

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

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**PUBLIC OPINION AND "INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION":
CHALLENGES TO EDUCATION POLICY**

by

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INTRODUCTION

Mark Twain's 'War Prayer' illustrates nicely, how political socialization functions - with regard to public opinion and politics- respectively how difficult an education for international understanding is:

It was a time of great and exalting excitement. The country was up in arms, the war was on, in every breast burned the holy fire of patriotism; ...

(see Persia and Afghanistan or the Falklands)

Sunday morning came ... the church was filled ... Then came the 'long' prayer ... that an ever-merciful and benignant Father ... would watch over our noble young soldiers and their patriotic work; ... and - 'less our arms, grant us the victory'...

(it could be a Christian, Moslem or Marxist prayer)

But, good enough suddenly a stranger went forward and said in a deep voice: I come from the Throne ... the Almighty God ... has heard the prayer ... When you have prayed ... for unmentioned results... help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead;... - 'Ye have prayed it...'1)

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I. UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC OPINION AND THE NEED FOR GLOBAL AWARENESS

1. Importance of public attitudes

The 'War Prayer' may appear a beautiful piece of history, since in the early 60ies a cross-national survey (including France, Norway and Poland) shows, that only 9 %to 17% expected a World War within the next 20 years. And - after a short irritation because of the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan - in 1984 only 10% of the public in 8 Western countries felt a World War to be likely in the next 10 years, according to another poll. Furthermore, in 1985 people from both sides of the Atlantic strongly preferred communication to confrontation with the East, leaving far behind the 10% Europeans and and 20% Americans, who were in favour for a tough non compromise position. 2)

So one might push aside C.Fr. v. Weizsäcker's childhood impressions, when he was irritated by listening to the Sermon on the

Mount and the almost simultaneous demand on the soldiers to fulfill their duty - since fighting or dying had to be similar at the enemies side.3)

But, the 'Prayer' is by no means out of date; because 'patriotic' blood was shed in 150 wars since 1945, respectively in 37 wars and rebellions in 1986 alone. It was killed under the auspices of national duties or for cultural and ethnic selfdetermination in Northern Ireland, the Westbank, or Ethiopia, with at least 220.000 dead in the conflict between Persia and Iraq, or 85.000 in Afghanistan.

Beyond this one should not forget the refugees - who either left their countries because of war (about 168.000 per year were coming from Indochina to the US after 1980, and 9 Mio escaped from Afghanistan since the war started), or who fled because of environmental conditions (about 10 Mio were on the move in Africa in 1984/85).

Furthermore, there are great ethnic conflicts in southeast Europe (e.g. the Turks in Bulgaria, the Kurds in Turkey, etc.) and some ethnic minority groups are even paid off (from Rumania about 120.000 for 1 Bill. German Marks since 1978).

And finally, stereotyping mechanisms are still used amongst nations (as the table shows), aversion is still widespread amongst racial groups in many countries, and even hostility towards guestworkers seems to increase in EEC countries.4)

TAB 1

Obviously neither the nation-building process of the 19th Century nor communism in the 20th could really amalgamate the groups of

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different cultural and ethnic identity as a few examples of major ethnic minorities in some countries illustrate.5)

France:	Soviet Union:	United Kingdom:	Iran:
- Alsations	- Armenians	- Manx	- Arabs
- Basques	- Azerbaijanis	- Northern Irish	- Azerbaijanis
- Bretons	- Estonians	- Scots	- Bakthiaris
- Corsicans	- Georgians	- Shetland Island.	- Baluchis
- Occitains	- Latvians	- Welsh	- Kurds
	- Ukrainians		- Lurs
	(about 100 groups all together)		- Quasquis
			- Seistanis

Many of these groups may be regarded as mini-nationalisms either within former expansionist states as the UdSSR or many third world countries, or within really multinational societies as Switzerland, the US (presently with Dukakis of Greek origin as candidate for presidency) and to a certain extent Hungary, or even within suburban areas of Glasgow, Frankfurt, Harlem or Jerusalem.

But let us be careful, not only they - people of other nations and ethnic groups - are socialized into certain cultural living and thinking patterns, but we ourselves also act and react according to ethnic, cultural and national backgrounds (which become obvious e.g. from behavioral and research patterns).

All these minorities or mini-nationalisms depend on a set of integrating sentiments, beliefs, values and traditions on the one hand, and on some intergenerational, institutional and spatial structures, which uphold and organize their identity in terms of a 'political culture'. 6)

However, a 'political culture' without a 'public opinion' has little direct impact on politics, because public opinion functions as a filter and catalyst for popular as well as elite demands. Thus, public opinion research is of great importance. It

offers information about a society, it promotes integration of different groups, it furthers a sense of political efficacy, and it either makes democratic input into politics easier and/or serves as a means for social and political control.

-Governments generally have to cope with publics, if they want to set priorities (e.g. in the area of investment vs consumption),⁷⁾ or even countries next door get under pressure from related ethnic minorities (as e.g. Austria because of South Tyrolia, Hungary because of Rumanian policies to erase agrarian villages).

-And since the public today does not call itself for hatred, war, and holocausts - as some political minorities or governments still do - survival of the world and world peace increasingly depends on enlightened publics.

Surely, there are great differences and difficulties with regard to definitions and research. There are i.a. serious problems: what shall be called public opinion in the face of liberal democracies, socialist states and developing countries, to what extent public opinion is volatile and dependent to momentaneous circumstances, and the impact of elites/nomenclatura as well as media formation of public opinion.⁸⁾

Nevertheless public opinion is fundamental to democracy (therefore 'freedom of information' is watched very careful) and it may be a conditio sine qua non to 'perestroika' or at least be regarded as a safety valve in socialist countries.⁹⁾ Anyhow it is indispensable for education policy, if global respectively international understanding shall not exhaust themselves in postulates.

■ If the public is thus important for international and peace education, the question arises, what global problems have to be faced and in which way international education already has been favoured to cope with the global problems.

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2. Need of global awareness

Pessimists tend to argue, that we slide into one of the greatest catastrophes of the world, since there is so little global understanding and cooperation. On the contrary Optimists point out, that global communications and structures already increased global awareness and will lead finally to global government.

Certainly great catastrophes will be ahead, if the public does not understand the challenges and if national as well as international agencies are not able to educate and lead the public in the face of the many unbalanced developments, e.g. in such areas as ecology, indebtedness, employment and armaments. The global dimension is obvious from the following examples:

In 1985 some 80 Mio people were added to the world population and the rural population in Africa and Asia nearly doubled between 1950 and 1985 - while the natural resources remain infinite.

- Thus survival depends on global cooperation and sharing, which means that the public in some countries have to be ready for a decline in living standard and public services (including education) while others have to strive more successfully for birth control, and all need to change their behavioural patterns.10)

The particular challenge to the more educated public of industrialized countries is obvious, since these countries command e.g. about 80% of the world's wealth and trade, about 90% of the industry and services, and they spent about 85% of the world resources on education. Since the distortions are growing, peace with man and nature are increasingly endangered.

- So, special programs on education for international understanding are of limited value, if the public in the industrialized countries does not care to decrease the North-South imbalance, especially to decrease the differences in education

(e.g. with half the enrollment ratio's for secondary schooling in Africa compared to Europe). 11)

Surely the public should not and need not be confronted with fatiguing developments only, but it should also be made aware of the great progress towards global interaction and international collaboration. Even short historical reviews illustrate, how the global development and awareness increased under the impact of trade, science, politics and communication:

Science had a strong influence on the perception of the world, not only through astronomy from Ptolemy to Copernicus (heliocentrism about 1500), but also through natural science which somehow transcended ethnic, cultural and national perceptions (from Newton to Heisenberg and Einstein) and even worked for nuclear control (as the Russel-Einstein Manifest in 1955) or for control of global resources (as the Club of Rome).

Simultaneous political and economic events changed the world, from the age of discovery (Columbus 1473/ Magalhaes 1519) via the colonial Empires (of Spain and Britain) to the establishment of the League of Nations, Court at Hague and UN and a lot of specific agencies such as World Bank, ILO or Amnesty International. As a result of these late developments there has been a strong push in favour of 'human rights', developing aid, and international cooperation supported by international law (concerned with insurance, trade or copy right) and multinational agreements (such as SALT, KSZE).

However, inspite of the sketched international challenges and developments, global interdependence did not become reality for large parts of the population in many countries until the First and Second World War, until the Mass Media offered 'world news' life, (e.g. Kennedy's assassination). The latest breakthrough however happened, when/and where the oil- and ecological crises had to be faced in the 1970ties (Club of Rome), 12) when/and where internationalized trade became a challenge (e.g. from the Pacific Rim), when/and where the dangers of pollution (e.g. of Tschernobyl in 1986) and of computerized production and informa-

tion (i.a. in terms of the stock market crises in 1987) emerged.

But, although international migration, technological developments and pollution ask for international collaboration, even today state politics and public opinion are still rather national in terms of elections, social and economic policy, law, and thinking patterns. 13)

■ So, since there exists a considerable time lag between culturally shaped selfconcepts and behavioral patterns on the one hand and demand of global problems for international cooperation on the other, education for international understanding becomes extremely important. This is the reason why many states furthered international or global education from the beginning of this century.

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3. History of international education

Although a transnational and -cultural humanism was favoured by philosophers from the 16th Century onwards (e.g. by Erasmus, Vico, Voltaire, and Kant) and international organizations were demanded by early socialists in the 19th Century (e.g. Proudhon 1863) 14) education for international understanding did not become educational policy until the First World War. Such an education was particularly demanded by those, who saw not only the need for peace but also believed, that human development can be improved by education, whether they were politicians (e.g. Briand and Stresemann) or educationists (as e.g. J.Dewey and P.Petersen).15) But, except many programmatic appeals, an increased student exchange and a spreading of foreign language teaching, there was little practical success, i.a. because studies in student attitudes and public opinion were still mis-

sing.

