

Diplomarbeit

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"Diversity of approaches in the field of multiculturalism:
Degrees of influence of approaches to multicultural
education in the Belgian context - a case study"

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Saman Sarshar Fard

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Abstract

The following paper traces the degree of influence various approaches to multicultural education had over a popular Belgian history book. Due to a lack of consent on what multicultural education means, it first presents commonalities and differences between regional, temporal and language specific dimensions of what multicultural education had been, is, or should be - and if it should even be referred by the term 'multicultural education'. It then proposes a simplified and broad categorization of five strands of multicultural education which subsume minor approaches that differ in their preferences but not in their fundamental intentions. After the first research part fails to identify which of the five strands exerts most influence over the books, the second research part divides the books in major theme clusters thus enabling a more definitive identification of influences by the various strands to multicultural education.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit versucht darzulegen inwiefern verschiedene Ansätze der multikulturellen Erziehung die Gestaltung eines populären belgischen Geschichtsbuches beeinflussten. Da keine Einigkeit darüber herrscht was genau multikulturelle Erziehung ist, präsentiert sie zuerst Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der verschiedenen regionalen, temporalen und sprachspezifischen Dimensionen von multikultureller Erziehung. Es wird deutlich, dass es Unstimmigkeiten darüber gibt was multikulturelle Erziehung war, ist, sein sollte; und sogar ob man es überhaupt multikulturelle Erziehung nennen sollte. Um eine Analyse der Geschichtsbücher zu erleichtern werden die diversen Ansätze zur multikulturellen Erziehung in fünf Hauptgruppen aufgeteilt. Diesen werden dann kleinere Ansätze hinzugefügt, die zwar in ihrer Präferenzsetzung anders erscheinen, jedoch in ihrer fundamentalen Einstellung der jeweiligen Hauptgruppe sehr ähneln. Nachdem die Ergebnisse des ersten Forschungsansatzes keine genaue Einschätzung des Einflussgrades der einzelnen Hauptgruppen zuließ, wurde im zweiten Teil der Analyseansatz modifiziert. Anstatt das Buch als Einheit zu analysieren, wurde das es in Themengruppen eingeteilt. Anhand dieser Themengruppen war es dann möglich zu sagen welche Ansätze zur multikulturellen Erziehung ihren Einfluss über die Gestaltung der Bücher geltend machen konnten. Es stellte sich heraus dass es nicht zu einer konsequenten Anwendung einer Art der multikulturellen Erziehung kam.

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1. Introduction

With hindsight, my interest in the field of multicultural education (mce) could be traced back until school. Since then, I have been having doubts and arguments in my history lessons. To a degree that was due to my half Iranian half German background. Early on, I realized that part of the presented picture during the history lesson was missing. I also felt how much influence perspective, cultural context and power in knowledge construction had when it came to the interpretation of history. However, I am not claiming that a mixed background is essential. The mixed background merely facilitated, in my individual case, the realization for me. I had more opportunities when it came to linking my existing interests with sources of knowledge. Unlike many others, I was often presented with two different perspectives on historical events, often from my Iranian born father, but also through books and articles. This combined with my already existing interests and made me more aware of inconsistencies in universalism and eurocentrism. Had I not been presented with differing information, I might never have gotten aware of the subject of making education multicultural.

It was in my English studies that I encountered the large field of cultural studies. During a cultural studies course on Canada, I also heard, for the first time, about the concept of mce and multiculturalism in Canada. I had a small glimpse at the existing body of knowledge, scientific discourses and paradigms. It dawned on me that the concept of mce was much older than I had thought, more complex and more theoretic. Thus, I started wondering why it has not been applied, or only to such a small degree, during my time at school and now at university. As it was an early stage of my studies and due to the Canadian cultural study course not focusing on multiculturalism, it took a couple of more years to really get into the subject. That happened when I participated in the Campus Europae exchange programme to study one year in Finland. I participated in an intensive multiculturalism online research module. This time I deeply interacted with the subject and learned about it. After my return to Vienna, I realized that there is only a limited amount of courses for multicultural education or of multicultural concepts in English and History courses. My growing knowledge and experience, I had now been living and studying abroad in countries including England, Austria, Ireland and Finland, was now coupled with growing awareness and worry. Some EU countries, partly due to the economic crisis, saw electoral success of extreme right-wing

parties in recent elections¹. These include Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria and Hungary. Furthermore, both David Cameron and Angelika Merkel, have stated in recent speeches that multiculturalism has failed².

Mr Cameron's and Mrs Merkel's comments came as a surprise for me. They both used the term multiculturalism but what did they actually mean by it? I realized that our concepts of multiculturalism varied greatly and, with my own experience in mind, I could not possibly imagine what Mrs Merkel's idea of multiculturalism was. I, later, understood that there are many different approaches and policies of multiculturalism. To me Mrs Merkel's and Mr Cameron's, were clearly miss-conceptions (I now believe that they are merely different). They were so far off the aim of multiculturalism, as I understood it, that one had to wonder if there was a certain purpose behind it. Were they unaware of what multiculturalism implies, should imply or could imply? And, had they really thought that there had once existed an approach of multiculturalism in the UK and Germany, respectively. Or were they consciously suppressing other meanings?

These thoughts were now conveniently coupled with the timely opportunity of doing my second Campus Europea year at the very multicultural and multilingual countries of Luxembourg and Belgium. In the former country I was studying while, at the same time, I was doing language assistance and internships at schools in the latter. Secondly, as to the influence in my choice of methods, I had taken an advanced cultural studies course on Cultural and Literary Theory before I left to Belgium.

I was very impressed by the various approaches towards cultural and literary theory and realized that I could use these for a diploma thesis based on a largely qualitative analysis of material. Thus, during my stay in Belgium and Luxembourg my research questions became more defined. Having observed some Belgium history lessons on the WW1-WW2 period, as well as having held some, I decided to focus on the text book of the final class in secondary

¹ See: Peter Walker and Matthew Taylor, Far right on the rise, says report. In: The Guardian online, 06.11.2011, online <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/06/far-right-rise-europe-report>> (07.11.2011).

² James Kirkup, Muslims must embrace our British values, David Cameron says. In: The Daily Telegraph, 05.02.2011, online <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/8305346/Muslims-must-embrace-our-British-values-David-Cameron-says.html>> (14.09.2011); Die Welt, Der Tag, als Multikulti für tot erklärt wurde. In: Die Welt, 17.10.2010, online <<http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article10360199/Der-Tag-als-Multikulti-fuer-tot-erklart-wurde.html>> (14.09.11).

education. In order to successfully interpret the text book I will also use the teacher's manual.

One important development I hope to support with my research is the European Union's effort to work towards closer cooperation between member countries. Examples are the search for a European identity and inter-European mobility³. Both are very prominent aims in the Campus Europea exchange programme, which I took part in. However, there is also recent opposition, as there has always been, to closer cooperation. One prominent example is the recent financial crisis and the question of inter European Union monetary assistance. Closely connected to this theme, are the doubts of how to maintain the monetary union. Other major points regarding the European Union and its members nationally, are immigration, Islam and radical Muslims.

The European Union and the European Council have been supporting multicultural education and multiculturalism. It has become a theme that has received some public attention. With all that media attention on multiculturalism, one thought struck me: The strong suppression and neglect of the many meanings of multiculturalism and multicultural education; both in the arena of political/ public discourse, and on school level. As mentioned, my first thought was that these were misuses. A point also held by some academics. However, with accepting the points established by deconstructionists, I could no longer claim that there was one correct meaning of multicultural education. The existence of several competing meanings had to be accepted. Still I would like to favour some variations over others as more desirable solutions for the future. Thus, some discourses use concepts of multiculturalism in order to build a racist argument, e.g. segregation⁴.

The existence of a variety of definitions for multicultural education create a hierarchy of meaning. The question of hierarchy would, however, depend of two contrasting ways to order the hierarchy. If one believes in chronological hierarchy, then one could argue that the truer meanings of multiculturalism and multicultural education were the earlier ones. The conservative, liberal or assimilationist camp did not alter these earlier approaches much. In contrast, critical approaches to multicultural education focused on the radical intentions of

³ Cristina *Allemann-Ghionda*, From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity. Theories and policies in Europe. In: James A. *Banks* (Ed.), The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education (New York/ London 2009) p.140.

⁴ Ali *Rattansi*, Racism, 'postmodernism' and reflexive multiculturalism. In: Stephen *May* (Ed.), Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education (n.p. 1999), p.82f.

those early mce approaches. In analysing the approaches they realized that they sometimes did not achieve what they aimed for and thus reformed the character of the multicultural education in question. Hence one could also argue that the most modern and radical development to multiculturalism and multicultural education are the best. Both are acceptable ways to order mce.

A discussion of which form of mce might be the best is deemed futile and is not conducted in this paper. Instead, I attempt a categorization into five vague directions of multicultural education ranging from the left to the right. The broad approaches are critical mce, mainstream mce, early mce, liberal/ conservative mce⁵ and extreme right approach to mce. The original idea was to research whether the many meanings of multiculturalism/ multicultural education were purposefully taken advantage of in order to let misunderstandings happen and create confusion. For example, did Chancellor Merkel and Prime Minister Cameron know about the many meanings of mce and neglected to talk about these so they could claim that mce had failed. When really, a more assimilationist or integrationist version of mce policies had failed, which could have opened the way for a more critical version of mce? My intent was to check these misunderstandings by comparing political discourses, the curriculum and the books. However, this turned out to be far too extensive a study. I refocused and concentrated on which approaches of mce can be identified? I further tried to find out if they could be put into a hierarchy regarding the degree of their influence? This in itself is nothing new. I only hoped that by applying a small scale and detailed study I might find something new.

The choice of Belgium was a coincidence contributed by a set of circumstantial factors. At the beginning it seemed like a fortunate and interesting choice as it is a multi- (or at least tri-) lingual and multicultural country. At the time it was also struggling to keep this multicultural unity alive. Furthermore, there was a certain history of colonialism and colonial immigration. All these are interesting factors for multiculturalism. During the course of writing I, however, distanced myself more and more from the specifically Belgium context in order to make a non-Belgium comparison to other history books easier. As the history books would cover very similar themes, but would not have such a focused Belgian theme. Here also lies the uniqueness of my research project. For me, a close book analysis that was not

⁵ Since liberal and conservative approaches to mce get put into one category by many mce researchers (cf. Joshee, Rattansi, May, Banks, etc.), I will also treat them as one even though they have their differences.

relying on categories that can be ticked off was missing in the academic discussion about mce. I intended a more intensive analysis to reveal inconsistencies, which, I believe, would have been missed if a different method were to be used.

2. A word on methodology

Looking at historiography it becomes clear that when writing history, it is most common to borrow or incorporate approaches and theories from other fields. For this paper, the main influence lies in cultural and literary studies since my second subject for teacher training is English. Theories of cultural and literary analysis have been closely connected to the development of approaches in historiography. Examples are: Les Annales, Marxist and neo-Marxist schools, micro history and cultural history or mentalities, all of which I have worked with.

I have also tried other methods regarding research in the field of multicultural education. In Finland I analysed the role, practice and potential of multicultural education in English as a second language in a Finnish high school. To gather data for my research, I applied a mix of methods. I observed classroom practices, conducted open teacher and group-pupil interviews, and did a minor text book interpretation.

For this paper I concentrated on the approaches in cultural and literary theory. For the thesis I have relied mostly on the book of Peter Barry: *Beginning theory. An introduction to literary and cultural theory*. Additionally, I applied my knowledge from more courses on cultural studies and literature courses as well as some historiography courses.

In the following chapter I will describe, discuss and argue for my approach. The field of cultural studies is wide and sometimes the approaches almost exclude each other. Instead of seeing this as a hindrance, I rather judge it as an advantage since it enables to present a great variety of perspectives. Thus, depending on the context and the situation, I will apply various theories. It is a 'pick-and-mix' strategy of using what seems most useful regarding the object of interpretation.

Similar approaches

In this paper I intent to distance myself from other research methodologies in mce. To elaborate this point, I will briefly look at the studies by Ursula Neuman and Lutz Rainer

Reuter, "Interkulturelle Bildung in den Lehrplänen - neuere Entwicklungen" and Kerstin Göbel and Hermann-Günter Hesse's "Vermittlung interkultureller Kompetenz im Englischunterricht - eine curriculare Perspektive"⁶. Even though both are curriculum analyses, they are similar in some ways to the project proposed here. The two qualitative studies developed a set of categories which mapped the various dimensions of intercultural education (ice⁷). In order to judge the curricula that were to be analysed, they ticked the categories that played a part in the curricula. Thus, they could characterize the curricula and compare them to each other regarding their closeness to an idealized form of intercultural education. Neumann and Reuter only distinguished between two opposing poles with "begegnungspädagogische[n] Konzepte[n]" on the one end and "konfliktpädagogische[n] Konzepte[n]" on the other⁸. These were further specified by breaking them up into five broad categories or perspectives. This simple and focused approach, which highlighted fundamental points of ice, was very useful for their attempt to describe a variety of curricula, namely those of the German Bundesländer. Since this study only consists of two books I wanted to do an intensive analysis. This is crucial as superficial ice may have a negative effect. Cristina Allemann-Ghionda warns of the subtleness that we are dealing with:

Damit der Schritt von der Ablehnung zur Anerkennung erfolgen kann, muss die Vermittlung von Bildungsinhalten nach den Kriterien ihres möglichen Ethnozentrismus, ihrer latenten nationalistischen oder ihrer rassistischen Botschaften, die auch subliminal sein können, überprüft werden, um eine Öffnung der Bildung hin zur Pluralität zu bewirken.⁹

Göbel and Hesse's paper provide a convenient example of this subliminal problem. Their categories closely resemble Neumann and Reuter's, except that they are more detailed. And yet, they neglect a fundamental and important problem. When talking about the issue of "kulturspezifischen Kompetenzen" that mostly focus on US and British varieties of English,

⁶ Kerstin Göbel, Hermann-Günter Hesse, Vermittlung interkultureller Kompetenz im Englischricht - eine curriculare Perspektive. In: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik Bd. 50, Nr.6 (2004), 818-834, Ursula Neumann, Lutz Rainer Reuter, Interkulturelle Bildung in den Lehrplänen - neuere Entwicklungen. In: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik Bd. 50, Nr.6 (2004) 803-817.

⁷ The use of a variety of terms to denote approaches of mce will be discussed in chapter three.

⁸ Neumann und Reuter, Interkulturelle Bildung in den Lehrplänen, p.806.

⁹ Cristina Allemann-Ghionda, Interkulturalität und Internationalität im Curriculum - vom theoretischen Postulat zur Institutionalisierung? Einführung in den Thementeil. In: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, Bd. 50, Nr. 6 (2004), p.800.

they fail to see the eurocentrism and universalism of that¹⁰, i.e. that only British and US varieties are chosen for culturally specific competence training. They, furthermore, fail to mention possible other varieties of English, such as English as a lingua franca or Global English. Even though, they had previously realized that universalism is a problem that intercultural educations aims to solve¹¹.

It is this danger of the subliminal character of some issues that led me to try a very detailed analysis. For this choice I sacrificed quantity. I am merely looking at one set of books, which according to the publisher is the most widely used series¹². To a degree this affects the power to generalize. Nevertheless, my research is embedded in other research and similarly shows the diversity of meanings of mce. More importantly, I gained depth and flexibility. If I had categorized, i.e. as Neumann and Reuter or Göbel and Hesse did, I would have concluded that the books are applying some form of mainstream mce with occasional leaning towards more radical mce but also leaning towards more conservative interpretations of mce. The application and results of this can be seen in chapter four. However, my deep analysis coupled with my literary and cultural theory background allowed me to look more closely at the structures, inconsistencies, and contradictions. Crucially, instead of disregarding these contradictions, I used them as a starting point for newly focused and deeper interpretation. Relying on strict categorizations or one single methodology would not provide me with this flexibility. The results of this refocused approach are presented in chapter 4.3.

My approach in more detail

For my analysis I drew on a set of diverse approaches in cultural and literary studies. These include: structuralism, post-structuralism and deconstructionism, feminism and post-colonialism. The reason to include such a variety was to open up the range of perspectives and interpretations. It, furthermore, grants me more flexibility when it comes to the analysis of sources. Not all of the above groups and their respective methodologies are able to always generate the best amount and quality of data. In some cases a structural approach might be more beneficial but then there might be a point which can be best analysed using

¹⁰ Göbel und Hesse, *Vermittlung interkultureller Kompetenz im Englischricht*, p. 830.

¹¹ Göbel und Hesse, *Vermittlung interkultureller Kompetenz im Englischricht*, p.822.

¹² See appendix for the email response from the publisher.

deconstruction. In contrast to many other school book analyses I tried to shy away from looking for fixed mce questions or issues as categories of analysis to be analysed¹³. For each folder or cluster I let the content guide me into the analysis by applying the various perspectives.

Feminism and post-colonialism mostly provided me with questions to ask and perspectives to take. For example, post-colonialism focuses on how cultural difference, diversity, and 'otherness' are treated. It analyses why it "(...) is often evasively and crucially silent on matters concerned with colonisation and imperialism". This focus can now be connected to, for example, post-structuralism which tries "*to show textual disunity*"¹⁴. One case to which the above applies is the discrediting of the USSR's political system due to their violent repression of protest in Eastern Europe; while similar actions by the US in a selection of countries, including Vietnam and a variety of Middle and South American states or France and Britain in their respective colonies, does not harm the image of liberal democracy and liberal economy.

Thus, I used deconstruction or post-structuralism when it came to inconsistencies and contradictions. These could be on a textual level, as described above, or often they were also in words which contradicted the rest of the text or gave it very strong positive or negative connotations. A purely post-structuralist analysis could have interpreted a wide selection of words (often binaries), including: president – dictator, terrorist – resistance fighter, democracy, collaborator – civilian, war, starting a war, attacking a country, invading a country, etc. Although I do see great potential of this kind of analysis, I disregarded it as a whole and only raised these language points occasionally.

Most broadly I used structuralism. Once again I disregarded most of what is meant by structuralism and focused on opposition within and between words, parallels and patterns of how themes get developed, categorized, and (re-) connected. I continued by asking why

¹³ See: Monika *Tworuschka*, Analyse der Geschichtsbücher zum Thema Islam. In: Abdoldjavad *Falaturi*, Der Islam in den Schulbüchern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Studie zur Internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Bd.46 (Braunschweig 1986), (e.g. the life of Mohammed in the history books), Reinhard, *Kühnl*, Geschichte und Ideologie. Kritische Analyse bundesdeutscher Geschichtsbücher (Hamburg 1973) has pre-defined themes such as the French revolution or the Cold War. Christa *Markon*, Heidi *Weinhäupl*, Die anderen im Schulbuch. Rassismen, Exotismen, Sexismen und Antisemitismus in österreichischen Schulbüchern. In: Hilde *Weiss* und Christoph *Reinprecht* (Hg.), *Sociologica*, Bd.4 (Wien 2007) looks for example at homosexuality in biology books and at anti-Semitism in history books.

¹⁴ Peter *Barry*: *Beginning theory. An introduction to literary and cultural theory* (Manchester 2009), p.192, emphasis by author.

some folders are connected or a seen as a whole and others not, and what it might mean. However, I am very rarely leaving the text by arguing that something that is not in the book should have been there. Instead, I use what is in the books, at various instances proposing that alternative connections should have been made if a more mainstream or critical mce character were to be established.

Before continuing I need to stress that the analysis of the books does not reflect the actual practice. I cannot even be sure that teachers read all the information provided, and more importantly, I do not know how much of that information, which is restricted to the teacher book, is passed on to the students. Another unfortunate point is that the pupils' interpretation of the text might be very different due to the discrepancies in knowledge. The pupils might not even pick up some of the more sensitive or critical points. I also do not know how connecting some themes and not connecting others, but spreading them over the book affects the pupils' interpretation. One example is again the USSR's repression of protest in Eastern Europe. While this is treated as one folder with clear information on the number of victims, US intervention (direct and indirect) is spread all over both books with some information for the pupils and some more for the teacher but little consistency of when these incidences of US covert operations are mentioned.

3. Mapping variety in the field of multicultural education

In a now classic work, M. Abdallah Pretceille first highlights the difficulty of a clear distinction between the different prefixes: multi-, multi-, inter-, trans- and meta-cultural. "Currently, she writes, there is extreme confusion between these terms [...] and even disagreement among researchers. This ambiguity is not subject to a simple linguistic analysis, she explains, because behind every expression hide actual habits that are authoritative".¹⁵

The third chapter of this thesis attempts to classify and map the various approaches towards multicultural education. The first obstacle is one of labelling terms and definitions. Due to synchronic and diachronic variations of meanings, there are many attempted definitions of multicultural education and multiculturalism. It is not the aim of this paper to go into all of them. The quest for a useful umbrella term that can sensibly unite this wide field is almost

¹⁵ Pierre *Dehalu*, *Former les futurs Enseignants à l'interculturel: Compte-rendu d'une pratique* (n.p. n.d.), p.4. See appendix for the original quote.

impossible; and maybe not even useful. Interestingly enough, the variety in meanings available does not stop researchers from proposing one definition after the other. There is also a healthy amount of discussion between researchers on what multicultural education includes or should include. They are very aware of each other's differences and similarities. They refer to each other in their work and criticize each other. And yet, they are very far away from finding an umbrella term. Despite these problems, there is some agreement between various mce movements.

Regarding categorizations, I could base my work on James Banks, who successfully created categories approaches, theories, ideologies, paradigms and their pedagogic realization. While his work is important and of great quality, I will rather summarize, explain and add a couple of points that are important for this thesis. This chapter also serves as a build-up and should assist the analysis and discussion in the fourth and fifth chapter, for both myself and the reader.

Overall, I will use the term multicultural education (or multiculturalism, which is the less pedagogical and more society related term) as a temporal and provisional umbrella term. This is not because I think that it is the best, most suitable or most common term; but merely because it was the one I encountered first and that I have been comfortable with ever since. The use of the term in this essay helps to render the following discussions and analyses easier. Other valid terms, referring to the same issue, are global education, sustainable development education, intercultural education, anti-racist education, or citizenship education.

3.1. Early forms of multicultural education policy and research

3.1.1. The historical and international perspective

Early forms of mce policy were compromises between politics and academics. They arose out of the need to handle a new situation or, in case of the USA, out of the civil rights movement¹⁶. Generally there was not much academic knowledge present in the field of mce¹⁷. It had not been generated yet, and the old paradigms of assimilation, nationalism and

¹⁶ Sally Tomlinson, Multicultural education in the United Kingdom. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education (New York/ London 2009), p.125.

¹⁷ Pierre Trudeau, On multiculturalism. In: The History of Canada Online, 08.10.1971, online <http://canadachannel.ca/HCO/index.php/Pierre_Trudeau_on_Multiculturalism> (02.08.2011).

monoculturalism were still established, though briefly and dramatically shaken in the light of the 1968 student protests.

It was in the 1960s and 70s that the multicultural aspects of society finally drew more attention. The national situations were different and the national variations of how to react to this, perceived as new, situation differed. And yet, at the time and even today, few pointed out that this perceived newness of a multicultural society is only new for the paradigm of nationalism¹⁸. Before the rise of modern nationalism there were competing cultures or languages/ dialects in areas that are now called a nation. This changed as there was a political move towards conceiving territory as fixed to one nation. The process of towards unity and homogeneity was a long process of competition between the various regional cultures and language variations and the introduction of institutionalized schooling. Two striking examples are Germany and Italy, both created from dozens of smaller or larger regional, independent entities. In Germany that process worked on many different levels. On the political/ military side there were, if one wants to name individuals, Napoleon and Bismarck; in the economic field, cooperation and unity developed out of the Zollverein, and, maybe as an academic contribution, thinkers such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte were contributing to this paradigm shift¹⁹. Of course there was also the introduction of institutionalized schooling that helped to establish more homogeneity²⁰.

The process of actual, practical or geographical monoculturalization was put to an extreme after WWI, and during and just after WWII when millions of people, either fled, were killed (especially Jews), or migrated to what was now perceived as their nation. In Germany traces of this can still be seen in the Sudetenland question. With the progression of theoretical monoculturalization the situation at the “birth” of the individual nations seems to be forgotten²¹. There are still some relics that tell of a different time. One of them is the CSU (Christian social union) which is the regional, Bavarian, sister party of the CDU (Christian democratic union). During the WWII Bavaria still had a party (Bavarian people's party) that wanted Bavaria to secede from the rest of Germany. Now secession is not aspired to but

¹⁸ Falk Pingel, *Unesco Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*. (Paris/Braunschweig 2010), p.16 and pp.38.

¹⁹ Julien Benda, *Discours à la nation européenne* (n.p. 1979), pp.104 and 119.

²⁰ Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*. In: Stephen May (Hg.), *Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education* (n.p. 1999), p.248f and Rattansi, *Reflexive multiculturalism*, p.79.

²¹ Allemann-Ghionda, *From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity*, p.136.

traces of the structures of that thinking still exist. The force of monoculturalization or creating unity has also been shaken radically in Belgium with the surge to power of the N-VA (New Flemish Alliance) under Bart De Wever and the continuing problem of forming a government for unity in 2011/12, when Belgium was without formal government for more than a year. Another EU area that challenges union is Scotland. However, these are reappearances of an even more regionally defined nationalism. Still, the 70s' and even today's attitude, treat the situation as something new.

Only recently, are the very narratives of nationalism being challenged once again²²; however, the deconstruction of the paradigm is only done half-heartedly. There is no alternative to the concept of nations yet, not even from the multicultural education discourses²³.

3.1.2. Narrowing down the topic of discussion

Kogila Moodley distinguishes between three types of ethnically divided societies/ nations²⁴: indigenous peoples present, immigration societies and nationalities in competition. She further distinguishes between societies that grant equal rights and double citizenship easily (USA, Canada, Australia) and societies where immigrants are seen as guest workers (many central European states, e.g. Germany, Switzerland, or Austria). Though I mostly agree, it is dangerous to simply equalize the granting of citizenship with more ('advanced') multicultural policies. The USA, Canada and Australia, although granting double citizenship easily can still be, and were, assimilationist and thus not significantly more multicultural in their attitude than Germany²⁵. Furthermore, as Nieto points out, segregation in schools in the US is today a reality just as when it was still implemented by law²⁶. Early mce, for example in Germany, was a temporal policy of handling the economic need for immigrants. It is questionable to qualify these policies as mce at all. Researchers differ in their degree of condemnation towards these early policies. Cristina Allemann-Ghionda uses the terms multicultural education and intercultural education for these policies; though she criticizes the actual policies existing at the time and also now. Others, such as Sigrid Luchtenberg²⁷ and Banks are harder and describe Germany as a state that does "differential exclusion"²⁸, a term for only

²² Kalantzis and Cope, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*, p.247.

