

Committee II
Ethnocentrism vs. World Unity:
Impacts on Socialization and
Education

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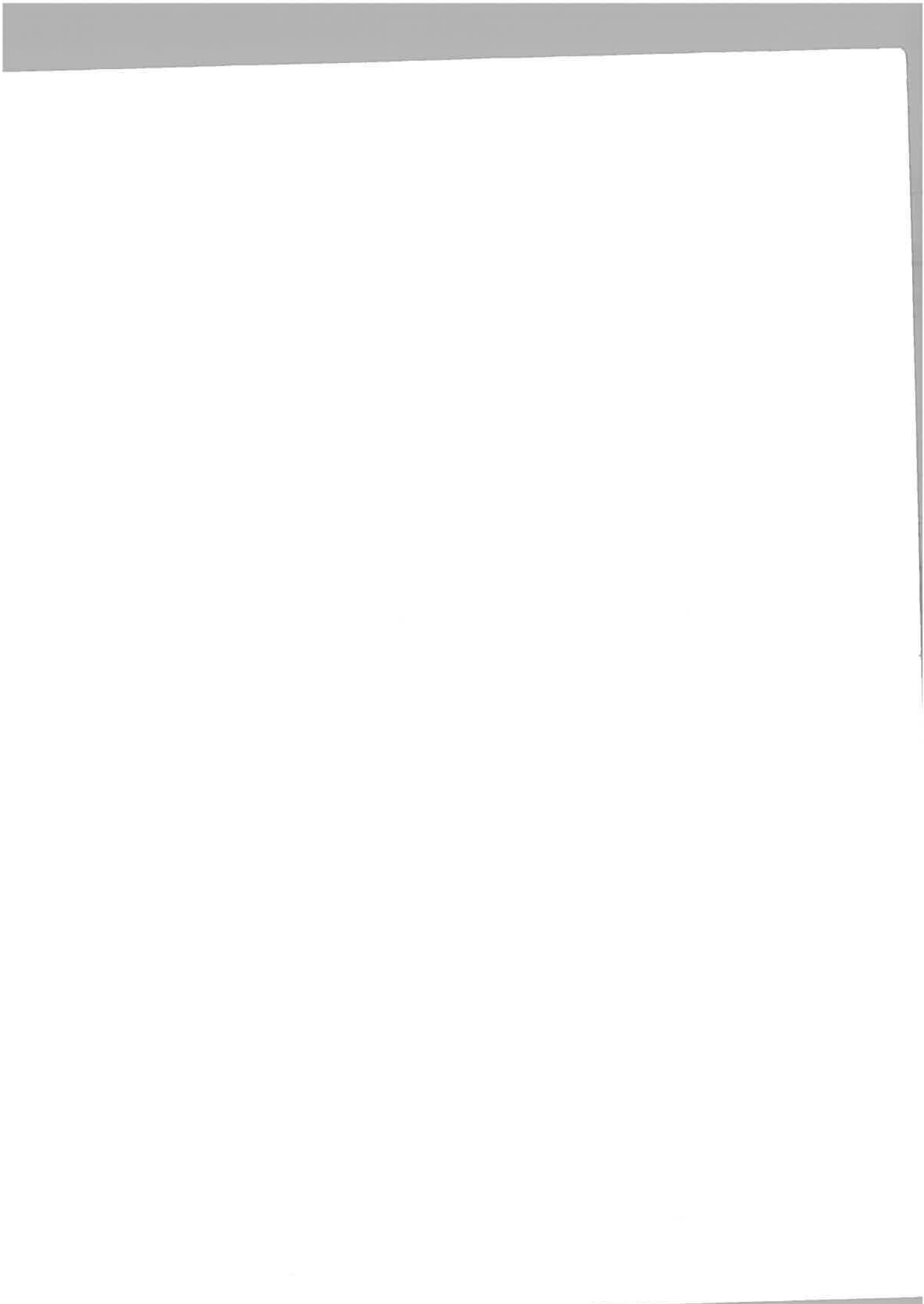
**DIMENSIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM
THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY**

by

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INTRODUCTION

Unrest in Nicaragua, street demonstrations in the holy land of Tibet, gunfires between the Tamils and Singalee, a long and tragic war in Lebanon and in its surroundings, the never again calm Ethiopia, Angola or Mozambique, military forces in Afghanistan and in the Karabah area of Soviet Azerbaijan, minority flights from Kosovo-Yugoslavia and Transylvania-Romania, action gratuities in Northern Ireland, Spain or Belgium—these cases are only a few examples of the ethnic roots of the present political, military and ideological conflicts of our world. We experience, without question, a new and rapidly growing revival of ethnocentrism. This is the new challenge for every sector of the national and international politics, including education. Multi-culturalism, that is, the cultural diversity, heterogeneity and confusion of human society has become a general feature of the modern life.