After the Second World War the main stress was first on peace education as well as on human rights education, which was well in line with developments such as the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights or the European Convention on Human Rights (in 1950).¹⁶⁾ These developments were overshadowed however by the cold war and a revival of national politics.

So, it was not until the mid-70ies, that on the one hand the increasing migration led to a new impetus in terms of intercultural education,¹⁷⁾ and on the other hand the Vietnam war, the oil-crises as well as the growing economic and technological exchange stimulated a development towards global education (aside to a human rights and peace education).

The concept of 'global education' was developed in the US, partly because the political awareness of the public did not fit the function of a world power (see pg. ...) and partly because research became aware, that the traditional world studies (as in Britain), the world history (as in the US) or the international education (as supported by Unesco) were still too much national in their scope.¹⁸⁾

'Education for international understanding' quite often reflects on world developments from a national point of view (or even national foreign policy), while global education - at least in theory - intends to start from world problems (such as overpopulation, resources, or ecology) and then puts national developments into perspective.¹⁹⁾

Aside to global education the focus in Europe is again on human rights- and peace education. The later is particularly favoured in Scandinavia while in other countries it somehow suffers from

ideological controversies.

■ Obviously education for international and/or global understanding reflects growing world problems, the need for a more enlightened public, and changes in international policy. But, if global awareness is important and shall be taught, first it has to be clarified: to what extent the public is aware of global problems.

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II. PUBLIC COMPREHENSION OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Knowledge about public opinion is indispensable, if societies are concerned with ethnic and minority problems, with democratic input and market mechanisms, and especially, if they strive for international and peace education.

1. Prerequisites for global awareness.

Education for global awareness and peace hardly becomes relevant, unless it is conceptualized with regard to public attitudes and knowledge - i.a. unless it starts from where the people are. Here it becomes important, whether people believe, that national character is born in us or can be changed, and whether world peace is looked at as within reach or as unattainable.

That nations think quite differently about such questions and that their attitudes are linked to cultural and historical backgrounds, this is illustrated by the following analysis (1953).²⁰⁾

TYPE OF ANSWER (in percentage)	AUSTRAL.	BRIT.	FR.	GERM.	ITAL.	MEX.	NETH.	NOR.	US.
Nat. charact. born in us	23	39	35	59	51	28	44	23	15
Due to way brought up	74	55	45	29	39	64	43	57	79
Both or don't know	3	6	20	12	10	8	13	20	6
Believe world peace possible	42	47	47	58	30	18	46	43	49
Believe world peace not pos.	54	44	41	35	59	74	49	52	45
Don't know	4	9	12	7	11	8	5	5	6
...									

According to the data the basis for global education seems to be much more favorable in the US and Australia than in other countries, since in the US and Australia - countries with a relative short history and large cultural/ethnic mix,21) - more than 70% see national character as due to upbringing while the NS-ideology seems to have reduced the percentage to 40% or lower in Italy and Germany.

In addition the same analysis shows - except for Italy - that higher education makes people more aware, that national character can be changed, that 'rightists' tend to believe human nature as unchangeable, and finally it shows, that particularly 'optimists' (vs 'fatalists') believe "human nature perfectible, national character pliable, world peace attainable, and world organizations advisable..."22)

However, the public views on world affairs do not only depend on the cultural background, but also on the challenge_a_country_has_to_face, as the following table shows (data from the late 50ies). Much attention is paid e.g. by the public of Israel, Egypt and Germany to world affairs, because these countries are under particular political strain, while the concern of the US may be due to its function as a world power.23)

TAB 2

Furthermore both surveys point to the importance of general education for the public's concern for international relations and problems.

And finally it should be kept in mind, that the structure_of

TAB 2

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Table 8.1 *Percentage of average references about hopes and fears for one's nation on international subjects and rank orders for adult literacy and GNP per capita (1957 US\$)*

	<i>International situation</i>	<i>Independent status</i>	<i>Adult literacy</i>	<i>Per capita GNP</i>
Israel	71	27	3	3
United States	58	8	2	1
West Germany	56	15	1	2
Yugoslavia	55	6	5	7
Egypt	32	41	10	10
Philippines	28	13	6	9
Panama	15	5	7	5
India	14	9	11	12
Nigeria	12	16	12	11
Brazil	12	4	9	6
Cuba	9	12	4	4
Dominican Republic	6	5	8	8
Average	35	15	—	—

Source: Hadley Cantril, *The Pattern of Human Concerns* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1965), pp. 176, 178; methodology discussed in Appendix B; and Bruce Russett et al., *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 155-7, 222-4.

the political system and an unmolested flow of information are very important for the development of a public opinion respectively for international education.

In most socialist countries and many developing countries the public (and also public opinion research) has only access either to censored or limited information, while in liberal democracies the public is burdened with rather controversial information.²⁴⁾

■ Thus the possibility and effectiveness of any kind of global education depends quite strongly on prerequisites of the political system, the social culture and the general education.

*

2. Public concern for national affairs:

Although the governments of 160 sovereign states are the spokesmen for the world's population and they are the sponsors of international organizations, they primarily function as channels for domestic coherence, since the nation state is the 'legitimate' international norm.²⁵⁾

And if the governments do not function with regard to national demands of the public, they risk that people give precedence to other demands on their loyalty - e.g. from class, ethnocentrism, or subcultures.

However, the nation state is a phenomenon of about two hundred years at its best, where language, culture and education function as vehicles for amalgamation. Generally the formation of the nation state was strongly linked with a dissociation from other political and cultural patterns (especially those of neighboring countries). Thus national cultures and histories tend to lend themselves to stereotyping neighboring states and other cultures.²⁶⁾

Stereotypes (as well of mothers in law as ethnic groups and nations) are used for social-psychological reasons, i.a. in order

to make a coping with too complex and/or frightening reality easier, to facilitate communication and to legitimize one's own behavior. 27)

TAB. 3

Since such stereotypes favour unfounded, distorted and often unchangeable prejudices, they are especially dangerous with regard to other ethnic groups and nations, because they are more emotional than rational, and serve as a the basis for discrimination, conflict and war.

Distorted perceptions of ourselves and others were spread by the 19th Century historiography because of its strong relation to national, racial and imperialistic developments (i.a. over-stressing national heroes and discriminating e.g. inhabitants of the colonies as primitive). But, even today such distortions are used for political reasons, particularly to emotionalize the public.

TAB. 4

So, if we want to further global awareness and cooperation the pre-national stereotypes have to be made obvious and analyzed with regard to their changeability.28) Beyond this, national concerns are hindering international understanding and collaboration.

In which way national conflicts overshadow international orientations, this can be illustrated by data from public opinion research: "Of 73% Argentines who were concerned about international affairs in a large survey in the mid-1960s, approximately 70% cited problems with Chile as their chief international worry." 29)

The reality - as well as the absurdity - of national claims is quite obvious from the Falkland war. But not only national conflicts, also the position of national-

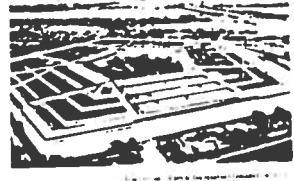
Namen	Spanier	Frantzoß	Walisch	Tentscher	Engländer	Schwöth	Polack	Unger	Muskewith	Tirk oder Griech
Sitten	Hochmüthig	Leichtsinnig	Hinderhaltig	Offenherzig	Wohl Gestalt	Stark und Groß	Bäurisch	Untry	Boßhafft	Wie das Abri- weder
Natur und Aigenschaft	Wunderbarlich	Holdselig und gesprächig	Eifersichtig	Ganz gut	Lieb-Reich	Grausam	Noch wilder	Aller Graus- sambet	Gut Ungerisch	Ein Jung Teufel
Verstand	Klug und Weiß	Firsichtig	scharffsinnig	Wizig	Anmuthig	Hartnäckig	Gering achtent	Noch weniger	Gar Nichts	Oben Auß
Anzeugung deren Aigenschaf- ten	Mänlich	Kindisch	Wie jeder will	Über Allmit	Weiblich	Unorkendlich	Mittelmaßig	Bluthbegirig	Uneutlich krob	Zärtlich
Wissenschaft	schriftgelehrt	In Kriegssachen	in Geistlichen	In Weltlichen	Welt Weis	In Freuen Kün- sten	In unterschiedli- chen Sprachen	In Ladeinischer	In Krichischer	Ein falscher Po- litious
Tracht der Klai- dung	Ehrbaar	Unbeständig	Ehrsam	Macht alles	auf Französi- sche art	Von Löder	Lang Röckig	VielFärbig	Mit böltzen	Auf Weiber Art
Untugent	Hoffärtig	Betrügerisch	Geistsichtig	Verschwend- risch	Unruhig	Aber Glaube- risch	Praller	Veräther	Gar Veräthe- risch	Noch veräteri- scher
Lieben	Ehrlob und Ruhm	Den Krieg	Das Gold	Den Trunck	Die Wohlust	Köstliche Spei- sen	Den Adl	Die Aufruhe	Den Brügl	Selbsteigne Lieb
Krankheiten	Verstopfung	An Eigner	An böser seuch	An bodagräm	An Der	An der Wasser- sucht	An Den	An der Treis	An Keichn	An Schwachheit
Ihr Land	Ist fruchtbaar	Wohlgearbeith	Ergötzlich und Wohllistig	Gut	Schwindsucht	Bergig	Durchbruch	Frucht Und	Voller Eiß	Ein Liebreiches
Krigs Tugent	GroßMüthig	Arglistig	Firsichtig	Unüberwindlich	Ein Soe Hold	Unverzackt	Un Gestimt	golt Reich	Miesamb	Gar Faul
Gottesdienst	der aller beste	Gut	Etwas besser	Noch andächti- ger	Veränderlich	Eifrig im Glau- ben	Glaubt Allerley	Ummüsig	Ein Abriniger	Ewen ein sol- cher
Erkennen für ihren Herrn	Einen Monar- chen	Eine(n) König	Einen Bäte- rärch	Einen Kaiser	Wie der Mond	Frene Herr- schaft	Einen Erwel- den	Einen Unbelie- bigen	Einen Freunü- gen	Ein Thiran
Haben Überfluß	An Früchten	An Waren	An Woin	An Goträid	An fich Woid	An Artz Kru- ben	An Böltzweren	In Allen	An Immen	an Zart und
die Zeit Verrei- ben	Mit Spillen	Mit betrügen	Mit schwätzen	Mit Trincken	Mit Arbeiten	Mit Essen	Mitt zancken	Mit Miessigge- hen	Mit schlaffen	Weichen sahen
Vergleichung Mit denen Thi- ren	Ein Elefonten	Ein Fuchsen	Einen Luchssen	Einen Löben	Einen Pferd	Einen Ochsen	Einen Bern	Einem Wolfen	Ein Esel	Mit Kränkeln
Ihr Leben Ende	In Both	In Krieg	In Kloster	In Wein	In Wasser	Auf der Erd	Im stall	beym säwel	In schnee	In betrug