²³ Otto Flitzinger, *Interkulturelles Lernen*. In: Ellen Johann, Hildegard Michely, Monika Springer, *Interkulturelle Pädagogik: Methodenhandbuch für sozialpädagogische Berufe* (n.p. 1998), p.9.

temporary inclusion of guest workers. Otto Flitzinger and Ellen Johann are also more critical towards this early mce or *Ausländerpädagogik*²⁹.

The following examples and comparisons help to better understand the reluctance of referring to these early policies as mce policies. In a way, the difference is one of perspectives. The more conservative interpretation of multicultural education sees this kind of education as a way to educate people from other cultures so that they fit into the 'main' culture. The focus is on the foreigners and their lack of ability to speak the host-country's language or to integrate into the host-country's culture. The approach works on the assumption that a) there is a homogenous culture in the host-country, and b) migrants pose a threat to this unity, it also often implicitly includes that c) the host-country's culture is superior. Thus, the conclusion follows: mce is only for foreigners (*Ausländerpädagogik*) and the focus should be on teaching the host-country's language and culture (deficit pedagogy)³⁰.

Instead, of benefiting from this new situation, effort was put into allowing as little change to the main system as possible. Foreign children or children of foreigners were, in some regions or countries taken into the normal classroom, where the curriculum content was not changed. It also occurred that they were put into special classes³¹. Although separation and focusing on the respective groups can be seen as positive, an effort to make learning most

²⁴ Kogila Moodley, *Antiracist Education through political literacy: the case of Canada*. In: Stephen May (Hg.), *Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education* (n.p. 1999), pp.138-140.

²⁵ However, also these nations have not been always open. It, for example, took Australia a long time to make immigration from all countries, and not just some, possible. See: National Communications Branch, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra, Fact Sheet 8 – Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy. In: Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship (October 2012), online <<http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/08abolition.htm>> (14.08.2013). Nettle and Romaine mention that Spanish had been illegal in public school buildings in Texas until 1971, see: Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine, *Vanishing voices: the extinction of the world's languages* (Oxford 2000), p.22.

²⁶ As cited from Orfield 2001, in: Sonia Nieto, *Critical multicultural education and students' perspectives*. In: Stephen May (Ed.), *Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education* (n.p. 1999), p.83.

²⁷ Sigrid Luchtenberg, *Migrant minority groups in Germany: Success and failure in education*. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (New York/ London 2009), p.461.

²⁸ Term from Castles 2004 as cited in James A. Banks, *Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age*. In: James A. Banks (Hg.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (New York/ London 2009), p.310.

²⁹ Flitzinger, *Interkulturelles Lernen*, pp.9f, here specifically Germany. But Meunier, explains that the situation in France in Belgium was very similar, see: Olivier Meunier, *Approches interculturelles en éducation. Étude comparative internationale* (n.p. 2007), p.47.

³⁰ For Germany see: Allemann-Ghionda, *From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity*, p.136. For France and French Community of Belgium, see: Meunier, *Approches interculturelles en éducation*, p.47.

³¹ Cristina Allemann-Ghionda, *Schule, Bildung und Pluralität. Sechs Fallstudien im europäischen Vergleich* (Münster 1998, Habilitationsschrift), p. 68f, and Meunier, *Approches interculturelles en éducation*, p.47.

effective for these children; yet, it also resembles segregation. The language and culture classes for foreigners could be held outside the normal school day or sometimes even outside the school³².

Further evidence that the system at the time worked on the concept of either assimilation without change or segregated integration, is the attitude towards the foreign culture and language. These foreign languages and cultures still do not have the same status as other foreign, established, languages at school. The two most prominent examples are English and French taught in most, if not all, EU countries. Due to the lack of theory and opposition to the concept the integration of mce principles in teacher training took time and were sometimes even taken back again under conservative governments³³.

There was, with regional differences, also the idea of temporary support. The aim was to teach these pupils their home culture to enable them to re-integrate easily when they would return³⁴. Thus, if possible foreign teachers were brought from abroad³⁵. As the situation became less temporary, additional courses for German teachers were developed, Deutsch als Fremdsprache, in order to better educate the foreigners³⁶. These policies would improve German language teaching and hence facilitate assimilation or integration.

English-speaking countries, had more cooperation on an academic level for the development of mce theories and policies³⁷. It can be said that the theme has been more prominent. The United States of America, Canada and Australia are immigrant nations; the UK (in a way, like most other countries too, also an immigrant nation³⁸) is a former colonial super power. For all these four countries migration has been more present and has been analysed or

³² *Allemann-Ghionda*, Schule, Bildung und Pluralität, p.69 and *Kalantzis and Cope*, Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream, p.250.

³³ For Germany see: *Allemann-Ghionda*, Schule, Bildung und Pluralität, pp.467f, and Christina *Allemann-Ghionda*, Für die Welt Diversität feiern: Im heimischen Garten Ungleichheit kultivieren? Von gegenläufigen Entwicklungen in der Politik, Theorie und Praxis der interkulturellen Bildung in Europa. In: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik Bd. 54, Nr.1 (2008), p.18. For France see: *Meunier*, Approches interculturelles en education, p.53. And for the UK see: *Tomlinson*, Multicultural education in the United Kingdom, pp.128f.

³⁴ *Allemann-Ghionda*, Schule, Bildung und Pluralität, p.68.

³⁵ *Allemann-Ghionda*, Schule, Bildung und Pluralität p.69, see also also *Meunier*, Approches interculturelles en education, for other European countries with similar policies.

³⁶ *Allemann-Ghionda*, Schule, Bildung und Pluralität, p.93.

³⁷ *Stephen May*, Introduction: Towards critical multiculturalism. In: *Stephen May* (Ed.), Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education (n.p. 1999) p.5.

³⁸ Celts were pushed to the fringes by Romans, Angles, Jutes, Saxons and later Vikings and Normans. Similar migration movements are true for most regions in the world.

discussed with more continuous attention³⁹. The first approach towards mce implemented in most nations is identified by Banks as the 'additional' approach coupled with a deficit or cultural deprivation approach⁴⁰. It simply adds themes to the curriculum and integrates "tourist courses", or a variety religious holidays and foods specific to other faiths and cultures. There is no deep change in the curriculum and structural change in society is also neglected. The intentions might have been well, yet the structural problems became more obvious over time. The mce policies in the UK, Canada and USA, for example, took a turn towards, essentially, creating and/ or accepting segregation in practice⁴¹.

There were some problems of interaction amongst migrants of different backgrounds or between migrants (first, second and third generation) and 'natives'. Disappointment amongst first, second and third generation migrants grew in regard to perceived economic disadvantages, discrimination and various forms of racism⁴². Violence, also due to the international situation of 'international terrorism', grew regionally⁴³. Linked to the above was the, statistically more and more obvious, failure of pupils with migrant backgrounds⁴⁴. The purpose was to find the reasons for this situation. Mainstream and more radical mce proponents trace the roots to these developments to the superficial character of mce policies: 'tourist' curricula⁴⁵, segregation or assimilation. For them, the problem lies with society. Consequently, it was concluded that mce had to be a new concept of education for all. They suggest further, deeper and more structural changes, either by reformation or revolution. The root of the problem lies with society and not with foreigners or individuals with migrant background.

³⁹ Tomlinson, Multicultural education in the United Kingdom, p.125. Allemann-Ghionda in, From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity, argues that the same is true for most European colonial powers, p.136.

⁴⁰ James Banks, The social studies, ethnic diversity, and social change. In: James A. Banks, Race, Culture, and Education: the selected works of James A. Banks (New York 2006), p.97.

⁴¹ Meunier, Approches interculturelles en éducation, pp.80-83.

⁴² Nasar Meer, Valérie Sala Pala, Tariq Modood, and Patrick Simon, Cultural diversity, Muslims, and education in France and England: Two contrasting models in Western Europe. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education (New York/ London 2009), p.413.

⁴³ See youth/ suburb violence in France in 2005 and UK's issue of 'homegrown' terrorism.

⁴⁴ Allemann-Ghionda, Für die Welt Diversität feiern: Im heimischen Garten Ungleichheit kultivieren?, p.18. Nieto, Critical multicultural education and students' perspectives, pp.192/ 198.

⁴⁵ Nieto, Critical multicultural education and students' perspectives, pp.205f.

Fundamentally different is the conclusion of conservatives or liberals. Their focus is on the foreigner, or the individual with migrant background⁴⁶. They claim that if these individuals cannot integrate then it is their fault. No paradigm shift is wanted, but the status-quo is defended, despite the new reality of a multicultural society.

3.2. Mainstream multicultural education

In a way, it is the kind of mce that has been around since the beginning in the 1970s. Banks, who has been active in the field, sees it as a further development of ethnic education or the, in the US often black, equality movement⁴⁷. Allemann-Ghionda adds some more major origins, such as: the emergence or even paradigm shift of the social sciences towards a concentration on culture. She also mentions increased migration after WWII; although, here, she fails to reflect on the importance of migration and the holocaust during the war as a phenomenon of ethnic cleansing. She also neglects the migration immediately after the war when minorities living in different regions migrated (sometimes back) to their respective nations. All these factors contributed to more mono-ethnic nation states in Europe after WWII. She also emphasises the development within the European institutions towards closer cooperation and dependence. Finally, it is the internationalization of the debate and the cooperation between local and international institutions, such as the UNESCO and the OECD⁴⁸ that contributed to the rise of mce.

Since Banks has been such a prominent figure in the field of mainstream multiculturalism and changed and directed it from within. He personifies what could be called mainstream multiculturalism or multicultural education. Taking him as an example maybe helps to understand the following distinction. It is important to stress that he, unlike more conservative proponents of mce, changed over time. His definitions, foci and theories became more defined and moved with the times; whereas more conservative approaches fossilized and sometimes gave up on mce/ multicultural society altogether. This thought example is based on the assumption that mce started in difficult circumstances and that it had certain potential that was not realized at the beginning. If one wants to give the

⁴⁶ Reva Joshee, Multicultural education policy in Canada: Competing ideologies, interconnected discourses. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (New York/ London 2009), p.102.

⁴⁷ James Banks, My epistemological journey. In: James A. Banks, *Race, Culture, and Education: the selected works of James A. Banks* (New York 2006), p.7.

⁴⁸ Allemann-Ghionda, *From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity*, pp.135-7.

development an intention then it could be said that Banks was one who contributed to direct this intention in a direction that, I would agree as well, was present in mce from the outset. Opposed to him were liberals and conservatives, or later neo-conservatives and neo-liberals, as well as the extreme right. They interpreted the original intention differently. Instead of being a concept of radical change they interpreted it as a concept that enabled a continuation with the old paradigm, call it nationalism, conservatism, assimilationism, believe in cultural hierarchies, homogeneity etc. in the context of a new situation, i.e. multicultural society. It was an approach that tried to force a new reality into old moulds with as little change to the moulds as possible. Banks and others, however, went above that by promoting a paradigm shift with all its implications. It is the opposition between superficial change⁴⁹ and a form of structural change.

Sonia Nieto adds, further researchers to the US context, such as Margaret Gibson, Christine Bennett, Christine Sleeter, Carl Grant as well as herself. All of them categorize approaches to multicultural education with different labels or slight variations in how they prioritize the characteristics of mce. They all agree, however, that each approach to mce is based on an ideology that has a positive attitude towards migration and that these approaches do not exclude each other. They also all agree that these approaches, though they might have different names, form the history or development of mainstream mce. The idea being that mce developed, tried things, analysed practices and revised theories⁵⁰. Some approaches were abandoned, but overall mainstream mce widened and incorporated new ideas⁵¹. Nieto finds seven characteristics that fit all. According to her, mce is: “(...) antiracist, basic, important for all students, pervasive, education for social justice, a process, and rooted in critical pedagogy⁵².” She also agrees with Allemann-Ghionda and defines, what I call mainstream multicultural education, by saying that it fused with parallel movements that too emerged out of the Civil Rights Movement. These movements are the ethnic studies movement, bilingual education movement and the field of gender studies. Thus, she states that:

⁴⁹ *Kalantzis and Cope*, Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream, pp.250f.

⁵⁰ Sonia Nieto, Multicultural education in the United States: Historical realities, ongoing challenges, and transformative possibilities. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education (New York/ London 2009), pp.81f.

⁵¹ *Allemann-Ghionda*, From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity, p.138.

⁵² *Nieto*, Multicultural education in the United States, pp.81f.

[t]hese parallel [movements] – through their intellectual scholarship and the activism on which the scholarship is based – have been key catalysts in helping to broaden the parameters of mce to inclusive of many differences and oppressions not initially embraced in the early conceptions of the field⁵³.

She hereby puts mainstream multicultural education between what she calls the right, for which it is too radical, and the left, for which this mce is too conservative. It can thus be said that mainstream mce is scientifically open to change. It is a process.

The universal character of mainstream mce becomes obvious in Banks' attempt to create a “holistic” paradigm⁵⁴. He argues that none of the paradigms that form the basis of various approaches to mce can or should claim to be the only one. His holistic paradigm also credits the “cultural deprivation”, “self-concept”, and “ethnic additive” paradigms to have been there very early since they were easy to apply and fit to the general ideology of nationalism in the 1960s. They should not simply be categorized as negative but as having had their advantages at the time⁵⁵.

Notwithstanding, there being advantages in such a pluralist and holistic attempt to create unity for a reform movement, there is also a great amount of tension. As with any movement that challenges a dominant position there is cooperation before the change. Nevertheless, these different paradigms cannot fit together in their entirety. There will have to be compromises as some are partly exclusive. Each paradigm could add its part but not all can be realized fully. Thus, for example, bilingualism could add bilingual education. Neo-Marxists could add that the structure of the school system should be changed. But there rests the most striking difficulty of the question of reform vs. revolution. Maybe it was de-standardization and localization that Banks imagined. Then each region, nation, or school could put its own emphasis. However, he is not absolutely clear about it and there is a certain danger that there is a repetition of applying the more radical mce only in areas or schools where multiculturalism is also reflected in the actual reality of the school, the classroom or the neighbourhood.

⁵³ Nieto, Multicultural education in the United States, p.86. A similar process of integrating parallel movements is described for ice the EU, see: Meunier, *Approches interculturelles en education*, p.32.

⁵⁴ James A. Banks, Multicultural education: Dimensions and paradigms. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (New York/ London 2009), p.27.

⁵⁵ Banks, Multicultural education: Dimensions and paradigms, pp.20-22.

3.3. Intercultural education

There is some disagreement over the categorization of intercultural education (ice) within the general framework, of what I like to see, as the multicultural movement. Sonia Nieto writes that the intercultural education is "dead" in the United States⁵⁶. What she probably means to say is that the parallel movements fused into the, according to her more, unity-orientated mce movement. Thus, it seems that the term, rather than the approach and theory behind it, is dead. That would fit to James Banks' description of intercultural education as the Western European equivalent to US (Anglophone) multiculturalism⁵⁷. Unlike Nieto and Banks, Cristina Allemann-Ghionda sees intercultural education as more focused on interaction. This would make ice better for the integration of culturally diverse groups than multicultural education. Multicultural education, as she describes it, is aiming to enable living together, in a certain space, with little or no interaction⁵⁸. Her position is embedded in the discourse of the Council of Europe, the European Commission and the French and German academic texts, which all tend to use the term intercultural, regarding education as it suggests more mixing and interaction⁵⁹. The term 'multicultural' is reserved for the description of how society is⁶⁰ or the old model of foreigner education. This old model of foreigner education saw foreigners as only a temporary problem who can be separated from the rest of society until they go back to their respective home countries.

Allemann-Ghionda's critique is justified, and yet there must be some reservations accepting her point unquestionably. She also falls into the trap of terms and the belief that there is only one correct or final version of ice (or mce as I refer to it). It seems that the mix-up of terms, even on an academic level, is an imminent danger. In my opinion, her points are only partly correct. They reflect a critique of some forms of mce that had the effect of, even though it was not necessarily intended, balkanization or of creating a mosaic of cultures that live independently of each other⁶¹. Nevertheless, the distinction of forms of mce, rather than a simple generalization, is so vital here. There have been early forms of mce, as has been

⁵⁶ Nieto, *Multicultural education in the United States*, p.83.

⁵⁷ Banks, *Multicultural education: Dimensions and paradigms*, p.14.

⁵⁸ Allemann-Ghionda, *From intercultural education to the inclusion of diversity*, p.135.

⁵⁹ Meunier, *Approches interculturelles en éducation*, p.15.

⁶⁰ Martine A. Pretceille, *La pédagogie interculturelle : entre multiculturalisme et universalisme*. In: *Lingvarvmarena 2* (n.p. 2011), p.99.

⁶¹ May, *Introduction: Towards critical multiculturalism*, p.11.

described, that did indeed have balkanization in mind or did not mind it⁶². However, mainstream mce developed further, by integrating critique from within and outside the field of multicultural education, to readjust towards more interaction⁶³. Parallel to this development, some modern approaches, that also use multicultural discourses to advance their argument, re-emphasised this kind of segregation or non-interaction as something positive⁶⁴; once again, ice underwent a similar development⁶⁵.

Thus, nowadays there is little justification in claiming that ice is more focused on interaction than mce. Mainstream mce and other mce movements have incorporated the idea of cultural interaction into their theory. And both, mce and ice movements, have clearly moved to the concept of education for all, not some. As an example, it is noteworthy to point out a definition of intercultural learning in the Wörterbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik by Bettina Alavi, where the inter-actional emphasis by Allemann-Ghionda seems to be neglected. This is reflected in the following quote:

Ausgehend von einem dynamischen Kulturbegriff wird interkultureller historischer Kompetenz das Wissen von und der Umgang mit schiedlichen Normen, Werthaltungen und Deutungsmustern verstanden, wobei kulturelle Vielfalt akzeptiert und ausgehalten werden soll.⁶⁶

Here the words "akzeptiert und ausgehalten" ("accept and put up with") have rather negative connotations. They do not suggest that a more intercultural perspective changes own views but rather that they now co-exist in an unequal relationship. "Accepted and tolerated" is a far cry from integrated and valued. They could, just as it has been for mce, lead to the described phenomenon of balkanization.

3.4. Critical multicultural education

Critical multiculturalism is a reform movement from within mainstream multiculturalism. It developed out of a combination of answers to criticisms originating from within as well as from outside of multiculturalism. One major point was that it took the anti-racist movement

⁶² Kalantzis and Cope, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*, p.251.

⁶³ It is important to note that ice developed in the same way, as Allemann-Ghionda describes in: *Für die Welt Diversität feiern: Im heimischen Garten Ungleichheit kultivieren*, pp.21f.

⁶⁴ Rattansi, *Reflexive multiculturalism*, pp.81f.

⁶⁵ Pierre Dehalu, *Le Conseil de l' Europe, son rapport à la culture et à l'interculturel* (n.p. o.J.), pp.6f.

⁶⁶ Ulrich Mayer, Hans-Jürgen Pandel und Gerhard Schneider, *Wörterbuch Geschichtsdidaktik* (2006), p.95.

more seriously and integrated the neo-Marxist concerns of structural change⁶⁷. It, however, did not just copy them, it also altered and adjusted them. Anti-racism opened and moved away from the focus of colour racism, especially in the US, to include wider manifestations of new forms of racism, e.g. cultural racism⁶⁸. It thus combined cultural concerns from the mce movements with themes of anti-racists.

Another major point was to realize and attempt to solve problems or contradictions within mce. They came to realization that some mce approaches were reinforcing stereotypes by essentialising group identities. They concluded that, in a way, these approaches did the same thing, albeit unintentionally, as racists. Thus, proponents of critical race theory, such as Gloria Ladson-Billings, who emphasized culturally appropriate education, were separating pupils along cultural lines once again⁶⁹. Critical mce proponents agree that it was good at the time and that it is still useful today, but that it must be altered to reflect upon this realization and the warnings or dangers of essentialism⁷⁰. As May argues, this seemingly contradiction between essentialising and focusing can be solved by the application of Bordieu's notion of 'habitus'. This notion, based on four points, explains that the individual, in the social context, is under pressure by essentialising forces. However, these are not absolute and the individual is capable to interact with them and be unique, despite the pressure. Thus, there is "diversity within homogeneity"⁷¹.

Thus critical multiculturalists try to improve mce by solving discrepancies between intended results and actual practice. With the rise of cultural studies in the humanities, focus was also shifted in the mce movement from more historical perspectives and language perspective towards thematizing culture and identity. The influence of cultural studies also brought new theories and methods into mce academic research. It is mainly post-modernism and post-structuralism, especially deconstruction, from the field of cultural and literary theory that helped to re-theorize mce academic discourse⁷². It is also a move into the here-and-now as show the definitions of aims according to May⁷³: 1. theorizing ethnicity; 2. acknowledging

⁶⁷ May, Introduction: Towards critical multiculturalism, p.8.

⁶⁸ Stephen May, Critical multiculturalism and cultural difference: avoiding essentialism. In: Stephen May (Hg.), Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education (n.p. 1999), p.12.

⁶⁹ May, Critical multiculturalism and cultural difference: avoiding essentialism, pp.12f.

⁷⁰ Meunier, Approches interculturelles en education, pp.32 and 62.

⁷¹ May, Critical multiculturalism and cultural difference: avoiding essentialism, p.28.

⁷² Nieto, Multicultural education in the United States, p.88.

⁷³ Stephen May, Critical multiculturalism and education. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education (New York/ London 2009), p.44.

(unequal) power relations; 3. critiquing the constructions of culture; 4. Maintaining critical reflexivity. While the historical perspective is still important, it, however, is now not the main concern but rather one of the means of help to deconstruct possible themes⁷⁴.

More critical or reflexive multiculturalism finally found its way into modern mainstream multiculturalism as Nieto states⁷⁵. And, just like Banks, there is still the aim of creating a holistic approach: Critical pedagogy is integrated, anti-racists points are considered, the cultural difference approach has been improved, etc. Critical multiculturalists want to have unity amongst mce movements⁷⁶. Admittedly, the integration and bridging process has been very fruitful and creative; especially regarding the necessary re-theorization. Another success is the intelligent compromise between liberal mce reform and radical, neo-Marxist, revolutionary stance. The suggested solution comes in form of constant, reflective change; most clearly established as a point in Rattansi⁷⁷.

Nonetheless, there should also be some critique. Despite their advertisement of deconstructional methods they are not very deconstructionist themselves. Rattansi, and also May, are very clear on the only form of multicultural discourse and try to define the only allowed meaning. Racist mce discourse is not accepted as just that. They also fail to be critical of their own contradictions regarding the protection of the frame of the nation-state-system.

Post-modernist and post-structuralist methods of cultural and literary theory are concepts that can be found in many fields and are integrated easily in many fields. This potential can be tapped when moving towards mce in teacher training. I, furthermore, agree with many points made in critical mce. It is, therefore, one of the major perspectives from which I want to do my analysis. Which is why their concepts on education are presented in some more detail in chapter four.

The next few approaches to mce cover a range of different terms and movements which have been integrated, to a larger or smaller degree, into mainstream mce. They might have very different names but share very similar aims⁷⁸.

⁷⁴ Rattansi, Reflexive multiculturalism, p.80.

⁷⁵ Nieto, Multicultural education in the United State, p.88.

⁷⁶ Rattansi, Reflexive multiculturalism, p.102.

⁷⁷ Rattansi, Reflexive multiculturalism.

⁷⁸ The diversity in terms is mentioned throughout *Meunier*, *Approches interculturelles en education*. But he does not reflect on it.

3.5. Minor approaches that are part of mainstream mce or critical mce

3.5.1. Critical pedagogy

Critical pedagogy has been criticized by McLaren and Torres to have lost some of its social critique by being reduced to one “student-directed learning approach” amongst many and by having failed to integrate a critique of capitalism⁷⁹. Sonia Nieto disagrees, arguing that it is an important part of multiculturalism. It enriches the multicultural movement by integrating students’ perspectives and critique in the transformation of the school system. It is thus an important point of feedback regarding whether or not mce policies have the intended success or not⁸⁰. Empowering students, not just within the school structure but also as a contributor to school reform is an important enlargement of mce.

3.5.2. Extremist positions

There are some researchers whose proposals are more outspoken and clearer than others in the field of critical multiculturalism. Two such individuals are Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope. It is safe to put them also in the field of critical multiculturalism as they value and work alongside post-structuralist/ deconstructionist lines. They also share many other aspects of mainstream and critical multiculturalism. The difference is rather in how far theory and concepts are pushed. Just like post-structuralism is in many ways a logical conclusion to structuralism; so too Kalantzis, Cope et al. re-emphasise the implications of multiculturalist demands for education, pedagogy, language, culture etc.

Thus, they are most outspoken on the concept and implications on nationalism, not just racism, which Rattansi, May and others focus on. The very core of the concept of nationalism is attacked and not merely the superficial and negative deviant “racism”. Nationalism created homogeneity over a long period of socialization; in the context of which universal standards, values, paradigms and ideologies were established. Modern nationalism tells this narrative from the perspective of the hegemonic group. As it is just one perspective of many and since the aim of the dominant group of society is to defend its social status, a fictional

⁷⁹ Peter McLaren and Rodolfo Torres, Racism and multicultural education: rethinking ‘race’ and ‘whiteness’ in late capitalism. In: Stephen May (Ed.), Critical multiculturalism. Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education (n.p. 1999), pp.66-68.

⁸⁰ Nieto, Critical multicultural education and students’ perspectives, p.191.

narrative of history is created rather than an objective history. Yet, they claim neutrality and objectivity⁸¹.

Globalization and its mirror-movement localization are seen as undermining nationalism⁸². The homogeneities, created by nationalism, are under pressure and splinter. Therefore, the logical consequence for this group of researchers is to enable pupils to be more flexible and to be able to handle difference and diversity. There are to be fewer standards and the aim is to achieve social access for all. No discourse or group of people should have any advantage over any other group. In the linguistic field, this would imply that somebody speaking Received Pronunciation, for example, is not to be advantaged over somebody speaking any other dialect of English.

