

had on the nature of disabilities of mildly disabled children integrated into the kindergarten of their children. The possible categories were:

- 1) correct answer (59.1%).
- 2) incomplete answer (27,3%),
- 3) did not know (13,7%). This is possibly the result of effective information furnishing also.

We deal with the structure of the cognitive scheme of integration in the Figure 2. Knowledge concerning intefollowings. We asked about the ad- gration



vantages and disadvantages of integration in apropos of it. 90.9% of respondents thought that integration has some advantages, 40.9% thought it does not have a disadvantage. Only 9.1% of the answers belong to a category that can be evaluated as detrimental.

34.25 % of answers contained: 1) in connection with the disabled child there is a possibility to experience acceptance, 2) tolerance (20%), 3) helpfulness (2.85%), 4) dutifulness (5.75%), 5) the possibility for disabled children to enter a healthy kindergarten (5.75%). 25.7% of answers 6) stated that integration has no disadvantages. As a disadvantage 7) the risks of reception (2.85%) was mentioned, and there were also statements like 8) this is not a good idea (2,85%).

Relationship between the kindergarten and the parent's child. In this approach we wanted to know if the parent experienced any changes in a) the child's behaviour at home, b) and in his or her kindergarten environment. After the evaluation of answers we can state, that the vast majority of parents did not experience any changes either in the behaviour of his or her child (47,85%), or in the kindergarten environment (68,2%).

3. Analysis of the questionnaire for kindergarten teachers

Because of the very small sample the results of this analysis should be considered carefully. It is possible, that the occurring categories have importance, but in case of a larger sample, newer categories would also appear and the frequencies in the given categories would also change. That is why we include the names of the categories here, without the related frequencies.

Questions referring to the motivation of kindergarten teachers and their relationship to disabled children. First we inquired about the motives that lead kindergarten teachers to take up this task. Answers belonging to categories like 1) professional qualification, 2) wanted to help, 3) love of children and 4) new challenge emerged.

Then we asked for information on the first meeting with the disabled child. The answers belonged to two larger categories: there was a 1) situative approach, where the kindergarten teacher viewed the issue from a distance, did not write about her emotions towards the child, but provided only a description of the child. The other possibility 2) was an emotion-centred approach, where the kindergarten teacher mentioned her emotions toward the child also.

The kindergarten teacher and the disabled child in the healthy kindergarten group. First we inquired about the social relationships of the disabled child, then about the occurrent changes in the life of the group. The answers were steady, saying that the healthy children accepted the disabled child into the given kindergarten group.

Then we made the kindergarten teachers evaluate to what extent the disabled child could be involved into kindergarten work. Two categories arose: 1) almost in the same way 2) with more attention, but manageable.

Answers referring to changes in the kindergarten group can be put into categories like 1) less aggressively, 2) more frequent helpful behaviour.

Summary of results. On the basis of pre-survey it is likely, that the majority of healthy children and their parents accept and positively evaluates the integration of a mildly disabled child into their kindergarten group.

The results are valuable, as the parents were highly involved and concerned, as we were asking about their personal experiences with kindergarten integration.

The survey among kindergarten teachers validates the above result on the one hand, with the help of positive reflections coming from the kindergarten groups, and it also revealed some important aspects on the other hand, aspects that

are vital in the adequate selection of kindergarten teachers and their preparation for this new task.

The value of the results can be reduced by distortions resulting from the small sample size on the one hand, and resulting from the research tools on the other. It can also be reduced by the effects of the careful preparation preceding integration.

Partially due to the success of the project, the participating children became capable to integrate into a school group corresponding to their possibilities (The range of schools - depending on the seriousness and type of the child's disability – goes from auxiliary schools to normal primary school communities).

On the basis of experiences so far we can state, that in case of a disability of no mental nature (e.g. late speech development, physical handicap and suitably handled speech impairment) integration made the skills development of children possible to a level which enabled them to meet the requirements of normal primary schools.

4. Afterlife of the project

The unfavourable consequences of organisational restructurings in the meantime made the continuation of the city level project impossible, but the experiences and the effect of the project's organisational example will by all means exercise a long-term effect.

2.2 The changing role of education in the study of ethnic minorities

Sue Lewis (United Kingdom)

'To those who say where is Labour's passion for social justice, I say education <u>is</u> social justice. Education is liberty. Education is opportunity'

Tony Blair 1997 (shortly before he was elected Prime Minister in the general

Tony Blair 1997 (shortly before he was elected Prime Minister in the general election)

'Performance tables help focus debate on standards. Parents need the tables to inform their decisions about their children's future; local education authorities and schools, to focus their attention on areas where action is needed.'

Estelle Morris, Secretary of State for Education, speaking eight weeks after the general election.

These two statements illustrate the conflict at the heart of current government policy with regard to education, particularly, when considering the achievement of minority ethnic children.

There are three key approaches to equal opportunity in education in the UK. The first relates to equal treatment, whereby everyone is to be treated equally under the law. This applies to all children in all schools. The second ensures equal access, for example, to the same curriculum experiences and makes it illegal for some children to be denied the opportunity to partake fully in school. In terms of race, this would often become an issue within areas such as uniform, where there is a conflict between a child's dress dictated by religion and the uniform rules of the school. Such conflicts have been overcome through compromise on all sides where headteachers, school governors and parents agree to an amendment to the school rule. An example of this would be in the case of Muslim girls and Physical Education (PE) where girls would be allowed to wear tracksuit bottoms, or to be provided with single-sex swimming lessons. Other common incidents could relate to school- meals where a limited menu is on offer, not taking into account the needs of vegetarians or children who cannot eat, say, pork or beef.

The third approach to equality is described as equal share or equality of outcome. This has proved to be the most controversial aspect, and relates to children being given extra support where they are perceived to be at a disadvantage because of their ethnicity or first language.

The 1976 Race Relations Act contains clauses that pertain directly to

schools and colleges and makes it illegal for schools to directly or indirectly discriminate against pupils on account of their race. As Equal Opportunities Coordinator for a large area of North Wales, I found that I was most frequently contacted by schools on topics such as those outlined above and this is true with regard to Traveller and Gypsy children, as well, as they were included within my responsibilities. Indeed, under the terms of the Swann Report, 'Education for All' 1985, this ethnic group was deemed to be the one experiencing most discrimination in British society.

In 1988, the Education Reform Act brought multicultural education into the framework of an act of parliament for the first time, as far as the curriculum was concerned. Multicultural Education was declared to be a cross-curricular dimension that was to permeate the whole curriculum, and be taught through all subjects. Many training courses were run for teachers who were not always clear on exactly how they could change their teaching methods to fulfill this. For some time there was enthusiasm from some of those in the teaching profession and resistance from others. However, as the National Curriculum was revised almost annually, and the cross-curricular dimensions and themes were not assessed, gradually teachers lost interest in this focus as the demands of league-tables of performance at key stages took precedence.

Throughout this period, there were two key perspectives influencing the way teachers approached ethnicity. ERA re-inforced the notion of multiculturalism, a liberal view that placed the emphasis on accepting differences and celebrating diversity, often in a tokenistic way. It was known as the 'three s's approach,' saris, steelbands and samosas'. Radical educators preferred to confront and challenge people's prejudices, believing that no real progress would be made unless people engaged with the issues.

It was not until the death of the teenager, STEPHEN LAWRENCE, and the subsequent Macpherson Report (1999) that a workable definition of institutional racism was developed which was to have a lasting impact on public services, including education. This has lead to a renewed focus on the inequalities pupils experience while in the school system.

As GILLBORN and YOUDELL state, 'We take the position that groups defined socially by class, 'race', ethnicity and sexuality are inherently no less capable of educational participation and success. These groups are defined by social convention, not by inherent or 'natural' differences. (GILLBORN–YOUDELL, 2000, p. 4.)

Since MACPHERSON, there have been a number of responses including the Race Relations Amendment Act, and, in education, the establishment of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) and the Ethnic Minority Traveller

Achievement Grant (EMTAG). Here, the government focus has been on the underachievement of certain minority ethnic groups in terms of their test results. Money has come into inner-city areas through such programmes as 'Excellence in Cities 'which has seen the deployment of many non-professional adults in classes as learning mentors, working with children from minority ethnic backgrounds who are deemed to be under-performing. Other initiatives include homework clubs, supplementary schools which are run in the community on a Saturday for example, black gospel choirs and programmes to get fathers more involved with their sons' education (SMITH, 2003)

In a local project, in Stoke-on-Trent, an area of considerable socio-economic deprivation, three universities have been involved in a particular mentoring scheme together with five local EMAG schools. University students were matched up with mentees from the schools, on a same-ethnicity basis. The mentors went into the schools weekly to work with their mentees on mutually agreed targets. The mentors were paid as a way of helping them to cope with the increasing cost of university fees. The scheme was a great success with both groups of students experiencing an increase in self-esteem, higher aspirations as well as demonstrably higher grades. Outcomes included the fact that children and young people previously without a positive adult role model or a 'safe person' have one and will have improved confidence and evidence of success in their lives. Schools report that achievement for the 24 children and young people is improving and that their attendance is at or above the school average.

The children themselves have made comments such as

- 'I like having a mentor because it enables me to talk to an adult in comfortable surroundings because my mentor is also a muslim, it makes it much easier on me because she understands my life and the difficulties that I face'
- 'Since I have had a mentor, my life has become much clearer'.
- 'With my mentor we are planning to go to visit his university in order to ensure that I will go on to further education'.

Such mentoring schemes are being duplicated in a number of areas across the UK and are just one example of the ways in which schools are tackling underachievement. However, we must not forget that such underachievement occurs in a much larger socio-economic context.

'Failure to learn does not develop out of thin air; it is scrupulously created through policies, practices, attitudes and beliefs. In a very concrete sense, the results of educational inequality explain by example what a society believes its young people are capable of achieving and what they deserve'.

The answer lies possibly with the teacher in the classroom, challenging the inequities that place some students at a disadvantage. Like SONIA NIETO (1999) I believe that teachers need to undergo a personal transformation as well as transforming their practice to achieve high quality education for all students. 'Postmodern education must have a different agenda, one designed to heal, connect, liberate, empower, create and celebrate' (ORR, 1992. p. 10. in. HICKS, 2004. p. 135.).

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3. Citizenship

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

Who is a citizen

According to Held (1991) "Citizenship has meant a reciprocity of rights against, and duties towards, the community. Citizenship has entailed membership, membership of the community in which one lives one's life. And membership has invariably involved degrees of participation in the community."

Citizenship can be defined by many aspects, like legal (liberties and immunities), political (powers, electoral, etc.), social (claims, health care, unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, etc.) or civic/civil (powers, basic freedoms from state interference) rights; and duties. Citizenship can also be understood as a political concept and as a national concept.

Figure 1., 2. and 3. depict the understandings of citizenship.

Figure 1. Modern Citizenship

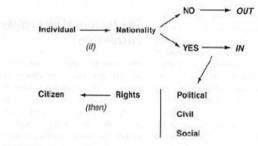


Fig. 25.1 Modern citizenship Source: Wiener 1997.

Figure 2. Constitutive Elements of Citizenship



Fig. 25.2 The constitutive elements of citizenship Source: Wiener 1998: 22.

Figure 3. Historical Elements of Citizenship

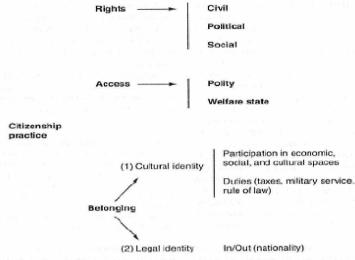


Fig. 25.3 The historical elements of citizenship Source: Wiener 1998: 26.

To sum up the information presented in the figures, the elements of modern citizenship are: Constitutive elements: the individual, the polity, and citizenship practice (i.e. the relation between the two); Historical elements: rights, access and belonging. Modern citizenship has generally involved the notion of 'stateness'. Citizenship of the Union challenges this modern concept of citizenship.

National and European citizenship

European Union citizenship is defined and frequently analysed in terms of the entitlements and potential obligations it bestows on beneficiaries of this status. So conceived, citizenship becomes an epiphenomenon of how Europe is or might be constituted according to certain analytical typologies or ideal conceptions of capitalism, socialism and democracy. citizenship consists of more than passive acceptance of a pre-constituted package of rights. It is rather a 'the right to have rights' rather than as a given set of rights (BELLAMY, 2001).

Four policy periods of evolving European citizenship practice demonstrate a shift of emphasis. The stages of constituting a European citizenship are as follows (WIENER, 1998; 2003):

1970: Paris – Identity Building

1980: Fontainebleau – Market Making

1990: Maastricht – Union Building

2000: Amsterdam - Constitution Building

In 1970 in Paris a kind of identity formation has taken place, with two citizenship 'Packages': Passport Policy (encourage and facilitate movement across boarders) and Special Rights Policy (enable participation at place of residence outside citizens' state of origin).

In 1980 in Fontainebleau the foundations of market making was prepared. Two main initiatives characterise the 80s:

1987: Single European Act: Qualified majority voting on common market related matters and all political innovation had to be launched from the common market policy context.

1986, 1988: Voting rights directives: Normative argument about political participation.

In 1993, amendments to the EC Treaty introduced by the Treaty of Maastricht put in place a new and rather novel section on citizenship: "Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union" (Article 8(1)). Some specific rights named in Article 8. are:

- the "right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty and by the measures adopted to give it effect (Article 8A);
- the right to vote or stand in municipal elections for those citizens residing in Member States of which they are not nationals (Article 8B(1));
- the right to vote or stand in European parliamentary elections for the same group of citizens (Article 8B(2));
- EU citizens finding themselves in the territory of a third country where their own country is not represented have the right to diplomatic or consular protection by any Member State which is represented there (Article 8C);
- the right to petition the European Parliament and to apply to the Ombudsman established under Article 138E."

This catalogue of citizenship rights is exceedingly limited and rather specific, and hardly comparable with domestic (generic) conceptions of citizenship. EU citizenship attaches to those with the nationality of the Member States, and it is the Member States who determine who their nationals are. Citizenship of the Union is that it is founded on the concept of free movement.

Developments in the field of citizenship rights since ratification and coming into force of the Treaty of Maastricht have been few. The provisions on voting and standing in European Parliament and local elections have been brought into force. After some delay a European Ombudsman has been appointed and started work. Little or no progress has been made in the field of free movement, at least in part.

The dilemma of citizenship, or, to put it another way, the question whether there is (or should be) more to belonging to a class of persons who are the primary subjects of the legal order of the EU in terms of legal, political and socioeconomic status than simply being a citizen of one of the Member States who enjoys – by way of 'add-on' – certain legal rights granted by virtue of EC law.

The final (post-Nice) period shows the development of 'specialized identities' for groups of citizens who are involved with the integration process in different areas.

More facts:

Articles 17-22 of the EC Treaty (Nice Treaty)

- Art 17: Citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship
- Art 18: right to move freely and to reside on the territory of the member states
- Art 19: right to vote and stand as a candidate in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections
- Art 20: right to diplomatic protection by another member state while in a third country
- Art 21: right to petition to the European Parliament
- Art 22: right to apply to and receive replies from the European institutions in one of the official languages
- Citizens' Rights Elsewhere in the Treaties
- Treaty of European Union
- Art 1: ever closer union, decision taking close to citizens
- Art 2: identity on international level, acquis communautaire is to be guarded
- Art 6(1): principles of freedom, democracy, human rights, basic freedoms, rule of law
- Art 6(2): fundamental rights, European Convention on Human Rights, member state constitutions
- Art 6(3): national identity of member states
- Treaty of European Community
- Art 12: no discrimination on grounds of nationality
- Art 14: creating a market without internal frontiers (freedom of movement for goods, persons, services and capital)
- Art 141: equal pay for men and women

BELLAMY (2001) discusses an approach defining citizenship in terms of a certain agreed set of constitutional rights. Constitutionalism can be divided into two broad families: the juridical and the political. Juridical conceptions of constitutionalism concentrate on the legal mechanisms for controlling the abuse of power and protecting individual rights. Their aim is to secure a just framework within which citizens and the government can legitimately act by constraining what may be matters of

political dispute and decision. The constitution defines citizenship and regulates citizens' struggles. This view assumes a consensus on the four dimensions of politics. By contrast, more political conceptions see constitutionalism as the various political practices through which citizens constitute their relations with each other. This approach focuses on the ways citizens continually renegotiate the dimensions of politics in order mutually to determine the rules and institutional processes governing their collective life. A condition of civic freedom rather than a substantive conception of justice provides the primary rationale of politics.

The juridical and political conceptions co-exist within most constitutional democracies. Thus, written constitutions standardly specify the components of the political system as well as containing provisions for the juridical protection of rights. If the second aspect prevails over the first, the political system will be designed in accord with the official understanding of justice and operate as an imperfect procedure for its realisation. If the first aspect prevails, though, the legal system will play a more subordinate role.

These two views of constitutionalism give rise to two different perspectives on citizenship. Juridical conceptions define citizenship by rights. Table 1. outlines three of the main models.

Table 1. Citizenship models

	Libertarian	Social Democrat	Communitarian
Legal Rights			Equal though often
(liberties and immun-	liberties	liberties though cer-	restricted to exclude
ities)		tain immunities for	other groups
		reasons of substantive	
		equality and linked to	
		social rights to defend	
		their equal worth	
Political Rights	Protective, limited		Stress on public ser-
(powers)			vice and participation
Social Rights	Few (mainly insurance	Broad range: including	Usually extensive
(claims)	and compensatory) or		
	none	tive as well as insurance	
		and compensatory	
Civic Rights			Usually workers and
(powers)			consumer (corporatism)
	ween state/civil socie-		State and civil society
		ž –	closely related
Duties	<u> </u>		Rights product of the
			general duty to uphold
	rights	corollary of rights	and pursue the values
			of the community

(Source: BELLAMY, 2001, pp. 17.)

The libertarian and the social democrat reflect two versions of liberalism and provide the main contemporary rights-based positions. The communitarian model is often aligned to the republican and contrasted to these.

As Table 2. reveals, each of these models of citizenship assumes a different view of the sphere, appropriate scope, subjects and styles of politics.

Table 2. Subjects, spheres, scope and styles of citizenship models

	Libertarian	Social Democrat	Communitarian
Subjects	capable of entering legally	All autonomous agents ca- pable of entering legally re- cognised contracts, including social and political sphere	groups
Spheres	fined public framework for social interaction. Political discussion and intervention, if not regu-	Political a more broadly defined public framework for social interaction. Political discussion and intervention, if not regulation, inappropriate within a narrower private sector.	nation state
Scope	ve freedom and formal	To foster autonomy by pre- serving the broader –ve freedom and more substan- tive equality of individuals and classes	nal self-determination and group solidarity
Styles	•	Constrained maximisation to achieve mutual benefit via pluralist bargaining	

(Source: BELLAMY, 2001. pp. 20.-21.)

Room for conflict exists even between proponents of the same model. The problem with either rights-based or community-based conceptions of citizenship, therefore, is that they rest on agreement on precisely those issues citizens most disagree about. None has adequate political resources to cope with the disagreements that, for the reasons rehearsed above, inevitably arise.

A political approach to constitutionalism attempts to overcome these difficulties by establishing practices through which citizens may agree on ways to disagree whilst making mutually acceptable decisions in areas requiring collective action. Such balancing and mixing serves to check the adoption of purely selfserving positions and promotes a propensity to heed the views of others and take account of them in collective decision making. Multiple spheres, subjects, scopes and styles of politics are employed to secure the mutual recognition of diverse groups.

The underlying rationale of this system was to avoid domination by encouraging civic freedom. This assures that decisions are not products of the arbitrary will of particular individuals or groups but reflect the general will. The political process is perceived as a dialogue through which agreed positions are constructed rather than discovered.