США-ЦЕНТР МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ РЕАКЦИИ

Планы США по нападению на СССР

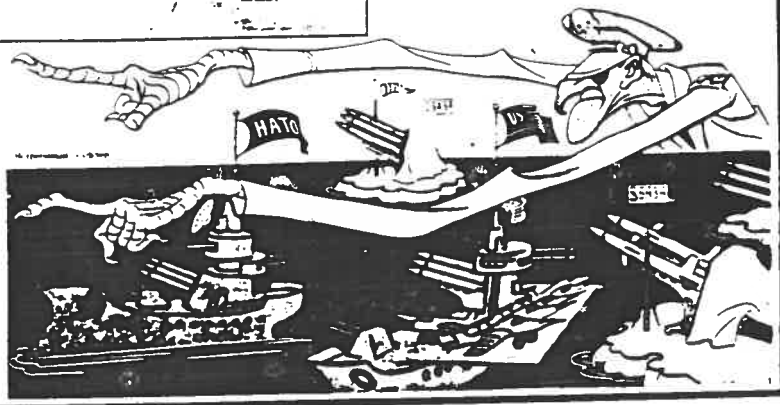
Американские планы по нападению на СССР в 1945 году. В то время США имели 10 миллионов человек, а СССР — 170 миллионов. США в разное время создали семь военно-политических блоков, в том числе НАТО, в котором участвует главная опора США и ее союзники — Великобритания, Франция, Италия, Япония, Австралия, Канада, Филиппины, Южная Африка, Тайвань, Южная Корея, Австралия, Новая Зеландия, Австралия, Новая Зеландия, Австралия, Новая Зеландия.

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Соединенные Штаты Америки после 1945 года были интервенционистами или участниками большинства военных конфликтов, в частности "Охотничьи войны" 10 миллионов человек. Соединенные Штаты Америки после 1945 года были интервенционистами или участниками большинства военных конфликтов, в частности "Охотничьи войны" 10 миллионов человек.



Известные цели и интересы США — их союзники выживают. Соединенные Штаты Америки после 1945 года были интервенционистами или участниками большинства военных конфликтов, в частности "Охотничьи войны" 10 миллионов человек.

independence are influential for national self-perceptions. Obviously public concern about international organizations is the larger the more the public feels dependent on those institutions.

Generally knowledge about UN-membership of one's own country was stronger in those developing countries who reached independence relatively late (particularly in Africa or Asia), while it was quite weak with those, who got their independence some time ago (e.g. in Latin America).30)

Furthermore countries with a longer national history seem to have less need to stress their national identity.

This seems to be the reason, why Turkish, Mexican and non-English South African college students have been "more nationalistic than college students in modern industrial countries" (in the late 50ties).31)

On the whole nationalistic orientations tend to be linked with distrust in international organizations (e.g. in Tunisia and people from Nigeria) while international orientations allowed more positive attitudes towards immigration and international organizations (e.g. in in Spain and Austria).32)

For international and peace education it becomes thus quite important: "In any society, individuals are most likely to be concerned about problems that affect them directly, and over which they feel they have some control. Problems on the scale of international politics often seem to fail on both counts." 33)

And these national orientations are partly due to the influence of education and mass media.34)

Not only American information networks focus at international problems important to the nation, since they are consumer oriented and geared to national politics.

But are national attitudes always obstacles to international understanding and cooperation? The situation seems to be much

more complicated, as the following table shows. There national pride seems to correspond to satisfaction with democracy (with the exception of Italy and Germany)³⁵⁾ and other studies support

TAB. 5

the idea, that patriotism is larger and more homogeneous across the political spectrum in countries, who fought for their independence (e.g. USA, Mexico, Finland) than with those, who lost part of their identity in wars (e.g. Germany, Japan, Netherlands).³⁶⁾

So, it is up for debate, whether certain amount of national self-reliance may be a prerequisite to accept other nations as equal and to develop an open mind for cooperation across the cultures. On the other hand it should be mentioned, that - at least in Europe - national orientations have given way to more European inclinations over the last generation (with adolescents considerably less national than their parents as well in 1970 as 1982).³⁷⁾

■ So, if education for global awareness and collaboration intends to start from where the people are, it has to take national traditions, stereotypes and obstacles to international understanding into consideration.

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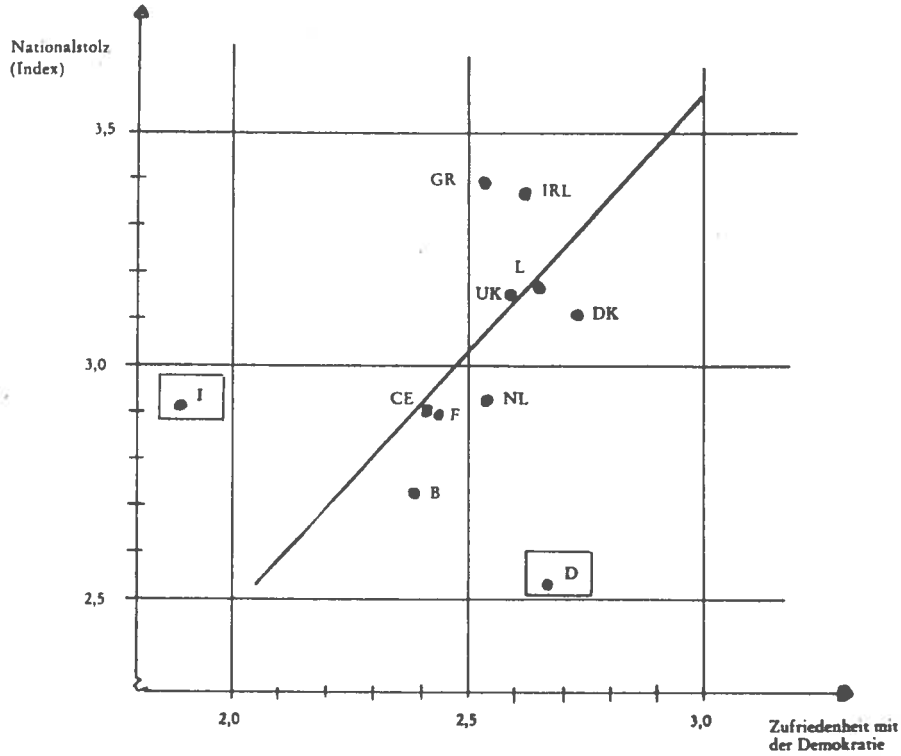
3. Public concern for international affairs

Because global awareness of a public is much more difficult to analyze than national attitudes, it does not surprise, that fewer studies are available comparing different national perceptions.

But, first of all there are some trends of engagement for international disarmament, peace and nature-conservation, which some-

TAB 5

Zusammenhang zwischen Nationalstolz und Zufriedenheit mit der Demokratie
(15- bis 24jährige Jugendliche)
Deutschland und Italien fallen als Extremfälle weg.



aus: Kommission der Europäischen Gemeinschaften (Hrsg.): *Die jungen Europäer. Situationstudie über die 15- bis 24jährigen in den Ländern der Europäischen Gemeinschaft*, Brüssel 1982, Graphik Nr. 22, S. 90.

Table 9.5. Percentage of Students Who Report Participating in Patriotic Rituals "Always" or "Often" by Country (Population II)

	Sum of weights	Singing national anthem in class		Patriotic ceremonial with flag	
		%	Ranking	%	Ranking
FRG	1 316	3.2	7	4.3	8
Finland	2 402	5.9	6	8.0	7
Ireland	847	13.4	3	10.5	5
Israel	1 047	31.1	1	66.7	1
Italy	937	11.5	5	15.1	4
Netherlands	1 697	1.9	8	17.8	3
New Zealand	2 007	13.5	2	8.8	6
United States	3 208	12.8	4	32.3	2

how correspond with the decrease of nationalism in Europe. In addition a West-European survey (covering 7 countries in 1984) confirms, that between 65% and 91% of the publics favoured non-aggression pacts, renouncing the use of military force except in self-defense, and that 77% to 87% favoured a ban on the production, possession and use of chemical weapons.³⁸⁾ And finally a large majority of the West-European public regarded 'world peace' (67%), 'human rights' (45%) and the 'struggle against poverty' as particular worthwhile ideas or causes to do something about, while the following goals fell far behind: 'defense of the own country' (23%) or 'unification of Europe' (11%).³⁹⁾

But such trends do not really give insight, to what extent the public is informed and cares about international problems.

More detailed knowledge about public's information on world events however is available e.g. from the US. The results are somehow shattering, although they are surely not specific for the United States.

"At no time in the postwar period could more than a small number of Americans describe accurately the history of the dispute over Berlin, identify the ownership of Quemoy and Matsu, or describe the basic contents of the Geneva Accords of 1954." ⁴⁰⁾ And even at the highs of the Vietnamese War (1966), when the war was extensively covered by the media, only "28 per cent of the American public had a reasonably correct idea of the number of American troops in Vietnam" and only 14% had some rough idea about the size of the Vietnamese population (1967).⁴¹⁾

Similar information deficits are probable for most countries. Of the West-Europeans 64% felt, that they are not even sufficiently informed on "the problem dealt with by the European Community".⁴²⁾ And, the deficits exist not only with the average citizen but they are also widely spread amongst university students (see

pg....).43)

The challenge_for_education is obvious, because the more complex and interdependent the world becomes, the stronger politics and peace depends on a well informed public.