3.5.3. Anti-Bias approach

The most prominent figure in this movement is Louise Derman-Sparks with her early cooperation work "Anti-bias education: Tools for empowering children and ourselves (Washington 1989)". Nowadays, it is not much different from what has been described as critical multiculturalism. At the time however, the difference lay in extending the age group of mce to all ages, especially to younger children. The assumption being that even very young pupils can be introduced to the complex themes of mce if they are reduced to their basic core. Their method is to draw comparisons and use own experiences for thought experiments. These can then be reflected in a related but different context, such as a multicultural one; but do not necessarily have to. Several, otherwise complex and distant, problems are made present and can be linked with own experiences. The anti-bias approach was, right from the beginning, the least essentialising of the approaches and thus should have been mentioned more often in the critical mce literature.

3.5.4. Marxists and the postmodern left

The category of Marxist and the postmodern left in mce comes up in May's book, so I will also include it. Important researchers are Alex Callinicos, Peter McLaren and Rudolfo Torres. They argue that mce, if it wants to be successful in what it is attempting, needs to integrate a

⁸¹ Kalantzis and Cope, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*, p.245.

⁸² Kalantzis and Cope, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*, p.247.

critique of modern capitalism as well as some Marxist themes into its teaching and analysis. They, furthermore, argue for less compromise regarding structural transformation of the school system as well as society. They propose a closer cooperation between schools and society in order to advocate for change.

The postmodern left's contribution to mce lay in the provision of new categories of analysis. One such approach was to open up the concept of racism and add to its complexity. Thus, racism is an ideology that is just a part of diverse “exclusionary social process[es]” such as: „power, ethnicity, gender, nation and class”⁸³.

The pedagogical implications included in the approach are that there should be more analysis of possible societal change in the school experience. It suggests that critical pedagogy and mce should become more firm on their standpoints and give in to fewer compromises, since compromise would betray the intentions behind mce⁸⁴. Racism is not the only problem in an unjust society. Therefore, issues of modern capitalism regarding social inequalities (and modern “imperialistic practices”) and modes of production need to be addressed⁸⁵.

Surprising for me was the lack of criticism regarding the category of nationalism and the nation-state-system. Since the postmodern left is structural in its critique this should have come out more clearly. The system of nation states and how to solve it regarding globalization is not thematized, despite having been a major theme within socialism and Marxism, especially prior to WWI.

3.5.5. Anti-racist approach

At first the anti-racist approach was a parallel movement to mce. However, national differences exist. In the US there was an early cooperation between multicultural education and anti-racist education and they never really saw each other as different; whereas, in the UK there was little exchange for a long period. Since nowadays they are closely related to and integrated into the mainstream mce movement I do not want to treat them separately and will only mention the following contribution.

⁸³ McLaren and Torres, Racism and multicultural education, p.47.

⁸⁴ McLaren and Torres, Racism and multicultural education, p.71.

⁸⁵ McLaren and Torres, Racism and multicultural education, pp.68f.

First and foremost, anti-racists were more structuralist than their mce coparts. Their concern was that simple language courses for migrants or an extension of (multi)cultural topics to make themes at school more interesting for pupils with migrant backgrounds will not be enough to improve the success of pupils with migrant background. Their concern was that these pupils faced discrimination in many forms and that they were also suffering from wider social problems, such as unemployment of their parents. This concern and other similar are now well integrated into other concepts of mainstream mce described in this paper.

3.5.6. Critical race theory

In one way critical race theory goes back to an early form of mce, such as ethnic studies. The argument was that minority students did not have problems succeeding due to language problems; but, due to cultural problems and themes in the curriculum. At first, the idea was to change and influence the topic to make them more valid in the eyes of students with migrant backgrounds⁸⁶. Later, and here Gloria Ladson-Billings and Geneva Gay are major influences, the different culture of minority students came to attention. It was not only the themes that demotivated minority students and bored them, but also the cultural structure of the school system, the lessons and the behaviour of their teachers that alienated minority students and created pressure and tension⁸⁷. Teachers behaved in certain ways, not realizing that their behaviour was interpreted very differently by minority students than they, the teachers, might have intended⁸⁸. As enriching as these points were, a certain danger of essatialisation was realized by critical multiculturalists. By focusing and categorizing along the lines of race, critical race theory repeated what racists did, albeit being differently motivated. Still, for all of the above, it can be said that they saw or came to see, diversity as something positive. This is not the case for the following two groups.

⁸⁶ *Nieto*, Multicultural education in the United States, p.84.

⁸⁷ *Banks*, Multicultural education: Dimensions and paradigms, p.22.

⁸⁸ *Kalantzis and Cope*, Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream, pp.259f.

3.6. Neo-conservative and neo-liberal multicultural education

Banks puts liberals, assimilationists and universal conceptions of citizenship education in one basket⁸⁹ and neither are others more concrete on the differences of these two groups. Even Reva Joshee, though she provides a definition of the two terms, does not keep them apart strictly and basically says that they are cooperating on the subject of mce⁹⁰.

In the 1980s, conservative governments around the world changed the early policies of mce, which had been implemented in the 60s and 70s⁹¹. Policies of 'mainstream' mce were cancelled during conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major, representative for the UK, and not reinstated after New Labour came to power⁹²; though they made some changes towards what could be categorized as mce⁹³. The seriousness of these new policies in regard to mce, however, can be questioned as Tomlinson points out that there were few courses for teacher trainees to learn how to integrate mce in teaching⁹⁴. Generalizations are difficult because not all countries were or are on the same level. However, now with the rise of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism globally, and especially after 9/11, there is talk about the failure of mainstream multiculturalism and mce in many countries in the EU but also the US, Canada and Australia. They try to readjust mce policies once again towards policies of mce that are linked to their paradigm and ideology.

These policies are closely related to the early understandings of mce which saw assimilation or segregation as the only correct answer towards cohesion in society. They feared that diversity would undermine cohesion. Hence, they saw all changes undertaken by more radical proponents of mce, i.e. not promoting assimilation, as the reasons and roots for the problems, violence and non-cohesion that we are facing at the moment⁹⁵. These changes, consequently, must be undone again.

A further reason to group them together is their negative or neutral attitude towards mce. Neo-conservatives would argue for assimilation and neo-liberals might argue for multicultural education and society, both claiming that it is the best for migrants. However,

⁸⁹ Banks, Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. 303.

⁹⁰ Joshee, Multicultural education policy in Canada, pp.96f and p.99.

⁹¹ Joshee, Multicultural education policy in Canada, p.106.

⁹² Tomlinson, Multicultural education in the United Kingdom, p.126. She further notes that mce courses for future teachers had disappeared.

⁹³ Tomlinson, Multicultural education in the United Kingdom, p.129.

⁹⁴ Tomlinson, Multicultural education in the United Kingdom, p.129.

⁹⁵ May, Critical multiculturalism and education, pp.43f.

they neglect that the effect of unorganized laissez-faire mce policies, proposed by conservatives and liberals, might in the current situation of discrimination and racism result in segregation and disadvantaging immigrants⁹⁶. Thus, calling their attitude neutral is contradicted by their attitude and non-reaction to the disadvantaged outcome. Assimilationists might add that their attitude is neutral or positive as they want migrants to succeed, either integrated, assimilated, or back at home. Nonetheless, they, just as neo-liberals, put the blame of 'non-succeeding' migrants on those migrants and not on society or culture at large⁹⁷. That does not mean that they deny racism as such, but they argue that racism is based on an "individual pathology" rather than a trait of society in general⁹⁸.

Both, neo-conservatives and neo-liberals defend the old paradigm of superiority of the concept of a homogenous nation and culture⁹⁹. In a more positive analysis these concepts are there to ensure cohesion and a better working society as Schlesinger argues, according to May¹⁰⁰. There is a certain idea of efficiency, comfort for all people and protection of basic rights¹⁰¹. This balance should be respected by migrants by either integrating into it perfectly or by keeping outside and parallel to it (preferably for a short amount of time: see Guestworkers in Germany).

A more critical interpretation could classify the system as racist. This, often called, 'new' racism is related to 'old' racism but has new markers and is spread wider. In connection with migrants it focuses on religion and culture to build an essentialist and racist argument. It assumes that one culture or nation is better than others and that this purity needs to be protected. This racism can be felt as the cultural currency of the dominant group in society can disadvantage weaker groups¹⁰². In its wider, and less on migration focused form, it can mean many other things. All in all, Moodley distinguishes between seven manifestations of

⁹⁶ *Meunier*, *Approches interculturelles en éducation*, p.13 and *Kalantzis and Cope*, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*, p.251.

⁹⁷ *Joshee*, *Multicultural education policy in Canada*, p.99 and *Meunier*, *Approches interculturelles en éducation*, pp.12f.

⁹⁸ *Joshee*, *Multicultural education policy in Canada*, p.100.

⁹⁹ *Meunier*, *Approches interculturelles en éducation*, p.32.

¹⁰⁰ *May*, *Critical multiculturalism and cultural difference: avoiding essentialism*, p.16.

¹⁰¹ *May*, *Introduction: Towards critical multiculturalism*, p.11.

¹⁰² *Moodley*, *Antiracist Education through political literacy*, p.141.

racism, mixing 'old' and 'new' racisms¹⁰³. Rattansi and May also add any form of essentialism, thus also the essentialising of gender¹⁰⁴.

The above needs to be critically analysed. One major point, for e.g. deconstructionist, is the use in terms, such as 'homogenous culture' or 'nation' and their seemingly, as the idea is often promoted, natural character¹⁰⁵. Today's, supposedly, homogenous culture is only the result of the suppression of other variants, and, to a degree, the reciprocal influence between the dominant culture and the many subordinate cultures of a nation. Nations have never been homogenous either in culture, language or ethnicity. These concept have been artificially constructed over such a long time, e.g. with the assistance of an institutionalized school system, that it seems universal and natural today¹⁰⁶. However, it did not seem so at the beginning of the creation of nations and there has been quite some struggle between competing interest groups of society who have been competing for the dominance of their culture, ideology, and paradigms. Only after one eventually became dominant, a narrative could be constructed to explain the supposed natural character of this process¹⁰⁷ and, also, defend it¹⁰⁸. Tomlinson formulates it most bluntly: "(...) society has always been divided along lines of social class, wealth, gender, race, religion, and region."¹⁰⁹

A certain paradox, regarding assimilation policies in education, is France. Banks states that it is an example for very strict assimilation policies¹¹⁰. However, it is not as straightforward as it seems. The point is brought forward by Osler and Starkey, who remark that:

The French programme of study is declarative of its principles of freedom, equality, solidarity, and human rights. These are presented as problematic only in that there is an ongoing struggle for their implementation. Pupils are invited to join that struggle.¹¹¹

It thus seems that while the general ideology is one of assimilation, a concept condemned by mainstream mce, it teaches one important aspect of 'mainstream mce' that is not taught in

¹⁰³ Moodley, *Antiracist Education through political literacy*, p.151.

¹⁰⁴ Rattansi, *Reflexive multiculturalism*, p.97.

¹⁰⁵ Rattansi, *Reflexive multiculturalism*, p.79.

¹⁰⁶ Kalantzis and Cope, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*, p.248, as cited in Gellner (1983) and Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, *The impact of a multicultural society on education and on initial training for history teachers in particular*. In: Alois Ecker (Ed.), *Initial training for history teachers. Structures and standards in 13 member states of the Council of Europe. A comparative study* (Strasbourg 2002), p.147.

¹⁰⁷ May, *Critical multiculturalism and education*, pp.43f and Rattansi, *Reflexive multiculturalism*, p.79.

¹⁰⁸ Kalantzis and Cope, *Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream*, p.246.

¹⁰⁹ Tomlinson, *Multicultural education in the United Kingdom*, p.121.

¹¹⁰ Banks, *Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age*, p.312.

¹¹¹ Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, *Citizenship education in France and England: Contrasting approaches to national identity and diversity*. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* (New York/ London 2009), p.344f.

many other countries¹¹². It is the strong concept of societal transformation that Banks values¹¹³. France, unlike most other nations, tries to educate pupils to transform society along the stated ideals (see culture of protest).

What is a dormant undercurrent in conservative and liberal mce proposals comes to the surface clearly in the next group.

3.7. The radicals on the right: Racist and religious fundamentalist multicultural discourse

Once again two distinct groups are united. They are not of great importance for the paper but will still be looked at briefly in order to complete the picture.

The most prominent concepts are complete assimilation (necessarily in even smaller numbers, reduced to strictly supervised asylum seekers immigration and maybe some specifically regulated immigration focused on clearly defined technocrat standards), strict segregation or sending foreigners home and refusing entry to foreigners completely. While the first two options still retain some form of coping with multicultural society, and could thus be categorised as mce, the last option does not qualify as mce any longer.

It is fascinating to see the discourse of multiculturalism used as a tool to make the promotion of a racist agenda more acceptable. In this regard there is even common ground for cooperation between these, by all logic opposing, groups. One example of cooperation between these two groups is the common action for stricter segregation¹¹⁴.

Neo-liberals might let the market decide what happens regarding segregation or more interaction between ethnicities. Whereas, their policy of laissez-faire could go into any direction, despite the structural obstacles; racists and religious fundamentalists actively oppose any interaction. They seem to be very aware of the strong competition for meanings in the field of multiculturalism. A seemingly more moderate multicultural discourse might lead to respect and wider societal acceptance of the extreme right.

¹¹² Nieto, Multicultural education in the United States, p.90.

¹¹³ Banks, Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age, p. 316.

¹¹⁴ Rattansi, Reflexive multiculturalism, pp.81f.

Another point that needs to be mentioned is the indirect pressure these two extreme groups put on the more mainstream conservative and liberal parties' stance on multiculturalism. In their democratic fight for votes or for keeping voters, the mainstream parties are threatened by extreme views, especially when there is some populist public backing¹¹⁵. They do not even need to be in power or anywhere close to being in power to radicalize mainstream democratic parties and to steer them into their direction¹¹⁶.

3.8. Modern terms for multicultural education

In a way these new terms reflect a continuation and updating of two opposing directions. On the one spectrum, global education wants to be the new umbrella term that tries to integrate the various mce movements in order to enable the transformation of education and society. It stands for the creation for new ideologies and paradigms. On the other side of the spectrum, there is the more conservative line, citizenship education. This concept attempts to revive conservative interpretations of mce. It is conservative insofar as it tries to conserve and protect, or reinstate the old/ established paradigm, which is under threat. These have become popular on a high level in several EU states. The United Kingdom and Germany have publicly denounced mce¹¹⁷. In the UK they, consequently, try to change the school system again, re-emphasizing old values of competition and canon teaching¹¹⁸.

3.8.1. Citizenship education

This seems to be a field of very conflicting terms, both in their diachronic but also in their synchronic variation of meanings. Banks, unlike others, differentiates here on the basis of different typologies of citizenship and sees transformative citizenship education as strongly ingrained in the wider mainstream mce movements¹¹⁹. It is outside the scope of this paper to analyse the situation as closely as it has been the case with mce. Therefore, the example of the UK, also regarding the current development and reinforced effort that is put into this

¹¹⁵ Moodley, *Antiracist Education through political literacy*, p.142.

¹¹⁶ One example is the headscarf ban in France in 2004, when in the same debate 15 years earlier it was allowed. See: *Meer, Pala, Modood, and Simon*, *Cultural diversity, Muslims, and education in France and England*, p.414.

¹¹⁷ See David Cameron and Angelika Merkel quoted above.

¹¹⁸ James Kirkup, *Muslims must embrace our British values*, David Cameron says. In: *The Daily Telegraph*, 05.02.2011, online <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/8305346/Muslims-must-embrace-our-British-values-David-Cameron-says.html>> (14.09.2011).

¹¹⁹ Banks, *Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age*, pp.312f and p.316.

topic, is presented as a conservative interpretation of the term. As described, the point of this, in some ways new, term is to enable a change in mce politics. The aim is to reform education by restoring a past reality. So called 'conservative' values and standards are reintroduced or planned to be reintroduced¹²⁰. It is, consequently, strongly criticized by multiculturalist researcher, such as Audrey Osler, Hugh Starkey, Tariq Modood et al. for its attitude towards mce. Modood et al., quoting Osler and Starkey¹²¹, emphasise the lack of multicultural and anti-racist issues and themes in the Qualification and Curriculum Authority report. Instead citizenship education focuses on the following three areas: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. It thus reintroduces the ideology of universalism and assimilation.

These themes coincide with what is described as citizenship education in Meunier, "Approaches to intercultural education. An international comparative study"¹²², which, however, also claims that ice is an integral part of it. And yet, ice is barely mentioned, and mce themes, as described by Modood, Osler, and Starkey are missing. Hence, for this essay, I will put citizenship education with the group of assimilationists, universalists and liberals. It is a concept that it only mentioned here, as the term has been used in the application of school reforms in the UK and Australia¹²³.

3.8.2. Global education

The modern term global education enables a clearer distinction between racist and non-racist discourses of mce. International advocates are the European Council and the Global Education Network (GENE).

In the Austrian context it is taking the first steps towards establishment in the formal school system but is still far from achievement¹²⁴. The themes and didactic approaches are very

¹²⁰ Kirkup, Muslims must embrace our British values, David Cameron says.

¹²¹ Meer, Pala, Modood, and Simon, Cultural diversity, Muslims, and education in France and England, p.419f, as cited in Osler and Starkey (2001).

¹²² Meunier, Approches interculturelles en education, see chapters on "Intercultural education in the European context" and "Citizenship education and multicultural education in Europe", pp.30-38.

¹²³ Christine Inglis, Multicultural education in Australia: Two generations of evolution. In: James A. Banks (Ed.), The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education (New York/ London 2009), p.111.

¹²⁴ Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur, Strategiegruppe globales Lernen (Ed.), Strategie globales lernen im österreichischem Bildungssystem (Wien/Salzburg 2009), online <http://www.ewik.de/coremedia/generator/ewik/de/Downloads/Dokumente/Strategie_20Globales_20Lernen_20im_20_C3_B6sterreichischen_20Bildungssystem.pdf> (28.09.11), pp.9 and 11.

similar to what has been described to be critical mce. The focus is on the learner, who is supposed to connect learning with his/her own environment, reflect on it and help to solve global or local problems and to cooperate with others for a new society. To achieve these aims a variety of methods should be used, themes should always be interdisciplinary and have a global perspective, and learning should be cognitive, affective and social¹²⁵.

3.8.3. Multicultural education in Belgium

According to MIPEX researcher Alistair Ross, Belgium scores well and above average in his six indicators for ice policy in schools¹²⁶. And yet, the fact that the United Kingdom scored best with 92 points out of a possible hundred in a EU/ North American comparison, might be a hint that this should not be taken as a uncontested indicator regarding the integration of ice policies in the formal education systems. Especially the Council of Europe (CoE) has been pushing for changes towards ice policies of its members for many decades. Important recent policy actions have been taken in 1995 and more intensely from 2000 onwards¹²⁷. “Intercultural education in the European context” states that most EU countries have firmly integrated ice approaches in school policies. It, however, also mentions that there are great national differences, and that there has not been much evaluation of actual practices. Overall, the French Community of Belgium is described as featuring ice across the curriculum, but especially in the subjects of history and geography.

Contrary to the above assessment, the national institute for pedagogical research (inrp)¹²⁸ concludes that the Wallon part, especially, follows the French model of republicanism rather than any mce or ice policies. Still it is granted that some ice measures have been or are being introduced, although it is continuously behind the Flemish part.

Looking at the Country Report by Eurydice for Citizenship Education in Belgium, it becomes clear that, superficially, many points raised by mce, ice and critical mce approaches, are reflected in citizenship education. Thus, for example, it calls for an empowering school

¹²⁵ Bmukk, *Strategie globales lernen*, p.8.

¹²⁶ Thomas Huddleston, *An intercultural integration: who is learning to live with diversity?* In: *Migrant Integration Policy Index* (May 20, 2011), online <<http://www.mipex.eu/blog/do-one-indicator-for-diversity-inclusion>> (27.09.2011).

¹²⁷ Meunier, *Approches interculturelles en education*, pp.31f.

¹²⁸ Meunier, *Approches interculturelles en education*, p.65.

culture¹²⁹, or to not just learn about diversity and respect it, but also to show interest¹³⁰, to actively participate in society and maybe help transform it¹³¹. All these themes comply with critical mce or mainstream mce approaches. And yet, the reality fails to reflect the application of these ideas (as I have also observed myself). There is, furthermore, no mention of the special tri-culturalism and tri-lingualism of Belgium. And Belgium is not close to solving its ongoing political crisis and disunity (29.09.2011). Another structural contradiction to critical mce is the lack of bilingual or trilingual education. With the exception of Brussels and the two small germanophone regions, the Flemish-speaking region and the francophone region are mostly monolingual. The Flemish region slightly less, as French is a required subject but it is not the official second language. In the francophone region, with Flemish not being obligatory, many pupils choose English rather than Flemish¹³². Neither French nor Flemish are respected as official national languages in the two major communities. All three regions have a very independent school system based on the federalist system in general.

The Belgian school system is highly decentralized, with the three regions responsible for their respective system of education. In the French Community of Belgium (FCB) almost fifty per cent¹³³ of the schools are 'free Catholic schools'. These are heavily subsidized by the FCB if they confirm to the official guidelines¹³⁴.

Schools are provided with autonomy and there are not many control mechanisms. To find a compromise between control and autonomy, the schools should follow the aims in the Mission Decree and the School Contract (Contrat pour l'école)¹³⁵. This is checked by the Community inspectorate¹³⁶. Pupils are tested at the end of their obligatory secondary education, in the CESS exam (le certificat d'enseignement secondaire supérieur)¹³⁷. Their

¹²⁹ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe and ongoing reforms. French Community of Belgium (n.p. 2006).

¹³⁰ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe, p.4.

¹³¹ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe, p.5.

¹³² Eurydice, Organization of education system in the French community of Belgium (2009/2010) (n.p. n.d.), p.16.

¹³³ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe. French Community of Belgium, p.1.

¹³⁴ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe. French Community of Belgium, pp.1f.

¹³⁵ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe. French Community of Belgium, pp.7f.

¹³⁶ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe. French Community of Belgium, p.2.

¹³⁷ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe. French Community of Belgium, p.4.

performance is measured by how they fulfil what is asked in the "final competences and required knowledge" (compétences terminales et savoirs requis)¹³⁸.

3.9. Summary

To summarize, I propose that any form of education for foreigners can be called multicultural education. Most of these form part of mainstream multicultural education. The term does not have one clear intended meaning in itself. Rather, there are two opposing camps who either judge migration as positive or negative. Thus, there are conservatives, neo-liberals, (and racists, however, since they reject foreigners altogether I would not include them here) who have a negative attitude on the individual foreigner. They feel that foreigners disrupt and possibly destroy the homogenous character and national unity of those nations that they immigrate to. They see the individuals as threats and apply deficit education (mostly based on language teaching but also on culture). With this kind of education the individual foreigner is supposed to successfully integrate into society, be it in assimilated or segregated form, and succeed in life. The, maybe, more positive version proposed by liberals, would allow them to keep to their own culture, which, intentionally or not, often results in segregation. However, the foreigners, once segregated, are out of the system and have more problems. They are neglected, economically disadvantaged, and have probably lower life-chances. These approaches are, therefore, only superficially more positive. The argument of both, when expected to explain the low achievement of foreigners in education and economy is that the problem lies with the individual foreigners. That they have been given the chance but failed. In contrast, mainstream and critical multiculturalists, neo-Marxists and anti-racists disagree. For them the system, its structure or base, are seen as responsible for the low achievement rates of (some) foreigners. They, furthermore, do not like to make a distinction between foreigners who 'failed' and 'lower class non-foreigners'.

Mainstream multiculturalists had a slightly different emphasis. Connected to the rise of cultural studies in the academic fields, they focused on the superstructure and culture of a society. They also do not blame the individual foreigners for their 'low-achievement' but the culture at large. According to them, the way a society thinks has to be changed in order to

¹³⁸ Eurydice, National summary sheets on education systems in Europe. French Community of Belgium, p.1.

enable all its citizens and people to succeed in life. Their focus is on reforms of the system of education and on educating the public by introducing various policies. Both of the latter groups value diversity and embrace the reality of a multicultural society.

Recently, there has been closer cooperation between the two approaches; which resulted in a pooling of ideas, and reciprocal positive and negative critique evident in critical multiculturalism.

4. Research part: Describing and identifying approaches to mce

4.1. Description of sources

For my analysis I took the most widely used history school book in the French-speaking part of Belgium. This is the only information that was provided by the publication company¹³⁹. More detailed statistics regarding the use of history books in the Wallon part of Belgium could not be found. The book is called “A changing world (from 1919 to our days)” and covers global history for the 20th and 21st century¹⁴⁰. The student book (sb) is accompanied by a guide for teachers, referred to here as teacher book (tb)¹⁴¹. The book is the fourth volume of the series “Construct History” (Construire l’Histoire). The four volumes cover global history from the ancient times to today. The fourth volume is the history book for the two last years in secondary school.

Since the book has a complex construction, I have included a scanned version of the table of contents in the appendix. Furthermore, I will include one page from each of the three broadest sections (Heritage (Héritages), Documents and Landmarks (Repères)). All the translations are by myself, however, for clarity I have included the originals of longer quotes in the appendix. Regarding some of the terms, translations were sometimes difficult as the same word with the same connotations rarely existed in English. I have thus included the French word in brackets for the first time it is mentioned.

Some proponents of mce stress the importance of including more people with mixed backgrounds into the writing process of school books. I cannot judge from the names only if

¹³⁹ See appendix for email response.

¹⁴⁰ Claude Allard, Coralie Snyers, Isabelle Van der Borght, Viviane Van Liempt, *Un monde en mutation (de 1919 à nos jours)* (Construire L’Histoire 4, Brüssel 2008).

¹⁴¹ Claude Allard, Coralie Snyers, Isabelle Van der Borght, Viviane Van Liempt, *Un monde en mutation (de 1919 à nos jours)*. Guide de l’enseignant (Construire L’Histoire 4, Brüssel 2008).

this applies to the authors, directors of the collection, or the scientific adviser of the book. It can, however, be said that they all come from Catholic institutions.