Why? There is a growing amount of social science literature which aims to understand this unique feature of our world. These contributions offer some paradigm for understanding and analysing the developments. The social biology paradigm („survival of the fittest“ Darwin, Malthus) points out the demographic changes behind the revival of the ethnocentrism. The history paradigm emphasizes the modernisation process as the possible indication of ethnic feeling. The political economy paradigm refers to the theory of Marxism according to which national economies and their new markets generate new ethnic commitments. The social psychology paradigm, on the contrary, starts with clearing up the interpersonal connections and their impacts on the individual's new orientations toward his/her personal history. The social ecology paradigm stresses the importance of the urbanisation processes which disorganise the traditional connections but develop new kinds of collective feeling and consequently give an impetus to ethnic revival.

Ethnocentrism and ethnic revival provide the socio-political background from which a new educational ideology has emerged, called multiculturalism. It is not without antecedents. The „melting pot“ school as well as several kinds of bilingual education were early responses of the educational policy to the multi-ethnic social realities it faced.

An overview of the literature on multiculturalism shows that the concept is widely used but scarcely defined. (Allan 1983). The psychological approach deals with the behavioural outcomes of ethnicity. The leading concept of the

social anthropologist is „socialisation“, with all of its connotations concerning social developments. For the sociologist, multiculturalism appears as a phenomenon of the hidden power structure of the society. The economic researcher points out the economic roots of ethnocentrism in a closed feudal region, and sees the emerging sense of nationalism as being rooted in the demand for a nation-wide market. Of course it is not the diversity of these approaches but the inconsequence of the terminology that causes dilemmas.

In the following pages, I do not want to add items to the long list of concepts and theories which surround multiculturalism. Rather, I want to show how and why multiculturalism has emerged out of the changing socio-economic realities. To understand the ideology it is necessary to briefly describe its history from the colonial era, through the World Wars, and up to the new world order of our age. Multiculturalism can only be understood if we put it into its concrete social and political contexts. It is also this context, which suggests educational solutions to the ethnic revival of our age.

1. THE MELTING POT SCHOOL

The response of education during the Colonial Age

1.1 The school as an agent of civilization. The traditional educational policy aimed to integrate its minority pupils and students with the majority. At these, with the ambitious goal in mind of building up one nation with one language, one culture and, if possible, one religion. For decades state educational policies required schools and teachers who could fill this melting pot role. This was not without progress. Some educational systems proved to be very useful melting pots, conveying to the new generations those *overarching values* which would create the basis of the one and common culture in a multi-ethnic society (Smolicz 1985). The melting pot idea of educational policy and schools was especially successful in the early colonialized countries like India or Brasil. In those countries the whole population adopted (more or less, but at least accepted) for a long time the language of the colonial powers. Similar educational policies were later adopted by several countries the most outstanding example of our modern world being Israel. The melting pot vision—to build up a nation by school and education—provided a good fit for the essential character of education. (Berghe 1983).

Education, namely conveys cultural values, norms and traditions that are common to the society, and by which the members of a society can identify themselves. This is the essence of a human activity called education. Education, however should also cope with the diversity of our modern world, where „diversity“ means, among other things, the heterogeneity of cultural values, norms and traditions. If education passes on the cultural tradition of a society—including *the* language it uses and *the* history it shares — it contributes to ethnic separation and the attitude of ethnocentrism. If education wants to cope with the multi-ethnic character of a neighbouring society, it will fail to transmit the cultural heritage and, thus, it contributes to the disorganization of the society.

Colonial examples are well-known from history. Think of the Tartars on the Russian territories, the Osman Turks in the Balkans, the northern population which captured the druids of the Indian subcontinent, or the occupation of the Americas. We have also examples from the present life and history of South-East Asia (Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan) and the Middle East (the Armenians, Palestinians, Israelis, Kurds), the Maghreb countries (Eritrea, Chad, West Africa, Biafra) the Caucasian area, New Caledonia and the whole Pacific area. There are typical differences among the Third World countries concerning their language politics and educational practices today. The differences are due to the effects caused by the colonial powers and their melting pot schools.