The key is "to hear the other side". Therefore, disputants must drop purely self-referential or self-interested reasoning and look for considerations others can find compelling, thereby ruling out arguments that do not involve a degree of reciprocity and mutual respect. The openness of the dialogue is crucial, both in terms of the accessibility of the proceedings and their transparency. Rights get defined, refined, protected and respected through various political processes, which allow them to be tailored to particular contexts through primary and secondary legislation and more specific rules and regulations. Practice leads citizens to develop various dispositions of civility, tolerance, reciprocity which facilitate their ability to hear and learn from others and live with difference.

EU was described as involving multiple spheres, subjects, styles and scopes for politics, with considerable contestation over their respective powers, character and relations. Constitutional democracy has developed in quite different ways and under very different pressures within Western Europe, whilst in the East the differences are even more dramatic. Distinctive civic cultures have led multiculturalism to be handled very differently within the various member states, for example, producing important variations in the interpretation of rights to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, discrimination and freedom of expression.

There are multiple channels of political representation for different sorts of political subjects: member states in the Inter-governmental Conferences and Council of Ministers, national political parties in the EP, selected functional interests in the Economic and Social Committee (ESC) and sub-national territorial units in the Committee of the Regions. In addition there are an increasing number of national and transnational interests, professional and campaigning associations and firms located in Brussels.

More encouraging is the growth of specifically European 'public interest' organisations, which now comprise over 20 per cent of European groups. These are non-profit, non-governmental and self-governing bodies that cover a broad spectrum of issues and ideological perspectives, with a focus that goes from the local to the global. The concerns they raise are like abortion rights, discrimination, environmental protection and the like, involve re-interpretations of basic norms or institutions. Citizenship practice is a continuously reflexive process,

with citizens reinterpreting the basis of their collective life in new ways that correspond to their evolving needs and ideals. The role of constitutionalism lies in promoting the civic freedom for such activity to unfold in ways that avoid dominating others. This is best achieved through the dispersal of power and the promotion of dialogue over common rules and arrangements.

The EU offers especially fertile ground for such an approach. Its boundaries, competences, membership and character are all in the process of negotiation. Endowing citizens with rights will not remedy this situation if these reflect highly contestable visions of Europe which they might wish to debate and dispute. An active European citizenship requires citizens having a say in the constitutional dialogue so they can shape the Union for themselves.

Citizenship education in schools

Citizenship gives pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. To understand the nature of citizenship, young people need to learn about their position and role in relation to the world in which they live. They also need to develop the skills that will enable them to participate fully in society at a local, national and international level (BROWNLIE, 2001).

A global view of citizenship education helps pupils understand issues around them such as racism, refugees, asylum seekers and the impact of migration. It also helps develop a balanced and informed view of these issues enabling them to respond in active and responsible ways to what is happening in their own countries and in the wider world. It is more than learning about other countries. It is a vital part of every aspect of the school curriculum, the life of the school and its teachers and pupils.

Pupils need to acquire political literacy; social and moral responsibility; and enter into community involvement. Political literacy contains learning about the legal and human rights and responsibilities underpinning a given society; about the key characteristics of parliamentary and other forms of government; about the electoral system and the importance of voting; about the significance of the media in society; about the world as a global community and the political implications of this and the role of the European Union, the Commonwealth and the United Nations; to think about topical political issues; about the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to bring about social change locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally; about the rights and responsibilities of consumers, employers and employees.

Social and moral responsibility comprises of thinking about and research-

ing topical political, spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues; using their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express and explain views that are not their own. They should learn about what is fair and unfair, what is right and wrong, and the importance of sustainable development. It helps them understand that they share rights and responsibilities with others around the world.

Community involvement is also essential. It makes a positive contribution to pupils' understanding of themselves, their sense of belonging and social inclusion, and their understanding of the diverse nature of their own society. It helps prepare all pupils for involvement in their community and for life in a multicultural society and to recognize that we are all members of a wider, interdependent global community. It helps young people understand how action taken at a local level. Students should learn about the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in their own countries and the need for mutual respect and understanding; about the work of community-based national and international voluntary groups; about the world as a global community, and the political, economic, environmental and social implications of this; to negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in both school and community-based activities; about the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to bring about social change locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally; to contribute to group and exploratory class discussions, and take part in formal debates; to negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in school and community-based activities (BROWNLIE, 2001).

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3.1 Citizenship education in Hungary

Gábor Tarkó and Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

The National Core Curriculum provides schools with a broad sphere to teach citizenship studies. Formerly the topic was part of History education, nowdays there is a separate set of classes for this purpose (note: history education and knowledge in phylosophy and ethics that in many cases forms a separate subject, play an important part in acquiring citizenship information). As the practicing of citizens' rights is age-bound, and these knowledge require some prerequisite background knowledge, the subject is taught in secondary schools (14-18 year-old pupils) in Hungary. (For example, the prevalation of children's rights, the frames of pupil government activities, child labour, the parent-child, teacher-child parent-school relationships are topics to be transmitted and that can be taught in primary schools already; unfortunately, instead of practical knowledge these short course books, or the amendments of history books and exercise books contain dry information that are hard to understand for this age-group, such as introduction to the law, history of political systems, the structure of the UN, and the like.)

Citizenship education has a huge role in getting secondary school pupils, who are approaching adulthood, acquinted with their citizens' rights and responsibilities, and at the same time the subject has an important place in adult education as well. (Unfortunatelly, experiences show, that even those adults practicing their political rights for a long time already have incomplete information on several important issues, if they possess any.) There is a separate form of citizenship education for those asking for registration: one prerequisite of this in Hungary is to take a successful exam in citizenship studies.

And now let us list the most important topics covered by the subject in question:

- The individual and the society.
- Historical relations of the theory of the state, history of the Constitution, historical introduction to the political systems. This part is characterised by detailing the Hungarian respects mainly; materials of history and phylosophy subjects are important in this topic. Large part of the course book contains mainly source materials (the most important constitutions of World history, excerpts from works on the theory of state and phylosophy, historical sources, etc.). Some important topics: historical judgement of suvere-

- nity; describing the different forms of state, types of constitution, systems of election and related concepts.
- A highlighed topic is the description of the operation of modern democracies. (This topic is part of the History Matura as well.) The means of processing the topic are mainly resource analysis, preparation of figures, problem-based and comparative analysis of the different forms of democracy. (For example, comparison of the Democracy in Athens and modern democracy.)
- The Hungarian historical constitution, the most important documents of the Hungarian history of constitution.
- The present Hungarian constitution; constitutional rights and responsibilities.
- Election systems in Hungary; the present Hungarian election system. (Elements of direct and indirect democracy in Hungarian law, for example: plebiscite, parlamentary elections.)
- Operation of the Hungarian State (description of the operation of the parliament, the government (the prime minister), the president of the republic, jurisdiction and public administration within, with special regards to local governments).
- The process of law-making in Hungary, the law-makers (the Parliament, the Government and the Local Governments)
- Knowledge on the official resources and forms of publishing the law (Hungarian Gazette, Court decisions, CD Law-collection, etc.)
- The Police and the Army.
- Legal foundations of Hungarian citizenship. (History of law, knowledge on the most important documents certifying Hungarian citizenship (identity card, passport), acquiring citizenship (Forms of acquiring Hungarian citizenship: by birth, by marriage, by family law facts, naturalization, repatriation, citizen exchange, by being born in Hungary; with special regard to registration and repatriation); giving up citizenship, depriving of citizenship, double citizenship.
- The prevalation of minority rights in Hungary. Nationalities in Hungary (historical overview), the rights of nationalities for example in education, in politics (minority local governments), in the media, etc.
- The churches. (The so called historical churches, the most important present Hungarian laws referring to the founding and operation of churches, the belief and the religion and their individual historical and legal judgement).

- The operation of parties, the most significant political forces in Hungary's history and the present.
- The operation of institutes protecting interest, of professional and civil organisations, economic associations, etc.
- The basic human rights and their prevalation in Hungary.
- The national emblems and holidays of Hungary, and the laws referring to these.
- Detailing analysis of the civil law and order on the basis of Hungarian law: for example the freedom to speak, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, the prerequisites of practicing political rights, etc.
- Highlighted topics are the press and the media acts (note: the so called Film and Media studies subject became popular in primary schools; this subject also transmits the above knowledge.)
- The prevalation of children's rights in the international and Hungarian legal system.
- The family (most important topics for example: family in the history, the most important present family law acts; with special regards to the responsibilities of the pupil and the parents towards one another, the state and the school; ethical, psychological and sociological relevances of the family, for example the new generation of children's rights (e.g. concerning religion the child is free to choose his or her religion), gender roles in the family, the phenomenon of the aging society in the modern western cultures, the cult of youth, etc.)
- Economics, social and cultural rights.
- Short historical overview of international law, analysis of the sources of the most important international legal documents. For example: Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UN Rights of the Child, etc.)
- History, structure and operation of the huge international organisations: the UN and its different organisations; NATO).
- After Hungary has joined the European Union (1st of May, 2004) the history, organisational structure and detailed operation of the EU gained high importance (questiones related to the topic are often asked in the History matura as well, for examle questions about the operation of the European Parliament, or the headquarters of the most important European organisations are to be marked on a blank map.).
- The European and the Hungarian law-harmonisation.

Citizenship education lasts one hour per week (defined by the local curriculum it can also be half hour per week (1 lesson in every two weeks), sometimes it

is provided in blocks and it will be over by the end of the third year of secondary school, etc.). The choice of course books is wide, with considerable differences in size, but minor differences in content. The authors of the present chapter consider the Hungarian Citizenship Studies written and edited by KUKORELLI ISTVÁN and SZEBENYI PÉTER very useful. The subject is taught by history teachers, though many of them do not possess the necessary qualifications for it (those who graduated many years ago mainly). In most of the schools the subject is considered mainly as a module subject (low number of classes and low prestige, with no traditions, less important), though it covers a very important and practical material, where pupils can benefit from not only during the Matura in several subjects (e.g. history, geography), but in real life also. Nevertheless it contains a great many of really expectable and basic information that is not only worth knowing by every Hungarian citizen, but it is the correct thing to know them.

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3.2 Citizenship in England – context and case study*

Dean Garratt (United Kingdom)

Context

The context for citizenship education in England has changed over the last decade or so and with this has come renewed national interest in values education, citizenship and democracy in schools. In the early 1990s, citizenship emerged as one of five cross curricular themes that were introduced as an appendage to the already established National Curriculum and since then the subject has gained further momentum as a fully fledged curriculum subject (QCA,1999). The Order for Citizenship emanated from the 'Crick Report' (QCA, 1998) *Education for Citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*, which was premised on a model borrowed from the work of T. H. MARSHALL (1950), featuring a strong emphasis on social rights and responsibilities. Contemporary thinking has transformed and reinterpreted Marshall's three elements: civil, political and social; in order to focus schools' attention on the reciprocity between social rights and their corresponding obligations and the requirement to develop political literacy and community involvement.

However, there are a number of limitations to the development of citizenship in schools in the twenty-first century. Possibly the most damaging is that pupils tend not to experience schools as democratic structures or institutions that propagate democratic values. The culture of performativity (LYOTARD, 1984), in which school performance, policy delivery and academic efficiency reign supreme (STRONACH et al, 2002), exerts some considerable influence on teachers in ways that discourage the intellectualising of complex issues, the sharing of learning and opportunities for creativity that underpin young people's right to the freedoms of thought and expression (VERHELLEN, 2000). Within this ideological atmosphere there are inherent dangers that citizenship education and all that it stands for – political literacy, social and moral responsibilities, community involvement and above all democracy – may be corrupted by education policies that are created elsewhere, and where schools are inclined towards becoming 'effec-

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^{*} This Case study draws upon empirical research from an Independent Evaluation of the Citizenship Values Award Scheme, piloted across the UK during 2002 (GARRATT and SHALLCROSS, 2002).

tive' as opposed to affirming their 'person-centredness' (FIELDING, 2001). Indeed, the outcome of this transformation is one where results and outcomes and the management of freedom and unitary learning can be seen to displace citizenship ideals such as collective learning, concern for other people, some integrity of ends and means, expressive freedom and reciprocal learning between teacher and learner. Citizenship as a subject discipline is then hijacked by the pervasive culture of which it is part, and where the 'management' of learning has a 'corrosive' influence upon democratic values and the Rights of the Child.

While some of these issues are undoubtedly on the minds of many teachers working in England, including those involved within the foreshadowed evaluation, it is also clear that positive, 'organic' activity is taking place, irrespective of any statutory imperative. In one participating school, for example, there was clear evidence of activity with the headteacher asserting that 'citizenship is a big issue in this school, with the social problems we've had in the past ... we are a multicultural school', and also clear examples of how the school is seeking to address such issues within a context of social and moral responsibility, political literacy and community involvement.

Pottery Comprehensive is located in the north-west of England and draws its pupils from a mixed catchment, comprising white and Asian pupils, giving rise to important issues of inclusion and integration that form the backdrop to the school's multicultural ethos. From 2000, the school has been involved in developing a spectrum of activities to address these issues, including courses that develop the self-esteem and self-worth of pupils. These are promoted in conjunction with an agency called 'Go for It' and have emerged as part of the school curriculum in order to raise children's awareness of the need to value themselves and others, in ways that articulate with social and moral reasoning. Underpinning this is the idea of promoting greater social harmony between children living within a multilingual, multi-ethnic and culturally diverse community. In conjunction with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the initiative also recognises the importance of children's rights to particular freedoms, namely, those connected with Articles 12-16: freedom to express opinions; freedom of thought; freedom of conscience and religion and freedom of association.

Pottery Comprehensive has also developed a school council that is pupil led and which is chiefly concerned with encouraging young people to express their 'communal voice'. Building upon existing values, pupils are encouraged to express their ideas through genuine democracy, presenting their views before the school's board of governors and senior management team in order to effect change within their school and local community. Examples include a range of

conservation projects, peer counselling for pupils who smoke (in collaboration with 'Health Action Zone'), and more sensitive themes associated with the discussion of dress codes and issues of personal welfare, with particular respect to the multi-religious and culturally diverse beliefs that are germane to the community. This type of agency provides pupils with opportunities to elect representatives who can set agendas for discussion, to liaise with agencies and working groups (eg. "Health Action Zone" and "Go for it") outside school and within the community, and to encourage members of the school community to engage in aspects of political democracy in ways that recognise their social and moral rights and responsibilities. It is a process that is predicated on a 'community model' of understanding, where members are acknowledged as responsible citizens with considerable freedom and autonomy. It embraces the idea that young people, first and foremost, regard themselves as part of the community that is constituted by collective experience, and which is directed by the needs of the young and identified by them. As a model, this is very much person-centred and arguably represents the antithesis of all that is emblematic of the 'performative culture', enhancing rather than limiting opportunities for learning and personal development.

On a similar theme, the school have set up an Equal Opportunities Council in order to represent the views of all young people in ways that acknowledge the diversity of social and ethnic backgrounds. This has led to the development of a forum known as 'Gener8', which is the performing arm of equal opportunities within the school, designated with Performing Arts status. This has created a tranche of opportunities for young people to work together, as the headteacher commented:

'we've tried talking about festivals like Diwali and Ramadam in assembly and it doesn't work. The secret of it really is to allow children to meet each other, get along with each other and work it out for themselves'.

This type of encouragement has translated into young people participating in citizenship education through the medium of performing arts. For example, the constituent members of the forum 'Gener8' – a 'break-dancing', dance group – have recently collaborated with the school's Equal Opportunities Council to create productions that communicate ideas about citizenship to the local community through performing arts. The group has created a project that successfully combines a diversity of dance forms that reflect different lifestyles, values and cultural traditions. In practice, such opportunities have improved the confidence of participants and have facilitated their understanding of the need to get along with all types of people from different ethnic backgrounds, of different ages and con-

trasting social positions within society. The project has promoted a better understanding of cultural difference and diversity and has enabled members to engage in active community work in a way that seeks to encourage notions of harmony and cohesion, but which nevertheless recognises the need to respect nuances in identity and heritage. Understanding and learning are thus facilitated through a process of *doing*, where emphasis on the active participation of members makes important connections between performance and education *for* citizenship.

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4. Dimensions of racism and prejudice

Rob Grinter (United Kingdom)

In this paper, prejudice and its more specific formulation of racism will be treated more from an historical perspective informed by a sense of social justice than the perhaps more familiar sociological analysis. We need to understand the roots from which our present situation has grown and the soil in which racism has been nurtured. However, although the analysis may be written in the context of British society, the implications in global terms are White European.

We must always remember that racism in Europe has deep historical roots in colonialism and imperialism. Europeans exploited, settled to varying degrees and often directly ruled the greater proportion of the rest of the world, excluding China. They were the dominant human group, and this led unavoidably to the belief that they were the superior group. The tragic coincidence that Europeans were white and the people they ruled were not led to the growth of a belief in the 'superiority' of white nations and white civilisation and the 'natural' inferiority of all others. This belief was elaborated over two centuries or more into a 'scientific' theory of racial differences, reinforced throughout by the evidence of technological and political mastery. The fact that very few scientists give any credence to these theories nowadays has had very little effect on popular attitudes. We in Europe have been brought up in a context of racism. Throughout the history we learn, white people (largely male) are dominant and others passive and unimportant, even if visible at all.

This historical context gives enormous depth to sociological analysis, and confirms its validity at all points. From that analysis we can recognise at the outset that prejudice is a common human phenomenon, perhaps a norm. This is the sociological framework for any understanding of particular forms of prejudice. These are 'socially constructed' as part of a natural process of making sense of who and where we are. We all pre-judge on the basis of our experiences and our immediate concerns and interests. We have our strongest emotional and intellectual links with those people and traditions with which we are familiar. These are the 'in-groups' to which we belong. Others, in this context human beings of different nationality, race and culture to ourselves, are members of 'out-groups' to which we react in a variety of ways.

However, in the sentence above lies the fundamental problem: we react to-

wards a group rather than towards individual human beings. As Black people in Britain often say 'You see my colour before you see me'. Unfortunately the prejudgement that then takes place is not usually a generous one, because we do not see the human being in his or her full humanity. Instead we make our assessments and base our actions on our limited knowledge, which is inevitably made up to some degree of generalisations by other people who know no more than we do. As a result, pre-judgements are almost always negative, and so is racial prejudice. This is hardly an encouraging context for race relations or the growth of a stable, diverse society. It takes very little imagination to see that exactly the same process is almost certainly being applied by members of other groups to 'us'.

Racism is perhaps usefully defined as the set of attitudes and behaviour towards another racial or ethnic group that derive from racial prejudice. It is 'based on the belief that natural differences in physical characteristics (such as skin colour, hair type, face shape, etc) correspond directly to differences in personality and ability' (CASHMORE and ELLIS, Dictionary of Race Relations'). The negative aspect of racism lies in the judgement, based as we have seen on historical experience, that these differences are an unchangeable sign of inferiority.

This sense of permanent difference is a fundamental part of racism. It is enhanced by two factors. First there is a distrust and dislike of the unfamiliar and unknown, a feeling of being outside one's comfort zone which can create a sense of insecurity. Secondly there is a fear of difference, especially when the 'others' are felt to be inferior and threatening. This is the basis of the appeal in several European societies of National Fronts. These movements appeal to patriotism and dislike of other countries. But they also focus on what they call 'the enemy within', the increasing presence of 'others' in what they all describe as 'our' country. These 'other' ethnic minority communities are seen as having loyalties to their own traditions, and as being a source of division and weakness in a 'pure' society.