4.1.1. Teacher book

The teacher book provides a nine-page guide on how the students should or could use the book and how the teacher can integrate the book into his/her teaching (pp.7-16). These general suggestions are followed by a chapter on “didactic foundations”, which provide didactic advice on how to use the books. Broad lesson plans (“*scenarios*”) are provided in the second, considerably shorter, section of the teacher book (tb) (pp.376-407). There are eighteen didactic scenarios to choose from, which in turn are divided into the five general themes “economy and society”, “totalitarianism”, “war and after-war”, “international relations” and “issues and problems of our time”. Each of these are further divided into sub-themes. Every scenario states possible lesson aims, a set of folders (“*dossiers*”) that can or should be used. Overall there are 132 folders. I refer to the folders and the documents, by indicating the number of the folder first and then the number of the document. Thus 34/2 refers to the second document in folder 34. The didactic scenarios advise in which order, or with which leading questions, aims should be taught. As a rule, they do not treat folders as a whole, but pick a selection of documents/ informative texts from each folder and connect these with the didactic aims. These run through several distinct stages: the first stage is always “start” (“*démarrer*”), however, the consecutive order usually varies. Possible stages are: “lead an inquiry”, “organize your knowledge”, “use your knowledge”, “begin your investigation”, and “possible further study”. The tb also provides information on how and in connection to which themes to teach the four competences: asking questions, critical analysis, summarize, communicate it¹⁴².

Teachers do not need to follow these broad scenarios. They can also integrate folders according to their own plans. They find information about each folder in the first part of the book, called “Commentary of the folders of the manual” (pp.22-375). Each folder in the tb states the overall aims of the folder. It, furthermore, provides questions to the documents which the teacher might ask the students. While most of the documents are textual, pictures

¹⁴² Tb, pp.408f.

do also play an important role occasionally. In most cases pictures are analysed and interpreted more thoroughly in the tb than textual sources: each step, symbolism and interpretation is mentioned¹⁴³. The folders end with a “parcours” section where the teacher finds advice on how to use this folder, which other folders can be connected to and for which broader themes this should be done. It ends with material for further research for the teacher and further information that might interest pupils. The information for pupils is not restricted to academic information and includes a variety of sources for further research. These can be internet sites, films, songs, comics, or novels.

Besides the didactic information and advice, the teacher book (and the sb) clearly references all sources and material. More importantly, it provides additional information which it marks and thus sorts into three distinct categories. One is the ‘informative note for a document’ (note informative à propos d’un document). The second kind is information in a lined box, which are “notes which contain complementary information for the teacher” (“notices comprenant des informations complémentaires pour l’enseignant”). The third source of information is provided in a dotted box which are “complementary texts, [...] extracts of sources or books (“textes complémentaires, [...] extraits de sources ou de travaux”)¹⁴⁴. For this paper I assume an ideal scenario in which the teacher and the pupils use everything provided in the books. Since further information material (books, songs, films and novels) are not actually included but only mentioned, I will not include them.

The third part of the book features questions, answers, transcripts and additional information regarding the speeches on the CD Rom.

Overall there is no explicit mentioning, reflection or analysis of either mce or ice didactic aspects.

4.1.2. Student book

The student book (sb) provides a less detailed but still easily comprehensible guide to the use of the book. The book itself sees its purpose in being a “toolbox” which the class, that is the students and the teacher, can rely on to construct one version of the past. It suggests that the pupils let themselves be led by their teacher but also encourages self-guided

¹⁴³ See for example documents 54/12, pp.213f; and 42/11, pp.170f.

¹⁴⁴ Tb.p.7.

research by the students¹⁴⁵. In practice this would be difficult since the book features few and short informative texts. It has the bibliography and the lexicon, but it lacks the three kind of information described in the tb or further research suggestions. The most informative section is the landmarks part, which consists of only one third of the overall number of folders.

The book makes use of sophisticated colour-coding techniques and symbols to categorize, characterize, cross-reference and connect topics and folders. There are three overall parts: heritage, documents and landmarks. The first part: “heritage” (héritages), coloured in blue, can be sub-divided into “issues” (“enjeux”), which are modern-day situations or problems that can be better understood if connected to the past. The second sub-division is all about different representations of the past, be they from the present or the past. The third sub-section is called “patrimony” (“patrimoine”) which are traces of the past that can be found in the present and that can inform us about the past. In the second major, “documents”, documents about a topic are connected so that research can be made, which, eventually, leads to discoveries¹⁴⁶. These two main parts have in common, that they heavily rely on documents the pupils and the teacher can interpret and analyse. In the former part these documents are more modern whereas in the latter they are older. In contrast, the third main part “landmarks” (“repères”) does feature some documents, however, it mostly features long texts that provide background information. It is intended to support the analysis of the documents of the past presented in the documents section. The book also contains a variety of maps (historical, geographical, *human development index* information by countries, etc.) and timelines. Very important, regarding the potential for independent work and critical analysis by the pupils, are the “biographic notes on the authors of the documents” (sb pp.320 – 330) and the lexicon at the end. One contains background information about the lives of the authors of the various documents and the other is a lexical guide to explain difficult terms (all the terms that are explained are marked with a star and are italicised in the book. It enables the student to know when he/she can check the lexicon).

Since the table of contents will be analysed later, here a short description. The table of contents is grouped, colour-coded and cross-referenced. The first section, “heritage”, covers the first 25 folders, more or less situated in or concerned with the present, its subdivisions

¹⁴⁵ Sb, p.2.

¹⁴⁶ Sb, p.2.

have already been mentioned. The documents part consists of 87 folders. These are further divided into two broad time-frames (1918-1945 and 1945-2008) and one additional part that crosses the whole century. These three parts are further sub-divided by a selection of general topics, which then feature in one or more folders. Interestingly, these categorizations differ from the cross-references between the actual folders. These are indicated via small 'flags' on the margins of the first page of each folder. The number of 'flags', that is connected folders, can vary greatly. For example, folder 37, "Belgium in the 1930s", suggests 8 folders while folder 65, "the royal question in Belgium", only relates to two further folders. Parallel to the documents, marked in yellow, is the connected sub-theme of the "landmarks". The landmarks section is divided into "the point on..." ("le point sur..."), "traces", "time and space", and "biographic notes on the authors of the documents – the Lexicon – the table of acronyms – the table of maps"¹⁴⁷. The most important one of these is "the point on..." which provides additional information on the topics and is intended to help the pupil to analyse the documents objectively and enable students to draw conclusions. This part runs parallel to the documents section in order to show which folders of the documents section go with which folders from the "the point on..." part. This is helpful for students who want to work independently since most of the information provided by the authors of the book is in the "the point on..." part. The landmarks part has 35 textual folders, nine maps, 4 chronology folders and four "traces" folders. This leaves it still shorter than the documents section which is clearly the longest of all three parts.

Each folder has a title and subtitles, which are the leading questions that are to be answered in the folder. All the documents in the folder are clearly referenced and sometimes additional key information is provided for the document in question. This information, marked by a "key", is generally rare. It also does not feature in all folders and it is usually short (one or two sentences).

4.2. Analysis part one

In this section and the next, I am not analysing the books as a sum of their parts; instead, I will look at the parts as if they were not connected to create a wider picture. In other words, I will disregard the condition that the books are organized into distinct folders which often

¹⁴⁷ Sb, p.5.

do not connect to each other. Instead I will analyse the books as a whole as if they would not consist of these chapters. The aim is to identify and describe characteristics which enable a later categorization regarding the nature of the mce approach(es) that can be found in the books. The following concepts: universalism, eurocentrism, multiperspectivity, connecting modern themes to the past, forms of knowledge, and teaching empathy are general aspects which are important issues in the field of mce. They are valued differently by the various versions of multicultural education. Analysing the degree and kind of presence of these concepts in the books enables me to categorize the books according to mce approach. I will first describe them, using examples of the books to explain them. As it was possible at this point to disregard extreme right and liberal/ conservative approaches, I then focused on attempting to classify the book as either early mce or critical mce. If neither is possible it would be a vague form of mainstream mce with influences from critical mce and early mce, and minor influences from liberal/ conservative approaches to mce.

After having conducted the analysis, it became clear that my original expectation to identify one main approach to mce, which might have been accompanied by one or more minor approaches did not come true. I had to do a second analysis. This is explained in 4.3. Analysis part two.

4.2.1. Describing concepts of mce

4.2.1.1. *Universalism, eurocentrism and multiperspectivity*

- Because learning is to research, discover and CONSTRUCT new knowledge...
- Because in the impossibility to observe the lives of men of the past, the historian can only CONSTRUCT a representation, the most true possible, for himself...
- Because understanding the past helps to prepare the students for the CONSTRUCTION of History; the history which begins tomorrow... ¹⁴⁸

“This manual serves as a TOOLBOX. It allows you to progressively and with the help of your teacher and the pupils of your class, to CONSTRUCT a synthesis of the History of mankind (...).”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Back cover of the sb.

¹⁴⁹ Sb, p.2.

Already the title of the whole series “Construire l’Histoire” shows how important it was for the editors to emphasize that there is never a single, dogmatic representation of the past that constitutes the absolute truth. This basic ideology is mentioned, both at the beginning and at the very end of the book as the quotes show. The shorter, second one, of the above quotes is situated in the key-marked information text on page two of the sb. This text is directed at the student outlining the purpose of the book. It emphasizes, by capitalizing and marking the words in bold, three aspects. Firstly, that this book is a toolbox that students and teachers can use. Secondly, that it aims at teaching the students not only knowledge or practical skills (savoir and savoir-faire) but also the main competences of the historian. Thirdly, and most importantly, it draws the attention to the basic ideological points, namely the constructionist character of historical writing and that it is not absolute or universal but merely one (of many) representation of the past. Both assertions are fundamental issues of the main approaches to multicultural education in teaching history. The second of the bullet points found at the above quote, which is situated at the back of the book, also points out the constructionist character of any representation of the past. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the referring to this one representation as the “most accurate possible” (“la plus fidèle possible”), almost dogmatizes it again and denies a variety of ‘accurate’ representations. This is also suggested by the capitalization that can be found in the word “l’Histoire”. ‘History’ is more universal and singular than ‘history’.

As the interpretation of the quotes does not seem to lead to a definite conclusion, it is time to look at three important issues of teaching history: eurocentrism, universalism and multiperspectivity. Eurocentric foci, perspectives and attitudes have been major issues for mce in history teaching. For this book it can be asserted that eurocentrism has been applied in accordance to mainstream mce. As can be seen in the table of contents in the sb, the whole world is covered regarding geography but also across time. The focus is on the First and Second World War as well as the Cold War, all three topics have arguably affected the whole world and are of major importance for all countries. Outside these three themes which dominated the 20th century, the Middle East, its past and present, China, India, Japan and South America have chapters devoted to them. A selection of countries from the African and Asian continent, which do not fit the above categories or are not as important as China, Japan and India, are part of the theme “North-South relations”. It is mostly concerned with decolonisation. A certain non-eurocentric attitude crystalizes most in the topic of under-

development, which is connected to colonialism and to neo-colonialism¹⁵⁰. This can also be said for the issue of women, with the critical folders 8 ("Women and men: equality?"), 75 ("Women in Belgium"), 113 ("The roots of Islamism"), and 21 ("The universal declaration of human rights")¹⁵¹ which all stress that the way is still long to establish equality for women. Additionally, it is important that Islam does not get equalized with discrimination against women. This can be seen in document 4 in folder 62 ("Iran, an Islamic republic"; sb) which notes that the forced introduction of the headscarf in Iran had the emancipatory (side-) effect of considerably increasing the amount of in female university students.

The issue of universalism, the assumption that one neutral set of norms can be applied anywhere regardless of context, is a contested issue in the mce movement. Critical multicultural education argues that it should avoided while the more conservative approaches defend it¹⁵². Universalism is brushed upon in folder 21 "the universal declaration of human rights". The issue is the respective opposition of the Cold War powers to the other's emphasis on either social and economic rights or political and civil rights¹⁵³. In contrast to this reflection, there is only one version of democracy and economic models, both liberal, that are approved of. Other theoretical models of democracy, e.g. direct democratic models or influences are not mentioned. The communist economic model is not reflected and the ultra-liberal economic model is criticized only occasionally¹⁵⁴. The deepest reflection on the degree of liberalism can be found in the tb informative text on "defining globalisation" by J.-M. Gaillard¹⁵⁵. This text mentions that liberalism (economic, financial, political, cultural) triumphed over communism and all its successive forms. While the text notes that some but not all see this as the final solution, or end of history as Fukuyama would say; it still fails to analyse the compromises. Thus, there is a difference not merely between the USA and the USSR but also between the USA and many EU countries. Overall the book fails to look at the development of liberalism in its early forms during the industrial

¹⁵⁰ See text in folder 94, pp.246f.

¹⁵¹ Regarding folders 113 and 21 only documents 2, respectively.

¹⁵² Authors, such as: May and Rattansi on the avoidance side. Dinesh DaSouza and Arthur Schlesinger on the defence side.

¹⁵³ Sb, p.48.

¹⁵⁴ Ultra liberal policies are criticized in most folders about North-South relations, which are colonialism, under-development and neo-colonialism; and in folder 96 on South America.

¹⁵⁵ J.-M. Gaillard, La planète est un village. In: Les collections de l'Histoire, Nr.38 (n.p. 2008), p.67, in the tb p.37. Another instance is in folder 107, tb, p.352, which criticises the liberal model and IMF policies.

revolution and how it integrated, especially in the wealthy European states, socialist points to create the "welfare state".

The effect of a partly existing universalism is reduced by a thorough bedrock of multiperspectivity. Which, once more supports a non-eurocentric approach. As can be seen later, multiperspectivity asserts itself not only in the choice of documents and the organization of folders, but also in the didactic aspects. First of all, it can be affirmed that most folders try to present a balanced mix of pro-/contra- (that is opposing views)/ and neutral documents regarding the leading questions of the folder. The prime example is folder 43 ("Pius XII and the 'final solution'"), in which three documents are rather critical of his lack of action against the holocaust and the persecution of Jews (43/ 1, 3 and 5). Instead of condemning the pope's actions, documents 43/2, 4 and 6 help to explain his decisions.

Multiperspectivity is also a trait found in the three kinds of information in the teacher book and in the key-marked information in the student book. The sources aim at presenting a diverse picture by providing a mix of critical information. The issue of what constitutes human rights has been mentioned, other examples are the role of foreign involvement in Mobuto's coup¹⁵⁶ or the circumstances of the death of Lumumba¹⁵⁷. A prime example is also the informational text in the tb on page 197, which mentions the many social problems that occurred as a result of the end of Communism, especially for the part of the population, which had relied most on full employment, (almost) free community services and other state subsidies.

4.2.1.2. Modern themes and their connections to the past

Critical multiculturalism focuses on the critical analysis of the modern topic-cluster racism and human rights, especially its modern forms and realizations. Thus, discrimination, xenophobia, islamophobia, institutionalized racism etc. are brought to the foreground and connected/ compared to the past, with the aim of improving the present. As will be

¹⁵⁶ Tb, p.212.

¹⁵⁷ Tb, p.210 texts entitled: "The death of Lumumba", from: L. De Vos, E. Gérard, J. Gérard-Libois et P. Raxhon, *Les secrets de l'affaire Lumumba*, Bruxelles 2005 p. 450-451. and p.211 "The conclusions by the parliamentary commission on Lumumba", from: Les rapporteurs: Daniel Bacquellaine, Ferdy Willems, Marie-Thérèse Coenen et Geert Versnick, *Conclusions de la Commission d'enquête Parlementaire visant à déterminer les circonstances exactes de l'assassinat de Patrice Lumumba et l'implication éventuelle des responsables politiques belges dans celui-ci*, Chambre des représentants de Belgique, 16 novembre 2001, p. 838-839,(online: www.lachambre.be, consulted on 04.08.2008).

discussed in chapter 4.3 not all critical mce proposals are integrated in the book, however, the book does realize some of the demands. Noteworthy is the issues section of the heritages part. Especially folders 3 (“a unipolar world?”), 5 (“North and South: more and more ‘(un) equal?’”), 6 (“Globalization: to the profit of all?”), 11 (“the temptation of the extreme right”), and 21 (“the universal declaration of human rights”). All treat modern inequalities and discriminations, analyse and reflect them, and connect them to the past. In the case of North-South the focus is on neo-colonialism¹⁵⁸, for the threat of the extreme right it is the folders on Nazi Germany and authoritarianism¹⁵⁹.

4.2.1.3. Structural, cultural and ideological phenomena (anti-racist elements) (take out as well as it comes up later!?)

Another issue of critical mce is to distinguish between discrimination (be it along race, gender, religion or social status) perpetrated by individuals and discrimination that is inherent in the very economic and political system. Thus, racism can be an issue that is a trait of individuals, a phenomenon of a whole institution, or even part of a larger economic/ political system. The individual aspect is stressed by more conservative/ liberal approaches to mce, while the latter two aspects are emphasized by mainstream, early and critical mce. The tb and the sb mention these structural aspects in some of the folders on the end of the USSR (folder 50, “Eastern Europe since 1945, and folder 58, “Post-communist *Russia*”). They also reflect on it when they treat the situation of African Americans in the US (folder 70, “The black question in the United States”), and when discussing neo-colonialism (folders 93, “The end of the colonial empires: why?” and folder 94, “The roots of under-development”).

4.2.1.4. Forms of knowledge and critical information

To better understand the kind of critical information that critical and mainstream mce value, Bank’s distinctions regarding the forms of knowledge is valuable. Distinguishing between personal, cultural, popular, mainstream academic and transformative academic knowledge¹⁶⁰, he emphasizes the importance of transformative academic knowledge. This can be found in the documents, and the informative texts in the tb and the sb. Most

¹⁵⁸ See especially folder 94, pp.246f.

¹⁵⁹ Folders 34-37 and 83.

¹⁶⁰ James Banks, The Canon debate, knowledge construction, and multicultural education. In: James A. Banks, Race, Culture, and Education: the selected works of James A. Banks (New York 2006), pp.152-155.

revealing is the issue of what constitutes genocide. The student book critically includes massacres that are not universally accepted as genocides¹⁶¹. However, further analysis of the kind of genocides included should be done. The selected examples all contribute to an “us vs. them” opposition. The only genocide committed in and by the “West” is the holocaust, the rest are all committed by the “Other”, be it the African, the Turk, the Russian, the Arab or the Asian; earlier, also not universally qualified, genocides committed by the West (see Ancient Greece, or more modern ones, against Natives in North and South America, Africa, Asia; most specifically King Leopold II’s actions in the Congo Free State¹⁶²) are not mentioned¹⁶³. Furthermore, I would argue that ‘genocide’ is a topic that concerns all at all times. It is a warning that shows to what cruelty mankind is capable¹⁶⁴. More importantly, the tb mentions that some historians do use the term genocide in connection to the famine that hit the Ukrainian population during the period of “*dekoulakisation*”¹⁶⁵. This shows disagreement even amongst historians.

Regarding Lumumba, the tb critically presents the open question of international involvement and what the part of the Belgian administration was in the death of Lumumba¹⁶⁶. A third example is connected to the discussion around the beginning on the Vietnam War, here the key-marked information in the sb on page 122 is even more assertive than the informative text “the incident of the destroyer Maddox: info or intox” in the tb¹⁶⁷. The information in the sb emphasizes that the attack on an American destroyer, which was used as a “pretext” by Johnson to get support for war from congress, has “never been proven”¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶¹ Folder 102, p. 263.

¹⁶² Adam *Hochschild*, *King Leopold’s ghost. A story of greed, terror and heroism in colonial Africa* (London 1998).

¹⁶³ The argument could be that the fourth volume only looks at history from 1919 onwards. However, none of the titles of the other volumes hint that the topic of genocide has been treated.

¹⁶⁴ Aspect of the transcultural, see Bettina *Alavi*, *Interkulturelles Geschichtslernen*. In: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik* (2002), p.126.

¹⁶⁵ Tb, p.125. From: F. Thom, *la dékoulakisation et la famine 1928-1933*. In: S. Courtois (ed.) *Quand tombe la nuit*. Lausanne ; 2001 p.193-214.

¹⁶⁶ Tb, p.210. From: L. De Vos, E. Gérard, J. Gérard-Libois et P. Raxhon, *Les secrets de l’affaire Lumumba*, Bruxelles 2005 p. 450-451; p. 211 *Les rapporteurs* ; Daniel Bacquelaïne, Ferdy Willems, Marie-Thérèse Coenen et Geert Versnick, *Conclusions de la Commission d’enquête Parlementaire visant à déterminer les circonstances exactes de l’assassinat de Patrice Lumumba et l’implication éventuelle des responsables politiques belges dans celui-ci*, Chambre des représentants de Belgique, 16 novembre 2001, p. 838-839 (online: www.lachambre.be, consulted on 04.08.2008; and p. 212 G. de Villers, *De Mobutu à Mobutu. Trente ans de relations Belgique-Zaïre*, Bruxelles 1995 p. 19).

¹⁶⁷ Tb, p.189. From: J. Portes, *Les Américains et la guerre du Viêt Nam*, Bruxelles 1993 pp.99-100).

¹⁶⁸ Sb, p.122.

4.2.1.5. *Teaching empathy*

Eva Larzén creatively reduces critical and mainstream mce to three broad aspects: knowledge, communication, and empathy¹⁶⁹. Communication can be disregarded for history as the Larzén context is second language acquisition and teaching. Knowledge and empathy, however, remain relevant. She sees knowledge as important but she values empathy as the solid bedrock on which the two other aspects depend on. Thus the ability to feel with the other and understand their perspective matters. An “us vs. them” opposition is to be avoided. Integrating empathy might not be a clearly defined didactic approach. It can, nevertheless, be seen to surface in the kind of questions and tasks that are asked of the students, and in the information and documents that are provided. The most revealing examples are connected to the WW2. First of all, a lot of context is provided, the rise of the Nazi regime is placed in a wider European context, which shows a trend towards rising authoritarian regimes as a response to the crisis¹⁷⁰. More importantly the question of guilt and responsibility is shared by reflecting on the kind of collaboration by France, Belgium and the Catholic Church regarding the holocaust and the deportation of Jews¹⁷¹.

4.2.1.6. *Didactic issues*

Connected to the cluster of multiperspectivity, universalism and eurocentrism is the documents part, which has the sub-theme of debates¹⁷². As shown above, in many folders there is a balanced presentation of documents, meaning that folders include documents which can be categorized as being pro-/ contra-/ and neutral in regard to the theme/ leading questions of the folder. This already by itself forms an important aspect of critical and mainstream mce. However, these versions of mce are even more deeply applied when the folders are connected to the biography part at the end of the book. It provides bibliographic information regarding people that are mentioned in the documents or about authors of the documents. Most of these people are major historical figures, such as Churchill, Hitler, and De Gaulle. Regarding the authors of the documents, the information is usually shorter and focuses on current and former employment, nationality (also change of nationality is

¹⁶⁹ Eva Larzén, In pursuit of an intercultural dimension in EFL-Teaching, exploring cognitions among Finland-Swedish comprehensive school teachers (n.p. 2005). Online

<<https://oa.doria.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/4138/TMP.objres.19.pdf?sequence=1>> (14.01.2011).

¹⁷⁰ Sb, folder 83, p.224.

¹⁷¹ Sb, folders 42, 43 and 86.

¹⁷² “Débats”, see table of contents in appendix.

mentioned). Often a certain ideological leaning is often noted; thus, Annie Lacroix-Riz is an “active communiste”, Martin Malia has a “liberal tendency”, and Peter George Peterson is a “conservative”¹⁷³. This section helps the students to work independently with the book, which is possible only to a degree since it is mostly the landmarks section which provides informative texts. However, it is not the purpose of the book to provide authoritative information¹⁷⁴. Instead the purpose is to help the student evaluate the nature, objectivity, validity, and subjectivity of the documents. This is a coherent theme as most analysis-questions in the tb encourage the teacher to ask the pupils to evaluate the above qualities of the documents by reading through the references in the bibliography. Thus the students learn to be critical by questioning the very nature of a source. By providing a balanced composition of documents in the folders and by evaluating these folders using the bibliographic information, the final didactic mainstream and critical mce aspect can be identified as being a certain encouragement for pupils to form their own views of the past, to construct their history themselves.

The above described aspect is the most reflective and critical, and it forms a fundamental part of the questions in the tb. A more detailed analysis of the tasks is not possible here; it can, however, be mentioned that apart from that aspect, the independent reflection and critical questions regarding individual documents are rare.

4.2.2. A mce categorization

In chapter three five broad approaches to multicultural education (early mce, mainstream mce, critical mce, conservative/ liberal approaches to mce and the extreme right approach to mce) have been presented. In the sub-chapter above, several concepts have been described to help categorize the kind of mce approach applied in the books. In the description of these concepts it became clear that aspects of the extreme right approach to mce could not be detected in the books. It also seemed that neither conservative/ liberal mce approaches play a major role¹⁷⁵. For now, this sub-chapter attempts to categorize the mce approach found in the books as early mce or as mainly critical mce. The part on early

¹⁷³ Sb, pp.325-327

¹⁷⁴ For a description on different kinds of school books, see: Klaus *Edel*, Das Schulbuch im Geschichtsunterricht. In: Fachdidaktikzentrum Geschichte, Sozialkunde und politische Bildung, online <www.geschichtsdidaktik.eu/index.php?id=133> (12.09.12).

¹⁷⁵ I later realized that this preliminary conclusion had to be re-evaluated in more detail in chapter 4.3., using an alteration of the method of literary analysis defined in chapter 2.

mce overlaps, in its additive aspects, with the conservative/ liberal approach to mce. Early mce also shares its position with critical race theory when the issue is cultural addition. A clear distinction between the three is therefore not possible. The overall question is whether one single version of mce can be identified as being the basis of the book.