1.2 English-speaking countries. Some of the English-speaking countries adopted their own language to solve their communication gaps. The outstanding example here is India, where the colonial power educated an English-speaking elite but did not care about other dimensions of language usage and education. The result has been a huge number of local and state languages, mostly at the same levels of development and social prestige. Ghana, as an English-speaking example from Africa, with its twelve million inhabitants, uses forty-five different languages. It is mainly the practice of everyday life and work which has forced the use of one common language. It has been dominant, as in several other cases, also in the schools. The English speaking Third World countries have a mostly bilingual education, with an early stress on English as the common language and another stress on their future common language (which is Hindi in the Northern part of India and Tamil in the Southern part, and which is a competition among four different languages in the case of Ghana).

1.3 French-speaking countries. The French-speaking Third World countries felt larger educational impacts during their colonial times. The French education policy always forced the schools to be melting pots. They were melting pots not only in relation to their contents, but also, by their structures. The schools were highly centralized, and the universities were always connected to one of the French universities. The goal of education was to train the students for their higher education, in close connection with France. The French-speaking colonized countries reacted to this educational policy with militant ethnocentrism. This resulted in a bilingual education system where French was dominant and mother tongues were only partly accepted. They also resulted in a kind of bilingualism where the mother tongues were adopted as the official language and French as a second language. This has mostly been the case in the Maghreb countries, with their traditional Arab cultures and language.

1.4 Spanish-speaking countries. In contrast to the English and French colonial powers, education was not used as main tool for colonialisation by the Spaniards and Portuguese. This is one of the reasons why, although the Latin American colonized countries adopted Spanish or Portuguese as their official language, a great variety of local languages are still alive. (Peru has only twelve million inhabitants but about thirty-five different Indian languages in the Amazonas basin. There are more than three million Kechua Indians, the successors of the Inca Empire, who do not use Spanish at all. Several hundred thousand Aymaras live in complete separation without having any communication with Spanish-speaking states.) Here, bilingual education has had ambiguous results. Where Kechua is used beside Spanish, education

supports more the separation and ethnocentrism than multiculturalism and integration. If they can use their own language in state schools, they develop their own identity which completely separates them from the majority. Moreover, their ethnocentrism separates them from other parts of Latin America, too. It is one of the reasons for the cultural and political separatism which is characteristic of most of the Latin American states.

Although the melting pot school formed a part of the attempts of an earlier age at nation-building and colonialization, the notion has not declined. Nation-building using education as a means is one of the leading aims of several states all over the world. New nations are especially keen about it, using education as the most effective tool for indoctrination. Present-day ethnic revival, however, reflects the shortcomings of that educational philosophy. In the course of history, there is evidence which proves that the greater the effect of the melting pot, the stronger is the resistance to it.

2. BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Educational Policy before and after the two World Wars

2.1 Soldiers and politicians reshape the globe. Political decisions might also cause changes in the geographic place and political status of the population. We refer here, as a well known experience, to the changes and reshaping of national borders. It was quite usual practice at the end of each feudal war in Medieval times and it is usual even today. The restructuring of state borders was experienced by almost all Europeans after World War I and II which also had serious impacts on the colonial regions. At present, it is being experienced in the Iraqi-Irani war as well as the wars between Egypt and Israel, Cambodia and Vietnam, China and India, Greece and Turkey, Great Britain and Argentina to mention just a few examples from the post war period. The difference between the invasion of a region and the border line changes is that the latter is a short-term decision. However, it sometimes causes the same heterogeneity of ethnicity and culture, for minorities living with a majority population within the same political frames. Due to the short-term effects, militant ethnocentrism is a regular result of population changes. (Eritreans in Ethiopia, Albanians in Yugoslavia, Turks in Bulgaria, Armenians in Azerbaijan, Kurds in Iraq, Germans in several Eastern European countries after 1920, and so on).

2.2 The raise of bilingualism. In post-war Europe (1918–20) new nation states emerged from the ruins of the old empires (Austria–Hungary, Turkey). The new states acquired parts of the earlier nation states with ethnic minorities which had strong national and language identities (Turks in Bulgaria and Greece, Bulgarians and Albanians in early Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, Germans in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and

Poland, Swedes in Finland etc.) Educational policy had to face minority cultures which had earlier been parts of their national entities. The sign of acceptance was bilingual education.