However, not only information but also attitudes and assumptions about world affairs - they may be positive or negative - are extremely important. The overall attention 'international politics' got by young_West-Europeans (19-24 years) in 1982 - compared to other areas of life-interest - is obvious from the following table:44)

Tab. 6

So, it is no surprise, that also a large percentage of the British_public seems to be rather 'unsympathetic to a world perspective'.45) Nevertheless this public was quite ready to increase developing aid for humanitarian reasons - and this inspite of quite strong, admitted 'racial prejudices'.46)

Attitudes towards British aid and opinions:		Opinions about which needs are extremely urgent:	
Strongly in favour	19%	Feed people who are starving	64%
In favour on the whole	43%	Provide medical services	59%
Don't feel strongly	9%	Teach birth control	58%
Against it on the whole	19%	Improve agriculture	44%
Strongly against it	10%	Give basic education	39%
....		

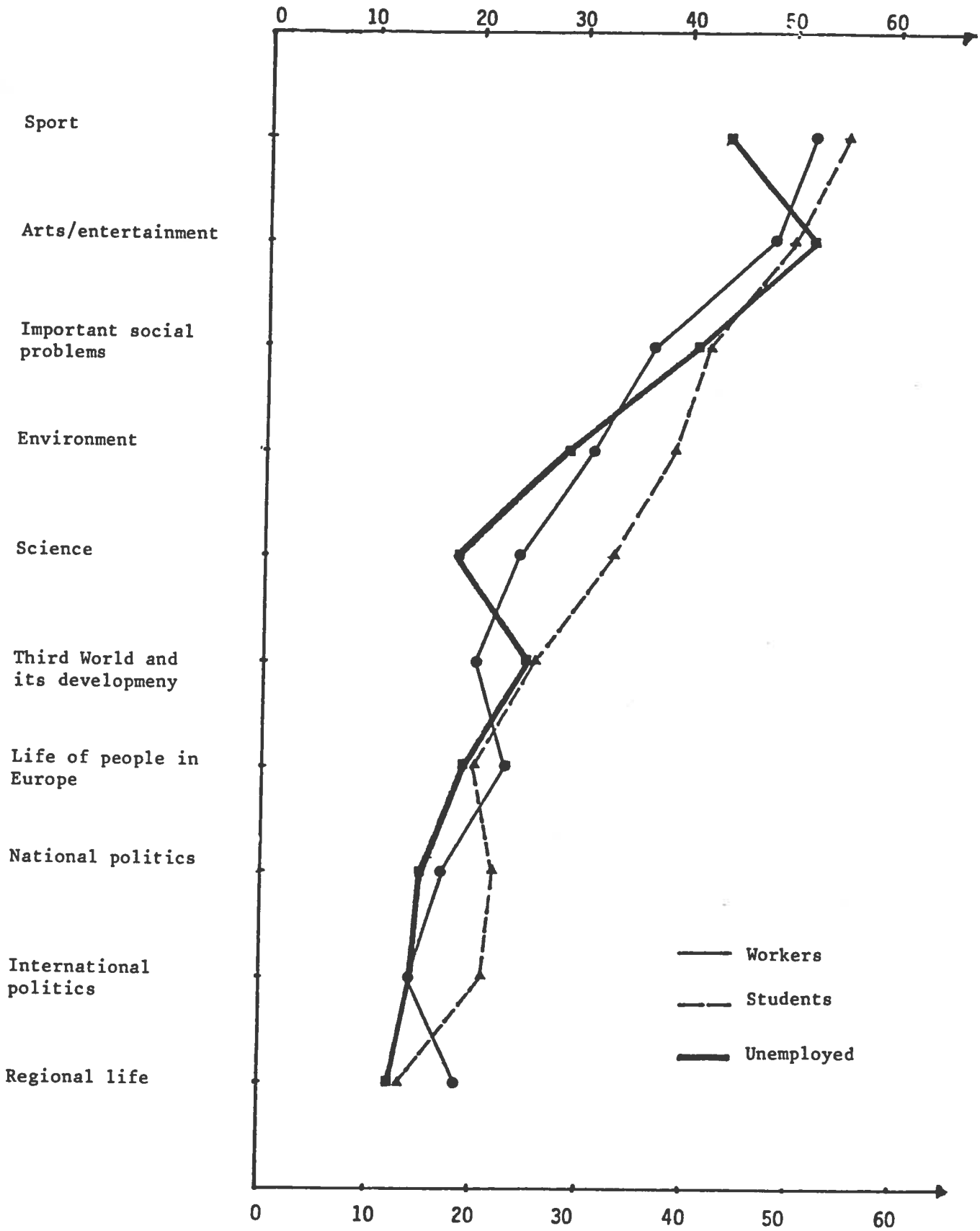
Again, better educated informants were less likely to be in favour of tied aid than the less well educated.

More instructive conclusions can be drawn from British assump-
tions about their country's role in world politics and their

living standard (1985). In the comparison it not only surprises

Perceptions of countries' influence on world events (in %)

TAB 6



YOUNG PEOPLES' AREAS OF INTEREST BY OCCUPATION

	Less than Britain	About the same	More than Britain
China	42	22	27
India	73	14	4
France	19	58	16
Germany FRG	10	56	27
Germany GDR	50	25	14

which limited influence is awarded to India, but also it is rather astonishing, that a larger percentage of the at least 55 year old (61%) than of the 18-24 year old (49%) 'strongly agreed' that "the days when Britain was an important world power are over".47)

To what extent the public assumptions about world affairs are up to reality, this becomes evident, if one contrasts British assumptions about living standards in different countries with the actual data from the World Bank with regard to GNP per capita.48)

Living standards of other countries compared to Britain's (in %)		
	GNP data for 1982 (\$ in 1982 prices)	Regarding living standard higher ^{as} in Britain
West Germany	12.460	66 %
France	11.680	26 %
Japan	10.080	38 %
Britain	9.660	--
...

Obviously the public had some misconceptions about the living standards of France and Japan.

On the whole it is very probable, that the public in many - if not most countries - is poorly informed about world politics and economics, although it exercises considerable influence on governmental decisions in many countries. In addition the public seems to be led anywhere by somehow vague attitudes and assumptions, which easily facilitate wrong expectations and/or political misuse.

■ Therefore education for global understanding and peace has to cope simultaneously with attitudes and information. It even has to be well integrated in the general education, since hopes and fears about the international situation are not only due to national difficulties of a nation, but they also are related to literacy and educational level.⁴⁹⁾

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III. EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

If global interdependence strongly depends everywhere on a well informed and little prejudiced public, which favours human rights, supports needy populations, refrains from ethnic or national egoisms and objects against the power struggle of governments - the question arises, to what extent and for what reasons do governments and international agencies encourage international education.

Surely, different groups of nations, as e.g. developing countries, industrialized countries, and world powers will have different interests, according to their specific needs.

- Developing countries, where the public has little influence (e.g. Argentina or Nigeria) or which have to struggle with illiteracy and low rates of secondary education (e.g. Djibouti or Egypt) - might be more concerned, that minorities are acquainted with world affairs, in order to get international support, to come to terms with demands for modernity, or to cope with the impact of foreign media.

- Smaller industrialized countries (as e.g. Japan, Germany, and Israel), which want to overcome postwar or present day isolation and which strongly depend on exports, have to care for international education because of political and economic reasons, while other countries with strong cross-cultural or international links (as e.g. Switzerland and Canada) are traditionally oriented towards international politics and education.

- Moreover the world powers (as the USA and UdSSR) might need a public with a minimum of global awareness, since their foreign policy continuously has to cope with international affairs, and they are sending many people and sometimes troops abroad, because otherwise they easily loose public support. Until now this certainly refers more to the US than the UdSSR - but it might change

rapidly with 'glasnost'.

- Finally international organizations support international education, since they are confronted with global problems on a day to day routine, and their legitimacy somehow depends on the global awareness of the public in different nations.

However, it is difficult to prove beyond such generalizations for what reasons and in which ways individual governments actually support a global awareness and international education in their countries, since little detailed information is available for most countries (e.g. in terms of set goals and developed curricula), and because almost no information exists with regard to the practical use made of official recommendations and the effect of the curricula. Therefore policies to support international understanding will be highlighted according to the initiatives of international organizations, the USA, and Germany (FRG).

1. Policy of international organizations:

According to the prevailing political system, governments as well as public opinions are more or less influenced by international pressure groups (such as Amnesty International or Greenpeace and by transnational organizations (such as Unesco or the Council of Europe). While international organizations tend to operate more through governments, the pressure groups have to rely largely on public opinion and engagement.

As far as the pressure groups are concerned, they either try to rise public and governmental attention by provoking actions - as Greenpeace does in the area of ecology - or by collecting and distributing stirring information - as Amnesty International does with regard to 'human rights' (especially of prisoners).

Amnesty's research on political prisoners and torture generally is: highly sensitive to affected governments and well observed by the opposing public, but hardly absorbed into education.

TAB. 7

- The rates of political prisoners per 10.000 are estimates and might differ considerably depending on whether the source of information is the government or its opposition.50)

- The situation of torture obviously changes a lot according to the political circumstances in a country, and it is particularly difficult to evaluate, where a government suppresses discussion on it.51)

Although such informations are extremely important for an international understanding and peace, it also is specific, primarily a concern of minorities, and the impact of its data seems to be short-breathed.

Less spectacular, broader in scope and more continuous are the initiatives of transnational organizations. Looking back to the early days of transnational organizations - such as Uno or Council of Europe - their activities somehow started with the 'United Nations Declaration of Human Rights' and the 'European Convention on Human Rights' after the war (1950).