4.2.2.1. *Early mce approach*

4.2.2.1.1. *Cultural addition*

This early version of mainstream mce or continued practice under critical race theory has more relevance in the immigration countries, such as the US, Canada, Australia, etc. It emphasizes that the history of the minorities should be treated in the history lessons¹⁷⁶. This is most true for the French theme which is deeply integrated in the book and the example of France is often used as a comparison (e.g. occupation and resistance in Belgium and France (folder 42), French and Belgium colonialism (folder 52), EU (folder 55), WW1 (folders 26 and 28) and generation 68 (folder 69)). The French are closely behind Italians who provide the most immigrants to Belgium¹⁷⁷. Italian history, however, is barely treated, except for the topic of fascist Italy¹⁷⁸. Furthermore, the situation or contribution of Italians is not reflected as they are only mentioned in folder 106 “Foreigners in Belgium: Immigrants, refugees, and ‘without papers’” in regard to work immigration after the WW2¹⁷⁹. This folder also refers to other migrant groups, nonetheless no focus on the analysis of their importance for the Belgium economy/ society could be attributed. Their contribution part is little, however, information about their home-countries is provided. The next biggest groups are Congolese, which are well covered in the colonial folders (53 and 54), as well as in the Expo folder (23 “The Atomium, the symbol of the 58 Expo”). The question remains whether this is done for “Congolese” pupils or rather because it is such an integrative part of Belgian history. Another group are Moroccans, which are covered in the Maghreb folder (98) and probably find their issues answered in the religion parts (though this might be a racist assumption on my part). The Turkish also feature in immigration and in the folder on the Ottoman Empire (39,

¹⁷⁶ See for example James Banks, Teaching Black history with a focus on decision making. In: James A. Banks, Race, Culture, and Education: the selected works of James A. Banks (New York 2006), p.20; and Kalantzis and Cope, Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream, p.245.

¹⁷⁷ Sb, folder 106/2, p. 275 From: Nationalité d’origine des étrangers en Belgique au 31 décembre 2004, online: www.emploi.belgiaue.be, page consultée le 3 avril 2007)

¹⁷⁸ Sb, folder 33 “Italy becomes fascist”. However, I assume that fascist Italy is part of most history books in Europe.

¹⁷⁹ Sb, pp.274f.

although, as the title suggests “On the ruins of the Ottoman Empire”, the focus is on the decline). Generally, for most groups it is rather about information than on reflecting on their contributions or the discrimination that they are/ might be suffering. Thus, it can be concluded that critical race theory or early mce are not an integral and intentional mce part of the book but merely coincide in some themes.

4.2.2.1.2. *Additive aspects in general*

Banks, rather than focusing on culture, identified an additive stage regarding the multicultural content integration. Here themes are added without changing the very organization of the content; this has been a trait in early mce and conservative/ liberal mce¹⁸⁰. In the case of the sb “Latin America: on the way to democracy” (folder 96) can be clearly identified as falling into this category. Cuba and Chile get mentioned but are not connected to wider implications, such as US policies in the region. US support for dictators, or CIA supported coups get mentioned throughout the tb and the sb but are not unified to make a point comparable to the description of the USSR's relationship with Eastern Europe (the implications of this are analysed in chapter 4.3.2. and 5.1.2.). Part of this issue is Iran, which also is not deeply integrated and mainly serves as a negative example for an Islamic state, which supports terrorism and endangers world security with its nuclear programme¹⁸¹. Arguably, it also features critical and balanced information, such as documents 62/3, 4 and 5, as well as the key-marked text in the sb on page 164 and an informative piece in the tb on page 242. The latter explains that Iran’s tension with the US is not only due to US support of Israel but also due to US support of the Shah and of Iraq during the Iraq-Iran war. No information, however, is provided on the CIA coup, the first of its kind, to reinstate the Shah after a peaceful and democratic transition in the 1950s. In general it can be concluded that topic of Islam or Muslims seems additive in focus, rather than in overall presence, since it features in folders 2, 9, 39, 61, 62, 64, 98-100, and 113 (with minor points elsewhere). The focus, however, is mainly negative, a positive example of a state with Islam as the main religion is not mentioned. Furthermore, states that are 'bad' seem to be 'bad' because of

¹⁸⁰ In early mce it was well meant, see: *Banks*, The social studies, ethnic diversity, and social change, pp.94f; for it being part of conservative/ liberal mce, see: *Kalantzis* and *Cope*, Multicultural education: transforming the mainstream, pp.250f.

¹⁸¹ The folder connects to folder 2 on world security, to folder 9 “Religions between war and peace”, folder 64 on terrorism, folder 100 “The conflicts in the Middle East” and folder 113 on Islamism.

Islam and not for other reasons. Additionally, Islam's potential for social and political reform, exemplified in the Iranian revolution, resistance to authoritarian regimes in several Arab countries (which only now achieved revolutions) is neglected¹⁸². It also fails to look at structural problems considering Muslim migrants, some already in the third or fourth generation, which could be compared to the situation of African Americans then and today in the US¹⁸³.

Women as a focus on history are analysed thoroughly. The book integrates three broad approaches to teaching women in history. There are folders on women specifically (folders 75 and 8), on gender issues in general (folders 68, 69 and 76), and often there is no specific mentioning of gender. The most additive aspects are issues outside the norm of heterosexuality. Thus, LGBT (Lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans) issues are almost completely neglected and only briefly mentioned in document 76/3 (Folder is on "Family and youth in the 20th century") regarding the theme of legalizing gay marriage or legalizing adoption by homosexual couples. It is also a theme of the visual document 16/6 (folder on Che Guevara). This poster shows four faces of Che. The Che seems to be wearing lipstick and eye shadow. The poster is subtitled "Che Gay"¹⁸⁴.

A final important point regarding additive character is the issue of blacks. Folder 56 on "the black question in the US" treats the situation of African Americans then and today. It is critical and structural with regard to the information in the books, but it is only two pages long in sb and three in the tb¹⁸⁵. Moreover, it is isolated from other topics as it is only connected to the folders on US as a superpower and the Olympic games. More importantly, the book completely lacks a comparison between the situation for 'black' people in the United States, the United Kingdom, South Africa, Belgium and France (just a possible selection for comparisons).

It seems that the global aspirations of the books contributed that shortness of some themes rather than the prevalence of an early or conservative/ liberal version of mce. However, as is

¹⁸² There are positive documents: such as 9/6 on the definition of "Jihad", which emphasizes that it does not only mean war and that it is for social change and against oppression.

¹⁸³ See clashes in Parisian suburbs in 2005.

¹⁸⁴ Sb, p.39.

¹⁸⁵ Additionally it also include the speech "I have a dream" by Martin Luther King on the tb CD, transcript in the tb, pp.419 – 422.

analysed in chapter 4.3., it is the way how, when, and what is additive that can further inform about the mce character of the book.

4.2.2.2. *Critical multiculturalism*

This approach might feature in some areas but is not applied in its wider implications. Next, a selection of critical mce issues are presented and the degree of their realization is analysed.

At the top of his hierarchy regarding the ideal form of multicultural content integration, Banks places the transformative and the social action approach¹⁸⁶. By transformative approach he broadly means what has been treated here as multiperspectivity. This has already been established as an underlying theme/ general attribute of the books. The issue of the social action approach implies that students should learn how “[t]o participate effectively in democratic social change...” in order to close the gap of “the inconsistency between our ideals and social realities...”¹⁸⁷. In the heritage sub-theme issues the sb treats modern problems and suggests improvements, such as a continuation of the fighting for equality in regard to the situation of women (folders 8, 75 and document 21/2), inequalities that continue to exist regarding neo-colonialism (especially folder 94), and the threat of extremism from the right (folder 11). While it is true that these points are raised, the book fails to go into more detail regarding actual action¹⁸⁸.

For May, Rattansi and others in the critical mce field, a certain critical or reflexive approach is important. This can be found in an analysis of the new forms of racism mostly connected to islamophobia. Such a focus could but does not feature in folder 9 (“The religions between war and peace”), folder 11 (“The temptation of the extreme right”), folder 82 (“Racism as the basis of Nazism”), folder 106 (“Foreigners in Belgium: Immigrants, refugees, “no-papers”), and folder 113 (“The roots of Islamism”).

Another major aspect of this critical approach is to focus on the part that underlying structures of the economic and political system play in creating inequality. As has been mentioned, this non-cultural discrimination is referred to occasionally. The problem of not

¹⁸⁶ James Banks, Approaches to multicultural curriculum reform. In: James A. Banks, Race, Culture, and Education: the selected works of James A. Banks (New York 2006) p.141.

¹⁸⁷ Banks, Approaches to multicultural curriculum reform, p.143.

¹⁸⁸ With one exception in unit 107 which emphasises that everyone’s consumer choices influence the kind economy/ globalization that exists, p.279.

focusing but still mentioning the structural problems is exemplified in the folder on African Americans in the US. The folder in the sb features documents that provide information on the fight for equality (70/1), the ideas behind it (70/2), texts and pictures that help imagine the time and situation for African Americans (70/3,4,5), and a list of laws that have been changed (70/6). It is only the teacher book which mentions, in one paragraph, that the situation from the 1970s until now has improved regarding legal aspects, however, remains highly problematic in the socio-economic and educational fields¹⁸⁹. It elaborates the structural discrimination: “Many Blacks live in urban areas that are the most disadvantaged, have a lower annual income than whites, are more affected by unemployment, and are less likely to pursue higher educational studies”. In contrast, the student book only features a very short document on modern structural discrimination. This is not even situated in the folder 70 on African Americans but in folder 56 “The United States, a superpower?”¹⁹⁰.

A more structurally focused example are the folder on colonialism or North-South relations (folders 5, 6, 52-54, 93, 94). The informative text in folder 94 links the economic system of colonial times with the post-colonial system¹⁹¹. It states that this has not changed, and that it creates an imbalance which explains the debt. The text then goes into the IMF policies of the 1980s which cut public spending drastically. This is reflected in the caricature 94/2 which clearly links debt (and the interest of that debt, and the interest of the interest, etc.), and cuts in social and public spending, which negatively influence public hospitals, public schools, and public transport, to under-development. The issues are further elaborated in documents 94/3 and 4. A very critical text is document 5/3 which reflects on the negative effect of IMF policies and blames the very economic system as a major reason for the rising debt in former colonies (this is also clearly shown in the statistics in document 5/6 and focused on in document 5/5).

Folders 94 and 5, clearly influenced by critical mce, contrast with folders 53, “The Belgian Congo: from paternalism to independence”, and 54, “Congo, Zaire, RDC. Structural aspects lack; the statistics of documents 54/7, 8, 9 and 10 even suggest that life was better in colonial times. Furthermore, structural aspects are also neglected as the reason for the worsening of the situation which is attributed to chaos following independence. The

¹⁸⁹ Tb, p.269.

¹⁹⁰ Sb, 56/7, p.149. From: Serge Halimi, Contradictions du “melting pot”. In: L’Atlas du monde diplomatique, hors série de Manière de voir, 2003, p.104f.

¹⁹¹ Sb, folder 94, p.246.

informative text “The first Congolese republic”¹⁹² only concentrates on political and ethnic motivations for the extreme chaos. Folder 53 fails to analyse deeply, with the pupils, the international involvement in the failing of the young democracy in Congo. Most of the information is confined to the tb¹⁹³. It does not connect these tensions with the Belgian policy of raising a class of “evolved” Congolese as the elite who are educated and assimilated to Belgian culture and loyal to Belgium¹⁹⁴. Documents 53/3 and 4, part of the speeches by Baudouin and Lumumba are opposed in the text book; however, the third orator, Joseph Kasavubu is not mentioned. This speech, significantly, did not clash with Baudouin¹⁹⁵. Kasavubu is later mentioned as having “revocated” Lumumba¹⁹⁶. Once more, an analysis on how the Belgian policy of raising an elite of “evolved”, who are loyal to Belgium (see the case of Kasavubu), might have contributed to the ensuing civil wars and establishment of an authoritarian regime is absent.

A further issue is the integration of a Marxist analysis into multicultural education, advocated by McLaren and Torres. It is missing as a general focus and merely surfaces occasionally. Thus transition from communism to capitalism are not analysed in detail in Eastern European countries after end of USSR. Regarding Russia only document 3 stresses that economic liberalism did not benefit all and hit some parts of the population hard. Document 4 does the same it, however, rather blames this on the incomplete transition to a “true market economy”¹⁹⁷. Regarding Poland, document 50/13 fails to reflect on how rising GDP did not reduce unemployment numbers¹⁹⁸. Only document 50/12 opposes advantages and disadvantages of the capitalism and communism respectively¹⁹⁹. In the folder on Human

¹⁹² Tb, p.211. From B. Verhagen, *La Première République*, In: J. Vanderlinden (ed.) *Du Congo au Zaïre. 1960-1980*, Bruxelles, 1981, p.111.

¹⁹³ Tb, p.210. From: L. De Vos, E. Gérard, J. Gérard-Libois et P. Raxhon, *Les secrets de l’affaire Lumumba*, Bruxelles 2005 p. 450-451; p. 211 Les rapporteurs: Daniel Bacquelaine, Ferdy Willems, Marie-Thérèse Coenen et Geert Versnick, *Conclusions de la Commission d’enquête Parlementaire visant à déterminer les circonstances exactes de l’assassinat de Patrice Lumumba et l’implication éventuelle des responsables politiques belges dans celui-ci*, Chambre des représentants de Belgique, 16 novembre 2001, p. 838-839, (online: www.lachambre.be, consulted on 04.08.2008); and p. 212 « Un coup d’Etat soutenu de l’extérieur? » from: G. de Villers, *De Mobutu à Mobutu. Trente ans de relations Belgique-Zaïre*, Bruxelles 1995 p. 19).

¹⁹⁴ Tb, p.206f.

¹⁹⁵ For all three complete speeches, see: *Les discours prononcés par le Roi Baudouin Ier, le Président Joseph Kasa-Vubu et le Premier Ministre Patrice-Emery Lumumba lors de la cérémonie de l’indépendance du Congo (30 juin 1960) à Léopoldville (actuellement Kinshasa)*, In: Kong-Kinshasa, online <http://www.kongo-kinshasa.de/dokumente/lekture/disc_indep.pdf> (20.08.2013).

¹⁹⁶ Tb, p.211.

¹⁹⁷ Sb, p.152f.

¹⁹⁸ Sb, document 50/13, p.129.

¹⁹⁹ Sb, document 50/12, p.129.

Rights it is mentioned that the USSR pushed for socio-economic rights, but the differing ideas of Human Rights regarding communism and capitalism are not analysed²⁰⁰. Marxist economic analyses are also neglected, apart from the ones mentioned regarding neo-colonialism²⁰¹. It is remarkable that the ultra-liberal model is criticized (see IMF: several instances mentioned above), but that the US liberal economic and democratic model is presented as the universal ideal to which the USSR version of communism is opposed to. If the liberal economic system/ free market model is not working then that is due to an incomplete realization of it²⁰². A more moderate form of socialism or a very strong welfare model as it exists (or existed) in the European Nordic countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, is not analysed or even presented.

Finally, Eva Larzén focused on a very basic, simple and yet maybe even most important feature of critical mce, “empathy”. That is to enable the students to move from a tolerance and acceptance of diversity to real appreciation and valuing of diversity. Apart from the instances mentioned, this is missing as a general theme. Most importantly, it is absent in opposing French and Belgian “resistance” during WW2 with Islamic terrorism, which, apart from a theoretical example in document 64/1, when the Palestinians who attack Israeli military are resistance but those who attack civilians are terrorists, gets treated as terrorism. The same distinction is not attributed regarding the French and Belgian resistance, which when attacking “collaborators” does not turn them into terrorists²⁰³. In general the issue of a democratic state and terrorism is neglected. An example could be former South Africa, as it was not merely the state or the police which supported apartheid, but a significant part of the white population, either complied or did not act against it. They thus shared a “political” and “moral” guilt, which might explain why some resistance against the state might have affected civilians, since the distinction between collaborators (active or passive) and ‘innocent’ civilians is very blurred²⁰⁴.

²⁰⁰ Sb, folder 21, p.48.

²⁰¹ See sb, p.244.

²⁰² See document 58/4 on criminality and no guarantees for foreign investors in Russia.

²⁰³ See sb: key-marked note to document 42/9, p.109.

²⁰⁴ The terms „political“ and „moral“ guilt are from Karl *Jaspers*, *Die Schuldfrage* (Heidelberg 1946), in which he describes four forms of German guilt in regard to the holocaust and the Nazi regime.

4.2.2.3. Overall Hierarchy

To conclude, the integration of multicultural education aspects into the content could not be categorized as belonging to a clearly version of multicultural education. Of the five broadly described approaches to mce in chapter three, all except the extreme right understanding of multicultural education can be seen as having influenced the content of the books; be it as informative texts (key-marked and summaries in the student book and three kinds of information in the teacher book), documents, or questions to the documents in the teacher book. The matter of deciding which approach to multicultural education is most integrated is further complicated by the lack of reflection regarding a possible approach to multicultural education in the teacher book itself. Featuring many aspects of early or general mainstream multicultural education, and even some critical multicultural education points occasionally, the basic approach is a vague form of mainstream multicultural education. Its additive parts are important and treated critically, however, these are not deeply integrated. Admittedly, this is complicated regarding the global claim of the books. Secondly, aspects of critical multiculturalism are part of the content, both in regard to information and documents included. However, it refrains from committing to all propositions by critical multicultural education, such as social action, analysing and discussing new forms of racisms, and the importance of a structural overall focus of analysis. Regarding the other side of the spectrum, the mainstream multiculturalism education aspect of the books surfaces when the books distance themselves from more conservative influences. Instances of this practice can be found in its criticism of centre-right positions or right attitudes on the subject of immigration, neo-colonialism, and the International Monetary Fund's ultra-liberalist policies.

4.3. Analysis part two: Hierarchies according selected theme-clusters

The following chapter looks at some important inconsistencies which clash with the categorizations and characterizations of chapter 4.2.2., using a structuralist and sometimes deconstructionist or post-structuralist method-mix, with a general post-colonialist and feminist perspective the aim is to discuss the nature and the impact of these 'hic-ups'. The question is whether they are so severe and constant that they undermine the mce character, established previously, so drastically that the books have to be re-categorized? Furthermore, I attempt to find out whether an intention to cover this undercurrent can be identified? That

is, can it be claimed a superficial application of proposals by critical or mainstream mce hide an underlying eurocentrism and universalism, in short a more conservative-leaning mce approach? It is important to note, that this paper rarely discusses what could or should have been included in the book and what should not have been included. Instead, the focus is on what categories and connections, of the existing material, are formed and which are not connected or presented in a unified way. It also emphasizes which questions are asked and which are not.

In contrast to chapter 4.2., which looked at the books as a whole, the books are now divided into four broad theme clusters. The following four clusters: The World Wars, the holocaust and the interwar period/ USSR-US and Russia/ Colonialism, decolonization, neo-colonialism and North-South relations/ Terror, Islam and the Middle East, constitute the major part of the content of the books. The only theme I chose not to include, in order to make my research more widely comparable, was the theme that is connected to (modern) Belgium. The main aim is to find out if the approach to multicultural education depends on the cluster.

4.3.1. The World Wars, the holocaust and the interwar period

This cluster compromises the following folders: 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 79, 80, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 82, 83, 37, 38, 42, 43, 85, 86, 44, 102.

Due to the limited scope of the paper, the WWII and holocaust part of the cluster will suffice in order to exemplify the point that critical multicultural education is realized deepest in this theme-cluster. Thus the selection of folders for deeper analysis is narrowed down to folders 11 ("The temptation of the extreme right"), 34 ("Nazism: towards power... (1919-1933)"), 35 ("Nazi Germany (1933-1945)"), 42 ("Belgium and France under occupation"), 43 (Pius XII and the 'Final solution'), 82 ("Racism, the basis of Nazism"), 83 ("Diversity and seduction of authoritarianism"), and 86 ("The world of concentration camps").

Folder 11 begins with the realization of several aspects of critical multicultural education. Surprisingly, a lack of multiperspectivity is one of them; as it seems to be a general attribute of critical mce to be more open to the left (extreme) than the right (extreme). The bias against the right is continued in document 1 of the same folder. A caricature reflects on the problem the EU has with right-wing extremism. This extremism is symbolized as a swastika

weed that blossoms repetitively in the EU garden. The informative text in the tb explains that the caricature as a reaction to the FPÖ victory²⁰⁵ in Austria in the 1999 elections. The informative text in the tb to document 2 provides more information on the FPÖ and even finds common points between Haider and Hitler²⁰⁶. Documents 2 and 4 compare modern extreme right-wing parties, which are on the rise all over the EU, with the Nazis and their rise to power. They also find common nominators of extreme-right parties, thus identifying where their common ground is. Establishing such close connections and asking the pupils to reflect on these can be categorized as critical mce. Furthermore, the whole negative attitude towards the extreme right, reflected in the monoperspectivity regarding the documents discussing this issue, also suggests a certain call for social change; or at least stopping the ‘wrong’ kind of social change. This could thus be described as transformative education which stops just short of a social action approach. It is also interesting to note that document 11/4 is one of the very few instances when democracy is not used in a universal manner, as “representative and direct” forms of democracy are opposed.

In the other folders, the degree of empathy contributes to the strong critical mce character of the cluster. Empathy is achieved by not creating an opposition between us (allies) and them (Germans), by providing a lot of context and explanation for why the Nazis could get into power, stay there, and get support from many Germans, and, finally, by not solely blaming the Germans for the holocaust. Importantly, empathy is not merely created within those folders but also regarding how these folder work together. Thus, folder 11 is connected to folder 34 (“Nazism: towards power”) and 35 (“Nazi Germany”). In these two folders the documents aim to explain three main points. The first point is that German opposition did exist. This is the subject of the election table of document 1, the elector analysis of document 2 and the election placard of the DDP in document 5²⁰⁷. The most emotional text is document 35/3, in which a French exchange student describes his two stays in Germany. The second one was with a social democrat and former headmaster of a school, who, in 1935, had to live in the outskirts for fear of the regime. He also describes how some children, as was the case of his second exchange partner, refused to join the

²⁰⁵ Relative victory by the right-wing Austrian Freedom Party, they became second strongest party, which was a success for them.

²⁰⁶ Tb, p.54.

²⁰⁷ The tb also refers to an anti-NSDAP placard of the SPD in folder 115/1.

Hitler Youth. He ends by stating that there was an “atmosphere of fear and oppression”, and that “people had to live like foreigners in their own country”²⁰⁸.

The second issue is that opposition to the Nazi regime was dangerous. This has been hinted at in document 3 of folder 35 but is pointed out again in the folder on concentration camps, as their earliest objective was to “punish and terrorize the Germans who opposed themselves to the Nazi regime”²⁰⁹. This aspect is also stressed in the tb which equalizes the absolute state with violence and terror. The aim of which is to break the spirit of the people and their will to act²¹⁰.

Finally, the documents stress that opposition is also made difficult by the totalitarian character of the regime. Thus, propaganda and indoctrination had a brainwashing-effect that made it hard to even think critically of the regime. This is the theme of documents 35/2, which reflects on the medium film as a propaganda tool to create a “Führerkult”, document 7, which shows children books that picture and talk about the exclusion of Jews from the schools, and document 9, is an extract from a math book’s exercise where the aim is to calculate how much could be saved if support for disabled people would be stopped. Document 10 is an excerpt from Hitler’s “Mein Kampf” in which he explains how the masses can be influenced²¹¹. The folder ends with document 11 which shows the “Volksempfänger”, the use of which is explained in the tb²¹². The information above reconnects with the teacher book information to document 3 and explains that the Hitler Youth became obligatory in 1936 and that its aim was also the indoctrination of the youth²¹³.

The student book connects these folders with folder 82 (“Racism, the basis of Nazism”) in the landmark section. This folder, as well as folder 83 (“Diversity and seduction of authoritarianism”), contribute to the empathy characteristic of the cluster by providing two kinds of context. The first kind of context is to place the Nazi racism and anti-Semitism in a wider, European and Christian background. Hence, the informative text in the sb emphasizes that nationalism dates back to the 18th century and that “pseudo-scientific racial theories” based on Darwin were not restricted to Germany. It also points out that anti-Semitism was

²⁰⁸ Sb, p.88.

²⁰⁹ Sb, p.230.

²¹⁰ Tb, p.310.

²¹¹ Sb, p.230. A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Munich, 1925. From: A. Bullock, *Hitler*, 1962, p.32, 58-60.

²¹² Tb, p.139; the text also explains the use of the ministry for Propaganda in general.

²¹³ Tb, p.137.

not solely a German phenomenon but could also be attributed to France and Russia. Finally, it mentions a European anti-Judaism which had existed since the middle ages, partly due to the church's claim that the Jews had killed Jesus²¹⁴.

Folder 83 provides another context, namely that it was not only Germany that fell for an authoritarian state form but that this was the case in many central and eastern European states as well as Russia²¹⁵. In the other states, a certain fascist opposition movement or parties existed²¹⁶. The text even states that “for many contemporaries, Italy and Germany seemed like models of dynamism and order” which resisted the economic crisis and the problem of instable governments. One could expect that there would be less empathy regarding the holocaust, and yet, once again empathy is created by sharing the burden of the responsibility for the holocaust or, at least, the accusation that too little was done against it. In general this is done in folder 86 “The world of concentration camps”. In the additional information section, entitled “Who knew what”, the US and British governments are accused of having given “priority to military operations” rather than action against the camps. The Vatican, it is mentioned, “refused to explicitly condemn the extermination of the Jews”. And the Germans are accused of having known of the existence of the camps²¹⁷. The folder also flags folder 43, “Pius XII and the ‘Final Solution’”, where a selection of documents discuss the action, or rather non-action of the pope. Here, multiperspectivity is present, as documents 1, 3, and 5 condemn the actions of the pope and the church for which they attest a certain “suspicion” towards Jews²¹⁸ or closely link anti-Judaism to anti-Semitism²¹⁹. In the tb, the additional information to document 1 criticizes the US for its passivity²²⁰. Documents 2, 4, and 6 defend the actions of Pius XII; or at least explain why he acted how he acted (e.g. fear of communist persecution/ repercussions on catholic population)²²¹.

Folder 42, “Belgium and France under occupation”, treats the hardships of the war as well as the resistance by Belgium. The third part of the folder creates empathy by looking into the

²¹⁴ Sb, p.222.

²¹⁵ Sb, informative text and document 1, p.224.

²¹⁶ Sb, document 2, p.224.

²¹⁷ Sb, p.230.

²¹⁸ Sb, 43/5, p.111.

²¹⁹ Sb, 43/3 p.111.

²²⁰ Tb, p.173.