The first international conference on bilingual education was arranged as early as 1928, and not by chance. (Siguan, Mackey 1987). Its declarations were closely connected to the situation of post-war Europe, with a special regard to the ethnic-national minorities of Eastern Europe. The educational practice the congress suggested-bilingual education only after the age of 14—was relevant to the political requirements of the ethnic-national minorities, who wanted to protect their national languages from the early impacts of the dominant languages of their new states. All the more because the experts of those initiatives also had minority backgrounds or minority experiences from the Western part of Europe, such as Wales, Flanders, and Catalonia. Language research later showed that the earlier pupils start, the easier is for them to learn a second language.

2.3 Post-war nation-states and their bilingual education. Post-war nation states vary according to the languages, they use officially. The most common practice is to adopt the language of the nation which has created the state. Beside it, however, the teachers can tolerate the students' mother tongues in casual conversations only (which is the case with most of the dialects confronted with the official language usages). They would also offer minority languages as optional or obligatory school subjects (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria). Nation-states also create schools for minority students where they use their own language entirely (Hungary, Bulgaria, Tyrol-Austria, the German Democratic Republic, as well as Belgium and some parts of Spain,).

Nation-states might also create separate systems of education for minorities who possess cultural autonomy (parts of Switzerland of Finland). There might be region of a nation-state where minorities have the same rights as the majority nation although they are the minority there (Valle d'Aosta, Spain, or some republics of the Soviet Union, Jones, Grupp 1985). Here, bilingual or multilingual education is the usual practice. It might also be with one dominant language (Russian in the Soviet example). Anyway, the nation states always face the dilemma of how to preserve their language dominance, either bilingualism or multilingualism. Here, the school practice reflects the majority-minority contradiction. This is not solved at the state policy level but is delegated to the school level as a problem to be solved in the course of education (instead of solving it in the political praxis). Therefore, bilingual education always has some political connotations in the nation-states.

2.4 Post-war federal states and their bilingual education. Multi-ethnic federal states can also have their dominant languages. As typical examples, let us mention Canada, which has English as its dominant language but adopted bilingual education as a practice. It is due to the strong cultural and political position of its French minority. To balance the unwanted English-French tensions, the Canadian government has adopted a unique bilingual educational system where practically all ethnic minorities have the right to use their own mother tongue in the school, besides the dominant one which is English or French (McLeod 1979). As far as bilingualism is concerned, the other extremity seems to be Switzerland where ethnic Germans and French have long lived together, but put themselves in entirely separate schools. Here, the Italian minority is in a difficult situation, being forced to use a dominant language in education (mainly German but sometimes French) besides its own. For them, a bilingual education is the reality, while Germans and French are educated in a mono-cultural situation. A similar situation can be found in Belgium, but the country has not created a federal state. Although the Flemish population is not considered as an ethnic or cultural minority, its language is practically a minority language beside the French, which is used by the Walloons. Here, as in other Benelux countries, the real solution seems to be not bilingualism but trilingualism: French, German and English being used as common communication tools.

2.5 The welfare state and the ethnic revival. One of the sources of the present ethnic revival is the welfare state. The post-war welfare states combined economic recovery and rapid growth with social security and state parochialism on the one hand, while fostering individual freedom and liberalized political controls on the other hand. Social security, human rights and economic growth together led to a socio-political climate favouring the ethnic revival (Reitz 1980, Björklund 1987).

If an interest group can combine ethnic (national) values with its own socio-economic interests, it can put strong political pressure on the welfare state. It is precisely this combination of ideologies that gave new impetus to ethnic minority groups in Europe during the 1960s and 1970s (the Flemish and Basque movements, Italians in the Austrian Tyrol, see Sibilla 1983, Poche 1985). We also have examples of ethnic-national revivals in Asia (Tamils), in Central America (the Nicaraguan Miskitos), in the Middle East (the Shia movement). The revival of ethnocentrism contributes also to the formation of a multi-ethnic globe by manifesting heterogeneity where state, ethnic or national homogeneity has always been declared.

Here, we come back to the starting point. It seems that, if the state offers more educational freedom to its ethnic minorities, it contributes to their ethnocentrism. At least, present ethnic revivals support this notion. But on the other hand, nation-building by the melting pot school also proved to be an educational as well as a political failure. Here comes the third part of our history: an emergence of a new educational ideology.

3. MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Education meets the New Great Migration

3.1 The New Great Migration. It is the new socio-economic order which is rearranging the world's human population and which results in an unusual mixture of traditional ethnicities.