Accordingly the preceding and following activities of Unesco (1947 and 1960) were directed towards a human rights education and beyond this on greater awareness of global interdependence.

In 1947 Unesco tried to develop a convention in support of an education for peace and international cooperation. This however did not find approval by the majority of the member states in 1951. Even a second trial after a 1960 survey failed. So, a more profound comparative analysis was carried out in 82 countries, which finally led to agreement in 1974.52)

The 1974 recommendation stressed, that education should and could be an important agent to support international cooperation and to

TAB 7

Torture

<i>Political System Response to Torture</i>	<i>"Mere" Brutality</i>	<i>Occasional, Selective, Time Limited</i>	<i>Administrative Practice</i>	<i>Adjunct to Massacres</i>
<i>Some concern</i>	Colombia Mexico Grenada	India Chile pre-1973 Venezuela United Kingdom North Ireland Sri Lanka Pakistan post-1972 Peru post-1975 Cuba post-1971		
<i>Permits discussion</i>	Salvador Honduras Panama	Ecuador Peru 1970-1975 Spain	Argentina Brazil Philippines/ Marcos South Africa	
<i>Represses discussion</i>	U.S.S.R. Paraguay up to 1970 Haiti Poland	Paraguay after 1970	Greece 1967-1973 Morocco Uruguay Tunisia post-1968 Chile post-1973 Egypt Iran Syria South Korea Equatorial Guinea Bulgaria Cuba until 1971	Rwanda Burundi Indonesia Uganda/ Amin

Rate of Political Prisoners per 100,000 Population

	<i>Number of political prisoners</i>	<i>Source*</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Rate</i>
<i>Albania</i>	25,000-30,000	CE	1962	1,462-1,754
	16,000	Opp.	1966	838
<i>Bulgaria</i>	4,500	ICJ	1962	56
	1,170	AI	1975	13
<i>East Germany</i>	29,632	AI	1950	172
	12,000	AI	1960	74
	6,000-8,000	AI	1965	38-50
	18,383	AI, govt.	1972	108
<i>Hungary</i>	17,500	ICJ	1960	175
<i>Rumania</i>	40,000	AI	1950	242
	12,000	AI	1960	65
	7,674	Govt.	1960	42
	0	AI	1965	0
<i>U.S.S.R.</i>	10,000	AI	1975	4
<i>Bangladesh</i>	42,000	AI	1973	57
	21,000	AI	1974	28
<i>India</i>	17,843	Govt.	1975	3
	20,000-54,000	AI	1975	3-9

*CE: Council of Europe; Opp.: opposition; ICJ: International Commission of Jurists; AI: Amnesty International; Govt.: government; Tyson: Brady Tyson (see footnote 136); Thomas: Hugh Thomas (see footnote 136).

guarantee those human values accepted by the community.53)

In fact 'guiding principles of educational policy' were developed (Section III.4) "mindful of...the aims set forth in the Charter of the United Nations... the Geneva Convention for the Protection of Victims of War (1949)", which aimed at ensuring an education "for the advancement of justice, freedom, human rights and peace". These principles tried to enforce:

- an "international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms;" and
- "an understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;..."

With regard to national policy, planning and administration it was demanded accordingly (Section IV.7):

- "Each Member State should formulate and apply national policies aimed at increasing the efficacy of education ... to the maintenance and development of a just peace, to the establishment of social justice,...and to the eradication of the prejudices, misconceptions,..." etc. 54)

In accordance with these aims important educational aspects were added by later Unesco conferences. The 'Helsinki Conference' (1975) e.g. demanded a better and intensified global education and more support by the media in order to cope with prejudices, distrust and to safeguard peace; the 'Belgrade Conference' supported the idea 'thinking globally and acting locally' and the 'Tiflis Conference' (1978) added, that global problems needed closer cooperation between the natural and social sciences. 55)

Thus, a solid basis existed for the European 'intergovernmental conference on education and international understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms' (1983), which asked the member states (in the light of the before mentioned goals), to examine the appropriateness of their teacher training, the availability of ade-

quate teaching material and the possibility to involve mass media more deliberately for international education.56)

In which way these recommendations could be put into educational practice - either for teacher training or in schools - has been studied in many projects and is well summarized i.a. by Uyas.57)

■ On the whole the overview shows, that international pressure groups and Unesco support global awareness and education beyond their own institutional interest and that they strongly tried to build up a more informed public opinion in many nations.

*

2. Policy of the United States as a world power

Immediately after the Second World War American interest in international and human rights education was as high as with Unesco. In the late 40ies (when the Fulbright and Smith Mundt Acts were passed in 1946 and 1948) government agencies set up goals for international education (similar to Unesco's) and furthered supportive university studies, teaching aids and exchange programs for the young. The well coordinated activities were directed towards a 'more peaceful world', based on freedom, democracy and selfdetermination, i.e. on values, fundamental to the American way of life.58)

According to American selfperception: "Any historian of higher education in the US in the later half of this century would have to note the extraordinary cosmopolizing of the humanities, history and the social sciences".59)

The activities however suffered considerably from the cold war and were not really revived until the early 60ies, when the American involvement in international conflicts increased (e.g. the Cuban crisis and Vietnam war) and an informed public seemed to be indispensable (cf. Fulbright-Haynes Act, 1961).

Even the American President pointed out: "ideas, not armaments will shape our lasting prospects for peace; (and) the conduct of our foreign policy will advance no faster than the curriculum of our classroom..."⁶⁰⁾

But, the International Education Act (1966), which again tried to "strengthen the resources and capabilities of American colleges and universities in international studies" did not find financial approval.⁶¹⁾ So educational policy was rather short-lived again.

A new impetus came from the National Commission on Excellence (1981), which stirred the public with similar results as the 'Advisory Commission on International Education and Cultural Affairs' in the early 60ties, when it stated: "The preliminary conclusion from surveying international studies component is that American secondary school students receive no more than a modicum of instruction in this area...", respectively "students in other countries...are likely to receive more extensive grounding".⁶²⁾

Preceding studies, which analyzed the global awareness of 4th, 8th and 12th graders (in 1974) and of college freshmen as well as seniors (in 1980) already had come to the conclusion, that adolescents in the US were almost "illiterate in world affairs".⁶³⁾

The continuous criticism had a certain impact on educational policy. It led to some improvements of curricula and textbooks from the 70-ties onwards. At least some states demanded compulsory courses in global education at the high school level (e.g. Indiana and Oregon), ⁶⁴⁾ and several textbooks for world history (which were revised after 1975) included at least some information on the non-Western world and touched upon global problems.⁶⁵⁾

■ Obviously American educational policy was strongly concerned with international education after the Second World War and again in the 60-ies and 80-ies, when the poor information of the public and youth on world affairs became evident and an obstacle to US policy. Therefore the policy not only supported university and departments and research centers (i.a. in Bloomington) to further global information, but also encouraged teacher training and curriculum development with regard to international education. But, the discontinuity in governmental policy somehow has undermined greater success.

*

3. Policy of Germany (FRG) as a smaller industrialized country

Because of her defeat and occupation after World War II Germany was not only forced (by the 're-education policy' of the Allies) but she herself was also highly interested in human rights and peace education. Thus 'education for international understanding' was already stressed in the constitution of some of the 'Länder' (regions) and in the basic law of the federal republic. The latter put the idea of international cooperation under protection of the state (GG. Art.9,2 and 25). 66)

Correspondingly international cooperation was favoured by the 'German Institute for International Educational Research' (established in 1950) and by the Georg-Eckert-Institute for international schoolbook research (which in 1965 became the Clearing house for Europe).67) Moreover the 'Conference of the Ministers of Cultural Affairs' put the recommendation of the German Unesco-Committee (1954) into operation, which demanded an improvement of textbooks and educational aids with regard to international education. 68)

However, the impetus on international education did not find excitement everywhere in the 50-ies, when material was a matter of survival, when resistance against the 're-education' increased, and when the cold war directed attention towards

education for democracy and Western cooperation.

On the whole education for international understanding, which was entrusted to subjects as history, social studies, geography and foreign languages teaching did not make too much progress till the late 50-ies.

This was particularly so, because history was still primarily concerned with the NS-period (in terms of 'Zeitgeschichte'), social studies struggled with democratic vs authoritarian concepts, and didactic concepts for an integrative international education had not yet been developed.

Then, in the 60ies, the European development caught the attention.

The Conference of the European ministers of education agreed on joint promotion of European and international education (1961), the ministers committee of the Council of Europe favoured a preparation for the new European reality (1964), and the heads of governments demanded to strengthen a European identity (1972).

According to the political and economic integration of Europe the German 'Conference of Ministers of Cultural Affairs' suggested strongly more teaching about Europe, i.a. to make acceptance, communication and collaboration amongst different cultures and ethnic groups easier (1978). 69) Although it was stressed, that national history and European developments should be taught in an international context, and although there were a lot of programmatic demands to cope with international affairs in various subjects, the European development clearly absorbed much attention. 70)

In the 80-ies however, the human rights education became a central focus. In fact Parliament unanimously called for it (in 1980) 71) and the 'Conference of the Ministers of Cultural Affairs' made it a major concern of the schools. The Conference

carefully explained, how the civilian rights and social as well as international obligations should be related as means to safeguard human rights, social justice, and peace. 72)

Today education policy focuses simultaneously on human rights, multiculturalism, European integration and on global awareness.

■ The overview shows, that German education policy was and is somehow focusing on human rights (i.a. in the face of the humanist tradition and NS-experience) and on the European integration (because of the economic and multicultural challenges). What does not become obvious is, that 'peace education' is still controversial (because party politics is involved) 73) and that 'global awareness' is somehow immanent in a country, which is split by the iron curtain and more dependent on exports than others (FRG 33%, Japan 17%, USA 10.5%). 74)

*

On the whole the engagement in international education followed a certain cycle, no matter whether Unesco's, American or German policy was concerned. Engagement was high after the war, it suffered from the cold war and again came to the forefront in the late 60-ies. The impetus since the 60-ties however was quite different according to the special interest of the agencies. In the US and FRG it was tied to national experiences and interests, while Unesco's perceptions and intentions were more global, although it somehow avoided controversial aspects such as ethnocentrism and nationalism or religion and ideologies.