²²¹ Sb, pp.110f.

cooperation in France and Belgium with the Nazi regime. Document 42/2 and, even more so the teacher text on page 177 in folder 44 ("1945: a shaken world"), show that the myth of a "resistant Walloon part and a cooperative Flemish part" can be contradicted. Thus inter-Belgian prejudices are reduced. Document 42/6 mentions that a large amount of workers, almost half of the total who went to work in Germany, went to Germany voluntarily. The tb specifies that this voluntary action was less motivated by ideology and rather based on dire economic needs²²². Document 11, however, adds that some support was ideological and that seven to eight thousand soldiers were recruited to fight "Bolshevism" in the Eastern front²²³. The third form of cooperation is reflected only in the tb, under the topic of "Docile Belgium"²²⁴. The topic is the administrative cooperation with the Nazis to find, identify and impose anti-Jewish laws onto the Jewish population in Belgium. Here, the local administration should have relied on international law, which "is supposed to protect the occupied population from all abuse". It elaborates how the authorities still cooperated with the Nazis by forcing Jews to do work; and that some helped to "distribute the yellow star" or assisted with the first raids. It is only towards the end of 1942 that cooperation with anti-Jewish politics ceased. The book specifies that this is less "a result of a taking of consciousness in regard of the deportations [...] but the consequence of a general change of attitudes of the Belgian authorities".

Overall, the amount of empathy created as well as the transcultural²²⁵ responsibility that is taken for the atrocities of the WWII contribute to the critical multicultural education aspect of this cluster.

4.3.2. USSR-US opposition and Russia

Folders: 3, 14, 16, 17, 21, 31, 32, 83, 81, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 89, 90, 91, 92, 56, 57, 58, 102

The above folders, with some overlap to other clusters, are part of a broad cluster which consists of themes connected to Russia or the USSR specifically, or to the relationship between the US and the USSR. For an analysis, this set of folders was narrowed down to what folder 89, "Eastern vs. Western block", flags as connected folders to the topic of East-West relations. This set was modified by the addition of a couple of folders that, I argue,

²²² Tb, p.168.

²²³ Sb, p.109.

²²⁴ Tb, p.169.

²²⁵ *Alavi*, *Interkulturelles Geschichtslernen*, p.126f.

could have been flagged but were not. Thus the folders analyzed are as follows: 14 ("The cold war in comics"), 46 ("The origins of the East-West conflict (1945-1947)"), 47 ("Armament and disarmament (1945-2007)"), 50 ("Eastern Europe since 1945"), 90 ("The first cold war (1947-1974)"), 91 ("The second cold war (1975-1989)"), 92 ("USSR: the end of an empire (1985-1991)") as suggested in folder 89 ("The blocks of the East and the West"). To these were added folders 48 ("The Vietnam war (1964-1975)") and 49 ("The seduction of communism"), 58 ("Post-communist Russia"), 21 ("The universal declaration of human rights") and 83 ("Diversity and seduction of authoritarianism")²²⁶.

It is important to note that the sections which concern the pupils most, the part that is connected to the present (issues folder 14) and the part that is most informative (landmarks folders 89-92) are the least multiperspective. The documents in folder 14 are excerpts from a mix of comics, three of them are modern and one dates from the late sixties. Almost all of these focus on the American perspective on the conflict, portraying the US in a neutral or positive light. Document 2 is about the American values that need to be defended, document 3 is about the impossible odds the Americans faced when beginning the air bridge over Berlin, and only document 4, adds the British perspective which qualifies the American actions as "very impulsive" whenever the Soviets are concerned²²⁷. This leaves document 1²²⁸. It is difficult to categorize it into a positive or negative representation of the US in the cold war. What is rather the issue here, is for what this document is not used. It could have been integrated in a wider analysis and discussion about US secret operations and their role in toppling governments that do not comply to what the United States want (this issue will be developed later). Another point that is not elaborated on is that in the comic, which features generals and soldiers of the military, African American men or women of any colour are not present. Instead it is showing men with blond or already grey hair (it is debatable whether some men feature black-greyish hair or if the black in the hair only shows the shadows in their white hair. I tend to agree to the latter conclusion, as also the men with clearly blond hair have some black hair!). One could argue that this is merely coincidence and the authors did not think about the issues of skin/ hair colour, however, the comic strip also features one young and considerably shorter soldier with red hair. Clearly, he was integrated to represent a particular, maybe Irish-background, minority. Why then, were not

²²⁶ This folder I originally left out but included it again as it was referred to in folder 49, tb, p.192.

²²⁷ See sb, p.35.

²²⁸ Sb, p.34.

other minorities included into that fictional representation? These questions are not raised in the tb.

Folder 89 ("The blocks of the East and the West") is still more biased and monoperspective, even though it is the starting point and/ or the point of reference for the pupils to find out more about the topic cluster. It is divided in three informative parts. The first part, "Two political systems", describes the establishment of Eastern European satellite states. In all cases the USSR and the local communist parties used more or less force to get into power. It made clear that in free and democratic elections the communist parties would not have come into power. A biased language marks the second informative part "Two economic blocs"²²⁹. The first sentence has several effects:

It is after emergency help provided to Greece, where a communist guerrilla is growing, and to Turkey and Iran who are under soviet pressure, that the United States realize that misery created by the war favours the communist expansion.

By hiding or not mentioning some aspects it presents a highly biased picture. Firstly, after having described in the first part the bad character of the USSR/ the communists, the mentioning of Greek guerrilla clearly intends to brand this guerrilla as something negative. At no point is it mentioned that his guerrilla fought a right wing, dictatorial state power. Additionally, it leaves out the non-democratic situation in Iran, where the state power, the monarch, still received US aid. It, finally, presents the Marshall plan in very positive light neglecting an analysis of how rich the US, especially compared to the other countries, was, at the time, or how the Marshall plan could also be seen as a means of coercion. "Aid" in the form of loans is presented in a far more positive light than in the chapter on underdevelopment or regarding IMF policies²³⁰. The third part of folder 89 "Two military alliances", is the most neutral regarding language and presentation of the topic.

The documents sections feature more multiperspectivity; however, it is noteworthy to look at what the authors of the books have included into the cluster and what not. Thus, the chapter on Eastern Europe (folder 50) focuses on the protest and the repression of protests and human rights in the satellite states. Once again a picture of a bad and brutal USSR is created. By neglecting the role of local governments in asking for help from the USSR, only mentioned in document 11, a false centrality of power is suggested. On the other hand, only

²²⁹ Sb, p.237.

²³⁰ See sb, 94/2, p.247.

document 12 mentions some positive aspects of the USSR, such as good “social infrastructures” (e.g. kindergartens and hospitals) or nonexistence of unemployment. Thus, in folder 50 and 89 it becomes clear that the USSR imposed communist regimes in a several countries and that it used force to repress protest and change. These issues are discussed and analyzed in the folder, of which some are more multiperspective and biased and others less. The same discussion does not exist for the US, although a similar case could easily be made, even with the information present in the books. The US used open, military force in Vietnam to stop the establishment of a communist regime. The folder even mentions that the war started with a “pretext”²³¹, and also criticizes the use of napalm. There is however, in the student book, no mentioning of how many people died (unlike in the key-marked info regarding Eastern Europe, which mentions 3000 victims in Hungary, sb, p.127), although a death toll is mentioned in the teacher book²³². It also fails to develop the subject of secret military operations (but also military training or monetary assistance) by the US government, mentioned above in the comics. Information on these is scattered over the teacher book²³³ but it is not treated as a folder that analyses how the US supported or helped to bring right-wing dictatorships into power and how many people died or suffered because of that²³⁴. It would be worth analyzing if this scattering of information makes it less likely to be remembered than handling it in a set of folder under a clearly defined theme, as it has been the case with the USSR.

The selection of folders that belong to the cluster as is flagged in folder 89 also show a certain prevailing of a general eurocentrist perspective. Eastern European protest against the USSR and the repression of the USSR against the dissent, which makes the USSR bad and brutal, seems to be different to the relationship of colonial powers to their colonies, and protest there. The latter's relationship does not mark the colonial powers, or their societal and economic model (capitalism and democracy), as bad. The same case can be made for

²³¹ Key-marked information, sb, p.122.

²³² Tb, p.190, From: P. Jounoud, *Les ravages de l’agent orangee*, dans les Collections de l’Histoire, Nr. 23, April 2004, pp.80f.)

²³³ In connection to the Congo: the informative text “From Mobutu to Mobutu”, in the tb, p.212; regarding Nicaragua: the informative texts in the tb, pp.70f; regarding Cuba: information on the “Bay of pigs” military action, sb folder 90, p.239; regarding Afghanistan: the CIA is mentioned as a sponsor of weapons to the Afghan guerilla, tb, p.320; the bibliographic information on Fidel Castro, sb, p.321, mentions, again, the CIA support for the “Bay of pigs” action and the information on Salvador Allende, sb, p.320, notes that the coup by general Pinochet was supported by the US.

²³⁴ This happens to a degree in folder 57, which compares Cuba to Chile; although, US action is not the focus of the folder but rather the different development of the two countries.

the US and their secret operations all over the world, which again does not make them bad, or their political/ economic system. More specifically in the US context, there is also a lack of analysis regarding the treatment of African Americans, which contradicted the US message of freedom and equality. The eurocentrist perspective is connected to a deep universalism, especially regarding the definition of "democracy" but also of economy. Liberal democracy and market economy became the norm. This can be seen in the first sentence of folder 89, which opposes the two political systems of the West, democracy, and the East, communism²³⁵. It is thus suggested that there is only one version of democracy; not even one 'right' version but just 'one, single' version. The issue continues in folder 50 on Eastern European protest to communist rule. Here it is mentioned that a big part of the protest did not want to abolish communism but only reform it²³⁶. Nonetheless, this is not really analyzed, which is an opportunity lost to potentially open up the universalist perspective.

Folder 56 ("The United States, a superpower?") document 5 remarks on the high amount of population in the US that live in a precarious situation and folder 58 ("Post-communist Russia") documents 3 and 4 mention positive aspects of communist system beneficial for lower strata of society, such as subsidized food and rent or a right for work. Neither folder is flagged in folder 89 even though they would serve a multiperspective comparison. There is no analysis of the beneficial aspects of a communist system and the negative aspects of a capitalist system for certain parts of society. It also fails to emphasize how socially advanced some social democrat and communist points were during their early days compared to liberalism (late 18th and early 19th cent). Issues could be women working, kindergartens, paid holidays, and average working week. All these issues could have a place in folder 49 "The seduction of communism" (which, once again, is not flagged in folder 89). The title, "The seduction of communism" sounds positive but instead of treating the above points, which would be truly 'seducing' (at least for some); this folder is on how communism managed to mobilize western intellectual support for so long, which is attributed not to the ideology but to the USSR role in WWII²³⁷.

To conclude, the USSR is presented as bad or negative, and its political and economic system

²³⁵ Sb, p.236.

²³⁶ Sb, p.236..

²³⁷ Sb, 49/5,6,7,8, p.125.

with it, because of the things it did. The US, instead, is presented as positive or good, despite the errors or mistakes that it committed. The most positive information on the USSR could be found in folder 21 on "The universal declaration of human rights" where it insisted on social and economic rights (p.48, sb). However, this is not analyzed in any way. Thus the lack of multiperspectivity connected to a very selective choice of folder that present issues in a universalist and/ or eurocentric view, categorize this cluster as a liberal/ conservative version of multicultural education.

4.3.3. Colonialism, decolonization, neo-colonialism and North-South relations

Folders: 1, 3, 5, 6, 12, 16, 21, 28, 39, 99, 61, 44, 27, 52, 53, 54, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 101, 63, 106, 107. This cluster is very wide and deeply entangled with the other clusters. It can be split into two main parts. The first focuses more on economy and development, while the second one analyses the colonial past and the independency struggles.

International Monetary Fund (IMF), economy and development

The part of the cluster that concentrates on development and economics, features many aspects of critical mce. Once again only a selection of the folder that form this cluster are analyzed in more detail. As previously established, a certain tendency to the left (or left-wing bias) can be part of critical mce, sometimes to the expense of multiperspecivity. The clearest realization of critical mce occurs in folder 94, the landmarks section which presents and analyses "the roots of under-development". It links colonization in the past to under-development today²³⁸. Creating empathy the text mentions that "colonialism also had positive consequences for the colonized"²³⁹ and that the problem lies also with a multiplicity of geographic, political, military, social and economic conditions. Nevertheless, it does stress that colonialism accounts for "a part of today's difficulties"²⁴⁰. It enumerates and comments on the following: Colonial fixation of frontiers did not respect local religious and ethnic groups and "sometimes reinforced the ethnic cleavages". Education policies only reached a small minority. It notes that only "few colonizers had the desire to prepare a local elite that

²³⁸ Sb, p.246.

²³⁹ Sb, p.246.

²⁴⁰ Sb, p.246.

could lead the country". Referring to the Congo it mentions that in 1960 there was only one person who had a university diploma²⁴¹.

Finally, it presents the case regarding the colonial economic system, which was based on "[the] export [of] primary products of the colony to the capital to be transformed in finished products". The system continued after the end of colonialism which lead to "neocolonialism". This in turn explains, "to a good degree", the financial debt the South has towards the North. It then criticizes the IMF for its "imposition" of "structural adjustment plans" as they lead to debt reduction but hindered the development of these countries as public spending for education, infrastructure and health had to be limited²⁴². It concludes by saying that today's governments of developing countries have "inherited an extremely difficult situation and that many of the elements come directly from the [era] of colonization"²⁴³.

The above information is critical and includes deeply structural points characteristic of critical mce. The documents of the folder continue in the same fashion. Document 1 indicates that already in 1952, some people emphasized that the third world was "ignored, exploited and mistrusted" and that this had to change. Document 2 is a caricature which is highly critical of the IMF and debt. It shows that debt and interest of debts destroy publicly run hospitals, transportation, schools and telecommunications. Document 3 criticizes the economic relations between ex-colonies and rich countries. This relationship, established during colonial times, has not changed, and is still just as unfair as it was when these countries were still colonies. Document 4 takes up the same issue in more detail, also categorizing it as unjust exploitation. All documents and the informative text show a clear lack of multiperspectivity and a biased attitude towards IMF policies or ultra-liberal ideology²⁴⁴.

The critical mce approach continues, albeit to a lesser degree, in folders 5, 6 and 107. In these folders the same points are elaborated further, and some possible solutions are hinted at. Folder 5, "North-South: more and more (in)equal?", explores the relations between the North and the South. Document 1 informs that almost three billion people live on less than 2 \$ a day. It also stresses that the number of people living on less than 1\$ a day more than

²⁴¹ Sb, p.246.

²⁴² Sb, p.246.

²⁴³ Here it fails to mention covert operations and their destabilizing effect.

²⁴⁴ Sb, p.247.

doubled in central and eastern Europe between 1990 and 1999. Document 6 shows the huge increase in exterior debt of the "third world" with the end of colonialism. Document 5 identifies debt as "the main obstacles for the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, such as access to drinking water, primary education...". The problem is that, on average, "38% of the sub-Saharan African budget goes into debt repayment"²⁴⁵. The teacher book informs of the "annulation of debt movement for the third world"²⁴⁶. Document 3 analyses North-South relation more critically and more structurally. It criticizes the IMF as it asked African countries to open their markets with the negative effect that the African part in world trade went down from 4% to 2%. It also explains that the trade deficit is inherent in the economic North-South relations as the prices for primary products are more fluctuant and generally have been on a downward trend since the 1980s²⁴⁷. Thus, it reveals that the problem is not merely in debt relief but in changing the nature of trade. Folder 6 then explores the topic in a more general, balanced, and multiperspective manner by raising a variety of issues; including fair trade, tax havens, or the business of multinational companies. The teacher book ends the folder on a multiperspective note by presenting the positive points liberals attribute to globalization and opposes them to the negative points raised by "altermondialist" (people who propose an alternative form of globalization)²⁴⁸.

Folder 107 ("The actors of economic globalization") goes into more detail regarding the economic aspects of globalization. It is multiperspective as it includes liberal and "altermodialist" points, in the sb²⁴⁹ and tb²⁵⁰. Regarding the final title of the folder "the consumers", it has a surprisingly strong social action point (stronger than just the topic of fair trade, as that merely continues with the same system): addressing the consumer it states that "in demanding products that are not seasonal or come from far-away regions, the consumer participates in globalization, without caring about the conditions of production of what she/he buys"²⁵¹. Thus responsibility and the option for local and immediate action is put into the pupils' hands. The strong aspect of critical multicultural education, identified in the first half of this cluster, sharply declines in the second half which is concerned with the

²⁴⁵ Sb, document 5, p.15.

²⁴⁶ Tb, p.35.

²⁴⁷ Sb, document 3, p.15.

²⁴⁸ Tb, p.38.

²⁴⁹ Sb, document 4, p.277 and document 8, p.279.

²⁵⁰ Tb, information to document 3, p.352 and blocked information on multinationals, p.353.

²⁵¹ Sb, p.279.

colonial past and independency struggles.

There are two main landmarks folder for the second half of this cluster. Folder 94 has already been established as being deeply influenced by critical mce. This is not the case in folder 93 ("The end of colonial empires: why?"), which attempts to be very neutral and objective. Apart from characterizing US support for independence movements as an egoistic wish to widen economic and political influence²⁵², it lacks critical questions and comments. It does not reflect on the irony that oppressed people had to fight with their oppressors against the Germans (i.e. possible future oppressors of their oppressors) in WWI and WWII. It also lacks a discussion of possible repayment for exploitation, slavery and other crimes. These issues are not picked up at any point in either the tb or the sb. This lack of analysis and reflection on how the conditions of a colonial past influence problems of the present continue to diminish.

Folder 52 is simply called "decolonization", and features documents on India, Indochina, Morocco and Algeria. Document 1 (the 'Quit India' resolution) reflects on the hypocrisy of the colonial powers regarding liberty and democracy as values for Europe that are not granted to the colonies. The document notes that India refused to help fight the Nazis unless concessions, i.e. independence was granted²⁵³. The sb then continues in document 2 with a speech by Nehru, who talks about friendship and cooperation with Britain. The key-marked information in the book mentions the partition plan which consequently lead to massacres of 500 000 victims and 17 million displaced people²⁵⁴. Thus the amazing achievement of mostly peaceful protest is not emphasized, analyzed or acknowledged in any other way. Gandhi is not even found in the sb bibliography section. Document 2 also focuses on the gratefulness of Nehru towards Great Britain, and that India and GB want to continue with "friendship and cooperation"²⁵⁵. The question of retribution for exploitation and pain (arrests and killings) is not raised. Moreover, the sb, with the key-marked information, points out that violence broke out right after independence, thus suggesting that colonial people

²⁵² Sb, p.244.

²⁵³ Sb, document 1, p.132.

²⁵⁴ Sb, p.132.

²⁵⁵ Sb, document 2, p.132.

are arbitrarily violent and cannot govern themselves; especially since it fails to provide any explanation or motivation for this violence.

The Indian example is followed by Indochina, which is a telling case showing the stubbornness of a colonial power which tries to cling on to its colony even after it had temporarily lost it during WWII²⁵⁶. To keep its power it uses military action, ie. brutal force. It is important to note that there is no information of how many victims this conflict resulted in. However, document 3 (a speech by Ho Chi Minh) stresses the influence of communism for a more aggressive independence movement. The tb draws attention to this by asking the pupils to compare the movement for independence in Indochina and India²⁵⁷. Document 5 (independence declaration by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam) elaborates on this, emphasizing the hypocrisy of the French colonial power, which is "abusing the flag of liberty, equality, and fraternity". The text continues by saying that in a future, independent state cooperation is not wanted and all previous contracts and privileges the French had will be abolished²⁵⁸. It also comments on the death and imprisonment the French caused. Document 5 is a rare and clear voice against the atrocities committed during colonial rule in the various colonies. No other document is as condemning and as clear on exploitation and that all contracts signed during colonial times need to be ended. Nevertheless, it too stops short of asking for retribution, a question that is not raised in either the tb or the sb.

The documents concerning Algeria and Morocco continue to paint the colonial power France as a malevolent rather than a benevolent power. Document 7 once again points out the hypocrisy when dealing with the independence movement of the colonies, which is not supported by France despite its obligation to the Atlantic Charter which demands the right to self-determination of people²⁵⁹.

Document 8 and 9, accompanied with tb information, reflect on the French position regarding relationship between Algeria and France, the FLN (National Liberation Front) protest movement and the Algerian position on the above relationship. Language and

²⁵⁶ Tb information for document 4, p.202.

²⁵⁷ Tb, p.202.

²⁵⁸ Apart from this exception, the book fails to reflect, or even mention, the effect of contracts and privileges established during colonial times on neo-colonialism.

²⁵⁹ Sb, document 7, p.134.

content condemn French action, which is described as using "torture" and force²⁶⁰. Document 9 develops this negative picture by comparing French action in Algeria with Gestapo terror during WW2. In contrast, the description of FLN action is described as "resistance" for justifiable aims²⁶¹. The chapter ends with a discourse by De Gaulle. Similarly to the speech by Baudouin, analyzed in more detail later, it focuses on positive aspects of French - Algerian history, reproducing the excuse of colonialism, ie. development towards civilization, and disregarding the exploitation and suffering. The amount of victims is only mentioned in a footnote to document 11, with no discrimination which side these victims belonged to, sb.135).

This overall negative stance on colonialism and neo-colonialism, although not being as critical as it could be, reflects both mainstream and critical approaches to mce. The same critical attitude and representation of facts is not as prominent with the folders on the Congo and Rwanda (53, 54, and 63).

Regarding the Congo, a picture is created that suggests that the Congolese (and sub-Saharan Africans in general?) are not able to govern themselves. Left alone they only bring bad economic policies, chaos, violence, and death upon themselves. The informative text by Verhaegen even explains how the Congo became the "synonym for confusion and irresponsibility"²⁶². In folder 54, "Congo, Zaire, RDC", documents 7-10 all exemplify how the situation for the Congo got worse or barely improved until today in areas such as economic performance, GDP, infant mortality, and average life expectancy. The secret play by international powers is mentioned in several information texts in the teacher book²⁶³ but is not analyzed by the students, or even mentioned in the sb's informative texts. Motives for why the international community, or more specifically the US, the USSR and Belgium, mingled in Congolese affairs is not developed.

In the Congo and Rwanda folder (folder 63 confusingly called "Africa of the great lakes"), very little context for chaos and violence is provided. Belgian policies which contributed to the violence, the tension and hate between the Hutus and Tutsi are not reflected, connected

²⁶⁰ Sb, key-marked information, p.135.

²⁶¹ Sb, document 9, p.134.

²⁶² Tb, p.211. From: B. Verhaegen, La Première République.

²⁶³ Tb, pp. 210-211.

to other themes, or discussed in depth. Document 2 only explains the continued practice of advantaging the Tutsi over the Hutu (divide and rule) but it does not go into detail and how that might have affected the everyday life of Hutus²⁶⁴. It is then the tb which describes forced population movement for economic reasons which resulted in more ethnic mixing and rising tensions²⁶⁵. More importantly, no empathy for this violence is created, as no context for it is provided (unlike genocide of the Jews). Hutu violence is merely described as extremely cruel²⁶⁶. Several contexts could be made to help and understand the violence. First, Leopold II's actions in the Congo are only criticized by Lumumba²⁶⁷ this presentation clashes with Baudouin's words²⁶⁸. The teacher book opposes the texts²⁶⁹ but never provides further information about the claims by Lumumba (e.g. talking about forced labour, high death toll of Congolese, cut-off hands²⁷⁰). It, secondly, does not treat the issue of Hutu suffering and suppression until independence. Finally, it does not elaborate on how many Hutu actually committed these crimes and how moderate Hutu were pressured to follow. This is only mentioned in document 4 in the sb²⁷¹ and elaborated on in the UN report²⁷². It is, however, not reflected by the students in the questions that refer to document 4²⁷³.

To conclude, the critical and mainstream multicultural education character of the cluster is severely undermined as post-colonial Africa is presented as the "Other" and the chaotic that is the not mature. The books fail to connect and categorize chaotic and partly brutal change as something that is common. That is, the Weimar republic did not get established without bloodshed and neither did the French, American, or Russian revolutions. Europe "needed" the bloodshed of two world wars to realize that they have to actively seek peace, e.g. in the establishment of the EU. For this they received support (Marshall Plan) and rather than secret sabotaging by superpowers (albeit maybe to a degree). It was, furthermore, still

²⁶⁴ Sb, p.166.

²⁶⁵ Tb, p.245 information text "On the origins of the presence of Rwandans in Kivu", from: R. Pourtier, la guerre des Grands Lacs. In: Cahiers français Nr.290 march to april 1999, online: www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr; consulted 18.06.2008.

²⁶⁶ Tb., p.244, informative text: United Nations, Commission Human Rights, Rapport du 25.06.1994, p.9-10.

²⁶⁷ Sb, 53/4, p.137.

²⁶⁸ Sb, 53/3, p.137

²⁶⁹ Tb, p.206.

²⁷⁰ See for example *Hochschild, King Leopold's ghost* (London 1998).

²⁷¹ Sb, p.167.

²⁷² Tb, p.244.

²⁷³ Tb, p.244.

"necessary" that large part of populations moved²⁷⁴. All this was supported by a relatively stable economy. This set of factors helped Europe to become more peaceful. These factors do not all apply to former colonies but the common nominator is that time and bloodshed appear to have helped to find more unity. A unity that is once again being questioned in the UK, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Hungary and other EU member states.

4.3.4. Terror, Islam and the Middle East

As this cluster is relatively short, all folders (2, 8, 9, 12, 39, 61, 62, 64, 98-100, 112, 113) have been considered for a deeper analysis. The first aspect is the issue of religion. Integrating so much religion and neglecting atheist positions suggests a universal attitude that there has to be some kind of religion for humanity. The books do not refrain from criticizing religions, however, they often distinguish between religion in its pure form from what people do with religion. All negative effects of religion originate from the latter source. It is human corruption of what religion is or should be about that create harm. Thus, in folder 43 it is less the Catholic Church which is bad but rather Pius XII who made decisions which can be criticized. This is suggested by the title "Pius XII and the 'Final solution'", by some of the documents (doc 2 and 6), and at other instances, such as the information piece in folder 86 on concentration camps, which says that the Vatican and Pius XII, rather than the church in general, did not do enough to prevent the holocaust. In folder 9 "The religions: between war and peace?", documents 1, for Christianity, and 6, for Islam, brand both religion as religions of peace. Document 7, regarding former Yugoslavia, also emphasizes that it is not religion which is the source of conflict, but a mix of social and nationalist aspects. Folder 98 attests that Islamist movements/ parties can integrate into the democratic process without the use of violence.