The new world order, the frames of which have been shaped since World War II, creates two kinds of constraint. The first is the East-West constraint with all of its military, political and ideological connotations. It is precisely this that came out of the world wars and for a long time several politicians and ideologists looked upon it as the only frame of the new world order. In other words, several commentators tried to understand tensions as results of Eastern or Western actions; and several tried to imagine a future in terms of the long range victory of the one over the other.

The second kind of constraint is, however, the so-called North-South bias. It came out of the late 1950s and early 1960s and is commonly known as the Third World phenomenon. It includes the wide range of economic, demographic, political, psychological and cultural problems of the underdevelopment of the once colonised countries and regions. It crates, today, perhaps the deepest crises humanity has ever met, namely, earth pollution, new infections, starvation, drought on once — fertile agricultural lands, the disorganization of traditionally lively communities, habitats and remote areas, and — last but not least — it has helped power to become the latest military danger.

The new migration tendencies that include practically all the world, might be seen as one of the results of those constraints. Migration tendencies, known as the Great Population Migration are familiar features in the history of the world. We, however, scarcely define our present migrations as parts of a new great migration. Today we experience a world-wide rearrangement of the human population on our globe. Let us refer here to the guest workers of Western Europe who came, at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s from the southern part of the Continent and later mainly from the Middle East; and then, at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, they arrived from South East Asia. (Kromkowski 1986). Let us also refer here to the permanent migration—both legal and illegal — of the Hispanic and Asian population to the United States, and to a lesser extent, to the southern part of Europe. We should mention the migration tendencies within the continents, like those of the subcontinent of India, Africa and the Middle East. Local migrations, that is, migrations within the state borders are also well-known (from the desert part to the living part of several Latin American countries like Brasil or Chile, within the Maghreb countries of Africa). One of those internal migrations which has become well-known is the urbanisation tendency, which results in a megapolis like Mexico City or urban areas on the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts.

The migration process usually starts with a new crowd of young and ambitious men who have marginal situations in their own country. A low schooling level on the one hand, but traditional skills and behaviours on the other, are their main characteristics. All in all they create a kind of socio-historical atavism in the host society and its labour market, giving new impetus to stagnating industries and declining cultural and religious traditions. From the points of view of demography, they might contribute to a new demographic wave, especially when their wives can join them thus increasing fertility rates producing more children having low levels of schooling and conservative ways of life. The migration wave might cause an overcrowding of migrant pupils in some urban schools (e.g. 14–18% in Swiss elementary schools in the first part of the 1980 Kaa 1987).

3.2 Multi-ethnicism: a dynamic process. The rearrangement of the human population on our globe — a world-wide phenomenon — produces results which are well-known from social research and political literature.

A multi-ethnic society might create a new political climate. Research evidence shows that the newcomers, or their offspring, have different views about some of the political decisions of the country than the views which the majorities might have. They also might influence the political decisions in special directions. It is clear for example, that Roman Catholic religious groups showed more opposition to the Vietnam war than the average US citizen (Kromkowski 1986). It is also clear that Australian immigrants have different views about South-East Asian as well as European conflicts than the majority groups (Smolicz 1983). In short they influence the political life of the hosts.

A new multi-ethnic situation also influences the views of the majorities. One well-known example is the Jewish population, because they have the longest history in European as well as Middle East and North African exile. Armenians and Chinese — the latter especially in South Asia — are considered by their host societies as „the jews of Asia“. Research also shows that a population with African and Hispanic origins tends to be more and more self-conscious in the present-day United States: other groups, like the Poles are at an earlier stage. The interesting development is a new self-image of the host society, which changes from the early white—anglosaxonian via the English-Irish-German self-image to the future American self-image of a Protestant-Catholic-Jewish view of the nation.

The examples quoted show that the multi-ethnic situation we live in is not a static one. On the contrary, it is a changing and dynamic process, with starting and ending points and stages in between. The dynamic process starts, as has been mentioned, with kinds of infiltration and absorption when population groups using foreign languages and holding new cultures appear in the host society. It might be a rapidly spreading process with a domination of the new population and its language and culture due to invasion and political and military occupation. Both infiltration and invasion might result with separation on behalf of the aborigines and/or the immigrants (ethnocentrism). However, the next

step is usually integration: a balanced situation in which the minorities learn to live together with the majority without giving up their original languages and cultures, thus creating a multi-ethnic situation. However, the integration—after a longer or shorter time—usually ends up with assimilation (acculturation). At this stage, ethnic pluralism disappears from the surface although it may survive in the private spheres as a source of the ever-existing cultural diversity.