This was the fate particularly of Jewish people in Nazi Germany, where racism led to a policy of 'ethnic cleansing' to purify and strengthen the national 'stock' that is known as the 'Holocaust'. This was rooted in anti-Semitic thinking that is common across Europe, but came to dominate German policy in the special circumstances of national weakness in the inter-war period. It was the high point of European racism and must be the reference point for all thinking on the topic. It shows how fear can be generated by presenting another group as an active threat, in the case of the Jews through the allegations of their international financial control.

Nazism also raises the interesting question of whether skin colour is essential to racism, despite the emphasis in mainline analysis on visible difference.

Because of some difficulty in identifying Jews in Germany by sight they were forced to wear yellow stars. There is a similar question in Britain, where many white Irish immigrant communities claim to be victims of discriminatory treatment as an 'inferior race'.

It also shows another central element in racism, and that is the conviction of one's own superiority in values to inferior 'others', and a need to defend these values. We have already seen the historical roots for this general belief in colonial history, but it is interesting that the German version of racism has hardly any roots in colonial rule. The Nazis took advantage of a strand of national thinking embodied in the writings of Neitszche that regarded Germans as a 'master race' and led to policies attempting to breed a 'pure race'. Minority groups (travellers and homosexuals among them as well as Jews) were seen as impurities threatening the cohesion and strength of the nation, and indeed its very survival. This fear of impending loss also legitimised military attacks on supposedly inferior peoples in Eastern Europe.

We are today facing the development of a similar process throughout Europe with the demonisation of Muslim communities as potential terrorists or sympathisers with international terrorism after the events of 9/11 in America, the thesis of a 'clash of civilisations' at the present time is strongly reminiscent of the attempt to impose Christian European values on the colonial world. It is certainly being used to justify military action to defend or impose 'Western' values in the Middle East at the present time. This is the most active face of racism of our time, latched onto by the National Fronts in all countries. It is no coincidence that in Britain their greatest recent success has been in towns in the North West of the country where there has been considerable tension between local Muslim communities and the indigenous population. The potential for the eruption of racism is ever present.

The above examples are perhaps extreme, but they show how easy it is for racism in attitudes to lead to racist violence in action. The Second World War is sufficient evidence for this, but the so-called 'clash of civilisations' is having its own effects at the present moment. It is not surprising that there has been a revival of violence between white gangs and Muslim groups in North West England in the tradition of the 'Paki-bashing' that originally targeted individual victims. Nor that French society has seen a growth in violence in its big cities where most of its minority communities live, and where in some cases the National Front has secured political control on an anti-immigrant platform.

This serves to remind us that another factor in racism is the isolation and vulnerability of minority groups. This is the outcome of immigration processes,

where newcomers tend to live in the same areas. This is true for Muslims in both France and Britain. It is usually a matter of economic necessity, to take available, and usually in many ways undesirable, housing and employment. But it is often maintained by the importance of mutual support. In many communities which have always had a strong religious tradition, it is vital to remain close to their places of worship, be these mosques, temples, synagogues, gurdwaras or Pentecostal churches. Language is another aspect of communal and religious life, and its use in public as well as in religious worship adds to the sense of difference.

These tendencies to withdrawal and isolation are strengthened for minority communities by experience of racist violence. Unfortunately isolation underlines points of difference and leads to distrust. Many indigenous people feel that immigrant communities don't and won't integrate, prefer to keep to themselves and maintain their own values rather than making the effort to become British or French or European. Hence the conflict over the wearing of the hijab in French schools, which has become broadened to a ban on the display of any religious insignia to uphold national secular values. There is a clear sense of anger and resentment, and a determination to insist on national and (here the historical context operates again) 'superior' values.

With all these thoughts in mind we can easily understand the antagonism to immigration, which from this perspective is seen as a source of weakness rather than enrichment. It is increased by the fact that the concentration of settlement referred to above has created and continues to create actual loss to indigenous people in terms of competition for jobs and housing. So too does the creation of businesses and makeover of shopping areas as communities establish themselves. These developments are not entirely the responsibility of ethnic minority communities. One very important factor encouraging a sense of racial difference is that many white people don't want to live in an 'immigrant' neighbourhood and move away, thus deepening isolation. A very serious result of this is that children are increasingly educated in separate schools, as distinct 'white' and 'ethnic minority' communities emerge. So children do not live and learn together in 'multicultural' schools, and grow up knowing little of each other's lives or humanity. The sense of difference accumulates and perpetuates.

So there are many ways in which the development of a multi-racial society creates sources of racial tension. Once more the historical context becomes central to an accurate understanding. Racism and racial prejudice share the same characteristics wherever they appear, but because the contexts have been different racism will take different forms and have different victims in different societies.

In Britain as in much of Western Europe, African people have suffered

from the history of slavery. Those captured and taken to the 'New World' to be used as slave labour, were treated as commodities and seen as less than human. Their religions were seen as superstitions that did not look beyond 'natural' forces, and needed to be forcibly replaced by Christianity. After gaining freedom and later independence, they and their countries remained poor, and when 'Afro-Caribbeans' migrated to Europe they joined the poor indigenous working class community as 'Black Britons' But poor housing, and limited employment and educational opportunities were unavoidable, and even today their communities are still relatively under-achieving, Racism here becomes a feeling of inferiority, and there is a deeply felt demand for 'respect'.

In contrast, Asian communities have a history of exploitation but not enslavement. They are therefore regarded with more respect. When migration occurred, most Hindus and Sikhs were relatively prosperous, many having professional skills. They settled or moved into more middle-class areas, and mixing in with existing society avoided the distrust caused by social isolation. They have a different experience of racism to Black Britons because they are seen more as contributors to prosperity. But those from less prosperous parts of the Indian subcontinent, especially Muslims from Pakistan and Bangladesh have had a much less happy experience. Like those from the Caribbean they migrated to inner city areas with poor housing and limited educational and employment opportunities. They too have found it difficult to prosper, but retail skills, close family networks and the basic skills encouraged by education in Islam have made some progress possible. They have suffered racism as competitors, and 'Paki-bashing' was a particularly hateful form of racist violence, but some degree of 'respect' is still intact.

So the variety of immigrant groups in Britain, and of their experiences, makes racism complex. In countries like France where a particular minority group of Muslims from North Africa makes up a significant percentage of the population, the racism is perhaps less complex. It is there, however, deepened by the memories of the cost of a war fought in many people's lifetime to deny independence to Algeria, the homeland of these same people. Racism anywhere is a deeprooted threat to social cohesion.

Racism's impact is many-fronted. Most obviously it threatens social cohesion through the racist conflict it can generate. However, it also threatens social cohesion through the bitterness and alienation caused by discriminatory practices and the opportunities these deny to the life chances of ethnic minority groups. This process of denial, often through indirect as well as direct discrimination, has recently been defined as 'institutional racism', and there has recently been a major development to combat this in Britain. Already the only European country to have

a Race Relations Act (since 1976), its Race Relations Amendment Act of 2000 has made institutional racism illegal, not just in education at all levels, but in all aspects of public life in Britain. The case study that follows (Ch. 4.2) shows its potential for improving life chances through changes to the education system. It outlines new strategies to tackle racist behaviour, and new curriculum strategies in citizenship courses to challenge stereotypes. It is also important to know that low teacher and institutional expectations for some underachieving ethnic minority groups (especially Black British children) have been identified and should be corrected. Much of this is still potential rather than actuality, and little is new. Implementation is not guaranteed. But although legislation does not make human beings good, it does affect their behaviour and this process should eliminate many of the worst effects of racism: it is not incurable.

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Paragraph

- see Peter Fryer: 'Staying Power: the history of black people in Britain' (Pluto 1984) for an
 analysis of the thinking engendered by Imperialism, and 'scientific' theories of racism. Also
 Steven Rose 'Why we should give up on race' (Guardian 9.4.05).
- 3. see Titus Alexander: 'Understanding Global Apartheid' (Polity, 1996) on national identity and prejudice.
- 5. Ellis Cashmore: Dictionary of Race Relations, 4th edition (Routledge 2001).
- 6. JEREMY SEABROOK: 'Religion as a fig leaf for racism' (Guardian 23.7.04) gives a good brief insight into the appeal of 'otherness'.
- 10. The 'clash of civilisations' thesis is most clear in the opposing views of 'Islamism' and 'Islam-ophobia'. See KAREN ARMSTRONG: 'Unholy Strictures' (Guardian, 11.8.05) and ABDUL-REHMAN MALIK 'Hear the true voices of Islam' (Guardian, 24.4.05).
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- 13. for the debate on segregation and the wearing of the hajib by Muslim women, see H PORTER: 'We must resist this culture of anti-British segregation' (Guardian 31.7.05) AND T PHILLIPS 'Ghettoes in English cities' (Guardian. 23.9.05).
- 15. see TPHILLIPS (ibid) and T CANTLE ('Harmony's herald' Guardian 21.9.05) for the development of educational segregation in England.
- 17. see R. Drayton: 'The wealth of the west was built on Africa's exploitation' (Guardian 20.8.05).
- 18. see R. Grinter: 'Equality Issues' Institute of Education, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2004.
- JOHN LEA: 'The MacPherson Report and the question of Institutional racism' Howard Journal of Criminal justice, Vol 39 (3) 2000.
- 25. et seq for the crucial distinction between 'multicultural' education to remove or reduce prejudice and 'antiracist' education to reduce inequalities created by procedures and practices in institutions, see R. Grinter: 'Bridging the gulf: the need for an antiracist multiculturalism' (Multicultural Teaching 1985), the 'Framework for Antiracist teacher Education' published by ARTEN (the Anti Racist Teacher Education Network, 2000) and the writings of BARRY TROYNA, especially 'Education, Racism and Reform' with Bruce Carrington (Routledge 1990).

4.1 The phenomenon of prejudice in Hungary

Katalin Erdei and László Lippai (Hungary)

The phenomenon of prejudice is not in immediate causal relationship with the social state of affairs, but national, racial and religious prejudices appearing in a given place, time and social situation can be traced back to social foundations too (CSEPELI, 1997).

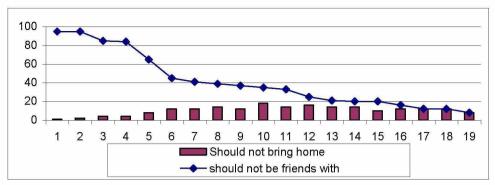
The phenomenon of prejudice was widely researched in Hungary as well, with the help of surveys and descriptive methods. Questionnaires were used in most of the cases. Most of the questionnaires required rational answers to rational questions. Of course, even the most objective questionnaire item can provide possibility for infiltrating emotions and passion. The underlying tendency is however the same, the questionnaire measures the cognitive part of attitudes. But a decisive element of prejudice is emotion, which is more difficult to grasp. That makes the preparation of interventions for reducing or even preventing prejudice more difficult.

The psychological basis of prejudicial thinking is provided by the sharp distinction between in-groups and out-groups. The certain level distinction between the two groups forms the elementary momentum of the development of social identity. The relationship between the two types of groups is depicted by traditional socio-psychological and sociological approach as "social distance". By knowing the social distance, we can provide estimation on the extent of prejudice against out-groups and on discriminative attitude (FÁBIÁN, 1999).

In Hungary, following the social changes induced by the change of regime, the so far latent problems among different social groups became more visible, the existing conflicts and clashes have spread and deepened. ZOLTÁN FÁBIÁN and ENDRE SÍK have carried out repeated and representative researches on samples of 1000 people and they have revealed several phenomena in this process. In these researches the indices of social distance proved to be important indicators in studying the social appreciation of different out-groups.

For example, in a research performed in 1995 two indicators of social distance were studied in the above sample. They listed several groups and asked the sample members the members of which group would they allow their children to make friends with and the members of which group would they allow their children to invite as a guest to the family's own flat. The results are as follows:

Figure 1. Indices of social groups against different out-groups, 1995



Out-groups: 1. drug-addict, 2. homosexual, 3. skinhead, 4. offender, 5. Gypsy, 6. Afro-American, 7. Arabic, 8. Romanian from Romania, 9. Asian, 10. guest worker from abroad, 11. refugee, 12. citizen of the former Soviet Union, 13. child in state care, 14. citizen of former Yugoslavia, 15. Jewish, 16. Hungarian Serbo-Croatian, 17. Romanian Hungarian, 18. Hungarian Slovak, 19. Hungarian German.

(Source: FÁBIÁN and SÍK, 1996).

This research has also pointed at the fact that the most rejected out-groups in Hungary are the stigmatized sub-cultural groups (e.g. homosexuals), or groups that are connected to aggression and political extremes by the public (FÁBIÁN, 1997). The most rejected ethnic group is the Roma. The level of prejudice against Gypsies obtained in this research was confirmed by other researches as well.

The rejection of the Jews is meagre compared to the Gypsies and in absolute terms as well. The topic of anti-Semitism is special domain of research in prejudice. Anti-Semitism is not only a kind of prejudice among all the possible ones, but it is a special world view around which a unique cultural code system is built, and this can to a certain extent make it independent from group interaction (CSEPELI, 1990). After the change of regime anti-Semitism has openly (re)emerged in most of the former communist countries, so in Hungary also. It is hard to decide whether the social and political changes has induced the appearance of anti-semitism or "plainly" these attitudes and emotions could be more openly expressed through civil and political rights gaining grounds. In summary we can state, that "so far anti-semitic alignments has remained in the periphery of the society and anti-semitic political ideology was refused by all the significant political forces" (KOVÁCS, 1997. pp. 10.).

These changes were realised for the younger generations in unique ways. They can be more easily involved into more extremist prejudicial, or even aggressive actions than the older generations, on the one hand. A reason for this could

be, that they, in contrast with older generations, do not have personal historic memories on the catastrophic consequences of extremist prejudice (BARCZY, DIÓSI and RUDAS, 1996). But for many of them the main motivating factor is, that the economic consequences of social changes, for example unemployment or the increase in income inequalities, has made their existing disadvantaged social position worse, or their stabile position became uncertain (FÁBIÁN and ERŐS, 1996).

On the other hand, the same social changes enabled people, young people as well, to reveal their minority characteristics more openly and consciously, may it be of ethnic, religious or biological nature.

Research into age differences has revealed the general tendency, that those younger than 30 years old, with some exceptions, judge out-groups more positively than those above 30. Judgement by the older generations is significantly more positive only in case of the unemployed, the refugees and the Polish people (FÁBIÁN and SÍK, 1996).

At the same time when interpreting the results of research carried out among young people it might be a problem to generate these results to the "youth" as a whole. Following the change of regime changes in the institutional and socialisation factors has resulted in the lapse of homogenic youth concept defined mainly as a political category during the socialist era. Because of diverse life situations and generation problems or because of differences in socialisation patterns transmitted by the parents the concept of youth should be considered heterogenic. In our days 10-17 year olds are not identical with the 18-35 year olds, the different groups are characterised mainly by differences and not by similarities (STUMPF, 1992).

On the basis of researches by SZABÓ ILDIKÓ and ÖRKÉNY ANTAL we can get an idea on *which groups young people consider to be a minority*. In answers given to the open question "Who is a minority" the differentiating effect of age and school type prevailed squarely. Secondary school pupils were almost not, but one-fourth of primary school pupils were characterised by the lack of knowledge. They mentioned the Gypsies the most often, and characteristic was also to mention different national and ethnic minorities. It is worth noting, that minority groups of non-ethnic or national nature (homeless, disabled, religious minorities, refugees, immigrants) were only less mentioned, and this tendency was characteristic to all school types. But, "...as we are going from primary school towards secondary school, the pupils have more articulate picture of minorities" (SZABÓ and ÖRKÉNY, 1998. pp. 193.). In the research performed in East-Hungary, 14-18 years old young people refuse deviant groups (offender, drug-addict, drinker) the most and do not want them to be their neighbours. From among the ethnic minority groups Gypsies are rejected to the most extent.

Table 1. Intolerance towards Difference (proportion of those who would not choose the given person as a neighbour)

Offenders	76
Drug-addicts	74
Drinkers	68
Members of a religious sect	63
A family where there is a contagious ill person	62
Gypsies	62
Arabs	54
A family where there is a mentally disabled member	53
Jews	41
A family where there is a physically disabled member	38

The order of the above percentages indicates that the 14-18 year-olds reject deviant groups more than the physically or mentally disabled ones (SZABÓ and ÖRKÉNY, 1998).

Attempts to reduce or prevent prejudice

The application of methods for reducing existing prejudice or for reducing the threshold of tolerance is rare in Hungary.

An extraordinary attempt for example the Gandhi Foundation, that was created in 1992 by independent intellectuals and Gypsy organisations to help the integration of Gypsy people through the means of education and to create a Gypsy Secondary School that can serve as an example for the creation of other Gypsy Secondary level educational institutions.

There were however serious attempts launched in the past decade to prevent the development of prejudice. It was attempted, mainly through school intervention experiments, to create the foundations of a democratic citizenship socialization. The Hungarian experiences can be summed as: initiatives worked out to dispel misconceptions with the help of arguments and information has not reduced the demonstrations of prejudice, but provided them with grounds for prejudicial manifestations through defiant actions and counterarguments. On the basis of this experience we can state, that prejudice can not be reduced only through knowledge transmission, the only way is to attempt increasing tolerance with the help of education and socialisation as a whole (LIGETI, 2001).

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4.2 The role of multiculturalism in fighting against racism and prejudice in Britain

Jo Moores (United Kingdom)

One of the fundamental principles and objectives of multicultural education is to work to obviate and eradicate racism and prejudice within society. During the 1990s the need for a change in the British education system became more and more apparent as incidents of racist violence in the United Kingdom rose dramatically during the decade.

The foregrounding of the essential need to combat prejudice within British society was highlighted in April 1993 with the murder of a young student, STE-PHEN LAWRENCE. His murder was racially motivated and revealed the need for British society to take stock of current race relations, attitudes and behaviour. As a direct result of the loss of this young man's life, a government report was eventually commissioned in 1997 to investigate claims that the Metropolitan Police had not recognised the racist motivation behind his murder at the time of the investigation. The Macpherson report into the STEPHEN LAWRENCE case was published in 1999 containing 70 key recommendations for society to show 'zero tolerance' to racist incidents. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance noted the fact that the Macpherson report has influenced debate on racism and discrimination in ways which go beyond the immediate police context. The findings have been subsequently implemented and are applicable to many public bodies in Britain.

Arguably, the key finding of the report questioned the impartiality and justness of the British Police service when dealing with racist incidents and crimes, and recognised the existence of 'institutional racism'. The Macpherson report defines this as:

"The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin ... seen in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotypes which disadvantage minority ethnic people."

(See www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/285537.stm for the recommendations in full)

Institutionalised prejudice extends into many areas of the state system, and the Macpherson report demanded action from not only the Police service but also the judicial system, civil service, local government, National Health Service and Education system in order for the recommendations to be fully implemented. Education was charged with having a crucial role in working to shape and change attitudes of prejudice within British society. The Macpherson report outlined the following strategies to be adopted in the Education sector:

- That consideration be given to the amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order better to reflect the needs of a diverse society.
- That local education authorities and school governors have the duty to create and implement strategies in their schools to prevent and address racism.

Examples of these strategies include the recording of all racist incidents. The report further argued that all recorded incidents are to be reported to the pupils' parents/guardians, school governors and Local Education Authority; that the number of racist incidents are published annually, on a school by school basis; and that the numbers and self defined ethnic identity of "excluded" pupils be published annually, also on a school by school basis.

As a result of these recommendations, the National Curriculum was amended in September 2000 and courses and guidelines were made available for teachers to implement the new changes. This represented a major shift in British education policy as it replaced out of date models with a distinct and conclusive move towards providing a multi-cultural education in all British schools. As part of the framework for 'Personal, Social and Health Education' (PSHE) a statutory subject at British secondary schools, pupils are now taught to acknowledge and respect the differences between members of British society. Pupils are also expected to be sensitive to the feelings of others and respect alternative points of view. Emphasis is placed on the need to recognise the negative effects of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and racism.