While all this sounds objective, or at the most positively biased in the favour of religion, there is an overall and continuous bias towards Islam and/ or Islamism.

In folder 98, the title "Maghreb: between democracy and Islamism" is highly misleading.

²⁷⁴ Sb, 44/8, p.114; "necessary" and "needed" are not meant as causal, but should emphasize that they happened before more unity happened.

Firstly, it hints that Islamism and democracy are natural binaries. As if they would represent a spectrum which on one side has democracy and on the other Islamism. This hint is contradicted in the folder itself as the informative text tells and highlights (writing in bold) once with Algeria and once with Morocco that not all the Islamist movements relied on violence and some joined the "democratic game"²⁷⁵. The second confusion is created by the title, as it also suggests that all three countries are democracies. Once again, the informative texts themselves contradict these conclusions as all three countries are described as authoritarian governments, albeit with some democratic influences. One major point is the opposition these regimes face in the Islamist movements. Interestingly enough, these parties tried to play the "democratic game" but were prevented from playing by the regimes in question. In Tunisia, now ousted 'president', Ben Ali "forbid the Islamist parties in 1991". In Morocco, some parties "play the democratic game", though it is questionable how democratic that game really is, as even the informative text in the sb mentions that democratic reforms have been "broken" after the World Trade Center terror attacks. In Algeria the Islamist party "Front islamique du Salut" actually won the game in 1991 but were denied their victory. In all three instances it seems that the Islamist parties were willing to play but found themselves in difficult contexts as the regimes were not democratic and they found themselves partly forbidden²⁷⁶.

There are further examples in the book which show that it is presenting, if not Islam, then at least Islamism²⁷⁷ in a negative light. It also fails to integrate multiperspectivity. An analysis of Islam's social change aspects might have distinguished it positively from the Catholic Church. A point in question is Christianity in South America²⁷⁸ but also in the beginning of the 20th century regarding workers' rights or voting rights. In this category falls also the action of the Church during WW2 in both Germany and Italy, once again not a source of social unrest, even though the context would have justified it²⁷⁹.

Thus, these negative points are stressed and possible positive points are not mentioned or not analyzed. Islam's potential as an agent of social change and justice is also neglected

²⁷⁵ Sb, pp.254f.

²⁷⁶ Sb, pp.254f.

²⁷⁷ According to the informative text in the sb, p.291: Islam is the simple religion while Islamism is the ideology promoted by a variety of political parties. This ideology implies a certain model of society.

²⁷⁸ The folder on South America is not connected to this cluster. It, however, mentions the lack of support the church gave to the people, instead supporting dictatorial leaders, sb p.250.

²⁷⁹ Tb, folder on Italy (33), Catholics cooperate with or tolerate Mussolini and the Nazis, tb, pp.128f.

when it comes to the issue of terror or resistance. Islamic resistance is branded as terror almost consistently throughout the books. Furthermore, an opportunity to create empathy by contextualizing or analyzing why they rely on terror denies possible understanding for it (not meaning that pupils have to agree with it). The most revealing examples for this phenomenon are on the Maghreb and on Israel/ Palestine.

The confusion created by the title in folder 98, as aforementioned, might not be reproduced in the content, as that does mention that some Islamist parties try to be democratic²⁸⁰. However, due to the way it is presented, the result is a biased general picture. Rather than stressing the non-democratic and authoritarian character of the regimes, it seems that the Islamist parties are accused of (meaningless?) terrorism. Playing the “democratic game” is presented as something that is positive and good, while terror and violence are negative²⁸¹, and not necessary. This is hard to understand as in all three contexts the non-democratic aspects of the regimes clearly influence the choice of violence amongst the Islamist parties against the regimes in power. Their resistance, however, is not heroic, as was the resistance in Belgium and France against Nazi Germany; but terror.

The second example is the Israel-Palestine issue. The folder treating this topic are folder 39, "On the ruins of the Ottoman Empire", 61, "Israel - Palestine: impossible peace?", and 99, "Israelis and Arabs". The degree of bias is debatable as multiperspectivity and empathy clearly feature in the selection of documents and the information provided. Nevertheless, the following sentence in the tb folder 90, which is part of a short informative text on the PLO, is highly charged with bias.

“After the Six-Day war in 1967, she radicalizes and integrates different armed organizations, amongst them is the Fatah. The PLO then engages itself in a blind terrorism which tarnishes the Palestinian image”.²⁸²

This evaluation follows the description of two Palestinian positions: Hamas vs. Abbas; and is presented as a definite explanation, summarizing what the conflict is about and making clear who the guilty ones are. There are several aspects which underscore the strong bias.

1. Palestinians are accused of and condemned for "blind terrorism". This is very negative description of the violence committed by the Palestinians and thus qualifies it as not

²⁸⁰ Sb, p.254f.

²⁸¹ Sb, p.254, Terrorist violence results in “massacres”.

²⁸² Tb, p.238.

justifiable.

2. The radicalization of the PLO is mentioned as originating from the Six-Day war but there is no analysis of what the Six-Day war meant for the Palestinians. In 1967, the Palestinians lost everything and Israel dominated all its neighbours. They became an occupied region, to which the UN and the international community did not react convincing enough. Folder 99 ("Israelis and Arabs: 60 years of war") mentions in the tb the UN resolution 242 which called on Israel to give the occupied territories back²⁸³. It is not explained why it is only logical that they would "radicalize" after finding themselves in such a situation.

3. Furthermore, in folder 99 there is a lack of questioning:

a) the reliability of the claim that the Israeli motive for war in 1967 was defensive in character²⁸⁴. There is no reflection on how it could be qualified as such if the outcome of the war was a considerable increase of territory and a decisive victory over Syria, Egypt and Jordan in merely six days.

b) how it is possible that the international community does not act more decisively on the above conquest. The books do not compare this Palestinian war with the "overrunning" of Kuwait²⁸⁵. Kuwait's invasion was answered by immediate action that swiftly freed Kuwait, this has not been the case for Palestine²⁸⁶.

In neither case do social injustice and human rights violations justify Islamic violent resistance. Moreover, almost all Islamic resistance is branded as "terrorism". It is eurocentric in so far as the Palestinians are denied an objective presentation of the issue (maybe) because of a German responsibility for the holocaust and a more wider European and Russian history of anti-Judaism.

No other theme cluster is as multiperspective on a surface level, while at the same time hiding a eurocentric bias. The strong underlying bias makes it difficult to clearly link it to a form of mce. Thus, it seems to be that a unique mix of liberal/ conservative, mainstream, critical and additive aspects of mce have influenced the construction of this cluster. The question that remains to be answered in the next chapter is whether it can be asserted that the bias, in connection to some themes, is consciously hidden.

²⁸³ Tb, p.335.

²⁸⁴ The text says that Israel claimed that it "felt itself threatened", sb, p.256.

²⁸⁵ Sb, p.259.

²⁸⁶ Folders 48 and 67 regarding Palestine; regarding Kuwait, folder 100.

5. Discussion part: The question of bias

Damit der Schritt von der Ablehnung zur Anerkennung erfolgen kann, muss die Vermittlung von Bildungsinhalten nach den Kriterien ihres möglichen Ethnozentrismus, ihrer latenten nationalistischen oder ihrer rassistischen Botschaften, die auch subliminal sein können, überprüft werden, um eine Öffnung der Bildung hin zur Pluralität zu bewirken.²⁸⁷

There are a several clues which might suggest a false, scientific objectiveness that tries to hide a biased opinion. The clusters connected to the USSR, colonialism and Islam still feature many aspects of a mainstream and critical approach to multicultural education in their individuality. There is the occasional critical information, or structural critique, a certain degree of multiperspectivity, or an attempt to create empathy; nevertheless, analyzed as a cluster they reveal a bias. The question is if a definite case can be made that the books are trying to sound objective, neutral, and multicultural in order to hide an underlying bias.

5.1.1. Communism, USSR, and Stalin

While Pius XII decision to not support the Jews enough is not wholly analyzed as an issue regarding the Catholic Church, there is a tendency to equalize communism, USSR and Stalin. Documents 2, 4 and 6 of folder 43 explain, and to a degree defend, the pope's decision, while documents 3 and 5 denounce it. It is also the latter documents which do not stop at condemning only the pope but go further by assessing an anti-Judaism in the church, similar to an anti-Semitism in the Reich²⁸⁸. Document 5 goes furthest as it not only criticizes the Catholic Church for their lack of action but also the Protestant Church. Still, the title of the folder "Pius and the "final solution"" neglects the institution of the Catholic Church as a whole. Furthermore, change around the Vatican II council is the focus in folder 112 ("Catholicism: towards an update?"). The folder emphasizes that the church is better now.

Similarly, the USSR under Stalin is treated in a folder of its own ("Stalin's USSR", folder 32). This they do by providing positive, negative and neutral sources, however they blur the line between communism, USSR and Stalin's time in power. Additionally, the same positive attitude of reform, granted to the Catholic Church in the second Vatican council is not

²⁸⁷ Cristina *Allemann-Ghionda*, Interkulturalität und Internationalität im Curriculum - vom theoretischen Postulat zur Institutionalisierung? Einführung in den Thementeil. In: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, Bd. 50, Nr. 6 (2004), p.800.

²⁸⁸ Sb, 43/3, p.111.

granted to reform in the USSR. Document 32/8 is an excerpt of Khrushchev's secret report of 1956. In this secret document Khrushchev is highly critical of Stalin and his policies. More specifically he criticizes the concept of "enemy of the people", and that these people had to accuse themselves. These "confessions" had been "obtained by applying physical pressures against the accused". The excerpt ends with Khrushchev declaring that Stalin used too "extreme methods" and "too massive repression" even after the "revolution had already been victorious". In the tb the students are asked to describe Stalin's system and summarize Khrushchev's criticism²⁸⁹. The problem is that the analysis ends there. The unit does not continue with the changes this critique had brought but instead generalizes communism with Stalin's time in power. This is done in document 11, which is one of the documents the teacher book refers to after the analysis of document 8. The source is from 2000 and is called "estimation of the victims of communism in the USSR, 1921-1953". Hence, the focus is on the USSR under Stalin and should not be representative for either the USSR or communism. That the numbers diminished after Stalin's death is not included in the document. Overall, there is only one detailed description of the USSR (throughout the book equalized with communism), and that is in folder 32, the period when the USSR was led by Stalin, arguably the worst leader the USSR had had. The criticism from within was not reflected deeply enough, which is in contrast to the Catholic Church where the focus lies on positive reform.

The bias is further developed in folder 86 about concentration camps. Here two sorts of camps are presented, those of the Nazis and those of the Soviets. The Nazi camps are further categorized into concentration camps and extermination camps. The Soviet part is entitled "Soviet camps", meaning that it is about the whole period of the USSR. It also starts with the camps created under Lenin and admits that the camps changed under "the dictatorship of Stalin"²⁹⁰. It then explains that forced labour was done under extremely difficult circumstances and that the aim of the camps was political re-education. Thus, once again, there is not enough emphasis that the camps were worst under Stalin.

Regarding the structure of the folder, there is no reason to include the camps under Lenin, as the aim and the size were different. The title should not have been "Soviet camps" but "Stalin's camps". The title "Soviet camps" would have been more neutral or acceptable if the

²⁸⁹ Tb, p.124.

²⁹⁰ Sb, p.231.

folder would have been on the “monstrous”²⁹¹ character of concentration camps in general. There are many more camps that could have been included in order to show that concentration camps are not merely a Russian and German phenomenon. One case is the British use of concentration camps during the Boer wars. These were directed against women and children, and motivated by material and military rather than ideological and political aims.

5.1.2. Communism and the USSR vs. Capitalism and colonial powers/ USA

The distinction between communism and the USSR is not as clear as the distinction between capitalism and colonial powers. Actions by the USSR against peaceful protest in the satellite states, praised in the tb on page 196, fits the picture of the bad USSR and, by definition, bad communism. The informative text in folder 50, “Eastern Europe since 1945”, page 127 states: “Soviet repression of 1956 lead many communists of Western Europe to tear their party membership card (...)”. However, at no point is it said that individuals in the countries that are colonial powers left their parties because of atrocities committed by their government and abandoned capitalism. At this point I have to include an analysis of folder 69 “Generation 68”. This folder did not form part of cluster 3 “USSR – US and Russia” since the unit is only connected²⁹² to folder 7, which is on climate change, folder 67 on world economy, folder 68, on society and everyday life, and finally folder 75, on women in Belgium. The folder is, with four pages, relatively long; however, the second half of the unit are issues that concern students, the environment and the emancipation of women. Furthermore, as mentioned, the folder does not flag to any folder of cluster 3 which might have helped to compare criticism of capitalism to criticism of communism. A further problem is, that it categorizes protests in the “West” as fringe movements by students (documents 5 and 6) and hippies (documents 3 and 4) who, amongst other things, “systematically use drugs” (document 3). The most outspoken document that links communism to anti-colonialism and, consequently, capitalism to colonialism is document 6. However, this aspect is not focused on. First of all, the protest is ‘doubly fringed’ as the person belongs to the margins of society; once because he is a student, and secondly because he is a communist. Additionally, the most of the document focuses once again on

²⁹¹ Sb, p.230.

²⁹² It is connected via flags in the sb, p.168.

student issues, such as “lower prices for the cafeteria” (document 6). In the tb it is linked to document 5²⁹³, which is on protest against patriarchal society and not against capitalism or anti-colonialism.

Regarding the colonies, protest is presented as being against the colonial power and the lack of independence rather than being against the ideology, economic or societal system. The only exception is Vietnam, folder 52, where documents 3, 4, and 5 partially mention the communist aspects of the protest. It is also unfortunate that Indian protest against British rule is not praised for its peacefulness while similar protest in Eastern Europe is²⁹⁴.

Thus, it can be said that the books suggest that actions by the colonial powers do not discredit capitalism and ‘western’ ideology; whereas actions by communist states discredit communism. The information would be there. The key-marked text in folder 50 mentions that Alexander Dubcek, in Czechoslovakia, wanted “socialism with a humane face” and wanted reforms without abandoning communism or the “Warsaw Pact”²⁹⁵. However, the book does not go into a detailed analysis of how this might look like or emphasise the different character of these early protests which did not necessarily aim at ending communism and the later protests which led to the end of the USSR and the end of communism. Similarly, there is not enough reflection on the 1968 protests in the ‘West’ and how they wanted to change capitalism. Thus, the connections, and the necessary foci for reflection, are neglected. What seems to be neutral, objective, and well selected becomes biased as the books do not initiate aforementioned links and discussions.

5.1.3. Islam, terror and resistance

A starting point could be document 1 in folder 64 “What is terrorism?”. This document explains that there is no internationally accepted definition of terrorism. It still proposes a definition based on simple facts. Thus, terror is a “violent political” act, “not dictated by criminal motivations”, and it does not discriminate between soldiers or civilians. It also provides an example: “Palestinians who attack Israeli soldiers can be qualified as resistance fighters, but if they blow themselves up in a bus full of civilians they are terrorists”²⁹⁶. This appears to be clear and objective. The objectivity continues in the teacher book with an

²⁹³ Tb, p.266.

²⁹⁴ Tb, p.196.

²⁹⁵ Sb, p.126.

²⁹⁶ Sb, document 1, p.170.

etymological definition of “terrorism”. It also mentions states that are accused of having used terrorism, Iran and Libya, and even notes that the US has been a sponsor of terrorism²⁹⁷. It then provides a set of definitions regarding terrorism. The first part emphasizes that terrorists have “nonmilitary aims to create a climate of fear and insecurity, [...] (and) to influence the decision makers of a state” to enact the objectives of the terrorists. It then states that the smallest number of terrorists aim to get “the maximum number of victims” and to “create the maximum terror/ emotions amongst the survivors/spectators”²⁹⁸. These two aspects create the image, that terrorism:

- a) is only perpetrated by a small number of people with little support
- b) is directed against the population in order to terrorize it
- c) wants to force decision makers to do as terrorists demand

This makes terrorists look dangerous, arbitrary and ruthless. It neglects a reflection on strength. In the case of the Palestinians (resistance fighters) vs. the Israeli state/ army, the army is far too powerful to be conventionally challenged. At the same time, it neglects, that there seems to be popular support for terrorism amongst Palestinians as the Hamas election victory in 2006²⁹⁹ would suggest. Finally, there is a complete lack of reflection regarding the issue of decision makers. In liberal democracies the people (i.e. civilians) vote for their government and thus share responsibility for their representatives’ (i.e. government) decisions or actions. Considering these new points, terrorists might seem more rational.

However, this is a discussion that can be held elsewhere, as the question is not about terrorism as such but rather how the books use the definitions of terrorism. It is precisely here that a certain bias is situated. The bias in question is that Islamic groups are categorized as terrorists while resistance during WW2 is categorized as resistance and as something noble and good. In the parcours section of the tb, it is not even suggested that terrorism, as defined in the books, should be compared to what happened during the resistance in WW2. The texts aforementioned are still the most neutral, as document 64/1 still grants Palestinian activism the possibility to be a force of resistance.

In folder 91, “The second cold war (1975-1989)”, the tb provides information about Afghan

²⁹⁷ Tb, p.247.

²⁹⁸ Tb, p.247, from: J.-M. Balencie, Les mille et un visages du terrorisme contemporain, dans *Questions internationales*, Nr.8, June-August 2004, pp.6-10.

²⁹⁹ Sb, 12/7, p.29.

resistance to the Soviet invasion. The information states that not just Afghans resisted, but that the “whole Muslim world” helped to protect Afghanistan. This was supported by the US and Saudi Arabia. To describe this resistance the word “guerilla” is used. In the text the fighters are not referred to as terrorists, and yet, the informative text is titled “the Islamic terror born in Afghanistan”³⁰⁰.

This (mostly negative) critical attitude cannot be found regarding French and Belgian resistance, which is, without exception, defined and referred to as such. The first document in question is document 7 in folder 42 “Belgium and France under occupation”. By itself it is a document which could open up a discussion on where the line that separates terror from resistance should be, since in the assassination of the mayor of Grand Charleroi a civilian had been killed. Instead, the tb qualifies this as an act of resistance by stating “the activities of la Résistance have been severely punished by the German authorities”³⁰¹. It then emphasizes the state terror by the Nazi regime against la Résistance. It does also mention that the regime at the time called these resistance fighters “terrorists” but does not reflect on it any further.

The lack of consistency of what constitutes terror continues with documents 10 and 12 in folder 42, and document 7 in folder 44, “1945: a shaken world”. All documents are about collaboration with the Nazi enemy. In document 10 a man is seen burning his traces of collaboration. The reason for this is not focused on in the tb and the tasks for the students, but only mentioned in the key-marked information for document 9. Here the acts of the resistance are listed, one of which is “execution of collaborators”³⁰². Document 12 is a speech by Pétain to generate support for collaboration with Germany. Once again a reflection on the acts by the resistance is neglected. Information about Pétain exists in the bibliography part but pupils are not specifically asked to read that in the suggestions by the tb. In that information they would have found that Pétain received the death sentence for his cooperation. In a final instance, document 7 notes that trials had to work fast as otherwise people were executed by angry mobs³⁰³. The document notes that 1022 people were condemned to death, of which 246 were executed. The tb provides even more detailed information on the exact articles for which most people were executed or imprisoned. It,

³⁰⁰ Tb, p.320.

³⁰¹ Tb, p.168.

³⁰² Sb, p.109.

³⁰³ Sb, 44/7, p.114.

however, neglects to reflect the implications of that. It does not discuss if this is justifiable to retrospectively condemn those who had cooperated with the German authorities and what these trials imply. That it would mean that it is lawfully wrong to cooperate and it would have been lawfully right to resist even though this would have resulted in punishment during the time of occupation.

The resistance went hard against the collaborators, despite the fact that the population was terrorized into cooperation and that the government had ordered cooperation. It also does not reflect on the fact that at the time there was no such thing as democracy in the sense that population was responsible for what the government did, which, as established earlier, might motivate acts of terror against civilians.

Before ending this chapter, Iran serves as the final example to reevaluate the issue of objectivity. The information on Iran is biased due to the selection of facts coupled with a consistency of not asking questions or stopping for analysis. Once again critical mce aspects, such as creating understanding and empathy or multiperspectivity are applied. This can be seen in document 4, which notes, that women benefitted from the Islamic revolution by opening access to university for conservative families; although this is labeled as unwanted "irony" thus reproducing the position that Islam is suppressing women³⁰⁴. It also includes reasons for the Iranian regime to be distrustful of the US due to the latter's support to the Shah³⁰⁵. However, while in the Maghreb region the democratic points of the regimes are emphasized - or if they are not democratic then a certain need, such as improving the situation for women undemocratically, serves as excuse for being more autocratic³⁰⁶ - the folder on Iran focuses on the non-democratic aspects of the Islamic regime. In both cases this seems to undermine the rightfulness of Islamic protest and revolution.

The most intriguing issue connected to Iran is, however, that the books omit the influence of the international community, and the US and Britain in particular, on the developments in Iran. The first instance is the toppling of Mohammad Mossadegh's democratic regime after the oil had been nationalized and the Shah ousted. The key information text, which

³⁰⁴ Sb, document 4, p.165.

³⁰⁵ Sb, p.164 and tb, p.242.

³⁰⁶ Sb, p.255: regarding Morocco it states that after terrorist attacks in 2003 individual liberties have been curbed and earlier democratic reforms have been taken back. It then states that the same policies also "fundamentally change the situation for women".

summarizes the Shah's reign from 1941 until 1979 does not mention Mossadegh (interesting here is also that the book does not mention that the British and US put him there in the first place). His name and brief period in power, or the British reaction to his nationalization, is not acknowledged either in folder 100 ("The conflicts in the Middle-East"), where Iran is mentioned as the first Middle Eastern country to have nationalized its oil in 1951³⁰⁷.

A third point is the information in the student book's informative text on the Iran-Iraq war in 1980-88 in folder 100. The text explains that Iraq attacked Iran, but it does not dwell on the reasons for that. The pupils would need to connect information in the final informative text on the Iraq war in 2003, where it says that Shiites form 80% of the population of Iraq, with information on Shiites in the bibliography. Once they look up 'Shiites' in the bibliography they would understand that Iran is a Shiite country. Only now they could understand the possible danger the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein faced after a successful Islamic (Shiite) revolution. The book here also omits the relative military strengths, suggesting that only countries with a weak military need international assistance. It somehow suggests that Iran, as a big country, must have a strong military while Kuwait, as a small country, must have a weak military and is thus in need of international protection. There is no explanation provided, why the international community, over a period of eight years, did not react to the Iraqi "attack" on Iran, but only reacted when Iraq "overran" (envahit) Kuwait³⁰⁸. Despite the fact that the question of when did the international community act and when not, clearly is an issue at other instances, such as Rwanda. It is even specifically analyzed in the teacher book, where Yugoslavia and Kuwait are opposed and non-/late action of the UN is discussed³⁰⁹.

The final point that should be raised here is the issue of seeing the "Orient" and "Islam" as one³¹⁰. Iran is taken as an example for an Islamic Republic, maybe suggesting that it is somehow representative for Muslim countries. This belies the disunity within Islam. The distinction between Shia and Sunni Islam is not even emphasized in unit 113 "The roots of Islamism" and is only explained in the dictionary³¹¹. The supposed unity and homogeneity is brought to a sad climax when the folder of Iran (folder 62) flags the folder on terrorism

³⁰⁷ Sb, p.258.

³⁰⁸ Sb, p.259.

³⁰⁹ Tb, p.336.

³¹⁰ This notion needs to be criticized, cf. *Markon and Weinhäupl, Die anderen im Schulbuch*, pp.17ff.

³¹¹ Sb, p.231.

(folder 64) as a connected theme. None of the terror examples in folder 64 are connected to Iran. Instead, most of the terror examples in the folder have been committed by Islamists and/ or Al-Qaida. This stretches the irony even further as the books seem to link Iran to Islamist terror; while at the same time failing to mention that many if not most of the victims are of Shia faith. It would only make sense to link Iran to the folder on terrorism if the Hezbollah were categorized as a terrorist organization. However, the books do not do that. They explain that the Hezbollah gets support from Iran, but they also note that it was only founded after the Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon and that it focuses on fighting soldiers³¹². It is only very recently that the EU follows the US in branding Hezbollah as a terrorist organization³¹³.

Hence, it can be concluded that it is less the selection of the information that creates bias, but rather the connections and reflections that come with the themes. This seems to suggest that the authors are more motivated to create the appearance of objectively presenting themes, while neglecting to lose a deeper eurocentrism and universalism.

5.1.4. Conclusion

Due to the restricted scope of the essay and the type of research methodology applied, it is impossible to analyze why the multicultural education approach differs according to themes. The development of the EU could be a major contributor to a re-evaluation of WW1 and 2 in order to bring Europe together, but this is merely an idea which would need to be further researched; preferably also regarding why critical multiculturalism is less detectable in other theme clusters.

It is clear, however, that with these new findings in mind the categorizations of 4.2 had to be reevaluated. Now, it can be said that the books, in certain parts, have the potential to integrate critical multicultural education, and follow, a form of mainstream multicultural education. This would depend on how the teachers use the books. Nevertheless, in regard to its underlying mentality and ideology, especially in some clusters, there is a clear

³¹² Tb, informative text to document 61/11, p.239; and document 61/11, sb, p.163.

³¹³ Le Monde Online, L'Europe, le Hezbollah et le martyr de la Syrie. In: Le Monde, 23.07.2013, online <http://mobile.lemonde.fr/a-la-une/article/2013/07/23/l-europe-le-hezbollah-et-le-martyr-de-la-syrie_3451431_3208.html> (24.07.2013). The EU, unlike the US, distinguishes the military and the political wing of the Hezbollah and only brands that military wing as terrorist organization.

undercurrent of liberal universalist and eurocentric strand which embraces a more conservative interpretation of multicultural education. What is worrying is that chapter 5 suggests that the authors seem to intentionally hide their bias. The issue here is not simply one of selection. The books could have been more intensively criticized regarding the kind of information provided. The case could be made for the folders on the Belgian Congo which fail to present information on the situation in the Congo under King Leopold the II, leaving the pupils guessing which speech, Baudouin 1st or Lumumba's³¹⁴ present the truer picture. Other instances, besides the one described regarding Iran, could include the extensive US bombing of Cambodia. This is shown on the map in document 48/ 5 but not reflected. It is not mentioned that it helped the rise of the Khmer Rouge which in turn was responsible for what some would classify as genocide³¹⁵. The books only brush the surface of these issues.