3.3 Multiculturalism: a response. The new challenge of multi-ethnicity for schooling and educational policies came after the 1973 oil crisis. It was at the turn of the 1970s that most of the host countries and their governments reassessed their earlier policies towards integration and assimilation, which involved a new kind of long-term co-existence with their guest workers. Before the 1970s, they viewed the immigrant workers as temporary necessities who were staying with them for only a short time and who, it was hoped, would go back home after they had finished their work and reached their desired aims. The oil crisis and the restructuring of the economies all around the developed world caused a rapid shortage of employment. Some went voluntarily. But others wanted to stay. Let me show some examples here. The Arabs in Paris—like immigrants in several other large cities—stayed, in their third generation in the host countries for a longer period. Similar to the black people of North America who arrived earlier as slaves could boast that they were the first immigrants and as natives of the country.

During that decade Muslim population from the Mediterranean and the Magreb countries (North-Africa) emigrated en masse toward Central Europe, mainly to France and the FRG. One can compare their mass migration only to the Jewish migration to Europe several centuries before (Safran, 1986). It was precisely in that decade, namely the 1970s, when some British local and regional authorities, among them the Greater London Council, faced a new socio-economic feature: the ethnic minority business. They had to react to it because of growing competition between South Asian and original British small enterprises (Memon 1988). The first part of that decade produced the essential turn of Australian policy from assimilation and separation (public service posts only for whites) towards integration and multiculturalism (Smolicz, 1985). The 1970s produced the new Immigration Act of the United States too (the second being as late as 1986).

Modern „migration“ states, like Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany or Australia, have developed the philosophy and the practice of multicultural education, for different reasons. The immigrants they hosted did not have political demands for bilingual education. Also, their guest workers came sometimes from Asia, where they had not used their mother tongue but the former colonial powers' language as an educational tool. So there was no reason to stress language as the core of multi-ethnicity.

Yet education had to face the different sets of cultural traditions. These host countries developed their welfare states with educational services as part of the welfare state policy. However, their educational offers could not meet the needs of the immigrants if they did not accept ethnic cultures.

4. MULTICULTURALISM: THE NEW IDEOLOGY

4.1 The supporters Multiculturalism in education—sometimes also called cultural pluralism, pluralist education, minority education, bilingual or multilingual education, multi-ethnic education, or even multinational, transnational or international education (Lynch 1983, McDaniel et al. 1988) — is a self-expression of interest groups and social forces which engaged in the new situation mentioned. One of those forces is clearly the teachers, who actually face sometimes unusual cultural diversity in their classrooms. However, they are not the creators, rather they are the consumers of that ideology. Both research results and political events show that some teachers reject the multicultural ideology (Marjoribanks, 1980). Even if they formally agree with it they might use classroom and school practices which entirely oppose the essence of multiculturalism. A good amount of earlier as well as later research shows the ambiguity between formal agreement and latent rejection. It sometimes not only contradicts with the new educational philosophy but can also poison the heart of it.

The other interest group which is involved in the new educational ideology is made up of the educational civil servants and public administrators. They usually adopt the multicultural ideology, although they do not produce the core of it. The reason for their agreement is clear. If the state (the government, the political parties or the civil service and local authorities) cope with the new situation and begin integrating rather than assimilating minorities, they have to do the same in the field of education. This is not the only point, for they can represent their field of response and they can negotiate for it only by coping with the new political climate. Thus it is comfortable to develop a new education parallel to the new political tendency, which is multicultural education.

The third pressure group is, as usual, a kind of political, ideological and scientific elite. They developed a whole range of multicultural ideologies, among them the multicultural education, during the 1970s or in some societies at the turn of the decade. If we analyse this elite, we can see its unique composition in terms of the national, cultural and historical backgrounds of the individuals involved. Sometimes they are experts or political activists with more than one cultural background. Although they might reach respected positions in their present societies they feel they have a special commitment, a kind of mission or

outstanding message. In other words, multicultural education, for them, is not only a theory but a set of values and beliefs too. Let us analyse the commitments, values and beliefs of multicultural education as evinced in recent publications (Allan, 1983).

4.2 Leading values and commitments. Although there are many publications on the theme of multiculturalism and the literature is growing, especially on multicultural education, as yet there is no agreed theory. All of us use the term as a catchword but the Great Theory is still wanted. We know better what does *not* belong to the new educational philosophy.