A further programme was added to the framework of PSHE examining the fundamentals of 'Citizenship' in British society. For the first time in British schools, pupils are educated to understand the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom, and the need for mutual respect and understanding. Pupils gain a greater understanding of the history and ever changing cultural make up of British society.

The programme raises awareness of the nature of prejudice, questions ste-

reotypes and highlights the consequences of anti-social behaviour whilst developing the skills to challenge such behaviour. The subject recognises the various forms of discrimination and aims to question some of the key areas. Analysing the representation of ethnic minorities in the media promotes awareness and asks pupils to be critical of stereotypes aiming to address the embedded nature of many forms of racism and prejudice. Acknowledging the differing results in terms of educational achievements, employment prospects, and Higher Education entry experienced by a variety of British citizens, provides evidence of previous discriminatory practices and initiates debate.

The programme has a degree of flexibility so that the focus of attention can be adjusted to suit the racial and religious diversity of particular schools and areas. It also allows for the recognition of the various forms of racism and prejudice. The cities of Manchester, Birmingham, London and Leicester for example, all have large Asian communities and specific attention to the diverse cultures, languages and religions of these communities works to both avoid the homogenizing of disparate identities and also combat the rising incidents of 'Islamophobia' in the wake of the terrorist attacks on the U.S.A. in September 2001.

The flexibility of the programme also allows for differing teaching strategies to be implemented. Where possible, students are encouraged to talk about their own personal history, cultural identity and religious faith encouraging dialogue and discussion amongst students. It has also been identified as a useful way to question and challenge long-standing myths and stereotypes. In areas where there is relatively little racial and ethnic diversity, teachers have devised interesting and challenging ways to promote citizenship and awareness, as one Scottish head teacher states:

"Our own experience found that visits from musicians and artists from different cultures were particularly well received by students."

(www.scottishexecutive/anti-racism/resource)

The national curriculum also allows for racial and cultural awareness to be incorporated into other subject disciplines. History, Media Studies, Literature, Art and Music are all areas which can be developed to support and emphasise the teaching and learning taking place in the PSHE and Citizenship subjects. Of particular importance has been Religious Education where the exploration of world faiths can also provide opportunities for information and discussion.

Most significantly, it is hoped that the strategy of acknowledging the different cultures, languages and religions held by British citizens will result in a shift in language and perception as the old concept of 'otherness' is replaced by ideas of variety and diversity.

The amendments to the National Curriculum aim to promote a valuing of cultural diversity and prevent racism. However, this is a long-term project and incidents of racism and prejudice unfortunately still occur. The other significant recommendations of the Macpherson report, in terms of education, seek to outline procedures for addressing and dealing with such incidents. Schools are now required to record the numbers and self defined ethnic identity of "excluded" pupils to be published annually. One of the reasons for this, is so that Local Education Authorities with the highest rates of exclusion for pupils from a minority background can draw up action plans to understand and alleviate this worrying statistic.

Schools are also required to record all racist incidents publishing results annually, and make clear the procedures for tackling racial harassment. The Macpherson report defined a racist incident as "any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person" and recommended that this definition be "universally adopted by the police, local government and other relevant agencies." The publication of these records on an annual school-by-school basis has resulted in a sharp increase in many areas. Figures for Reading in the South of England for example, doubled during 2002/2003 (www.getreading.co.uk). However, the increase is welcomed as evidence of the success of both new initiatives promoting greater awareness, and updated training programmes for teachers.

The figures are also revealing as the records document the variety of racist incidents. Figures for ethnically diverse areas such as Manchester are high, although the records show that the majority of these incidents are non-violent. In a less diverse area such as York, also in the North of England, figures may well be lower, but there is a greater likelihood of violent or intimidating behaviour towards ethnic minorities, and so the records allow for specific strategies to be identified to target particular patterns of behaviour. In many schools now, support is offered to both the recipients *and* the perpetrators of racial harassment, an example of the way in which, nearly four years after the initial changes were made to the curriculum, schools and teachers are constantly developing new initiatives to combat racism and prejudice within the education system.

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5. Celebration of diversity

Rob Grinter (United Kingdom)

Celebration makes an important and often underestimated contribution to the smooth running of a diverse society. Rigorous academic and social analysis often overlooks the importance of enjoyment in life, and the contribution made by our emotions rather than our intellect.

The 'case study' (Ch. 5.2) that accompanies this general paper deals with the role of particular celebrations in a multicultural society. These are in many cases part of the religious culture that is a vital part of the life and strength of communities that often find themselves under stress. Divali, New Year, Eid and Easter are among the best known examples of celebrations of good over evil, light over darkness, and life over death. Family feasts and presents, fireworks and candles, good resolutions and good luck symbols all feature across different cultures, as the passing of times of denial are celebrated. Even in secular, consumer driven societies where these events have much less religious significance they add some welcome colour and moments of relaxation to life. So too do purely secular events like England's Bonfire Night, and the celebrations at times of Carnival whose religious origins are now perhaps more hidden behind communal celebrations.

These communal events are high points of celebration. This paper takes as its focus a more everyday context – the potential of the school curriculum for celebration of diversity. It begins with a consideration of the aims of education for diversity, some general points about the nature and significance of the curriculum and some problems in changing it. It concludes with guidelines and exemplars of ways the curriculum can be diversified and enriched by drawing on aspects of different cultures and groups in society.

The aims of a diverse curriculum are sometimes summarised as promoting tolerance and respect for persons. Both of these concepts need to be developed before they can be useful guides to education for diversity. Tolerance is often assumed to be a natural part of the fabric of English life. But it is easily seen rather negatively as just allowing others to pursue their own ways. This needs to grow into a more positive and demanding appreciation of different ways of life that includes an ability and willingness to learn from others. It also requires a willingness to search out the similarities that underlie apparent differences, for example the common elements that reside in all the world's great religions. But

the strength of Islamophobia in the present climate shows how difficult this will be.

The challenge to diversity posed by Islamophobia, which stereotypes all Muslims as either practitioners of or sympathisers with violence in a universal 'clash of civilisations, reminds us that promoting tolerance also involves the much more demanding task of challenging and undermining intolerance and stereotyping. Powerful negative images have to be questioned to find the common humanity that we all share. More than that, there has to be an understanding of causes of bitterness that sometimes leads to totally unacceptable violence. This is never justifiable, but until it is understand it cannot be countered. That is the measure of the challenge involved in establishing a real 'respect for persons'.

Turning to the school curriculum, the first point to make is that everybody experiences it, and that since the introduction of the National Curriculum in the UK everyone has very much the same experience. This may well be seen as a positive contribution to a coherent culture, but for two reasons this is not the case.

First, the drive for efficiency in terms of literacy, numeracy and technology has severely reduced the time available for subjects in the Humanities like history, geography and modern languages and for creative subjects like art and music. These are evidently the subjects most easily permeated with diverse examples. As part of this drive the approach known as 'topic work', where subject studies have often been imaginatively integrated into exciting cross-curriculum explorations, has been replaced by relatively narrower studies of subject skills and understanding, where learned knowledge has sometimes become the most important element.

Secondly, the teaching of these subjects has traditionally been 'ethnocentric'. This means that teaching and learning has been approached from the familiar English and occasionally British and European context. It has also, because of these social contexts, been a study dominated by the activity of white, politically or professionally active, educated and powerful men, rather than that of men and women from a diversity of cultures and classes. All this means that the experiences and therefore the outlooks and values of pupils tend to be a little traditional, closed to the new developments that make our society diverse and still characterised by a feeling of superiority to the rest of the world.

It therefore needs to be said that the nature of the curriculum is hugely important. The nature of the experiences to which children are exposed goes a long way to determine the range of their awareness and their priorities in life. Education in all societies is intended to ensure that their young people are brought up to become efficient and loyal members of that society. The expectations are clear and well understood. It is therefore only fair to recognise that the British National Curriculum is probably no better nor worse than most. Studies of the curriculum

in other Western countries show much the same ethnocentrism and narrowness. But it is therefore almost inevitable that young people are brought up to accept rather than question existing values, and that this will make them in the first instance loyal members of their own society rather than global citizens. It is important to question how appropriate this is in a world where all societies are having to come to terms with rapid and unsettling change.

It will also be an injustice to imply that all teachers and educators are unaware of the nature of the challenges they and their pupils face. There is a well-established movement for global education known as Development Education that has had a very significant impact on the Geography taught in the National Curriculum. This movement has also worked for many years to promote global awareness and values of equal worth, respect and justice throughout education. Much work has been done to change Religious Education from Biblical study to education about the variety of world faiths that are now an important and established part of British life as a multicultural society There have been a number of movements for multicultural and anti-racist education that have sought to infuse the curriculum with diversity and create positive rather than negative images of other people and their cultures, as well as challenge evidence of institutional racism.

Subject teaching associations have worked hard to reflect the changing nature of their academic subjects. Examples of this include the work of the National Association for the Teaching of English, which has introduced study of writings from a wide variety of cultures in Britain and throughout the English-speaking world. The Historical Association has fostered teaching of the labour movement, the contribution of women to British society, the history of the struggles, achievements and contributions of Black people and the study of world history. Both seek to promote the skills of critical analysis, whether of the media or of source material from the past. These and many other initiatives will provide exemplars for the rest of this paper.

However, we must recognise that all this work has been largely the work of enthusiasts and marginal in its impact. Work for cultural diversity has been taken up mostly in inner-city schools with a multiracial population, with only incidental impact in what are known as 'all-white' areas. Even in a liberal profession only a minority will challenge the accepted approach, and most have very little time to re-think what they are doing. There have also been damaging clashes over priorities, for example whether to right the injustices suffered by the working class or the new minority of immigrants from other countries and cultures. Clashes over strategies have also hindered progress, for example whether to persuade teachers to introduce cultural diversity into their teaching to create positive attitudes to-

wards differences, or to focus on identifying and eliminating institutional racism in procedures and practice.

The rest of this paper provides some guidelines for the development of a more diverse National Curriculum. These will be illustrated and enhanced by a range of examples of the types of positive images that can be added to the curriculum. These will attempt to cover the range of the curriculum rather than be restricted to the relatively 'easy' areas of the Arts and Humanities. It is crucial that they are not 'bolted on' to the somewhat ethnocentric framework within which we must work, but that they permeate it sufficiently to change its nature.

An initial step must be to critically analyse the scheme of work you have devised for teaching a particular topic. Are there any stereotypes about people, cultures or countries embedded in the concepts being taught? For example, in history are Black people seen as passive victims of slavery being freed by white emancipators, or is attention given to the struggles for freedom Do the values and attitudes involved in the study support an open-minded and positive approach to people, issues and events?

Another preliminary step is to critically analyse the materials used in teaching. Do they feature women, Black people, poor people or people with disabilities? If this is the case, in what roles do they appear – active or passive? Does the language used convey any negative messages about people or groups. For example in geography do they refer to 'underdeveloped' rather than 'developing' countries – or better still, 'South' or 'Majority world' in contrast to 'North' or 'Majority world'

If the scheme, materials or resources can't be changed, are there any ways in which these can be used with pupils to identify stereotyping or bias and explore the effects?

Check that pupils from diverse backgrounds can all identify with at least some of the contexts in which the topic or learning activities are located, or from which resources are drawn. For example is there a choice in history and geography for working class and immigrant geographical localities for local studies, are the selected world history topics relevant to the ethnic mix of the class, is there some reference to and use of Islamic mathematics, art or calligraphy?

Plan that a wide variety of role models is incorporated in teaching and visual aids, so that pupils from all cultures can identify with these and appreciate new perspectives. For example, are there Black scientists like LOUIS LATIMER who invented the light filament, CHARLES RICHARD DREW who developed the transfusion (and died in an ambulance after a road accident because the white hospital to which he was taken would not treat a Black person)? Are there female

scientists like MARIE CURIE? And composers like SAMUEL COLERIDGE TAYLOR, writers like NAIPAUL and, and artists like as well as Black sportsmen and women?

Identify and exploit opportunities in teaching topics to investigate the nature and effects of prejudice, discrimination or bias and develop pupils' concern for social justice. For example, a study of human variation in science lessons on evolution, industrial ballads in a study of working class struggle, the tradition of non-violent protest embodied by GANDHI and MARTIN LUTHER KING in campaigns for colonial independence and civil rights.

Find opportunities to present images of success and achievement for particular groups or cultures to replace or create a balance with any negative ones in teaching content or materials. For example stress the role of the Maroons in weakening slavery in Jamaica, and TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE'S successful struggle against French colonial rule in Haiti as well as the work of the Abolitionist movements

Refer to and explore present-day events and situations on issues of discrimination as analogies during teaching that will enable pupils to make parallels between situations, identify common experiences and benefit from different perspectives on their experience. For example in hstory show the important role played by Islamophobia when studying the Crusades, and include more recent 'ethnic cleansing' when studying the Holocaust in Nazi Germany.

Draw on the insights, experiences and different perspectives of members of ethnic communities, people with disabilities, travellers and Romany people and other groups with experience of discrimination and disadvantage as visiting speakers, as artists, poets or musicians in residence, or as speakers on different religious traditions.

Bring a global dimension into teaching for example by using case studies of individuals, groups and contexts in the developing world where appropriate for contrast and comparison with more immediate situations.

Develop the skills of critical analysis of information, data and evidence. For example, apply the techniques of fair testing in science, study different techniques of presenting statistical evidence in maths, and show how evidence is used for a variety of purposes in media studies and citizenship.

Incorporate drama techniques like role-plays, hot-seating and simulations into learning experiences across the curriculum to promote empathy and the ability to question and investigate.

And finally, explore cross-curricular links that bring issues of equality into a study. For example, explore geometry through Islamic art, technology through the building of the Pyramids, and industrialisation through the novels of ZOLA or

DICKENS.

There are, therefore, many ways of diversifying teaching and learning. Each one of these makes a contribution to celebrating the diversity in our national life and our world. But it demands both imagination and independence of mind to achieve this. Even more important it must never be forgotten that it is equally important to constantly challenge and undermine the intolerance and stereotyping that devalues people and detests diversity.

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5.1 Celebration of gender diversity in Hungary

László Lippai and Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

Introduction

News on the marriage of a Norwegian minister has appeared in many newspapers in mid-January, 2003. The marriage was unique, as people of the same sex made their wedding wows. In the past decades the acceptance of homosexuals has risen not only among the tolerant Scandinavians and Dutch people: Paris and Berlin have Mayors who are proud of their "difference", America now has discussions about launching a TV channel especially for homosexuals.

East from the river Lajta the atmosphere is less friendly. Recently the Slovakian government has unanimously dismissed the Bill that would have provided Slovakian homosexuals with registered partnership. In Hungary the age of consent for a heterosexual sexual relationship is 14, while it is 18 in case of homosexual. Strives for equal rights for homosexuals are accompanied by embarrassed giggles. Because of prejudice in the society, only a few politicians and political forces dare to fight for the rights of sexual minorities. The Social Democrats (SZDSZ) promote the most firmly and consequently the principle of lack of discrimination. The Party of Hungarian Truth and Life (MIÉP) at the same time has stipulated that its candidate delegates can not be of homosexual nature.

In July 2002, the agreement of the Mayor of Budapest district III, and the organisers of the Pepsi Island Festival on leaving out homosexual education programmes from the festival caused a stir. The court suspended the discriminative agreement, which, as an answer to protests, had already been cancelled one-sidedly by the organisers.

In Autumn 2002. news were spread all over Hungary about the government's Christian-democrat Minister of Family Affairs intervening in an adoption process. The politician was interested in the matter as the child was to be adopted by a transvestite artist. The case is now successfully closed.

The activists for homosexuals have different opinions on the question, whether there are other media personalities following the pioneer coming-out of P. R.., a TV journalist who has revealed his homosexuality at the end of 2002. There are several gossips in the air about the sexual difference of other famous persons, but those concerned do not confirm or even deny these news.

In 1991 a representative research by TÓTH LÁSZLÓ, with a sample of 2000

Hungarians has shown, that most of the answerers have negative attitudes to the issue and think, sexuality should be regulated referring to the society as a whole. So sexuality in Hungary is today not a private but a public issue. The view that sexuality is a private matter was characteristic among managers, groups of higher education and groups belonging to the highest income quintile, but the ratio of positive answers given by them was still only about 50% (TÓTH, 1994).

Information transmitting strategies of homosexual communities

Defining and characteristic feature of European-type, modern society development is the articulation and separation of different groups of social phenomena. In terms of homosexuality separation of the sphere of public and private matters is important. The operation of the sphere of public matters is under social regulation, while private life is out of social regulation and control, and is protected by human rights. The development of a civil society articulates and separates newer and newer domains of human life as separate social phenomena. That is why public sphere narrows continuously down compared to the completeness of life. The scope of sexuality fits here as well: it belongs to the competence of private life in the long run, but sometimes someone tries to make a public issue out of it (TÓTH, 1994).

People try to turn the phenomenon of homosexuality into a social – political question all over the world. Takács Judit distinguishes between three different cases in relation to this:

- 1. The question of homosexuality is a matter at issue on the political level. In the Netherlands the society does not consider homosexuality a problem to be solved. So they are not looking for a general solution, but they can concentrate on posing and solving more specific questions.
- 2. In the next case the political level discussion of homosexuality is problematic, but not at all impossible. In this case it can happen, that the main claim to accept homosexuality is attached by different specific issues also requiring public legitimation.
- 3. The last case is the result of the social situation, when political discussions of homosexuality cannot be expected in the near future. The backgrounds can be, that there are many and various interests fighting in the political ring, and only a relatively few of them have chance for gaining attention. A certain degree of organisational background, conditions and money are needed for it. The main problem here is whether homosexuals as members of a minority group in the society have a right to take part in the political

life of the society. That is, whether there is possibility for the operation of a group protecting minority interests. In this case the main aim is to obtain this kind of permission for operation (TOTH, 1994).

The attitude of a society toward the questions of sexuality shows its relationship to the European borderline and concept of human freedom very sensitively. The issue of sexuality raises the problematics of human rights for freedom the most directly: the issue of social acceptance of sexual freedom.

Homosexuality and the society

Homosexuality was judged in various ways during history, sometimes prosecuted and sometimes accepted. It is no longer considered to be an illness, though most of the societies, Hungarian society also, is strongly homophobe, hate and discrimination is strong. The hostile circumstances urge homosexuals to be isolated, to look for the company of similar people and to visit their own places of entertainment.

In case of this unique life-style group there is a continuous struggle to obtain equal rights to heterosexuals like the marriage of same-sex partners, support for buying a flat, payment of the health insurance system after the homosexual partner as well and anyway to receive the same treatment in every field of the society.

Hard coexistence

Members of the society are continuously occupied with looking for the causes of homosexuality instead of accepting it as a fact. A general opinion is that individuals have a free choice, so homosexuals might as well chose the "normal" manwoman relationship. But there is no such thing as free choice, as homosexual partners are attached not only through sex, but there is also a strong emotional connection between the partners. We can often hear the sentence: "The homosexuals should fight against their abnormal dispositions" and make "alibi" marriages to a partner of the different sex. However, both partners would feel themselves rather awful in a relationship like this.

Social judgement depends on the value system of the society: where reproduction is a matter of life or death, homosexuality is condemned, where there is a threat of overpopulation, it is accepted. And this is equally true on the individual and on the society's level. Strong lack of knowledge surrounds homosexuals, who as an effect of prejudice and social pressure enter into a viscous circle; some live a double life as admitting the truth is risky. It is desirable to accept oneself, his or her secret is sometime "transparent", his or her surroundings suspects or even knows it, but nobody utters it.