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IV. EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Education for international understanding has quite a history (cf pp 6) and has been supported at the international as well as the national level (cf pp 16). In spite of this, it still faces considerable difficulties, which are only partly in the sphere of educational influence.

- On the one hand education cannot hinder politics to be dominated by reason of state, it hardly can influence impeding ethnic and national attitudes of the public (cf. pp 8), and at most it may sway socializing impact of the home on long-term.⁷⁵⁾

- On the other hand however, education could be more efficient if more attention were paid to students' interest and knowledge, to changes in teaching material, and to didactic problems. Therefore these aspects shall be discussed now.

1. Students' concern with international affairs

Although it might be taken for granted, that education starts from where the students are, i.a. from their interest and knowledge. But research insights are scarce, so that it can only be illustrated:

- how educational experts value international understanding;
- how civic attitudes of pupils differ amongst nations,
- and to what extent university students and adolescents are familiar with different dimensions of international affairs.

In the mid-70ies educational experts in Europe generally favoured, students are knowledgeable about "major problems facing

TAB 8

the world today". Nevertheless they regarded the commitment "to personal liberty" and "fundamental human values" as more important than that to the "international community" and their "own country".⁷⁶⁾ To a certain extent these value decision contradict public opinion and government priorities.

Thus, a comparison of the experts' point of view civic attitudes of high schoolers (late 70ies) becomes quite interesting. Apparently the young (age 10,14, and 17) also scored higher with regard to democratic values than to support of national governments.⁷⁷⁾

AIMS OF CIVIC AND SOCIAL EDUCATION

Acquisition of Knowledge

Knowledge of the structure of the community, e.g. local, national, international, regional, through science, economics, culture world today

Country	Knowledge of the structure of the community, e.g. local, national, international	Knowledge of International Relations, e.g. through science, economics, culture world today
Austria	A	A
Belgium	A	B
Cyprus	B	B
Denmark	A	A
Federal Republic of Germany	A	A
Finland	A	A
France	A	A
Italy	A	A
Luxembourg	A	A
Netherlands	C	C
Norway	A	B
Spain	A	A
Sweden	A	A
Switzerland	A	A
Turkey	B	B

AIMS OF CIVIC AND SOCIAL EDUCATION

Development of Attitudes and Patterns of Behaviour III.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMITMENT

To democracy To personal liberty To fundamental human values To own country To European Community To international community

To democracy	To personal liberty	To fundamental human values	To own country	To European Community	To international community
A	A	A	B	A	A
B	A	A	B	B	A
B	B	B	A	C	C
B	B	A	B	C	B
A	A	A	C	A-B	A-B
A	A	A	B	C	A
A	A	A	A	A	A
A	A	A	A	B	B
-	-	-	-	-	-
B	B	B	B	B	B
B	A	A	A	B	B
A	A	A	A	A	A
A	A	A	A	A	A
A	A	A	A	B	C

A = very important
 B = moderately important
 C = not very important

TAB 9

Exceptional are the scores from Israelis and Germans. This however falls somehow in line with the mentioned impact of the political environment, i.e. with the demand for political survival in Israel and the historical experience in Germany.

The data show in addition, that a considerable cleavage exists between the adolescents' favouring democratic values and their low engagement in terms of interest and participation. Some other studies might help to explain this discrepancy.

A German study (1985) on different concerns and interests of adolescents (age 14 to 21 years) analysed, how young people relate social and international challenges with private affairs.

- When they were asked which values they feel worthwhile to live for (ranks in brackets), high priority was given to 'good friends'(1), 'to live in freedom'(3), 'to be successful on their job'(8), while the concerns 'to have a fatherland' was very low. (17)

- But the moment they were asked, to evaluate major political tasks of the time (percentage in brackets), they regarded 'safeguarding peace' as one of the most important challenges (80) immediately next to 'to reducing unemployment'(83%) and to 'conserve nature'(82%). 78)

Obviously democratic values and peace are regarded as important goals even if personal interest in national and international politics ranked low.

Interest and concern for international problems become more evident from a 10-country European survey in 1982. When 15 to 24 year olds where asked,

which of 10 presented ideas they felt "sufficiently worthwhile...to do something about, even if this might involve some risk or giving up other things for",

by far the most chose 'world peace' (65%) and 'human rights' (51%), followed by 'freedom of the individual' (44%), while 'the unification of Europe' (8%) ranked second last.

TAB 9

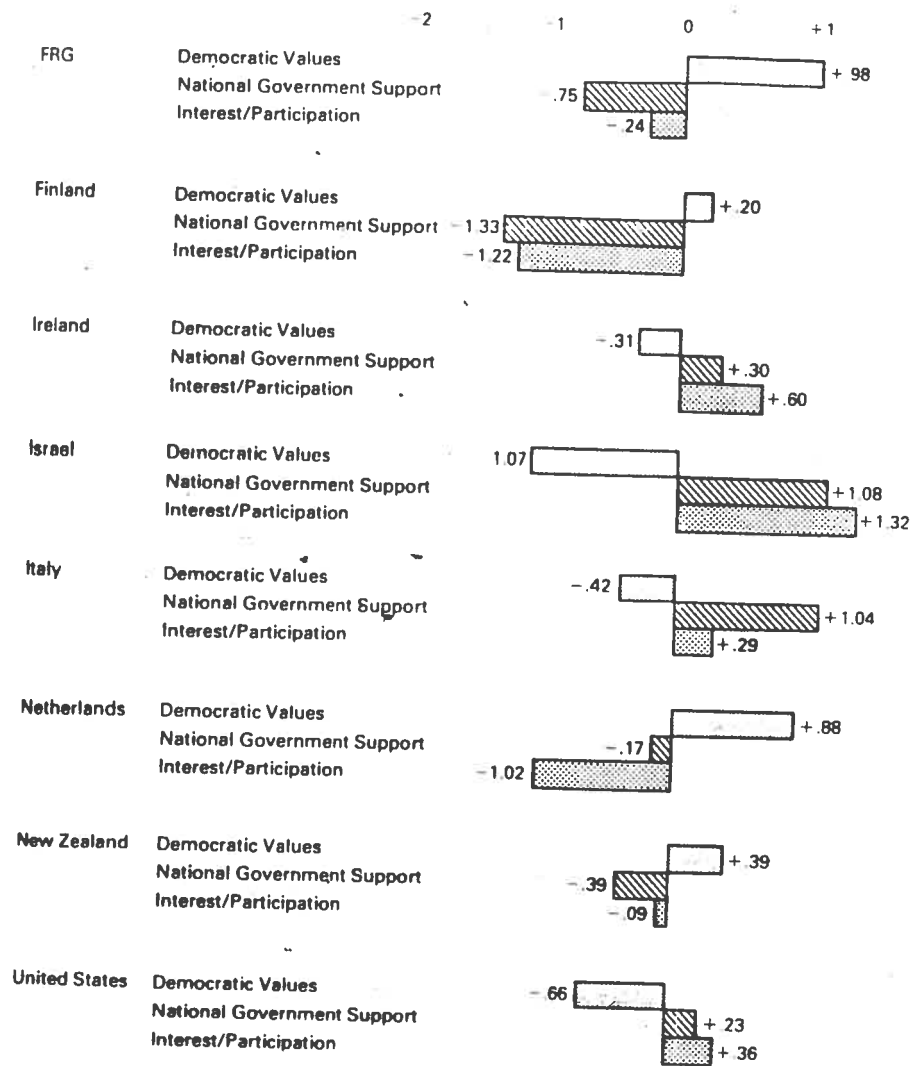


Figure 9.1. Averaged z-Scores Representing Country Means on Civic Attitude Dimensions (Population II).

They took this strong position in favour of peace and human rights although in their personal interest (asked for in another question) 'international politics' ranked second last immediately after their interest in 'national politics. Top priority in personal interest was given sport and entertainment. Obviously personal interest in international affairs was low, but fears for 'critical deterioration in international relations' high.79)

TAB 10

More insight, to what extent students actually acquire **knowledge about international affairs**, is available from an American study (1979) - partly replicated in Germany (1982) - which analyzed university students' information on religions and cultures, about health and hygiene, political structures and conflicts, economics and commerce.