International education is not the equivalent of multiculturalism. International education stresses the transnational elements of established national education in order to help bridge the gap between existing burdens which come from tradition but which are dysfunctional for modern life. A typical example of international education is foreign language teaching. On the other hand, multicultural education works below existing state and national levels. That is, it accepts the cultural norms, values and traditions of minorities those of the majority. It accept cultures which actually exist but do not form political entities like state, nation and society. Moreover, multicultural education wants to preserve those minority cultures while it works with them. International or transnational education, on the other hand, tries to overcome historically preserved but existing dysfunctional traditions.

Remedial education (educating the culturally disadvantaged or subcultural groups of children) is not equivalent to multicultural education, either. Educating the disadvantaged—like teaching the disabled—is a kind of helping and caring for those who need special efforts to overcome their back-wardness. Educating them means supporting them to escape from their original situation. Even if the educator begins by accepting the special needs of the pupil to take them beyond their original situation. Multicultural education, on the contrary, does not want to pull the students out of their minority settings. The multicultural educator wants them to live with a plurality of cultures. Multicultural education wishes to preserve diversity rather than of eliminate it as the remedial educator would want .

From such debates, we might be able to formulate those values and goals that multicultural education should follow. For instance:

— To develop multicultural personalities. That is, to encourage individuals to have more than a single cultural commitment. While a homogeneous cultural background is usually meant to be an advantage, multicultural education should regard a dual or plural cultural background as an advantage for the individual.

— To preserve the minority cultures including their values, norms and traditions such as religion, language, social relations etc. By doing so, multicultural education has to contribute to the integration process of the minorities into the majority society on the one hand, and to the development of the cultural plurality of the given society on the other (Bullivan, 1981).

— To develop and support the so-called „overarching values“. (Smolicz, 1985). They are values common to the majority and the minority cultures. Multicultural education has to concentrate on them because they help the survival of minority cultures in a majority setting.

— To prevent acculturation. Since cultural exchange is always a dynamic process, minority cultures might become sub-cultures or residual cultural traditions within the homogeneous, official and nationally accepted majority cultures. Without formal education, it has cultures happened to various cultures (like the change of language of the Scots, Irish, and Bulgarians, in Europe, the change of religions of the American Indians, or the change of cultural patterns of the once-colonized societies in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world). It was precisely of the some early melting pot theories that initiated the acculturation process (e.g. the slogan that every culture have to be „national in its form but socialist in its content“). Multicultural education has to prevent the minority cultures becoming total entities but should help them co-exist with the culture of the majorities.

Summing up this section briefly, multicultural education serves as a new set of norms that should be followed by teachers who face a diversity of cultural backgrounds in their classroom. It involves a set of norms that aim to preserve ethnic and national minorities by strengthening their cultural identities, and by giving them patterns of how to live and develop with their own cultures in an ethnic/national majority environment.

4.3 The function of the ideology. Whether those norms are accepted by educators or not, the new educational philosophy has some important socio-political functions in the societies where it has been developed. It serves not only as expression of the loyalty of the educational enterprise towards the new state politics of integration and multiculturalism. It also functions as a special expression of political ideals that are hidden under the surface of everyday discussions in and outside the schools.

Thus multicultural education is a special expression of the growing demand for ethnic pluralism (Bullivan, 1981). The term „ethnic“ however, might have connotations that are unwanted in the on-going negotiations (Gosselin, 1985). In other words a kind of pluralism on ethnic bases would mean a real danger for a state which has been created on a national background. It would sound as if other nations require parts of the original power. It is easier to talk about cultural rather than ethnic plurality. Moreover, it would only mean cultural, instead of ethnic rights and equalities, and as such does not create a challenge for the established political balance of the state and society. Of course, multicultural education means

ethnic pluralism. It is only the ethnically pluralist state which faces the multicultural issue. But in the long, hard process of integrating minority groups it is unrealistic to stress the ethnic background of that pluralism. This is precisely why multicultural education always has a powerful political connotation, which makes it miscellaneous enough to be both a slogan of confrontation and of compromise.