The most violent rejecting behaviour is observable among heterosexual men, who, mainly if they are of macho type, feel themselves threatened. They feel homosexual men would treat them as sexual objects and subordinates, just like they, heterosexual men, do it to women. The largest acceptance is observable among women, who can make "stress-free" friendships with homosexual men, they have different "hunting fields", they do not have to rival with one another. Homosexual women are more accepted from both, men and women, sides.

There are several misconceptions behind discrimination against homosexuals. Such kinds of misconceptions are: a homosexual seduction makes someone homosexual (vampire theory); homosexuals are not suitable for the teaching or educating profession; homosexual education is dangerous; if we provide homosexuals with equal rights we might as well acknowledge paedophiles also – this statement is a strong exaggeration, as paedophilia is an illness, while homosexuality is not; the "milder" prejudices name the educational mistakes of mothers as triggers.

Legal backgrounds

The Constitution – as the fundamental law – deals with the prohibition of negative discrimination in its paragraphs 70/A and 70/K, and it declares, that demands resulting from this can be taken in front of the court. We should note, that there is no consistent anti-discrimination act in Hungarian Law: orders on the prohibition of negative discrimination can be found in certain separate rules.

The regulation of common-law partnership is included under the financial circumstances of persons living in the same household. The definition of common-law partnership is among the explanatory orders of the Civil Code (685/A §). It belongs to the system of Civil Law, and is not part of Family Law.

The common-law partners – if the rule does not order it otherwise – are two persons living in the same household in an emotional and economic community, without being married.

The first interesting thing in this regulation is, that following the number 14/1995 (III.13.) decision by the Constitutional Court on altering the law it is indifferent in legal relationship whether we are talking about persons of the same or different sex, that is – under legal circumstances – homosexual men or women can also be common-law partners. It is also a conceptual element in this legal relationship, that it can happen only between two people, and these two people cannot get married.

In its 5. § The Codebook of Work contains a general anti-discrimination clause. According to this – among others – there also cannot be any negative discrimination enforced among employees because of circumstances not related to the employer – employee relationship (Háttér).

The question of homosexuality in the Hungarian society

Tóth László et. al. has carried out a representative research in 1991 in Hungary. The research was made on a sample of 2000 people in the topic of *health – illness – sexuality*. There was an open question included into the set of questions referring to sexuality: "What do you think about love between people of the same sex?"

"It is very salutary to show who denied to answer the question referring to homosexuality. 65.1% of all questioned, 1 304 people provided some answers, while 34.9%, 696 persons did not make any comments. More than one-thirds of those questioned were not willing to answer our question. If we also consider, that 1 689 persons, the 84.5% of those questioned was not willing to answer the set of questions dealing with sexuality we can make two statements. One statement is that Hungarian society is rather prudish; a considerable part of them avoids the thought of sexuality even. The other statement is, that there is a further, let's say 20%, who avoids the thought of homosexuality to an extent that they do not want to deal with the issue, not even on the basis of prejudice" (TOTH, 1994. pp. 82-86.).

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5.2 Celebration of Diversity in Great Britain

Joss West Burnham (United Kingdom)

"Celebration itself used to exemplify celebration of diversity (religious festivals and street occasions in the UK)."

Since the events of 9/11 in America and the ongoing global contexts of war and terrorism it would be of concern if we forget that the debates about diversity have also been placed within the context of celebration rather than fear and anxiety. This long history of cultures learning about each other through the celebration of different religious and secular celebrations has always been significant within the United Kingdom and made a vital contribution to our society. As well as the rich history of Christian festivals and celebrations such as Christmas and Easter there has also always been a celebration of other denominations and world faiths. Religious and secular celebrations, carnivals and street festivals take many forms and have different impacts within specific regional and national locations. For example the celebrations of Chinese New Year are perhaps more apparent in the larger cities with established 'Chinatowns' – like London, Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham- whilst Divali and Eid are more overtly celebrated on the streets of Leicester and Manchester and other Northern cities where the social and cultural mix of the population provides the key elements for knowledge, organisation and participation. It is probably also true to suggest that many of these celebrations have also become viewed by the business world as opportunities for new markets and new forms of advertising to reach new audiences and consumers.

The celebration of the Chinese New Year within the U.K. is an example of this meshing of increasing cultural awareness of diversity and participation as well as a new 'market' for goods and services. It cannot be by chance that as China as a country becomes more intergrated in terms of World Trade its customs and peoples have also become acknowledged within and across a range of cultural activities – a celebration of Chinese art, performance, film and creative arts as well as through culinary and material aspects. The Chinese communities within the U.K. are some of the oldest and most established and yet it is only within the last five years that celebrations to mark this have become more of a feature across the country. The whole concept of the Chinese New Year is built around good fortune for the coming year. Small gifts are given to wish people good luck and

these include: mandarin oranges, paper goods, usually in gold, to signify money or small ceramic figurines. On the day itself people will join together for a Chinese banquet and toast the forthcoming year. It is common now in many schools in the U.K. to celebrate this day with Chinese writing and storytelling events and even the welcoming of a Chinese dragon troop. In the bigger cities these events take place on the streets and involve large numbers of the community.

The emphasis on community and meeting people is also a feature of the Muslim religious festival and celebrations of Eid in the U.K. Whilst Muslim families are concerned that all the members of the family have new clothes for the celebrations there is also an emphasis to spend the days visiting everyone that they know. This extends to meeting and wishing luck to strangers too so it is usual for Eid celebrations to take to the streets around the houses and in the bigger cities to be located within a particular section of the city. It also extends to people having 'open house' and inviting in people from the street to share in celebrations. What is often 'hidden' in the public celebrations is the deep seated religious observance at this period which is one which marks the end of the fasting period of Ramadan. One cannot, as a Muslim, take part in the celebrations without having made some serious spiritual effort, usually with a whole month of fasting. One is also required to give some gift to the poor as part of the celebration. In this way, connections can be made between a number of religious festivals and acts of celebration. For the celebrations act as markers of faith within the yearly calendar but also markers of recognition for those who are less fortunate in the world.

Whilst some of the debates about multiculturalism have become more complicated with regard to the issues of identity politics few would disagree that celebrations and festivals are an alternative way into understanding, sharing and participation in the multiply layers of culture and diversity within the UK in the twenty first century. Often there has now become a blurring of the boundaries between religious and secular celebrations and music and performance have become key symbols of celebrations of diversity. So, music festivals like WOMAD held every year in the UK have often become a way into learning about diversity for large numbers of young people.

Perhaps one of the most famous secular street festivals that takes place in the U.K. every year is the Notting Hill Carnival in Ladbroke Grove, London in August each year. The Carnival celebrated it's 40th anniversary in 2004 and whilst some of the issues about sponsorship for this event remain constant debating points each year, the Carnival maintains it's place as one of the main points in the year when the celebration of black communities and their histories is given full expression in music, dance and performance on the streets of London.

The Notting Hill Carnival is dedicated to the celebration of Caribbean culture with music, carnival floats, costumes as well as hundreds of food stalls. It is now an attraction which is visited by over one million people and the focus for many corporate businesses in terms of advertising and marketing. However the focus of the celebrations are guarded and monitored closely and businesses who wish to be involved as partners with the Carnival organisers are reminded to keep the focus on the celebration of black culture(s) and not just a forum to celebrate or place their products.

The Carnival has come a long way since its early beginnings when, out of the crisis of racial tensions in the late 50s, meetings in dance halls in North London for local black people evolved into the idea of an annual street festival to encourage people, especially children, onto the streets to express themselves artistically. Many of those involved had immigrated to the U.K. from the Caribbean, especially from Trinidad and were able to draw upon the customs and traditions 'at home' in these early celebrations on the street. In Trinidad the roots of Carnival celebrations were embedded within the history of slavery and on the repeal of the slave trade laws in the nineteenth century, the new freedom was celebrated on the streets in song and dance. There quickly developed an expertise in the creative arts that went with these street celebrations. Traditions within mask making, costume design and the symbolic significance of these became established and are still in evidence in the Carnival today.

So, the history of the Notting Hill Carnival is also a history of the celebration of diversity within the U.K. The educational role of the Carnival is also very important in establishing the connections between the celebrations of today and the history of these celebrations in other periods and in other countries. A study of the street festival and the Carnival in particular can establish links between Notting Hill and say Trinidad but it can also establish connections with similar celebrations in Miami and other parts of the world.

As well as the Carnival in Notting Hill being a celebration of the past and the present in terms of cultural events, dancing and music it is also a place where new musicians, singers and dancers can showcase and try out their talents. Many of the locally based recording studios have arisen directly or indirectly from their involvement with the Carnival. But Notting Hill is no longer the only street festival that celebrates the diversity of British culture as there are now many other throughout the year – i.e. Reggae in the Park – a large celebration of reggae music and culture in London in September each year, the yearly Womad music festival as mentioned previously and many more. What is significant here is the blurring of the issues of diversity being celebrated as more and more of the traditional arts

festivals begin to draw upon an increasingly global awareness of art, music and performance in the celebration calendars.

With the continued growth of awareness of cultural diversity in the U.K. and the ensuing opportunities to celebrate and participate in these events there is a sense that some of the old ways of thinking about difference need to be rethought. Often today there will be the blurring of the boundaries between the religious and the secular celebration with those who are celebrating being from diverse groupings – some practising members of the religion and some not. This does not detract from the celebrations of diversity, or from the positive elements of these events where we have an often complex combination of both the religious and the secular happening at the same time. These events are themselves testimony to a sustained interest and appreciation within the U.K. of the richness of the culture we inhabit.

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6. Equal opportunities

Zsuzsanna Benkő (Hungary)

People are different: they can be of different ages, can have different weigh, gender, occupation, income, place of living or resistance to different illnesses. It is visible from the list, that there are differences of biological nature, such as resistance to illnesses (or disability) or gender, and there are social differences, like occupation or income. Certain biological differences can also appear in the form of social inequalities. So for example gender can be the source of social advantages and disadvantages: just think about the income differences between men and women.

According to the opinion of demographists, about 2 years from the differences between the life expectancy of men and women can be explained by biological reasons, and the rest can be explained by the different social roles and positions of the two sexes.

In the modern society social-economic inequalities meant the maybe most important domain of inequality. The most important factors of social-economic inequalities are: education, occupation, financial situation. These factors are not independent from each other: those who have higher education have more opportunities in the competition for high-prestige jobs and consequently can obtain higher incomes. Or the children of parents with higher-prestige jobs will be expected to acquire higher education than children of parents with lower-prestige jobs.

So the extent and nature of mobility are also important indices of equal – unequal opportunities. The open and closed society label is a characteristic reference to the extent and nature of mobility, so these are also important sociological categories of equal – unequal opportunities.

Apart from the nature of the job, the question of employment can also be defining in terms of inequality. Unemployment, permanent unemployment especially means a serious social problem, and inequality. Disadvantaged social groups like those with lower education, the unskilled, the elderly and in Hungary the Romany people are especially endangered by becoming unemployed.

In terms of social inequalities poverty is an especially important problem. Within the category of poverty we can distinguish between the so called absolute and relative poverty.

The extent and nature of poverty is changing in East-Europe in the age of transition from socialism to market economy. Not only the rate of those living in

extreme poverty has increased considerably, but the nature of poverty has also changed according to many researchers. Social scientists thought in general that in the socialist era poverty was defined primarily by demographic factors: large families, old or ill people became poor. According to certain observers social state, ethnicity and gender are considered to be the main reasons of poverty in the post communist era.

Several researchers think that by the development of market economy some people can happen to remain poor for their whole life, and the most poor will be more segregated in space from the less poor than before. So a "new poverty" is observable in the post communism. To put it differently, a society under the society, an "underclass" is forming in the post communist era, especially when poverty and ethnicity link up, that is when poverty concentrates to one or some ethnically definable social group. According to one of the central hypothesis of LADÁNYI JÁNOS, in the transitional societies many Roma live in extreme poverty, do not have a hope to emerge from poverty ever, are more and more segregated in space from the non-Roma and from the less poor, and a similar fate is awaiting their children as well. In this sense writes LADÁNYI about a Roma "society under society", a Roma "Underclass".

There are people who argue that poverty comes not only upon certain ethnic groups more than the ethnic majority, but women are also in larger proportions than men among the poor, so poverty is "being feminized". Feminized poverty means that household where the head of the family is a woman become poor more probably than families with a male head, or rather, within the poor households women carry the burden of poverty more than men.

Finally, it seems that considerable differences in the extent, nature and dynamics of poverty can be revealed among the countries of the post communist Europe. Following the path of neo-liberal reform, certain countries seem to take the "evolutionary" road to liberal market economy. Other countries are more cautious in withdrawing from the state socialist model, and as a consequence their transformation is "involutionary" in nature, and they seem to create a neopatrimonial system of capitalism. Neoclassical economists state that the results of the neoliberal reform will in time "drip down" to the lower strata of the society as well. To put it differently, neoclassical economists count on the process that the neoliberal reform will induce economic growth and though social inequalities might increase, absolute poverty will decrease by the progress of the reform and the headway of the market. Consequently, in countries where suggestions of the neoliberal reform were not realised – the neoclassical economists think – we should expect an economic stagnation and the reproduction of poverty.

Geographical and regional differences and the gender differences play an important role in the distribution of opportunities. The different geographical regions mean different climatic, physical and biological environment for human populations, and by so doing influence the health state of the inhabitants. The geographical environment defines the unique ways of food production and nutrition, clothing and hygiene, and building residence. The geographical-physical conditions have established those huge social differences, inequalities we can experience nowadays among the countries, geographical and economic regions of the world. There are great differences in the age composition of the populations of different countries. For example, in case of Zimbabwe the huge proportion of young age groups compared to the rate of the elder population is well visible. The age pyramid of Brazil resembles to the one of Zimbabwe, but the rate differences of vounger and elder age groups are less. If we examine Sweden, the tendency is reverse: the proportion of elder age groups is rising, while the proportion of the young age groups is decreasing. The age pyramid of Hungary is more like the one of Sweden rather than the one of Brazil, but at the same time it is also different, which is shown in the lower rate of elder age groups. The reasons for these differences, compared to the state in the developed countries, are the higher infant mortality and lower life expectancy at birth in the developing countries. While in Zimbabwe the infant mortality per 1000 live births is 61, the same number is 10 in the United States, 6 in Sweden, and 4 in Japan. While the life expectancy at birth for men is 59 years in Egypt and for women it is 61 years, and the relevant numbers are 62 and 68 in Brazil, the same number for men in Poland is 67 years. in Sweden 74 years and in Japan it is 75 years, for women in Poland it is 76 years, in Sweden 80 years and in Japan it is 81 years. Differences between the developing and developed countries in life expectancy at birth reveal a different disease structure. Death due too infectious diseases is more frequent in the countries of the third world than in the developed countries, where the main reasons of death are the chronic diseases. In the developing countries infectious diseases can be leading causes of death still, as important hygienic conditions are missing, for example there is a lack of pure drinking water or even the most basic health services are not ensured for the majority of the population. There could be two kinds of explanations to the question: why do women live longer than men. Social reasons or their relationships: different social roles, different life conducting strategies, different extent of damaging forms of behaviour (smoking, alcohol consumption, unhealthy nutrition habits, low stress tolerance). Biological reasons: genetic protecting factors, hormonal differences (e.g. the protective effect of oestrogen in cardio-vascular illnesses). Demographers think that 2 years from the

differences in life expectancy can be explained by biological reasons, the rest is explained by the different social roles and status of the genders. The socially disadvantaged position of women are characterised mainly by employment parameters.

In the followings we will examine the most important factors of social-economic inequalities: level of education, occupation, and financial situation. The level of education, occupation and the financial situation are not independent: those with higher level of education possess a better opportunity in the contest for higher prestige occupations and consequently can obtain higher income. Or, children of higher occupation prestige parents are more probable to gain higher level of education than children of lower prestige parents. So the level of education, the prestige of occupation and income, as indices of place occupied in the social hierarchy, increase or decrease together in case of the vast majority of the population.

Level of education can be measured by the number of finished classes and with the type of education (e.g. Matura, Diploma). It is a general tendency that people with higher level of education have better morbidity and mortality indices and they themselves consider their physical and mental state more favourable.

Higher level of education means the acquisition of such skills and knowledge that could exercise a decisive influence on health state. In an Islamic country, by enabling women to finish primary school, there was a drastic decrease in infant- and child mortality. Education exercises its effect not only or mainly immediately through the transmission of health related knowledge. Through the acquisition of skills like reading, speaking or the use of scientific concepts and words the health state- and life-style related information become receptible and possible to be communicated, that could mean an advantage in combating diseases. Expertise in rational problem solving is also an advantage.

The level of education has an even more important effect than the previous ones on the prestige of the occupation. Occupation, or more precisely the type of work influences the state of health directly through occupational hazards: it is well-known that silicosis is more frequent among miners, arthritis and locomotor diseases are more frequent among agricultural-physical workers, and those who often use computers gain visual impair faster.

Occupation affects the state of health indirectly as well, as a basic component of belonging to a social class. Occupations show a hierarchical arrangement according to their different characteristics, like the conditions of work or the social view of occupations. Like in case of education level, position in this hierarchy influences the mortality and morbidity indices.

Results of the Hungarian survey in 1995 prove that there could be considerable differences in terms of mental health among the different occupational groups.

Reasons can on the one hand be found in the different natures of the work. In case of people with lower prestige there is a higher chance for occupational accidence or the development of a serious, long-lasting disease, behind which some occupational hazard lies. The work of people with "better jobs" generally ensures bigger personal autonomy, compared to the case of those with lower prestige. Autonomy and the bigger freedom of decision has an effect on the self-esteem of the personality, hereby people with higher prestige jobs can feel they are able to direct their own fate. This could have a decisive effect on combating diseases or on health damaging forms of behaviour. On the other hand we can look for the reasons in life-style as well. An English survey for example revealed the reasons in the differences in nutrition habits. The research has shown that members of the middle class eat healthier than the working class.

The question of unequal opportunities in case of belonging to an ethnic group is a new research trend in post-modern societies, in Hungary and all over the World as well. We should put a high emphasis on examining the seriousness of the situation the Romany group is in when we are talking about unequal opportunities in Hungary, as their social-economic position and health state is rather bad. Life expectancy at birth in case of the Roma is even worse compared to the unfavourable data of the Hungarian population. In 1993 the life expectancy of Romany men was 53 years, of Romany women was 62 years, which is 12 years less in case of men, and 11 years less in case of women than the country average. The catastrophic social state of the Roma is responsible mainly for this gap-like difference. Social and economic disadvantages lead to the deterioration in health state often through the mediation of depression.

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6.1 Inequalities in education

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

Introduction

BAJOMI (2001) in his summary emphasizes: it is important for the education system to be able to contribute to the strengthening of social integration, to provide help for those in disadvantaged positions and for those falling behind. In terms of this latter aim we should strive not only at helping the most down-and-out people to obtain suitable knowledge and a degree and certificate which makes finding a job easier, but also at introducing solidarity as a value to the whole society and make it play an active part. From this respect it is also a very important aim for schools to promote the education of individuals who can live according to the institution of democracy, who are able to represent the interests of themselves and their fellow citizens effectively. Educational institutes can help the dissemination of these values through – among others – creating attitudes based on valuing the other person and respecting "otherness".

Hungarian Educational culture

According to RADÓ (2001) the root of educational inequalities is an educational problem characteristic to the Hungarian Education System. At present, social disadvantages observable along the different dimensions (social, territorial, ethnic or limited personal abilities) are destined to convert into school failure in the beginning phase of school education already. This indicates that most of the Hungarian schools cannot make use of the possibilities that could enable them to compensate the negative effects of social disadvantages on school achievement with the help of suitable educational means.