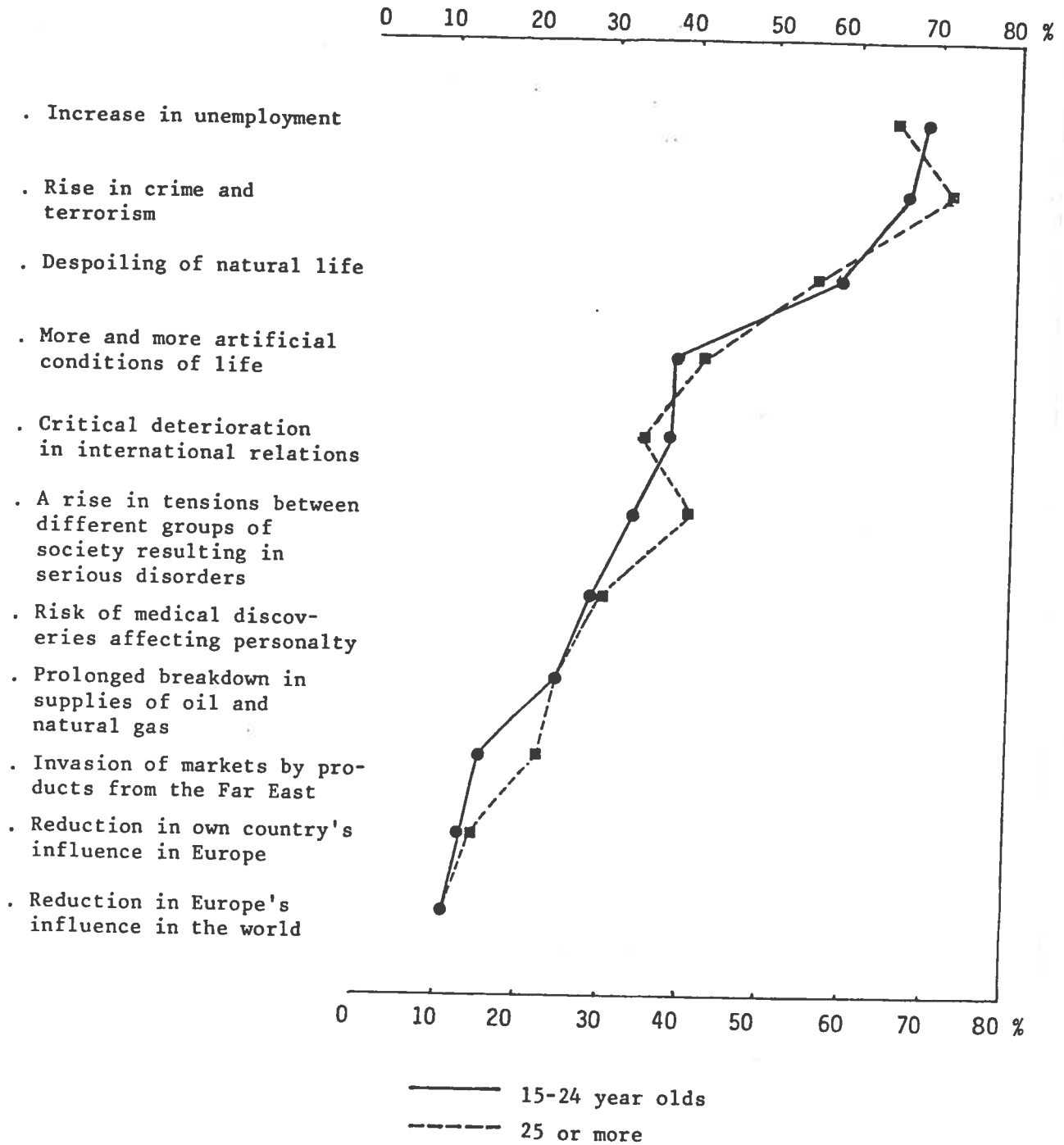
On the whole, the factual **knowledge** about world affairs was quite **poor**. It was relatively largest on third world problems and military conflicts, week with different cultures, religions and regions, and it was poorest in the area of economics and trade. 80)

TAB 11

In addition findings from both countries show:

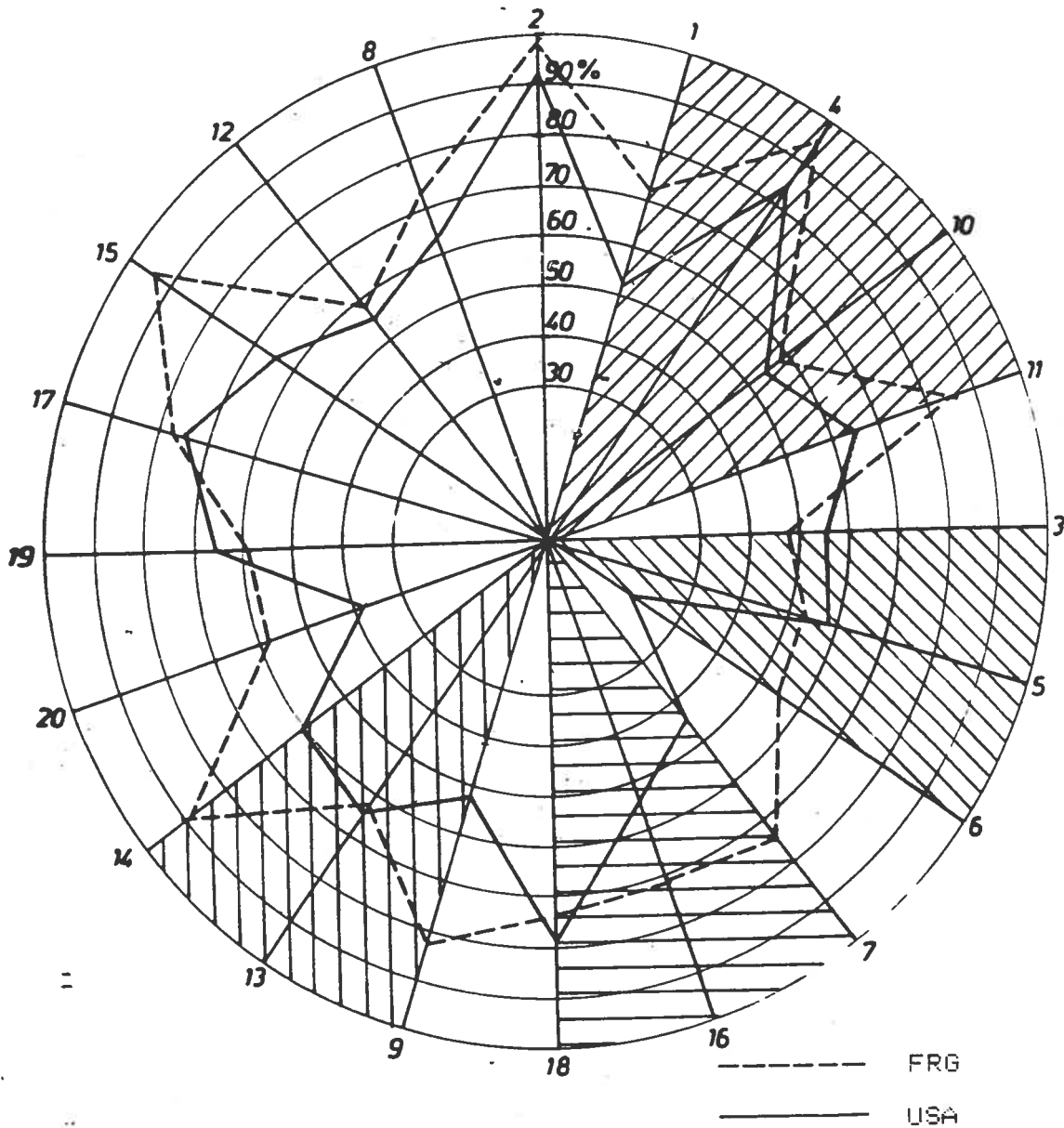
- that the students' political inclination (right vs left) had no meaning with regard to their competence,
- that students of sociology and education (this means future teacher) are less well informed than e.g. students' of physics and history (although the knowledge of historians did not improve in relation to length of study),
- that girls' information on most areas was poorer than that of boys,
- and that German students' seemed to be a bit better informed

TAB 10



FEARS (AGE VARIATION)

PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT ANSWERS
(20 selected items)



- ECONOMIC AFF.
- THIRD WORLD PROB.
- INTERN. POLIT.
- MILITARY CONFL.

than their American counterparts.

Apparently even with university students global awareness does not match the demands of global interdependence, girls seem to be handicapped by their socialization, and future teacher cannot really be expected to make up for the existing deficits in global awareness - unless they get special support.

■ On the whole education for international education has to cope with the following problems: Public opinion does not care too strongly for global developments; political socialization in ethnic and national terms seems to be more influential than school teaching; educational experts tend to favour basic political attitudes instead of global interests and educational policy does not seem to be aware of the special need of girls (at least almost no counteractivities are detectable).81)

As the overall picture presents itself: policy in favour of education for international understanding seems to have had only a limited impact yet.

The further discussion will show, whether at least teaching material has been prepared according to Unesco's demand.

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2. Source material for international understanding

Teachers and pupils strongly depend on source material. In spite of the great variety of information material, textbooks are still of great importance, since they generally offer balanced overviews (difficult to prepare for teachers themselves) and reflect curriculum developments (the teacher has to cope with). However, textbooks also can be a considerable obstacle to international understanding, if they focus too narrowly on national traditions and are not revised continuously.

So schoolbook-analyses offer important insights to what extent education for international understanding is on its way. This is particularly true with regard to history and social studies

books. Traditionally they concentrate on national developments and here even on military and diplomatic aspects, while little attention is paid in comparison to social, economic and scientific developments, to the diversity of cultures, and to the development towards global interdependence.

But, world history can hardly be taught adequately from a national point of view, and this the less the more it includes factual distortions and ideological cliches.⁸²⁾ Therefore Unesco already in 1953 organized in a conference of history teachers (9 countries), to cope i.a. with national distortions, stereotypes and cliches. The conference led to an international cooperation project on the improvement of history books.

Similar activities were started by the Council of Europe and the Georg-Eckert-Institute in the 50-ies, both of which organized at least 140 bi- or multinational conferences for school-book revision between 1945 and 1967. The merging activities led to the establishment of the Braunschweig Schoolbook Institute as an international Clearinghouse in 1965.⁸³⁾

The goal of all the screening was (including maps), to reduce the stereotyping of other nations, to further the students' awareness, that cultures and nations may have different perceptions of the same event, and to support a more global perspectives.

Obviously the cooperation on revising books is a great step forward, because in the 1920ies and 1930ies European historians either refused to participate in such comparative evaluations or strongly objected against it, as it was the case with French and German historians in 1925. ⁸⁴⁾

Nevertheless even today considerable limitations exist, since there are hardly opportunities to negotiate either about contradictory ideologies (e.g. East vs West) or with regard to self-images of neighbor-countries (e.g. Turkey and Greece, Hungary and

Rumania, Japan and Korea, Poland and UdSSR - the later e.g. with regard to Catyn).84)

To what extent schoolbooks still reflect the political culture and international relations of a nation, this can easily be illustrated by content comparisons. According to the political importance and international engagement the United States e.g. pay little attention to the 'F R G', except in relation to the NS period, Berlin and its membership in Nato. In contrast German textbooks focus quite strongly on both the world powers, but more so on the Sowjetunion, because she is more difficult to understand for students. Moreover, neither American nor German textbooks really cover the normal present-day way of life of the other nation (i.e. the normative, social and cultural reality).