Multicultural education expresses not only the demand for ethnic pluralism but also the requirement of shared political power. Teachers in the classroom situation do not bother with power-sharing (although even they have to share their authority with those who have cultural backgrounds different from their own). However, educational policy-makers clearly face the demand of the minorities for shared power. Of course, they want to participate in controlling education, not state or military power. Yet they insist on sharing some sort of power and in so arguing, they contribute to a new power balance of the state and society in which they live. Multicultural education, thus, might lead us to a new power balance between the once-majority part and the minority groups of the state. It functions as an element of a new political power structure inasmuch as education creates an issue of state interest (universal education, and the role of education in economic development).

Multicultural education, however, is always in a keen situation in the development of educational policy. Educational policy, as mentioned, is moving everywhere from the traditional melting-pot ideal to the new concepts of acculturation. From this point on, multicultural education clearly means a compromise between the assimilating majority and the fighting minorities. As a compromise, it is sometimes temporary and fragile. Tomorrow, extramural forces might assimilate minorities so entirely that they will not require multiculturalism anymore. However, it can also happen that minorities, or one of the minorities, take over the power. In this case, it might force its culture upon others, and in doing so, it does not need multicultural slogans. In other words, multicultural education functions as a compromise only worth saving if political compromises are worth enough to save them.

4.4 To What Extent Does Multicultural Education Work? How far can teachers, and policy-makers cope with their multi-ethnic clientele? To put it briefly they are aware of the challenge already, but as yet they have not found the one best solution. Let me list some signs of their awareness.

Research literature shows that there is a close correlation between educational achievements and ethnic background in those cases where ethnic background is associated with socio-economic status (Marjoribanks, 1980). On the other hand, there is no good correlation between achievement and racial origin, if separated from socio-economic positions. (Troyna 1984, Grove 1985, Karady—Vari 1987). In other words, ethnic diversity can be overcome by education, but it needs a special type of attention.

Research literature also clearly shows that informal processes are deeply influenced by the different ethnic origins of students (Johnson, 1985). It influences teacher-student relationships, the behaviour of teachers towards their classes as well as class climates and intra-class social dynamics. There are changes in majority perceptions of minority students both in the direction of growing ethnocentrism and in the growing acceptance of the situation over the course of the decades. It is precisely these group dynamics that might lead to performance inequalities.

A great number of textbook studies have revealed the official sources of student prejudices (Lynch 1983). Notions, characteristics and plain pictures of other ethnicities in one history, literature or geography textbook (e.g. Russian—American, colonial and the colonized, East-West and North-South biases) might lead to prejudgements of the ethnic group questioned. It is a general belief that curricula comparisons might help in omitting these sources of ethnic prejudice.

On the basis of the literature reviewed I am convinced of the crucial function of language usage and communication patterns in schools and in the educational process. It is due to the fact that language and communication represent the core of a culture, and if we accept that culture we have to give it the right to use the relevant language. Language is crucial also because it reflects the level of tolerance of the educational policy. Giving the language the right to be used as an educational tool is a declaration of the equality of the culture it reflects. Moreover, it is a manifestation of the individual's right to live with its traditions.

Whether it is a tradition that support modernisation or a heritage which becomes a burden are questions that remain to be answered. But who has the right to decide upon the future of someone else?

SUMMARY

1 Ethnic revival is one of the mysterious features of our contemporary world. It seems as if every political crisis of the present would have ethnic backgrounds. There is a growing amount of social science literature on ethnic revival, but as yet, we have no explanation that would fit the unique trend.

2 Education also meets various phenomena of ethnic revival all over the world. During the 1970s and the turn of the decade it has developed a new philosophy on it called multicultural education. Although widely used, we scarcely took the challenge to understand the concept. The attempts is to analyse the concept and to understand its functioning in various educational policies.

3 Multicultural education means both the practice as well as the ideology. Multiculturalism as a practice means different techniques. It is reflected in school and higher education textbooks. It may also influence formal school processes like teaching and learning. Informal processes behind the classroom door are also worth to analyse. Outside school events are contributing to inside school multiculturalism. State educational policies have adopted one or more of these techniques.

4 Multicultural education, however, refers to a special educational philosophy. It has been developed by various pressure groups partly as signs of their loyalties to their states, and partly as rejection of the traditional melting pot policies. Multicultural education as an ideology involves a set of special values, norms and commitments, like the preservation of the traditional cultural, the survival of ethnic minorities, and the strengthening of political pluralism.

5 As a new educational ideology, multicultural education expresses hidden political efforts. While stressing pluralism, it creates a temporary compromise between those who want to be separated and those who want them to be absorbed and assimilated. As such, multicultural education is a reflection of the flexibility, tolerance and the self-confidence of the majority groups.

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