If we take a critical look back to the last decades we can see, that social aspects were pushed into the background in many times when the education system was reformed. The limited financial resources played defining part in it, school well-being services were cut down in settlements or districts with the worst conditions, or activities for catching up disadvantaged pupils were reduced.

Since the change of regime, there were forced reforms exposed to political fluctuations in Education, which also played part in neglecting social perspectives. This was for example the case with decisions enabling the creation of six-and eight grades Academic Secondary Schools altering the structure of the

education system fundamentally, or with steps rising the age of compulsory education and shifting the start of vocational training. These later steps affected rather badly the children of groups in the most disadvantaged position of the society.

The different possible branches in lower primary school or even in kindergartens emphasized the selective nature of the school system even further and meant a great challenge in terms of the equality of chances. While private education requires a considerable amount of tuition fees, schools offering branches for specialisations offer the same services as private schools for free, and which services guarantee for higher social status families to surround their children with "selected children" at school. When parents choose schools for their children they often strive at finding a school where the development of their children's cognitive skills are not hindered by pupils of middling or even worse ability.

A decisive aspect of educational reforms in the past one-and-half decades is strong decentralisation in many domains, providing schools and local educational authorities with more possibilities. These changes were favourable also for the disadvantaged children: there were many new institutional initiatives and original educational approaches created for dealing with them. It was important in terms of strengthening local independence that there were not only new spheres of authority and jurisdiction at the school or settlement level decision-makers' disposal, but several new financial sources were also accessible, in the form of applications mainly. For example: the role of programmes for improving Romany education by the Soros Foundation, some funds and applications from the European Union (e.g. Funds for Modernising Public Education, Phare, Socrates etc.) are more and more important in the innovation activities connected to disadvantaged children. We should see however, that these sources are only shortterm ones, and do not make long-term building possible. There are at the same time forms of normative aid enabling continuous finance: normative support for the education of national minorities and for the Gypsies. But this amount is not in proportion with the tasks to be solved when we are discussing the education of disadvantaged Romany children.

A further problem is, that there is no suitable decision on using these financial resources. As a consequence of this situation, the financial aid in question is sometimes used for providing segregated education in certain settlements. A further problem is that there are no professionals present in many places who could work- and carry out educational development plans for the education of disadvantaged children.

In the spirit of positive discrimination, educational institutes with large numbers of disadvantaged children enrolled would need longer-term financial

resources that are larger than the normative support.

The creation of local educational solutions for the support of disadvantaged children would suppose the presence of professionals in the given schools who are prepared for managing unique problems rising during the education of disadvantaged children, who are well aware of alternative educational methods and effective means, and who are financially valued. It would also be important to include elements concerning the education of disadvantaged children into the programme of teacher training and in-service training; elements that provide those concerned with professional ammunition and ideas for answering local-level questions concerning disadvantaged children.

It is also important, whether professionals on the domain of managing disadvantaged children, working in different institutes on different parts of the country can contact one another or make themselves heard in decision making processes concerning them.

Integration

Selection within the education system and – to a great extent – the institutional segregation of certain pupil groups lies within the problems of educational effectiveness. According to many research on the issue, selection already starts when the child enters the education system (think about the segregation of Romany children or the (internationally compared) high percentage of children sent to classes or institutes with special curriculum), and it is larger and larger in the beginning phase of education also. The vast majority of Hungarian schools do not have the thorough professional-methodological grounding to decrease the selection-segregation pressure on the one hand, and that would make the reintegration of the unnecessarily segregated pupil groups possible.

While the internationally accepted values and norms of integrated education gradually gain more grounds in Hungary as well, it is accompanied by the threat, that the means provided by educational policy (e.g. financial incentives) will affect the school enrolment proportions only, without creating the professional-educational foundations of successful integration. This might result in the so called "flat integration", which in many cases, for example in case of the education of children with mild mental disabilities, would cause more harm than the present segregated education.

In the following period many financial resources for educational developments will be accessible for Hungary, thanks to the structural funds of the European Union. The vast majority of these resources should be spent on strengthening social cohesion, and catching up the down-and-out strata, groups and regions.

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6.2 Women in Great Britain

Jo Moores (United Kingdom)

The state of women in the United Kingdom is varied and influenced by factors such as race, class and geographical location. However, certain key aspects of female experience such as education, work, income, child rearing, home-life and politics can be quantified. The findings of many government research and women's campaign groups has consistently revealed overall gender inequalities in these areas

Education

At GCSE level, the percentage of girls gaining 5 or more grades A-Cs is higher than boys, a trend established in the early 1990s. Girls gained more GCSEs at all grades than boys. However, research suggests that social class, not gender or race is the most influential factor pertaining to educational achievement in Britain. The majority of boys and girls from socially advantaged backgrounds do much better in all subjects at GCSE than the majority of girls from socially disadvantaged families. There is a distinct lack of research into working-class girl's continuous underachievement. It has been obscured initially by the rise in middle-class girls achievements, which raises standards for girls overall, and the serious concerns about the deviant behavior and particularly poor examination performance of working-class boys.

Despite the encouraging improvement of girl's performance at 16, this is not continued after compulsory education. At GCE A Level, males are ahead overall and in certain subjects where they had been behind at 16. In English Literature, males outperform females by 3% grades A-C where females had been ahead by 13% at GCSE level. This is in spite of the fact that males make up only 30% of candidates in this subject. While it is commendable that males improve between GCSE and A-level, further research is needed to understand why females fall and remain behind at this stage.

Work and Income

Although there have been various government acts to reduce the inequality in earnings, women in Britain still earn considerably less than men. The Equal Pay Act (1970 amended in 1984) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) addressed

direct discrimination in the workplace where women were refused jobs or paid less for the same job because of their sex and the 1984 amendment sought equal pay for equal work. While progress has been made, women working full time today earn only 72% of men's full time weekly earnings. It has been estimated that over the course of her life, a low-skilled woman without children earns nearly £200,000 less than her male equivalent.

Despite these acts women are still less likely to be found in higher paid management positions. The education sector provides startling evidence of the inadequacy of some of the acts in reducing the pay discrepancies and uneven representation at higher levels. Women make up 54% of secondary school teachers, yet only 27% become head teachers, only 11.7% of primary school teachers are men yet nearly 43% of primary head teachers are men. After working 14 years in a primary school, more than 80% of women teachers have yet to gain promotion to a senior role. At the same point in their careers, nearly 45% of men are heads or deputies.

These figures and current research suggest that the one of the main reasons behind the continued discrepancy is not necessarily the failure of various government legislations, but the working culture prevalent in Britain today. Men are more likely to work full-time, work longer hours, work higher paid shifts and work overtime than women. Women are often less able to do this as they continue to shoulder responsibility for family and household responsibilities therefore earning less.

Arguably the main obstacle to equal pay and opportunity is the effect of motherhood on working women's careers - a low-skilled mother of two looses £484.000 over her lifetime compared to her male equivalent. Nearly 50% of women whose youngest child is under 5 are not in employment and of those who do work, 65% work part-time. However, there are limited opportunities to work part-time in higher grade occupations and part-time work will often be in lower paid and lower skilled jobs.

Where work patterns are interrupted, women often re-enter the labour market at a lower salary than before (average 16% lower) and because of the disruption, are less likely to get promotion.

Recent government legislation has been designed to address these issues. In 2001 the Work and Parents Taskforce was set up to develop the details of legislation designed to help the parents of young children combine employment and the care of their children effectively and without financial or career consequences. The benefits of the new legislation would be many: allowing women to combine paid work with spending time with their children encourages women to continue in employment, whilst allowing father's the right to part-time work would en-

courage men to share caring responsibilities. In the longer term this more even distribution of paid and unpaid work would lessen the economic impact of children on individual women's earnings, help to prevent their poverty in old age, and reduce the number of children living in poverty (recent research suggests women's wages are vital in lifting families out of poverty.)

It is not only in their working life that women suffer from a reduced income, retired men receive an average income of £202 per week, retired women get only £161(Dept for work and pensions July 2001). Women are also more likely than men to be low paid and to work part-time which also affects their access to occupational pension schemes and their ability to pay into any pension scheme. Women have suffered because the welfare system has been geared to men's patterns of lifetime earnings, to full-time employment with no or only very brief periods out of employment. The Home Responsibilities Protection was designed to protect entitlement for women or men who are unable to work due to caring responsibilities. HRP allows for up to 19 years out of the labour market due to caring to be calculated as if a person had been making National Insurance contributions towards the state pension. However, as late as 1997, it was found that 91% of those without a full basic state pension were women.

The welfare system assumed that women would be able to rely on their husband's pensions to support them in their old age. However the legacy of policies like this is that older women living alone, whether through divorce or widowhood, make up the poorest pensioners. The government has recently revised policy so that widows and divorcees are entitled to claim a percentage of their husband's pension.

Homelife

Attitudes to household duties have changed in Britain over the last 15 years as more women are in paid employment. However, when both partners have full-time jobs in seven out of ten cases the woman does most of the housework. It was found that in households where both the man and woman worked full-time women spent nearly three hours per day on household duties such as cleaning and childcare compared to nearly ninety minutes spent by men. Evidence suggests that the inequalities in housework are getting less as attitudes continue to change and younger men and women no longer consider household duties as a female responsibility.

Politics and Representation

Despite making up over 51% of the population and being the majority voters, the number of women in the Westminster Parliament fell for the first time since 1979 after the 2001 elections. Women comprised only 18% of MPs in the House of Commons in 2003, with the Labour party of the government recording the best figures of 23% female MPs. Compared to other European countries, the female representation in the House of Commons is fairly poor. Sweden lead the way with 43% of female politicians with the U.K. a further ten places behind.

However, results in the Welsh Assembly and Scottish Parliament following devolution in 1999 suggest that a more balanced representation may well occur at Westminster. The Welsh Assembly had the most impressive representation in 2001 with 41% of MPs being female. The Scottish Parliament recorded an overall 37% female representation. These results and the U.K. performing slightly better at the European Parliament with an overall female representation of 25%, suggest that positive action mechanisms work towards reducing the gender gap in political representation. In both the Welsh Assembly and the Scottish Parliament, the Labour party recorded the most improved percentages of 56% and 49% respectively mainly due to the use of 'Twinning' (making sure that each pair of winnable seats choose a man and a woman). It has also been suggested that this strategy is beneficial to a political party. Analysts argue that it is not coincidental that the Labour party which has the highest percentages of female politicians, is also the party with the most seats at Westminster, the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly.

However, despite the success of these strategies, it is not enough as many women are deterred from standing for election because of the culture of British politics which is seen as confrontational and dominated by 'male public school attitudes'. Women are further hindered by the long hours involved as they are more likely than men to have the main responsibility for childcare.

Arguably, it is important that the number of female politicians continues to increase in order to better affect the changes necessary to improve women's opportunities and experience in Britain.

7. Multicultural awareness and education; 'The mind of the teacher'

Trish Belfields (United Kingdom)

To forestall argument, this paper acknowledges that it evokes certain concepts as givens when they are, in fact, deeply rooted in ideology; not universals but specific to a particular time and space. In my defence I proffer the logic of Sir Winston Churchill's observation that 'Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried'.

Having established the structure for the argument (albeit a nebulous, flexible frame) we need to begin on the content. What is multiculturalism? Who does it concern and, perhaps most importantly, why should it concern; why do we need awareness? Defined in abstraction, multiculturalism is a 'philosophy that acknowledges the strength and richness of human diversity.' As praxis it can be described as an 'ethnic or cultural heterogeneity, which marks...life:' 'a social mosaic of bounded and identifiable cultures cohabiting a common territory in the context of a single dominant culture.' Multiculturalism concerns the whole of the State, in as much as it is a 'policy of inclusion of all cultures and ethnicities in a society or civilization' (my italics) but becomes specific to the education system when conceived as an 'effort to revise school and college curricula to give greater emphasis to the contributions and experiences of... other racial and ethnic minorities'. Finally, it is made imperative for all by its status as 'the doctrine that several different cultures (rather than one national culture) can co-exist peacefully and equitably in a single country.'

Immediately apparent in the above is the centrality of nationality, race and ethnicity and it is the point at which these subject positions intersect with teaching and learning practices which is the focus of this paper. However, as CALEB

¹ www.smarterkids.com/rescenter/glossary.asp

²www.destineducation.ca/resource/annex-f1 e.htm

³ http://education.pwv.gov.za/Conf_Wshops_Events/Values/R_Cassius_Lubisi.htm

⁴www.suffernhs.com/themes/glossaryM.htm

⁵ www.mhhe.com/socscience/sociology/schaef/olc/65.htm

⁶ www.cogsci.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/webwn

⁷ With regard to subject positions there is, as R. CASSIUS LUBISI points out, a 'definition of multiculturalism ... [which] ... goes beyond the confines of ethnic cultures and includes a wide range of social groups...Under this definition, groups like religious communities, women, marginalised social classes and castes, the disabled, and gays and lesbians are

ROSADO points out, 'The mere presence of an ethnically and racially diverse student population, due to legal, moral or social imperatives, does not make a school multicultural.' To discover what lies at the centre of the term we return to the definitions above and to the conceptualization regulation of binary oppositions and difference; the law which allows meaning to happen. It is "difference" (the space of the oblique) and the signification of difference, which is at the heart of multiculturalism and should be at the forefront of the teacher's mind.

At its core multicultural education aims to build upon and make concrete the basic principles of freedom, justice, equality, equity and human dignity. Most of these concepts are articulated in national and transnational documents such as the universal declaration of human rights adopted by the United Nations. Such documents affirm the need for educators to be at the heart of the process of preparing individual students with regard to their rights and responsibilities in a world which is now interdependent.

In their article *Defining Multicultural Education (1996; 2000)* PAUL GORSKI and BOB COVERT acknowledge the range of interpretation and practices currently observable in multicultural education

"Some discuss multicultural education as a shift in curriculum, perhaps as simple as adding new and diverse materials and perspectives to be more inclusive of traditionally underrepresented groups. Others talk about classroom climate issues or teaching styles that serve certain groups while presenting barriers for others. Still others focus on institutional and systemic issues such as tracking, standardized testing, or funding discrepancies. Some go farther still, insisting on education change as part of a larger societal transformation in which we more closely explore and criticize the oppressive foundations of society and how education serves to maintain the status quo -- foundations such as white supremacy, capitalism, global socioeconomic situations, and exploitation". We can begin to simplify this maze of pedagogic practice by outlining and evaluating three of the ideological models which inform education and the mind of the educator.

said to constitute different cultures, and hence can lay a claim to recognition in both the public and private spheres'. But, as he notes, while such a definition should not be dismissed, there is, in the definition's very completeness, the 'danger of leading to paralysis by analysis'.

 $[\]underline{http:/\!/education.pwv.gov.za/Conf_Wshops_Events/Values/R_Cassius_Lubisi.htm}$

http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/papers/caleb/multicultural.html http://www.mhhe.com/socscience/education/multi/define.html

Assimulation

The assimilationist or deficit model is the approach that informed the British education system from the 50s through to the 70s and though outmoded it still prevails, its legacy traceable in the upper echelons of educational organisation whose leaders were often indoctrinated during their training period.

We can locate the dynamics of the model in the clichéd conceit of the 'Melting Pot'. As the name suggests its primary paradigmatic feature is the denial of difference. Working at the level of the individual rather than the group (since the latter is more difficult to disguise than the former) it seeks to transform otherness by absorbing it into the drabness that is the dominant ideology. Conrad Kottak and Kathryn Kozaitis explain assimilations contradictions: 'blending', they tell us, 'is neither democratic nor selective. Rather, assimilation assumes that all groups that have had lower or marginal status would choose, and ought, to adopt dominant traits as their own. ... Absorption into a mass culture means erasing prior cultural traits and identities changing names, dress, speech, values, and behavior. Such adjustments foster "passing" or "fitting in." Assimilation requires internal, psychological allegiance to the dominant group as well as external, physical similarity.' 10

Hopefully, the dangers of valuing a single cultural core are obvious: when it comes to standardization race is far less flexible than ethnicity. Assimilation can give rise to fragmentation by opening up clefts and initiating hierarchies in the group identity of already marginalised people. TONI MORRISON winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature winning author engages with the psycho-sociological problems of this one-way dynamic in The Bluest Eye. Percola, an African-American child, takes refuge in madness when she fails to achieve blue eyes - the ultimate signifier of worth in a white world. The schizophrenic voice with which her story culminates is the voice of the dispossessed, of a history-less people forced to develop a double consciousness: 'A little black girl yearns for the blue eyes of a little white girl, and the horror at the heart of her yearning is exceeded only by the evil of fulfilment... the damage done was total'

Pluralism

Pluralism developed in the 1970s, partly due to the Civil Rights. However, it only tolerates ethnic/racial difference, allowing it to thrive for as long as it does not constitute a threat to the dominant ideology. Emblematic of an uncritical post-

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 $^{^{10}\} http://isis.csuhayward.edu/dbsw/anthropology/claus/a 1006/kottak.htm$

¹¹ MORRISON, TONI: The Bluest Eye London, Chatto and Windus; 1970. p. 162

modernism, it is a celebration of surfaces; of heterogeneity and cultural diversity. A mindset grounded in pluralism 'regards other cultures as valuable and interesting but ignores fundamental social and economic inequalities'. Informed by moral relativism, it fails to address the dominant culture – and so is ultimately reactionary.

According to KOTTAK and KOZAITIS it is underpinned by 'notions derived from social Darwinism...One is the idea that social groups compete for resources and power and win or lose in the struggle for existence because of intrinsic qualities, which make particular groups more or less fit than others. Pluralism interprets the relative fortune of groups through stereotypes involving their assumed strengths and weaknesses. East Indians, for example, may be perceived as ambitious, but the family orientation of Mexican Americans may be seen as impeding their mobility.' To the extent that its focus is the group rather than the individual within the group it is the antithesis of the previous model.

Although still relevant and still informing some pedagogic practice, the models discussed so far have been of their time. ROSADO suggests the Assimilation model gave people access to the system, while 'in the 1980s the concern was with "valuing differences." In the 1990s the push is for "managing diversity." But in the 21st century the focus of schools and corporations needs to be on "living diversity". 13

Finally, then, we look at a model which, because it 'demand[s] a citizenry that is culturally sensitive and internationally focused, with an orientation toward the future rather than the past', 14 warrants the label "multicultural".

Multiculturalism differs from the earlier models in as much as it:

- 1. Recognises 'a multiplicity of legitimate cultural cores, or centers'
- 2. Acknowledges 'cultural criteria as the source of group formation'
- 3. Promotes 'democratization and equity among groups'. 15

Multiculturalism listens to old histories in an attempt to write new stories. It displaces the linearity of history and heritage by in favour of rhizomatic growth patterns. 'Society is seen not as various traditions blending into one heritage, but as the coexistence of many heritages and newly invented traditions within a single nation-state'.

In one sense multiculturalism is non-ideological (while simultaneously being a doctrine) because while it celebrates 'global origins, phenotypical variety, occupational diversity, and a mosaic of cultural traits' it also grounds difference/

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 $^{^{12}\} http://isis.csuhayward.edu/dbsw/anthropology/claus/a 1006/kottak.htm$

¹³ http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/papers/caleb/multicultural.html

¹⁴ http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/papers/caleb/multicultural.html

¹⁵ ibid

diversity in the heterogeneous demographic reality of contemporary life. It is an ethical practice which, by perceiving difference as valuable and encoding this worth in social policy and anti-discriminatory laws, 'pushes society toward sociocultural equity'.