Most surprising is however, that little attention is paid on both the sides to third world countries and global developments (i.a. in terms of technology, trade, resources, etc.), and that even simple introductions to the problems of historiography are missing almost everywhere. Thus the young get a rather limited perception of the world they live.85)

Thus, although the textbook revision has made important progress, perceptions and interpretations of world events still tend to be rather one-sided according to national self-awareness.

As important as the development of source material however is its adequate use by teachers. Therefore many agencies tried, either

to involve teachers in the revising process or to familiarize them with methods, how to detect prejudices in the information material or how to select the relative best textbooks. In this respect special credit has to be given to Belgian initiatives, since her 'national information center on history teaching' developed a framework (including a list of 120 practical advices) to screen information i.a. with regard to:

- obvious or immanent prejudices towards different cultures,
- disproportional coverage of important developments and events,
- distorted pictures of minorities, races, the colonization period, etc. 86)

■ In general schoolbooks have been improved considerably, but only few books really offer good introductions to world affairs beyond national interests and politics.

*

3. Difficulties in teaching international understanding

Teaching success does not only depend on student interest and source material but as much on well defined goals, concurrent educational impacts, and child-related didactic.

As far as the goals are concerned, education for international understanding will be all the more effective, the more countries agree to common goals. The goals however changed over time according to particular challenges and they are interpreted quite differently according to ideologies and state interests.

The history of international education and changed terminology e.g. of Unesco suggest, that today's approaches are less related to foreign relations of the countries as in the 20ies but more directed to transnational values as 'human rights', multiculturalism and peace.87)

However, the interpretation of 'human rights' differs considerab-

ly with ideologies, e.g. whether 'fundamental values of society and state are regarded as congruent' (as in communist Germany) or human dignity, civil rights and law are given 'priority' (as in Sweden or by the Council of Europe).88)

In general state-interests still dominate international education, 89) (the more so, the stronger the state controls education) and this inspite of few encouraging responds to basic human needs and rights all over the world.

Obviously education for international understanding needs more clearly defined goals than 'peace' and goals, which are more acceptable to different cultures than 'human rights' (with their European tradition). What is urgently needed are goals accepted beyond ethnic, national and ideological interest, e.g. in terms of an ethic for survival (defining i.a. tolerance limits) and in terms of globalizing mechanisms effective throughout the cultures.90)

- On the one hand an ethic for survival includes the own society but points to its interdependence, and it helps beyond this to acknowledge international progress i.a. arms control, in collaboration in the area of ecology, or with regard to developing aid.

- On the other hand globalizing mechanisms could be explained throughout all school subjects, e.g. in terms of science and information development, in terms of global interactions between bio- and sociotopes, or with regard to the development of international law and trade.

Until now however, education for international understanding extremely suffers from vaguely defined goals and from limited possibilities to transgress state interest.

Further difficulties arise from concurrent socializing agents,

e.g. public opinion and the home, as research on political socialization documented well since the early 60ies.: Fundamental=
value_patterns and attitudes towards the political culture are absorbed by the children before they start school, i.e. they already have inhaled many national stereotypes without being taught history or about borders. 91) At a later age they tend to regard their race and nationality as typical for a human being (about the end of primary school) or have party preferences highly correlated to their parents' (in early adolescents). On the whole the home-background_factor carries a greater part of the variance on political knowledge than school teaching - and this in many countries.92) If nevertheless political opinions of the young seem to differ remarkably (e.g. with regard to 'post-materialism') even this is largely due to the 'life_cycle-effect.93) Consequently the chances of international education to influence public opinion are long-term at its best.

But inspite of all this, education for international understanding could be much more efficient than it is, if it were practiced to a larger extent as an educative principle, i.e. it would care simultaneously for the cognitive, social and affective domain. Then students would not only acquire knowledge but also develop a value system and way of life oriented towards multiculturalism. 94)

- On the one hand indications exist, that openness to multiculturalism and readiness for international understanding need affective_support and social_experience, which seem to be furthered i.a. by the classroom atmosphere (if open for controversial debates), by positive teacher attitudes towards minorities, and by collaboration with home and neighborhood in order to reduce clashes of value systems. On the contrary

acquisition of knowledge does not correlate highly with political attitudes.94)

- On the other hand knowledge would be better integrated, if there were more cross-disciplinary concern for multicultural and international cooperation, and if constructive examples would be given that coexistence of culture is not only possible but advantageous. Until now however international education seems to be too much crises directed (similar to the media's approach).

Here age of the educated comes in as an important aspect for international understanding, this means careful considerations are needed, which political learning styles are dominant at what age respectively which specific approaches are useful at what age levels.

Until now research tends to show, that child's comprehension of the world is rather egocentric and model as well as present-day oriented till about age 11. 96) Often this leads to the conclusion, that education for international understanding is too early until children can handle formal operations and thus understand differences of historical periods and amongst cultures. But, if stereotypes and cliches are absorbed before puberty, then education for international understanding at least needs an additional to the traditional approach to cope with prejudices.

- On the one hand projects such as J. Bruners 'Man a Course of Study' demonstrate (and this inspite of the criticism) that even young children can be acquainted successfully with ethnographic material in order to overcome ethnic and national prejudices. 97)

- On the other hand the British 'World Studies 8-13' project indicates, that indirect teaching methods (like resources or inquiry based learning) may help children to learn about themselves in relation to others (encompassing relationships in the classroom and neighborhood) with regard to cooperative and peaceful conflict solving.

■ Obviously education for international understanding still has to cope with tremendous obstacles from vague definitions, other socializing agencies, and rather cognitive orientated approaches.

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SUMMARY

Global interdependence is inexorably increasing in the face of population growth and ecological problems as well as in the face of military and communication developments. In fact the interdependence has been accelerated beyond all expectations over the last 20 years particularly by science and technology, business and trade, mass-media and traffic.

However, the changes happened at different speed in different areas: quickest in the field of technology and economics, slower in terms of political and legal reactions, at an even lower pace in respect to education and public opinion, and slowest with regard to social norms and ethnic attitudes. At the level of anthropological behavior traits it is difficult to detect any change at all.

Owing to these unequal developments more and more people live in a state of uncertainty, since they have to cope with considerable value clashes, with growing anonymity and incalculable complexity. The anonymity and complexity of the political sphere result i.a. from increasing mobility and migration (with the effect of multiculturalism), from the absorption of national specifics by transnational units (e.g. Comecon and EEC), and from the internationalization of crises (e.g. in terms of indebtedness or pollution). Since all these complicated developments demand

attention but are out of reach for the individual, frustration is great.

Faced with growing conflicts, which are difficult to comprehend and manage on the basis of traditional experience, learned concepts and established institutions, people react in two different ways. On the one hand they strongly favour international peace and global cooperation and on the other they search for more stable social patterns - such as ethnic identity. At second glance however it becomes quite clear, that both inclinations result from the same frustration and fear.

Here education is asked to help people coping with their identity problem, so that life becomes meaningful, and the with the global demands, so that can conflicts can be mastered. But the opportunities of education are generally overestimated in the face of competing socializing forces.

Education is strongly interrelated with and dependent on public opinion, which functions as a catalyst of competing political points of view, which articulates the political culture, and which greatly influences the value- and cultural attitudes at a pre-cognitive level and in day to day relationships. Since public opinion simultaneously influences politics, education and socialization in the home as well as neighborhood, its impact can hardly be overestimated with regard to ethnic and global attitudes.

Thus, in order to make education for international understanding more realistic and successful, it has been analyzed here:

I. What are the prerequisites for international understanding,
i.e.:

Which global awareness is needed for survival, to what extent do stereotypes influence politics, and which concepts were used for 'international education' in the past.

II. With this in mind public opinion has been analyzed with regard to existing preconceptions, prejudices and the abilities to evaluate global developments.

Obviously public opinion depends quite strongly on cultural traditions and national ideologies, it is primarily concerned with national affairs and little orientated about global dependence, but greatest problems are expected from international conflicts.

III. In the face of these socializing impacts on the young one might expect, that educational policy would try to increase the awareness of global interdependence.

However, a comparison of initiatives from international and national agencies shows, that national education-politics is more concerned with its own ideological and political interest than with international problems. Thus education for international peace and human rights has only limited opportunities

IV. Finally, some important points of departure for schoolteaching have been looked upon, to ascertain whether school reality falls in line with educational policy.

Here it became evident, that the young are poorly informed on international affairs, that teaching in this area starts too late, that it is too unilateral concerned with the cognitive domain, and that the source material is still very much geared towards national affairs.

On the whole the blame for the poor education for international understanding of the young goes with national educational policy, since it is too strongly orientated to national affairs and cares too little for the socialization effects of public opinion. It should be quite clear:

- anthropological man is an relatively open being and children are born without any prejudices;

- man endangers himself by focusing too unilateral on ethnic and cultural traits, disregarding his global interdependence;

- and finally, public opinion has to be considered more cautiously to make education for international understanding effective.

*

Unfortunately, Mark Twains' War-Prayer is still a reality today in many international affairs.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Are ethnic and national identity a conditio sine qua non to international understanding and peace or an obstacle to it?
2. If complex societies are at pains to organize themselves, can we expect them to come to terms with global interdependence?
3. How to acquaint young people with the normality of international relations, if mass media and politics are primarily concerned with international crises.
4. In case education simultaneously tries to cope with ethnic identity and global understanding, what are the norms and concepts?
5. To what extent can and do individual researchers evaluate ethnocentrism and global problems beyond their own socialization?

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The Leading 'Sender' States, 1820-1978

State	Total	Percentage	State	Total	Percentage
Germany	6.978.000	14.3%	Italy	5.294.000	10.9%
Great Britain	4.898.000	10.0%	Ireland	4.723.000	9.7%
Austria-Hungary	4.315.000	8.9%	Canada	4.105.000	8.4%
Russia	3.374.000	6.9%	Mexico	2.124.000	4.4%

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