According to Kottak and Kozaitis 'the most salient manifestation of MC is as identity, a psychosocial and political orientation that individuals internalize and that is shared by people united by a common status or experience. MC as identity is expressed in the formation of affinity groups, aggregates that rival such institutions as the family, neighborhood, and local community, as "the nursery of human nature" (COOLEY, 1909)' Multiculturalism inverts the logic of the previous models; (paradigms which transformed difference by utilising it as the psychosocial defence mechanism of 'otherness') by conceptualizes "the other" as simply different, in a conscious attempt to establish equity between different segments of the population. Affinity groups depend on action and politics for their existence. They are consciously constructed by people who share a common *experience* of living.

Conclusion

KEITH WILSON suggests that for multicultural education to fulfil its aim and enhance the pedagogic experience of both students and educators there must be:

- a) 'A learning environment that supports positive interracial contact;
- b) A multicultural curriculum;
- c) Positive teacher expectations;
- d) Administrative support;
- e) Teacher training workshops'

This results in what WILSON refers to as a 'positive multicultural climate' an improved teaching/learning environment that reveals itself in

- a) Diminished pockets of segregation among student body;
- b) Less racial tension in the schools;
- c) Increased ethnic minority retention and classroom performance;

The most important aspect in any initiative towards inclusion is curriculum development. A multicultural curriculum

- a) Expands knowledge by restoring the lost histories of oppressed people
- b) Provides ethnic minorities with an enhanced sense of self by figuring them as active in the discourses of power
- c) Helps reduce prejudice.

As WILSON asserts: 'Educational institutions have been dictated too long by attitudes, values, beliefs, and value systems of one race and class of people. The future of our universe is demanding a positive change for all.¹⁶

¹⁶ http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/papers/keith.html#pros

7.1 Education of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary

Klára Tarkó (Hungary)

FORRAY (2000) gives an overall analysis on the state of multicultural education in Hungary, with special regard to the education of the Gypsy.

The education of national minorities – existing for a century in Hungary – can broadly considered to be multicultural/intercultural, but it is also different from multicultural/intercultural in important aspects: It covers only native and only linguistic minorities, who in terms of their position in the society and their culture do not differ from the majority population of the country. Hungarian multiculturalism has all the time disregarded immigrants. National minorities can promote their language and culture in the school system as a collective right, in optimal cases it can happen in separate organisational units. The national minorities' right to their own culture is a social value. The optimal organisational solution to promoting and transmitting cultural elements is the ethnically (culturally, religiously, etc.) heterogeneous group (class, school), as the interaction of cultures is ensured by such organisational resolutions. The great variety of cultures became a social value.

In case of Gypsy education we should consider, that they are a native ethnic minority, the majority of whom speak Hungarian as their mother tongue. The rules of their written mother tongue are still not crystallised. This minority does not have a mother country, they are anthropologically different from the majority and they are a lonely minority, and a large group.

Legal regulations

The *Constitution* acknowledges national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary as state-creating factors, and guarantees their participation in public life, the use of their language and their right to education in their mother tongue.

After 1990 an Act was born on local governments that defined their responsibility in education. The Gypsies were mentioned in the same paragraph as national minorities. The difference in the education of national minorities and Gypsies is, that while it defines the promotion of mother tongue and culture for the former, from kindergarten till the end of primary school, it defines individual or group catch-up programmes for the latter.

The Minority Act of 1993 provided national and ethnic minorities with

communal rights and cultural autonomy, and personal rights for the free choice of identity at the same time.

The Public Education Act of 1993 includes, that children, pupils belonging to national and ethnic minorities can have (according to the decision of parents) kindergarten-, school- and youth hostel education in their mother tongue and in Hungarian, or in Hungarian.

Gypsy catch-up programmes

Catching-up (or formerly well-known as remedial teaching) does not fit into the legal framework expressing the spirit of educating national minorities, as it approaches society and the individual from different viewpoints, from different paradigms.

The education of national minorities starts from identity based on mother tongue, moreover it considers more or less the local or mother country historical and cultural traditions of the linguistic group. This principle views national minorities as ethnic groups different from the majority in their language, folklore and partially in their history, but they are equal to Hungarians in social terms. The acquisition of mother tongue competence and a certain level acquisition of given extra syllabuses can be a clear aim in education. In this respect the concept of catching-up, the "Gypsy catch-up education" especially, carries that not at all hidden meaning, that there is an ethnic group in Hungary that defines its free identity in terms of lagging behind others. The aim in minority education organised for this ethnic group could evidently only be catching-up, that is, meeting school requirements (which is a self-evident requirement for other ethnic groups).

Educational policy referring to the Gypsies (1990s)

The 1992 governmental edict of the Hungarian Ministry of Education and the Gypsy Educational Development Programme of 1995 formulated common aims and domains of activity. These included cutch-up and talent care and the introduction of knowledge on Gypsy culture into higher education (to teacher training mainly). A new element was the development and promotion of intercultural programmes.

The edict contained the National Core Curriculum (1995) (NCC) in its appendix. From the 260 pages of the NCC, only 1.5 pages were dedicated to the "Unique principles of the education of national and ethnic minorities" and a short paragraph was dedicated to "Gypsy catch-up education" (See Appendix). The essence of it: "is to help Roma students to acquire the objectives corresponding to the pupils' own age group presented in NCC and local curricula". The requirements are however not presented according to cultural domains, and the document

is full of contradictions.

To prevent contradictions, the NCC included as a new principle among its "unique principles" the so called intercultural education, that "is to ensure, that minority and majority students acquire the materials contained in the knowledge of the nation together and – according to the parents wishes – learn the minority language". This step is a possibility to move towards the enforcement of intercultural paradigm, in so far as it allows the organised meeting of cultures, their interaction within classrooms. The other novelty is that the Roma catch-up programme can include the teaching of one of the Roma languages as well, according to the objectives of the language teaching education type". The permission to teach the Roma language takes us to the other direction; it wishes to draw catch-up and national minority education closer.

The multicultural/intercultural paradigm would in principle provide possibilities to view and manage the nationality (mother tongue, culture) and social problems of Gypsies in a consistent system (NCC – intercultural education). By making the principle of national minority education universal, children of each national minority could participate in programmes of the same structure (mother tongue, bilingual, language teaching).

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National Core Curriculum (1995): Hungarian Ministery of Education, Budapest

Appendix

UNIQUE PRINCIPLES OF THE EDUCATION OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

The education of Hungarian national and ethnic minorities is an organic part of the Hungarian educational system. That is, it should provide the same content, and same value and improvement of basic skills and education, and provide equal chances. That's why, objectives settled down in the National Core Curriculum (NCC) apply for the education of national and ethnic minorities as well.

The unique aim of minority education is to preserve and strengthen minority self-concept. To achieve this aim it strives to:

- Help to acquire the given mother tongue on the level of educated everyday language, with the help of developing a use and understanding of the written and oral minority language;
- Disseminate and take care of the folk art, folk music, literature, customs and habits:
- Teach history, mother tongue culture, knowledge of home country and inhabitants:
- Teach tolerance, the acceptance and valuing of differences by expressing the values of different cultures;
- Teach the life, culture and history of the mother country;
- Help the social rise and integration of Roma minority.

In minority education the mother tongue of all the 13 Hungarian minorities can be taught as a second language and can be used as the means of education during minority education.

The *knowledge of the nation* is a subject matter that is attached to the educational domains of NCC and contains the most important knowledge about the culture, history and traditions of the different minorities. Language teaching, bilingual, mother tongue, Roma catching up and intercultural educational programs should contain this subject matter. The teaching of the subject matter can happen as an integrated part of the educational domains of NCC, as a part of Roma catch up and intercultural programs or as an independent subject.

The aim of **teaching on the mother tongue** is to ensure a total-value minority education. In this type of teaching the language of teaching is the minority language. In mother tongue minority education the teaching of Hungarian as a second language should be ensured.

The aim of the **bilingual minority education** is to develop balanced bilingual linguistic skills. In bilingual minority education the language of teaching is the minority language and Hungarian. Educational domains to be taught on the minority language should be settled down in the local curricula of schools. In this type of education at least half of the materials contained in the educational domains of NCC should be provided on the minority language as well.

The aim of the **language teaching minority education** is to ensure the mastery of mother tongue as a second language for pupils speaking dominant Hungarian language. In this type of education the language of teaching is Hungarian, the teaching of minority language prolongs from grade one according to the objectives of teaching a living foreign language, as settled down in NCC. Besides mi-

nority languages the educational program of schools can contain the teaching of other living foreign languages as well.

The aim of the **Roma catch up education** is to help Roma students to acquire the objectives corresponding to the pupils' own age group presented in NCC and local curricula. The Roma catch up education is an individual or a group program in catch up educational centres, during classroom lessons or as an extracurricular activity. In can include the teaching of one of the Roma languages as well, according to the objectives of the language teaching education type.

The aim of **intercultural education** is to ensure, that minority and majority students acquire the materials contained in the knowledge of the nation together and – according to the parents wishes – learn the minority language. Intercultural education is a group program in the educational facilities that help the successful school career and social integration of minority pupils within the frame of classrooms. If the curricula of intercultural education contain the teaching of a minority language as well, it should be done according to the objectives of teaching a living foreign language, as settled down in NCC.

The educational program of schools can define different minority education types for the different educational phases. Schools teaching according to the minority educational program should apply one of the educational types on every year-groups. In the curricula of schools teaching according to the minority educational program there can be a diversion from the rate of educational domains suggested in NCC. Roma catch up and intercultural education can be combined with language teaching education as well.

7.2 Asian women in Britain

Jo Moores (United Kingdom)

Research into this topic is problematic as there is a shortage of reliable facts and figures available concerning Asian women in Britain. Analysis interested in gender differences tends to homogenize ethnic groups so it is difficult to ascertain the performance and experience of Asian women. Even sources such as The Commission for Racial Equality is guilty of grouping together diverse nationalities and cultures under the section 'ethnic minority', whereas research interested in race tends to ignore gendered factors. Even the term Asian is problematic as there are vast differences between the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations in terms of demographics, education and employment patterns. However, despite these difficulties a general overview of Asian women's experience emerges in the key areas of education, employment and income.

Population

Approximately 6% of the female population in Great Britain class themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority. Indian women make up the largest group comprising 0.7% of the British population, followed by Pakistani women at 0.4%, with Bangladeshi women making up the smallest group at just 0.1% of the population.

Half of the UK Bangladeshi population was under 16 in 1991 whereas the Indian and Pakistani population was more evenly spread across the age groups. There are also variations within the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations with regards to nationality. Approximately 78% of Indians identified themselves as British, 85% of Pakistanis are British and 56% of Bangladeshis are British revealing the shifts from first generation immigrants, to second and third generation British born citizens.

Education

The heterogeneity of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations is evident in the highest educational qualifications held, as illustrated in Table 1. and 2.

Table 1. Highest educational qualifications held by those aged 16-24. years (%)

Aged 16-24	Degree	A-Level	GCSE A-C	Other	None
White	7%	27%	37%	14%	10%
Indian	9%	29%	38%	unknown	12%
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	unknown	19%	30%	18%	24%

Table 2. Highest educational qualifications held by those aged 25-64 years (%)

Aged 25-64	Degree	A-Level	GCSE A-C	Other	None
White	14%	23%	20%	24%	20%
Indian	19%	11%	12%	37%	20%
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	10%	7%	8%	28%	47%

Analysis of the tables reveals Indians are the highest achievers and highlights the very different levels of attainment between the Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi population. In both age groups it is the Pakistani/Bangladeshi population who are most likely to have no educational qualifications, with 47% of those aged over 24 and 24% of those aged under 24 formally unqualified. The significant reduction in the number of those with no qualifications indicates the generational shift that has drastically altered the opportunities and experiences of the younger Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations. This improvement in the educational standing of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities is confirmed by recent findings from the London borough of Tower Hamlets, which is home to almost a quarter of all Bangladeshi children in Britain. GCSE results reveal that 30% of Bangladeshi girls achieve 5 or more A-C grades compared to 21% of white girls in the borough. (The national average for white children is 45%). Among Bangladeshi children who were fully fluent in English however, 58% achieved 5 or more high grades revealing the significant impact location and culture can have on educational achievement.

Despite the improved performance at GCSE level, only a third of Bangla-deshi students in Higher Education are female, with only a slightly higher percentage of Pakistani students being female. Research conducted by Bristol University suggests that religion plays a crucial role in determining educational involvement. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women (who are predominantly Muslim) were found to have lower rates of participation in higher education than Women from India and East Africa.

However, the findings by Bristol University suggest that this will change in the near future as British born Muslim women seek ways to accommodate religious commitment within British culture. Although it is not only a change of attitude in the younger Bangladeshi and Pakistani population that is producing a gradual increase in the number pursuing further and higher education; parental support was particularly significant in encouraging young women to pursue higher education. Many older women without formal qualifications themselves were keen for their daughters to succeed academically and professionally. The positive role played by fathers was also stressed – a finding which challenges the stereotypes of 'restrictive' Asian fathers.

Employment

Income and work patterns differ greatly across the Asian population. Taken as a whole group, figures reveal that in Spring 2000, the unemployment rate for women from ethnic minorities was about 12% compared to about 5% for white women. Once again however, the trend to group together very different communities under the title of ethnic minority results in misleading generalisations. Table 3. and 4. show the percentage of those who declared themselves 'economically active' (in or looking for employment) offering a more detailed reflection.

Table 3. The percentage of those who declared themselves 'economically active' (ages 16-24)

16-24 years				
White	Men	79	Women	70
Indian	Men	55	Women	57
Pakistani	Men	53	Women	30
Bangladeshi	Men	63	Women	36

Table 4. The percentage of those who declared themselves 'economically active' (ages 25-64)

25-64 years				
White	Men	86	Women	73
Indian	Men	81	Women	62
Pakistani	Men	69	Women	22
Bangladeshi	Men	69	Women	21

These tables provide a more specific overview and highlight the impracticality of grouping the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities under the label 'Asian', let alone ethnic minority. Figures show that Indian women have much more in common with white women in terms of educational achievement, employment, and as will be revealed, income.

However, analysis like this is not able to take in to account cultural and religious factors. The table reveals that in the 25-64 age range only 22% of Pakistani women and 21% of Bangladeshi women declared themselves economically active compared to 73% of white women. Low figures for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women may under-estimate the work they do in family businesses and in the informal economy, while approximately 71% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women deliberately absent themselves from being economically active as they are more likely to be looking after the home when compared to white women.

The tables also reveal generational changes beginning to take effect as more Pakistani and Bangladeshi under 25 see themselves as economically active when compared to the older generation. The research by Bristol University suggests that "cultures which until recently might have been portrayed as opposed to the education and employment of women seem to be producing growing numbers of highly motivated young women" (Bristol University and the Policy Studies Unit: *South Asian Women and Employment in Britain: The Interaction of Gender and Ethnicity*). The study also finds that religious differences between South Asian women in terms of employment participation and career advancement are gradually being reduced.

Income

Discrepancies however, still remain in terms of income. Overall women earn 72% less than men, Indian women earn the same as white women while Pakistani women earn 68%, and Bangladeshi women 81% less than white women. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are most likely to work in the manufacturing or retail industry which is notorious for being poorly paid.

Despite their high degree of education, Asian women in the workforce remain severely under-represented in management positions, and over-represented in junior, often unskilled jobs. They are more likely to do shift work, more likely to be employed in temporary or casual work and to be found in poor working conditions.

8. Conflict management – A theoretical approach

Katalin Erdei (Hungary)

The concept of conflict

The origins of the word 'conflict' can etymologically be led back to the Latin word 'confligere', meaning armed conflict. It has entered the historical conscious as a troublesome event, and it is still often evaluated through negative contents, understandings, feelings and it is considered to be an unwanted event. In addition to it, the several negative experiences created as a result of many unsuccessful conflict managements also leaves its mark on thinking about conflicts (SZŐKE and MILINTE, 2004).

The conflict is a clash behind of which there is the opposition of needs, intents, desires, strives, interests, demands, attitudes, opinions and values (SZE-KSZÁRDI, 1995). Fight and clash comes when the behaviour of the parties hinders the enforcement of one's or the other's interests, or their value system differs (GORDON, 1994).

The sociological concept of conflicts counts on three forms of appearance: (1) the parties try to exercise an effect on one another, they try to alter one another's behaviour; (2) the parties experience unique conscious and emotional processes, the antecedents, attendants or consequences of which are the clashes appearing on the level of activities; (3) the parties enter into conflicts as parts, players of the social system of relations (CSEH-SZOMBATHY, 1995).

According to this, we have to distinguish conflicts appearing in behaviour and resulting in interpersonal clashes from those that are not expressed, but remain on intra-psychic level, and from those that appear in the form of social conflicts originating from the structural and cultural characteristics of groups, organisations.

Conflicts can aid development, and can be the essential accompaniments of game and life (CSEH-SZOMBATHY, 1995).

The role of conflicts in personality development is emphasised by FREUD and ERIKSON as well, the essence of their developmental theory is the solution of basic contradictions attached to the different developmental levels. They think, development is the result of successful conflict solving (ATKINSON at al., 1993). With advance in age, the succession of age periods can not happen without conflicts. The consideration and examination of these principles can ease conflict management and make it more effective.

There are conflicts, that can be avoided and it is advisable to avoid them (for example tensions resulting from intimidation, frustration and discrimination; explosions resulting from latent temper). And there are favourable conflicts, that are the motors of development and they result from responsibility for own opinions; conflicts resulting from enforcement of interest or standing up for the truth.

There have been many attempts to create the typology of conflicts. We can distinguish between psychic motivational incentives according to content or according to the presence of – social psychologically interesting – cooperation or competition.

The forms of symmetric, mutual dependence existing in interpersonal relationships are cooperation and competition (CSEPELI, 1997). Both of them are of great importance in terms of conflicts. While competition is a factor causing conflicts, cooperation helps to solve conflicts. In interpersonal relationships competition can appear in honest and dishonest forms. The appearance of these forms depends mainly on the characteristics of the situation and the relation of the participants to themselves and to their partners.

The honest competition situation is a means of social comparison, the best performance can be selected through it. The terms of its operation is that the parties should accept and keep to the rules, do not strive at one-sided advantages, and do not annihilate the looser, and the aim should be of equal importance for all of them. At the same time it is important, that the resources should be available for the parties and should not be restricted.

The constructive conflict (honest competition) makes the stagnation of the social system impossible, aids change, releases energies and stimulates experimenting, the better choice of action alternatives.

Dishonest competition (destructive conflict) develops when the competition goes on between unequal parties (in structural terms one party has less chance compared to the other), when there is a low agreement concerning the rules to be followed and the parties trust less in their mutually keeping to the rules. CSEPELI (1997) calls attention to the structural reasons why conflicts become destructive. Conflicts become dysfunctional in structures, where conflicts are not tolerated and where no institutional frames are ensured for running conflicts.

Clinical psychology, that works at the border of medical sciences and social sciences, has also contributed to the theoretical definition of conflicts. Clinical psychology defines, that conflict is a situation, when two, partially or totally incongruous, competing strives, impulses are present, that makes the individual to choose. The behaviour, that turns the strive towards the aim, bears on the intensity of the aim's (person or object) calling nature, and on the dynamic strength of the need to be met.

In psychoanalytic personality theory the most important pathogenic factor is the instinct conflict, when tensions arise within personality, provoking anxiety, emotional confusion and vegetative symptoms. The strictly and uniquely organised occupational areas (e.g. armed forces) are highlighted as conflict sources. There are life situations that also carry conflicts, where the leaders, the rules and the outside world demand constant readiness.

An other source of conflict is created by the diffusion and dilemma of different social roles, and – in case of one or more persons – when the roles turn against one another. The converse dynamic of belonging to a pair or to a group – where the individual has to meet controversial traditions, habits and value systems – can carry conflicts.

Reaction given in a conflict situation reflects the personality's maturity, early experiences and conflict standing and processing skills. If the conflict standing skill is low, inadequate reactions appear in the situation; agressivity, oversensitivity, isolation, and regressive behaviour.

The method of conflict management depends on the type of conflict, the characteristics of the personality, its prior experiences, level of behaviour and on the extent of learning. Behaviour is considerably influenced by effective-temper side-phenomena.

Approach by Educational Psychology

The defining setting in the life of the child is the family. Let us examine the conflict management culture and tasks of the family from the viewpoint of educational sciences.

In school-age, until the age of 6-14 years, children live in a "between" state, between physical and mental immaturity, between total dependence on the parents and adolescence. This latter brings that last sharp turn in the process of their development, in terms of their dependence on the parents, that helps to reach the independent conduct of life.

The phase of school age is a brilliant period. This is the period when the child discovers the greatness of family, friendship, knowledge and life itself. At the same time, he or she is rather vulnerable and has to face scary, new responsibilities and ordeals. He or she has to poise in a way he or she has never needed. The family expects him or her to fulfil certain needs him or herself, and he or she has to solve personal conflicts with the siblings or other family members. He or she often enters into conflict situations among his or her peers as well, while founding popularity and self-respect. His or her "poising art" is not yet accompanied by the knowledge of the conflict situation and the skill to manage it.

School age is yet the golden age of being a child, the exciting period of emotional awakening, growth and commitment, and the founder of a later colourful and successful adulthood. It is a very important stage in conflict management, as his or her verbal expressing skills develop fast, he or she is more and more successful in expressing experiences and feelings and evaluates them more thoroughly and realistically.

This age is characterised by a tendency to extreme emotional reactions, exuberant temper, which hinders him or her in the realistic consideration of conflicts and in the organisation of reaction. That is why he or she quarrels with the parents in conflict situations, his or her aggressivity though is often not directed at the conflict, but other grievances are placed on it. At the same time, he or she takes greater responsibility for his or her own actions, failures, and blames others less and less often. This will be the prerequisite of considering, of being open to the angles of others and of acceptance.

In school age a finer and finer dialogue, style of debate develops between the parent and the child in the topic of right and wrong.

The broadest domain of conflicts can be found in the relationship between siblings. Tensions, debates, conflicts, open fights are unavoidable even between siblings of the most gentle nature. They spend half of the time spent together with fights. This is also part of that slow and complicated study process that leads to polite and responsible behaviour, to conflict management without someone being hurt. The vehemence of rivalry puts the relationship between siblings above all conflict situations, but it is inevitable in the process of learning fight for rights, acceptance and power. The sibling conflict teaches the child for his or her lifetime to develop a realistic relation to power.

Sibling rivalry, the fight for leadership and possession of objects appears at the age of 6-9 the most frequently. Between the age of 9-13 the fights become scarce and become less disturbing, though rivalry still remains a defining element of relationship between the two siblings. Fights at this age are mainly for less tangible things, like recognition (who is better in certain things) or equity.

If the skill for cooperation does not replace fights, the parent has to examine his or her educational style, feelings and behaviour thoroughly, to see if it is he or she who conserve the earlier phase, preventing development, or not.

Adolescence provides adolescents with difficult psychic tasks and he or she undergoes full and unpredictable changes.

In the family of the adolescent the form of expressing emotions changes, the parent and the adolescent equally refrains from the immediate expression of emotions. Youngsters want to build and be conscious of their character, that they leave the boarders defined by common sense, rules and responsibilities out of consideration. They deliberately and openly confront everything that is right and logical, they can commit many things the parents will worry about, be ashamed of, fear from and feel helplessness, anger or guilt about. They confront the rules and customs of the home.

It follows from the above presented, that the number of conflict situations increases, conflicts happen more often in the family.

The debating skill characteristic to this age becomes more intensive and brings the development of rational argumentation with itself, opening way towards the more adult like forms of conflict management. Calm and steady argumentation by the parents and complex communication especially during violent fights, will play part in setting an example. In developed conflict situations the parent should take care not to turn agreement- and consensus-seeking discussions into tempered verbal exchanges.

Adolescents induce more conflict situations than in their early school years, inevitably there are many mistakes appearing in their behaviour. They tend more often to dispute parental authority; obtaining long-term rights and the experience of freedom is more and more important for them. The parent who loses control puts the possibility of cooperation at stake.

The determined fight of the youngster provokes a destructive conflict situation, where the conflict can appear in an open or in a hidden form. Self-control, self-discipline, rational seek for compromise and cooperation skills develop slowly in adolescence, mainly on the basis of parental models. If frequent conflicts cause emotional disturbances or difficulties in relationships, it is advisable to call a professional to manage the deepening conflict situation.

Approach from the angle of Educational Sciences

The conscious educational management of conflicts is an important educational device, so it is not by chance that the so called conflict pedagogy gains more and more ground within Educational Sciences.

Educational theory deals with the phenomenon of conflicts since the 1960s, then later creates the theory and practice of conflict pedagogy.

Fundamental reasons are behind education's scientific concept of conflict. One of such reasons is the transformation of the authority principle; by accepting the possibility of decision and choice, the initiating educator has also accepted the disintegration and transformation of the unified value system.

The other reason behind the change in direction is that the "immunity" of the child ceased to exist, and the screened, checked information loosened. The pupils are exposed to the cataract of information that can not be checked or screened, and the effect of which is mainly unpredictable. The above reasons have also contributed to the cessation of teachers' omnipotence. It is replaced by reciprocity between the educator and the pupil, the ability for cooperation and a quest for a mutual and less losing solution for problems (SZEKSZÁRDI, 2001).

The aim of conflict pedagogy is to help to create and strengthen in adults and children, in educators and pupils the level of personality that helps in meeting conflicts and trying to solve them. They have to overcome the situation where the conflict is present, and not the other person whom they have a conflict with. The task is not to drift with what happens with us in this century, in this country, at school, in our personal life, but to be vigilant, realise conflict sources, help ourselves and others to be able to cooperate in solving conflicts and not to let conflicts make us be exposed, aggressive and indifferent.

The entire educational process defines whether the conflict-creating, the conflict-avoiding or the conflict-managing behaviour dominates between the teacher and the pupil. Anxiety, tension and aggression in the teacher-pupil relationship influences considerably the rise, intensity and eruption likelihood of conflicts.

The teacher should be aware, that his or her own aggression and anxiety can create conflicts among the children. He or she has to strive at solving his or her own conflicts and should not adjust him- or herself to keep conflicts up and bear them. This releases resources for solving conflicts among pupils. It is important to start to create in children the ability of self-control. The conflict standing and conflict solving ability of school-age children can be developed with the help of indirect methods.

In the medium of emotional excess in interpersonal relationships, a more intensive educational effect can be reached. If the relationship between the child and the teacher is not formal, then it is an excellent ground to manage conflicts spring from the child or from his or her social relationships. The child spontaneously experiences the things he differs and resembles others, and it is important to aid this process.

He or she starts to be able to respect others' viewpoints as well at the age of 9-11. Decentration is an ability that makes someone suitable for considering things and events from the viewpoint of others, by placing oneself out of the centre. This is the period when debate, as a conflict solving method, can be introduced into a topic. In the first stage of the learning process the topic should not be a problem that is actual and full of temper. The subject of practice is the more clear and persuasive argumentation of parties of different angles. The change in roles helps the actual experiencing of the process of decentration.

School as an educational institute provides examples for acting as well beside actual knowledge. During the socialisation of pupils for later social life one of the most important processes is the one that makes pupils acquire the techniques of conflict management and enforcement of interests. This form of development can also be called citizenship socialisation. For managing micro-and macro-social conflicts, beside family, it is the school that provides a compass, sometimes spontaneously. These examples are fixed in pupils' conscious and these appear later in adult everyday life.

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8.1 Hungarian practice of conflict management

Katalin Erdei (Hungary)

The number of conflicts in present day Hungarian schools has considerably increased and the scope of conflict sources has also become wider. The pupil-teacher relationship has radically changed. The authenticity of the educator's personality is a more and more important requirement. While earlier there had been almost no value-conflicts – the compulsory world view had ruled it out – newer and newer conflict situations were created following the change of regime by freedom of expressing ideas and by conflict management strategies that were not elaborate enough. At present it is the constitutional right of every educator to represent his or her own values among the pupils and it is his or her duty to help pupils in developing their own value system.

Value conflicts are further burdened by the professional and career uncertainties of the educators. The system of functions and roles unavoidably transforms – the autonomy of the individual becomes stronger, its manipulability increases.

The setting of conflicts' qualitative change springs from the changed relationship between family and school. After the change of regime the family revoked the responsibility for the education of their children. While earlier the family adjusted to requirements by the school, now school should adjust itself to the families. The various value systems and subjectivity of families burdens this relationship with conflicts. Different values, financial status, differences in expectations from the school induce conflicts among the families. The lack of accepting difference, and prejudicial thinking sets an almost unsolvable task for the educators, especially when there are Gypsy pupils in the group. The often hidden resistance of parents frequently leads to open conflicts. There are even more problems arising when exclusion and labelling appears within the study group. Every day the educators are sitting on the top of an active volcano and try to perform their work on a quality level.

By pulling down the hierarchy of teacher-pupil relationship, conflicts and the new techniques of problem solving show up, while responsibility remains at the teacher.

Within-group conflicts, and their solving in a tension-reducing way results in the development of groups. The application of proper techniques helps the group in reaching its aims and in creating group-cohesion (SZEKSZÁRDI, 2004).

The lack of existential security, competitions among schools as a result of the decreasing number of children (decrease of population), the possibility of losing positions increases the rate of conflicts within the educational staff, preventing in many cases the development of cooperation and atmosphere built on mutual trust. These conflict sources can considerably increase the level of general tension, which can further heighten the difficulty of conflicts.

There are various methods we can apply at schools for developing conflict management skills. Some of these are:

- 1. conflict- and communication training
- 2. conflict-solving situational practice in school settings
- 3. social space analysis realisation and revealing the source of conflict
- 4. focus-group for getting to know background information and hidden emotional attitudes.

This chapter summarises the aims and requirements of, and some practical information on *conflict- and communication training* in more details.

Conflicts are natural and indispensable companions of our daily life and relationships. Pupils enter into conflicts with themselves, their peers and their families every day. Most people consider conflicts to be a negative force, however it can develop personality and the activity in question to a positive direction. Learning conflict management will enable pupils to analyse social situations, to extend behaviour repertoire and to take responsibility in the given conflict situation.

To help all these we can create a conflict management programme. The programme is based on "Conflict and communication" (a programme developed for Schools in Centre- and East Europe, in 1995). The training consists of exercises built on each other and these exercises help pupils to manage conflicts occurring in their own lives. There is a possibility to gain direct experiences and process them together. The exercises facilitate dialogues and continuous communication, and this mutual work results in obtaining the solving strategies for the conflicts. The atmosphere of trust developing in the group facilitates a deeper self-knowledge.

The conceptual framework of the programme:

Every conflict is at the same time an interaction, a dialogue, a communicational situation. Conflict management reflects the personality as a whole and facilitates its development. Self-evaluation and self-consciousness contributes greatly to positive conflict management. There is a positive possibility in every conflict to realise and understand our own needs. Constructive management of

conflicts needs special skills that can be acquired during the training.

The programme is flexible and its constant variability and adjustability to the group's needs guarantee its success. We should in every case know the communication skills, the level of self-evaluation and the conceptual thinking of the group, for example about prejudice, discrimination etc.

Conflicts are mainly emotionally coloured situations, where the personality's tempers are also part of the situation. The management of the situation is influenced by many factors:

First of all, the value system, attitudes, emotions, knowledge and previous experiences the *own personality* has on the conflict. This contains the development of self-knowledge too. While participants are collecting early experiences they have a chance to realise own and others' positive characteristics. The acceptance of characteristics that help solving conflicts is in connection with realistic self-evaluation and self-confidence. The condemning, negative remarks (mockery) transforms the picture of the self to a negative direction, distort it. The strengthening of positive self-evaluation increases the stability and consistence of the personality. It is important to understand, that picture of self – the totality of knowledge about ourselves – is learnt, thus it can be changed. When in a conflict situation someone feels there is no working solution for his or her problems, he or she has a low self-evaluation and self-confidence. The realistic picture of the self is a basic factor in conflict management.

A similarly important factor is *the other*; the attitudes, ideas, presuppositions created about the others and emotions directed at them. An important aim is to understand and shape positive curiosity, interest and benevolence.

We label people often. Sometimes it is useful, hence it helps to systematize the world surrounding us. Sometimes, however, it can lead to hasty and negative opinion shaping that can prevent flexible, realistic knowledge of others.

The deepening understanding of the self and others is accompanied by communication that helps to make contacts and solve shaping conflict situations. Effective communication is essential for conflict management. The prerequisite of effective communication is to be open and listen to the other. To reveal the differences in viewpoints is the first step towards conflict solving.

Trust is an organic part of conflicts. If the arguing parties do not trust each other, the problems can not be solved permanently. When the tension level is high and tolerance is low, non-verbal communication that signals the other person's respect and strives at understanding helps a lot.

The show and expression of emotions is a very useful means of communication through which we ensure the other about the lack of our animosity. Con-

flicts are often fed by different perceptions and poor communication. If we understand others' viewpoints and develop our communication skills, we have a great chance to solve conflicts effectively. Almost all conflicts have a positive side that serves development and learning. So we have to change that surmise according to which conflicts are bad and unwanted between two people or groups.

Conflicts have several forms but only a few sources. The sources of most conflicts are differences in value systems, differences in basic needs, restricted resources, differences in perception and psychological needs.

Due to the unique nature of our personality, there can be many differences among our attitudes, behaviours, life conduct, needs and tempers. Differences can emerge in the form of opinion differences that can easily lead to conflicts and unpleasant feelings following them. The proper conflict management technique facilitates, among others, the processing of negative emotions.

Based on the conceptual framework of the programme will we compile that set of exercises that provides an own experience and shapes conflict management into a skill. The choice and compilation of the exercises is aided by the "Conflict and communication. Through the labyrinth of conflict management" programme worked out for schools in Centre- and East Europe.

It is well visible, that expertise in conflict management and constructivity plays an extremely important role in schools' life. It increases educators' feeling of security and mental state to a great extent if he or she is able to manage conflict situations occurring in his or her everyday work effectively. It helps a lot if he or she can use his or her skills for improving the atmosphere and his or her pupils' feel themselves well, and if he or she can offer examples of processing problems and failures.

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8.2 Conflict Management: Multicultural and Intercultural Education

Jo Moores and Joss West Burnham (United Kingdom)

Recent changes to the National Curriculum have outlined the British Government's commitment to conflict management, most evidence in the implementation of multicultural and intercultural education in British schools.

There are a number of terms used in describing the educational approach which prepares pupils for multicultural society including cross- cultural and intercultural learning, multicultural education and intercultural education. Intercultural education has become the most common term as it involves more than just gaining knowledge of various cultures. It involves developing positive attitudes towards others and learning interactive skills. It also implies that an interactive methodology is used in the classroom that allows the voices of all children to be heard, not just those children who are the most outspoken (often belonging to the majority group in society).

Sometimes a distinction is made between intercultural education and multicultural education. Multicultural education often implies teaching minority individuals about their own culture, or learning about other cultures. Intercultural education implies interaction with others in the classroom and building bridges between communities and between individuals from diverse backgrounds.

Multicultural education and intercultural education often co-exist. The work taking place in classrooms under multicultural education promotes knowledge and encourages self-esteem in individual identities and histories. The links established by intercultural education between educational institutions and the local community work to dispel myths and stereotypes which hinder better relations between various cultural groupings. Intercultural education, as a method of learning, relies heavily on 'learning to learn' and 'learning to do', and it is highly student-focused. In this approach students are taught to become responsible for their own learning, so that they can embark on a process of life-long learning.

A recent case study of a successful Junior School in England, provides examples of good practice in devising ways to deliver the National Curriculum in an innovative and inclusive manner. The school has a very thorough policy to support not only those from minority groups, but be particularly supportive to those students whose first language is not English. The school aims to provide full and equal access to the National Curriculum, whatever a child's religion, ethnicity,

first language, special educational needs or gender. Equality of access to the curriculum for all pupils, including those for whom English is an Additional Language, is ensured not only by direct language support from a specialist teacher, but also by a whole school approach. This comprises a learning environment that encompasses a varied range of teaching and learning strategies, multicultural and multilingual resources and displays, and whole school celebrations that embrace a wide range of world cultural events.

The school aims to involve and incorporate all students into school life and activities, working to overcome language difficulties through provision of a support network designed for pupils whose first language is not English. The school recognises the following factors as being central to progress for pupils whose first language is not English:

- Recognition of the importance of home language
- Treating racism and bullying seriously (see equal opportunities and bullying policies)
- Strong home/school and wider community links
- Learning environment that is sympathetic to a variety of cultures
- Resources, which include bilingual materials
- Curriculum, which portrays positive images and role models
- Direct support of pupils' language development both in class and withdrawal (1:1 or small group) as appropriate, for language development and enrichment.

The needs of pupils whose first language is not English are emphasised to teachers so that access to the curriculum for these students is not adversely affected. Teachers are encouraged to plan lessons which meet the following criteria:

- The language and learning needs of pupils are clearly identified and provided for
- The language and learning demands of the curriculum are analysed and support provided
- Activities are matched to pupils' needs and abilities and have a clear sense of progression
- Visual support is provided for key concepts
- Planning includes opportunities for first language activities in the classroom
- The support requirements of pupils are identified
- Classroom organisation and groupings will encourage and support active participation by

- Grouping and regrouping pupils for connected activities in order to develop language skills
- o 'supportive experts' in each group ie. good readers and writers
- o using a range of grouping strategies (mixed/like ability, language, interest, random, gender, etc)
- Displays in the classroom and around the school will reflect linguistic and cultural diversity
- Assessment methods allow pupils to show what they can do in all curriculum areas
- Dual language textbooks should be available and in use where appropriate
- Access to meaning should be provided by presenting and introducing lessons or topics with visual support:
 - Videos
 - o Maps
 - Posters
 - o Pictures
 - o Objects
 - Use of Information Communication Technology

Links with the local community are furthered through the school/parent relationship. As with all children it is acknowledged that liaison with parents is a vital element in the creation of a home/school partnership to support learning in school. The school policy outlines the following as examples of good practice:

- Monitoring letters, newsletters, sent home to check that the language used is clear and straightforward
- Reading through letters (where appropriate) with children before they are taken home
- Provision in translations of school documents in community languages, where appropriate
- Encouraging parental attendance at parents' evenings and participation in other school functions eg. school assemblies, PTA activities, fetes, sports days
- Inviting parents into school to help with class activities eg. reading, cooking, class outings
- Encouraging parental involvement with shared reading scheme and homework, which may be specifically language based
- Encouraging parental involvement on Governing body

Recent research suggests that examples of inclusive practice and inter-

cultural education, as outlined above, have very positive impacts on minority communities and individual achievements. However, in order to be successful, Barry van Driel, Editor-in-Chief of the academic journal 'Intercultural Education' has discovered that the following policies need to be in place:

'To be successful within a school, the commitment and dedication of the management and of the teachers involved in the process, is needed.'

'To be successful on the local level, a strong implementation policy and infrastructure, which is related to developments in the national education policy, is a prerequisite.'

'To be successful on a national level, a strong implementation of policy and infrastructure, which is related to developments in the national policy.'

As long as teachers are aware of the need to change, and as long as there is an institutional strategy (school-based, local authority-based, nationally-based), implementation is possible within centralised and within decentralised systems. These guidelines are important for all those wanting to implement intercultural education projects in the future.

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