While the bias of selection could be unintentional, the bias of connections between the existing material and the language used is more revealing. The analysis in chapter 5 suggests that a bias is hidden behind a surface of objectivity. Hence, for example, multiperspectivity is kept alive in some instances, i.e. positive information on Islam (e.g. document 9/6: Islam as a religion of peace)) and Islamist protest (see document 64/1) but is abandoned for much of the rest of the book.

This concludes that overall a eurocentric and paternalistic attitude could be attested. Problems and mistakes of the 'West' are presented as having happened in the past (Colonialism, World Wars). The books further create the illusion that the 'West' is now reformed and better (eg. the Catholic Church after Vatican II council). While the books admit that the crimes of the past affect the problems of other nations today (see folder 94) it plays them down and neither does it reflect deeply on the mingling into their affairs. This kind of information is also mostly restricted to the teacher book and is not discussed with the students. The sb, moreover, fails to compare the initial problems the 'West' had to overcome before it managed to enter a period of relative peacefulness. That peacefulness, i.e. in the EU, was directed towards the states in Europe but not outside Europe, and seemed to have only been possible after two bloody wars. In contrast, the picture created by the folders in the books raise the expectation that the rest of the world should change or

³¹⁴ Sb, documents 53/3 and 53/4, p.137.

³¹⁵ See Yale University, Cambodian Genocide Program, online < <http://www.yale.edu/cgp/maps.html> > (05.09.2013).

develop without any conflict or problems. The books then, implicitly, conclude that since they often do not manage, it is because they are corrupt, chaotic, and incompetent. Prime examples of this are the Congo and the presentation of the Rwandan genocide.

6. Research outlook

One major surprise was that the critical multicultural education approach was largely missing from the topics that discussed communism. Instead, the subject was treated with in a universal and monoperspective fashion. It is difficult to understand why, since the USSR has ceased to exist and the ideological warfare should be long over.

Contrary to expectation was also to find several aspects of the critical mce approach in the cluster “Terror, Islam and the Middle East”. This topic has been actively and emotionally discussed in both the public and the academic field since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre brought al-Qaida into the spotlight. The first positive impression had to be adjusted, however, once it became clearer that a certain bias seemed to hide beneath the superficial umbrella of objectivity and multiperspectivity. The bias is revealed in the use of language. Thus, for example, terrorism is, in the folder on terrorism, described objectively. It is also emphasized that it exists and has existed in many forms and that terror is not just an Islamic strategy to scare the ‘Western World’ (although the books neglect to mention that most victims of Islamic terror are Muslims in the countries from which the terror originates). However, in other, less directly related, topics Islamic activity is always referred to as terror, while resistance during WW2 is always referred to as resistance even if it does not fit the definitions about terror that the books themselves (both the sb and the tb) suggest.

What has thus become clear is that the struggle to dominate the meaning of mce, apparent in academic and political discourse, is clearly reflected in the student and teacher book. However, intriguingly, it is not a fight for global dominance, i.e. one book follows one single approach to mce; instead, different mce approaches are used according to themes. The most immediate question is why these hierarchies exist according to themes. And, more importantly, why do the authors seem to be trying to hide a certain bias. I do not claim that either one thing is consciously attempted by the authors. Furthermore, in order to answer

either question, the research that would need to be done would leave the books themselves.

If one were to do more research on the same books, the first effort probably focus on the analysis of the effect of grouping some themes or information and not grouping other themes or information. How does this affect the learning process of the pupil? Are they more likely to remember information and connect the necessary information if it comes up occasionally? Or, do they recall information better if it is discussed more intensively in one folder? The case in point can be broad themes, like the actions of the USSR towards protest in Eastern Europe (folder 50) versus splitting up information about US secretive military action, often only referred to in side notes.

Another, more specific point is the distribution of information. One example is the informative texts in folder 100 on the Iran – Iraq relationship. The first information on the war between Iran and Iraq explains that Saddam Hussein attacked Iran to stop the spread of the Islamic revolution. Out of context that should not make sense: Why would he attack Iran? Only three paragraphs later it is explained that “Shiites constitute 80% of the population” of Iraq and that they are repressed³¹⁶. By itself that is still not enough since the pupils would be unlikely to know that Shiites form the majority in Iran. In order to find this out, the students would have to look up the term ‘Shiites’ and find the definition on page 331. It is highly questionable that the pupils are able to connect the information.

There are further valid paths of research that could be taken. One has been already hinted at, a more intense, post-structuralist, analysis of the language used. Once again the cluster categorization should be followed in order to oppose the different use of language. Often these are questions of connotations. Folder 100 uses several different words to describe military action by one nation towards another. The most positive or neutral ones are used to describe US actions. They “intervene” in Afghanistan and they “lance the assault” on Iraq. In contrast, Iraq “overran Kuwait” and “attacks Iran”. The “overran” in regard to Iraqi actions expresses much more the difference in strength of the respective parties than the “lance[ing

³¹⁶ Sb, p. 259.

of] the assault” by the United States. For the Soviet action in Afghanistan the word “invasion” is used³¹⁷.

To some degree the books themselves reflect on language and categorization when it comes to terror and genocide definitions (folders 102 and 64). Another incident of language playing with the perception of content can be found in folder 98. The title of which is “Maghreb: between democracy and Islamism”. It falsely suggests that there is democracy in these Maghreb states. More importantly, it also seems to insinuate that there is a natural opposition between ‘Islamism’ and ‘democracy’.

I only registered these examples consciously; however, I suspect that there are many more examples, which could be analysed in more detail with a post-structuralist and deconstructionist approach.

Leaving language aside, there might be potential in analysing the didactic scenarios suggested and described in the second part of the teacher book³¹⁸. The scenarios are divided into several broad themes. The themes partly overlap and partly differ from my clusters; and they rarely suggest that the teacher should treat all documents of a folder. This second option of further research would also invite the use of interviews with students and, if possible, the analysis of how the students actually fulfil the tasks suggested in the ‘parcours’ section of the teacher book³¹⁹. This would put the focus on actual reception.

Other interview choices are the authors and the teachers who work with the books. The authors might not answer honestly regarding the issue of ‘hidden bias’, however, they might talk about their understanding of multicultural education, their thoughts and attitudes towards it. A more open interview could be held with teachers who use the books. Once again they could be asked about their attitude towards multicultural education. Additional questions could go into what they think about the book, how they use the book for their lessons, and if they rely on extra material.

Finally, history books from other countries and from within Belgium should be analysed in order to verify the potential of generalization. Regarding the rest of the series from

³¹⁷ Sb, p.259.

³¹⁸ Tb, pp.376-407.

³¹⁹ Reminder: the parcours section is at the end of each folder in the tb, advising the teacher on how to use the folders; it also suggest possible questions for the students.

“Construct History”, the titles in the tables of contents suggest a strong Eurocentric focus and a very additive approach to mce in volumes one, two and three. It would be important that the books are not simply analysed as a whole but also divided into some form of theme-clusters. We would need to find out if they follow the same pattern of applying different approaches to mce to distinct clusters? Moreover, the question would be if a certain bias can be identified in connections to similar themes. Additionally, one could compare if the strategies to establish a pretence of objectivity while hiding a bias are similar.

7. Conclusion

This paper analyses the diversity of approaches to multicultural education in a history textbook by using a mix of methods from literary and cultural analysis. At first, the diverse development of multicultural education from its birth to now is broadly outlined. Next, it is emphasised that there exist a multitude of interpretations of what multicultural education means or should mean; and even what it should be called. These definitions differ according to languages, countries, and on a temporal axis. The unifying nominator of all is that they suggest ways of how education or society should function in a multicultural and global environment. The extremes range from total rejection of accommodating different cultures or people from foreign nations to a complete overhaul of all standards and norms in order to embrace diversity.

The first main research part attempts to identify the principal approaches that are reflected in a (popular) (French language) Belgium history course books (teacher and student version). It concludes that the books incorporate almost all of the major approaches to multicultural education. The overall ideology of the books can be vaguely identified as some form of mainstream multicultural education.

The second research part explains why it is so difficult to label the books according to one form of multicultural education. Instead of looking at the book as a whole, it has divided the book into four broad theme-clusters. Once separate, it becomes easier to identify the various approaches to multicultural education. In contrast to my first analysis, it reveals a

certain universalist and eurocentric undercurrent regarding the selection and connections of themes, as well as the questions of analysis. It furthermore, highlights a biased use of language, found in the titles and sub-titles of the folder, and in the informative texts in the student book and the text book. This (subliminal?) undercurrent reinforces a more liberal/conservative version of mce.

The general implications of my findings are that in the case of those two books the approach to mce is connected to sub-themes rather than the books as a whole. More intriguingly, it can be said that the authors seem to want to suggest a more critical version mce, only to hide a more universalist, biased view, and thus a far more conservative form of multicultural education. Hence, my research showed that there might be a certain danger in looking at books or curricula as a whole when one tries to identify the character of multicultural education. It is, however, this approach that has been followed in most of the school book and curricula analyses I have read.

I want to end with two aspects I came to struggle with. The first one is the question of whether or not to integrate right-wing multiperspectivity? Critical multiculturalism is against prejudices and universalism. Nevertheless, it still is universalist in its proposition of applying critical multiculturalism in education. It is furthermore, highly prejudiced towards right-wing ideology. The latter clearly violates critical multiculturalism's own point to present a multiplicity of perspectives objectively. A second, and more important issue, is the complete absence in multicultural education research to reflect upon the concept of the nation state and nationalism, and how to leave it behind. In a multicultural state that applies a critical multicultural ideology the nation state would be obsolete. Each state would accommodate individuals from the other states and no state would adhere to the principle of one main culture and one/ two main languages. The question that needs to be answered is why this step towards envisioning a world without nation states has not happened yet.

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9. Appendix

9.1. Longer quotes in French

4.2.1 describing concepts of mce:

- Parce qu'apprendre c'est chercher, découvrir... et CONSTRUIRE des connaissances nouvelles...
- Parce que, dans l'impossibilité d'observer la vie des hommes du passé, l'historien ne peut que s'en CONSTRUIRE une représentation, la plus fidèle possible...
- Parce que la compréhension du passé sert à préparer les élèves à CONSTRUIRE l'Histoire; celle qui commence demain...³²⁰

“Ce ce manuel se présente donc comme **UNE BOÎTE À OUTILS**. Il doit te permettre, progressivement et avec ton professeur et les élèves de ta classe, de **CONSTRUIRE** une synthèse de l’Histoire des hommes...” . (Emphasis original)³²¹

"À patir de la guerre des Six Jours en 1967, elle se radicalise et intègre différentes organisations armées, dont le Fatah. L'OLP s'engage alors dans un terrorisme aveugle qui ternit l'image des Palestiniens."³²²

Dans un ouvrage devenu classique, M. Abdallah-Pretceille souligne d’abord la difficulté à opérer une distinction nette entre les différents préfixes : pluri-, multi-, inter-, trans- et méta- culturel. « Actuellement, écrit-elle, il règne une extrême confusion entre ces vocables, confusion source de quiproquos, voire de mésententes entre les chercheurs. Lever cette ambiguïté ne relève pas d’une simple analyse linguistique, explique-t-elle, car derrière chaque expression se cachent en fait des habitudes qui font autorité ».³²³

³²⁰ Bullet point information found at the back cover of the student and teacher book.

³²¹ Sb, p.2, information on how to use the book.

³²² Tb, p.238.

³²³ Pierre *Dehalu*, *Former les futurs Enseignants à l’interculturel: Compte-rendu d’une pratique* (n.p. n.d.), p.4.

9.2. Email from the publisher

From: Chantal.Collin@verbode.be
Date: 16 March 2011 08:59:58 CET
To: saman.sarshar-fard@gmx.de
Subject: construire l'histoire

Bonjour,

Nous ne disposons pas de statistiques.

La seule chose que nous connaissons est que nous sommes leader sur le marché, que +/- 70 % des écoles utilisant les manuels scolaires utilisent le nôtre.

Bien à vous

Collin Chantal
Déléguée pédagogique secondaire

OO32 474 84 04 22

9.3. The three other construire l'histoire volumes

Together, the four volumes form the material for all secondary education in the subject of history. Regarding volumes one to three, I only looked at the table of contents. It however became clear that volumes one³²⁴ and two³²⁵ are very eurocentric. Volume one mostly concentrates on Greece and Rome, with a minor part on Christianity and the Carolinger Empire. It features only one folder on the birth of Islam, one on Byzantine Empire, and none on Persia³²⁶. Also in volume two most folders are confined to Europe. With only one set of folders, which feel rather additive, on the relations between Orient and Occident. This theme-set consists of seven folders. The three in the documents section are on the first crusade, on "the crusaders in the Holy Land" and "Sicily between orient and occident". The other four are in the landmark section and are titled: "Byzantine: heir of Rome and the Christian Empire (6th century to 15th century)", "the Schism of the orient", "Islam at the

³²⁴ Jean-Louis Jadoulle, Jean Georges, Raymond Brulet, René Noël, Florence André, Vincent Boitquin, Mathieu Bouhon, Henri-François Bouvé, Marie-Christine Connart, Brigitte Fossion, *Les racines de l'Occident*, (Brussels 2005).

³²⁵ Jean-Louis Jadoulle, Jean Georges, René Noël, Jacques Pycke, Paul Servais, Jean-Claude Flémal, Brigitte Fossion, Isabelle Gengler, Agathe Nys, Jean-Paul Wibrin, Isabelle Van der Borcht, *L'affirmation de l'Occident* (Brussels 2006).

³²⁶ *Les racines de l'Occident*, pp.4f.

crossroads of East and West (8th to 13th century)”, and “the Iberian Peninsula (11th to 13th century). From Domination to Reconquista”³²⁷. It has to be added that the issues section seems to reflect and to question the binary pairs Orient-Occident and, respectively, Islam-Christianity. Folder five asks if the Occident is still Christian and folder six reflects if the opposition between Islam and Occident still applies³²⁸. However, other world regions or perspectives seem not to have been integrated, judging from the titles. Volume three is also mainly eurocentric with the exception of a large set on folders (81-91 and 114-116) that treat “Europe and the world”³²⁹. Overall, it appears that the rest of the world, be it regional or in non-Christian terms, is only interesting when it starts to interact with ‘the Occident’ or Christianity. On a further note, none of these volumes feature a title that might hint that issues of genocide have been reflected. This makes it even more difficult to comprehend why a general view has not then been included in the genocide folder (folder 102, “Genocide and negationism”) in volume four³³⁰.

³²⁷ L'affirmation de l'Occident, p.4.

³²⁸ L'affirmation de l'Occident, p.4.

³²⁹ Jean-Louis Jadouille, Jean Georges, M. Bortolin, C. Dambroise, Jean-Claude Flémal, B. Dromelet, N. Folie, Brigitte Fossion, M. Geens, J.P. Nandrin, Ph. Raxon, M.-E. Ricker, *L'Europe dans le monde* (Brussels 2007), p.5.

³³⁰ Sb, pp.262-263.

9.4. How to use the student book: pages from volume 4 with annotations

Un monde en mutation (de 1919 à nos jours)

Heritage section

ENJEUX	Issues	REPRÉSENTATIONS	PATRIMOINE
HÉRITAGES 1 La population mondiale 2 La sécurité collective : un rêve impossible ? 3 Un monde unipolaire ? 4 Quelle union pour l'Europe ? 5 Nord et Sud : de plus en plus (in)égaux ? 6 La mondialisation : au profit de tous ? 7 Comment freiner le réchauffement climatique ? 8 Femmes et hommes : l'égalité ? 9 Les religions : entre guerre et paix ? 10 La Belgique : à la croisée des chemins ? 11 La tentation de l'extrême droite 12 Victoire de la démocratie ?		13 Au bord de l'aventure ? L'entre-deux-guerres dans la B.D. 14 La guerre froide dans la B.D. 15 Raconter la Shoah ? 16 Che Guevara	17 Charlie Chaplin 18 1937 : Picasso peint <i>Guernica</i> . 19 Le fort de Breendonk 20 Auschwitz, camps de la mort 21 La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme 22 Catastrophe au Bois du Cazier 23 L'Atomium, symbole de l'Expo 58 24 Se souvenir de la guerre 25 Le gratte-ciel

Broad time frame and theme of the folders belonging to the category

Documents
(and debates)

Documents
(and debates)

			Conséquences de 1914-1918	26 La « Grande Guerre » : un bouleversement humain 27 Après l'armistice, construire la paix ? 28 Après 14-18 : l'Europe face au monde	The point on... part of the landmarks section. It provides information written by the authors of the book, rather than merely documents
			Les crises économiques	29 L'économie américaine dans les années 1920 30 La crise devient mondiale : les années 1930.	
DOCUMENTS (+ Débat)	1918-1945	Les régimes autoritaires		31 De la Russie impériale à l'URSS (1905-1924) 32 L'URSS de Staline (1924-1953) 33 L'Italie devient fasciste. 34 Le nazisme : vers le pouvoir... (1919-1933) 35 L'Allemagne nazie (1933-1945) 36 L'art dans les régimes totalitaires	les années 1930 81 Les révolutions russes 82 Le racisme, fondement du nazisme 83 Diversité et séduction de l'autoritarisme
			Difficultés des démocraties dans les années 1930	37 La Belgique dans les années 1930 38 L'échec de la paix (1936-1939). Vers la Seconde Guerre mondiale	
			Regards sur le monde	39 Sur les ruines de l'Empire ottoman	84 L'Extrême-Orient en crise (1910-1950)
		Art, culture et société	40 L'art dans l'entre-deux-guerres 41 La vie quotidienne dans l'entre-deux-guerres		
		La Seconde Guerre mondiale et ses conséquences	42 La Belgique et la France sous l'Occupation 43 Pie XII et la « Solution finale »	85 De la Pologne à Hiroshima (1939-1945) 86 L'univers concentrationnaire	
	1945-2008	Régulation internationale	44 1945 : un monde bouleversé 45 L'ONU : quel bilan ?	87 L'Organisation des Nations unies : objectifs et fonctionnement d'une institution mondiale 88 Vers une justice pénale internationale ?	
		Les relations Est-Ouest	46 Aux origines du conflit Est-Ouest (1945-1947) 47 Armement et désarmement (1945-2007) 48 La guerre du Vietnam (1964-1975) 49 La séduction du communisme 50 L'Europe de l'Est depuis 1945 51 Gorbatchev : visionnaire ou fossoyeur de l'URSS ?	89 Les blocs Est et Ouest 90 La première guerre froide (1947-1974) 91 La seconde guerre froide (1975-1989) 92 URSS : la fin de l'empire (1985-1991)	
		Les relations Nord-Sud	52 La décolonisation 53 Le Congo belge : du paternalisme à l'indépendance 54 Congo, Zaïre, RDC	93 La fin des empires coloniaux : pourquoi ? 94 Les racines du sous-développement	

The point on... part of the landmarks section. It provides information written by the authors of the book, rather than merely documents

DOCUMENTS (+ Débat)	1945-2008	<i>La construction européenne</i>	55 L'Europe en construction. Origine et objectifs	95 L'Union européenne : construction et fonctionnement
		<i>Regards sur le monde</i>	56 Les États-Unis, superpuissance ? 57 Cuba et le Chili, deux « révolutions » 58 La Russie post-communiste 59 La Chine de Mao : de l'image à la réalité 60 La Chine au tournant du millénaire 61 Israël-Palestine : la paix impossible ? 62 L'Iran, une république islamique 63 L'Afrique des Grands Lacs 64 Qu'est-ce que le terrorisme ?	96 L'Amérique latine : vers la démocratie 97 La Yougoslavie : le retour de la guerre en Europe 98 Le Maghreb : entre démocratie et islamisme 99 Israéliens et Arabes : 60 ans de guerre 100 Les conflits du Moyen-Orient 101 Le géant indien 102 Génocide et négationnisme
		<i>La Belgique</i>	65 La question royale en Belgique 66 De la Belgique unitaire à la Belgique fédérale	103 Le fédéralisme belge 104 Les partis politiques belges 105 La démocratie politique et sociale en Belgique. Droit de vote, concertation et sécurité sociales 106 Les étrangers en Belgique. Immigrés, réfugiés, « sans-papiers » ?
		<i>Économie et société</i>	67 L'économie mondiale depuis 1945 68 Société et vie quotidienne après 1945 69 Génération 68 70 La question noire aux États-Unis 71 La planète en danger	107 Les acteurs de la mondialisation économique
		<i>Sciences et techniques</i>		108 L'espace, enjeu stratégique
	À travers le siècle	<i>Société</i>	72 Les mutations démographiques au XX ^e siècle 73 Le siècle de l'automobile 74 Jeux Olympiques : sport ou politique ? 75 Les femmes en Belgique 76 Famille et jeunesse au XX ^e siècle	109 Le XX ^e siècle ou la victoire de la médecine ?
		<i>Art et culture</i>	77 Qu'est-ce que l'art ?	110 Comprendre l'art contemporain 111 Planète médias
		<i>Les religions</i>	78 Le catholicisme belge au XX ^e siècle	112 Le catholicisme : vers un <i>aggiornamento</i> ? 113 Aux racines de l'islamisme

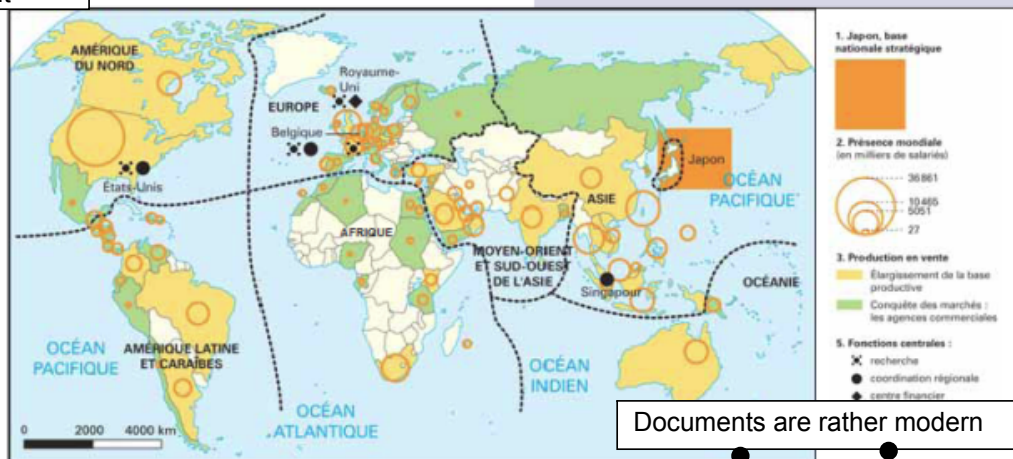
TRACES		TEMPS ET ESPACE	
REPÈRES	116 Le dessin de presse	<i>Chronologie</i>	119 Le monde de 1910 à 1960 120 Le monde de 1960 à 2008 121 Culture et société 122 La Belgique de 1900 à 2008
	117 Les sources audiovisuelles	<i>Cartes</i>	123 Le monde des années 1920 et 1930 124 La décolonisation et l'émergence du tiers-monde 125 Le monde bipolaire de 1947 à 1989 126 Le monde de 1991 à 2008 127 L'Europe en 1914 128 L'Europe des années 1920 129 L'Europe en 1938-1939 130 L'Europe en 1945
	118 Internet et l'Histoire		
Biographic information on the authors of the documents			
NOTICES BIOGRAPHIQUES DES AUTEURS DE DOCUMENTS – LEXIQUE – TABLE DES SIGLES – TABLE DES CARTES			

Heritage part
of the issues
section

La mondialisation : au profit de tous ?

Title and subtitle of the folder

Le terme « mondialisation » est apparu au début des années 1980. Comment la mondialisation se manifeste-t-elle ? À qui profite-t-elle ? Quelles alternatives ceux qui la critiquent proposent-ils ?



Documents are rather modern

1 Un exemple de *multinationale** : l'heure de la mondialisation : Toyota dans le monde en 2003
(D'après L. Crotteux, *La mondialisation en débat*, dans *La Documentation photographique*, n° 8037, mai 2004, p. 19)

Terms marked with an asterisk
can be looked up in the
student dictionary at the end of
the book

2 [La] mondialisation de l'économie, c'est d'abord le café du matin, importé par bateau de Colombie ou d'Ouganda, lyophilisé et mis en boîte en RFA, transporté en train (...), puis redistribué ensuite par la chaîne de supermarchés avant de venir dans votre tasse. Ce sont les oranges venues d'Israël ou d'Espagne, que je mangerai ce soir, l'essence de ma voiture, venue d'Arabie Saoudite ou de mer du Nord, par pipeline ou pétrolier. Ce sont mes chaussures fabriquées en Italie ; l'ordinateur personnel sur lequel je frappe cet article, dont les composants viennent de l'autre bout de la planète. Avant d'être sur ma table, dans mon assiette et sur mon corps, la plupart des produits que j'utilise et consomme ont parcouru des milliers de kilomètres, sont passés par des mains d'ouvriers asiatiques ou de dockers africains. Ces hommes, je ne les connais jamais et eux m'ignorent. Pourtant, une maigre fraction de ce que j'ai payé servira à nourrir leur famille, peut-être à acheter une paire de lunettes qui se fabrique à quelques pas de chez moi. Tous ces produits ont fait l'objet de transactions commerciales entre quelques firmes suédoises, indonésiennes ou françaises. L'économie mondiale, c'est ce maillage indissoluble de matières premières, de produits, de capitaux, et surtout d'hommes et de femmes qui investissent, produisent, vendent, achètent, transportent et enfin consomment. Au-delà des produits et des capitaux, l'économie mondiale, c'est aussi par voie de conséquence des images qui voyagent (la série américaine à la télévision), des modes de consommation qui se répandent (Coca-Cola ou cuisine chinoise), des hommes et des idées qui circulent.

Achille WEINBERG, *La mondialisation de l'économie, tendances et mutations*, dans *Sciences humaines*, n° 14, février 1992, p. 13

Parcours

Information for the teacher on how to use the folder in the wider context of related themes and development of knowledge and methods

Ce dossier peut servir de **point de départ pour découvrir la question du développement** en s'interrogeant sur les **origines** de cette situation, et en prenant connaissance de la **persistance du système inégalitaire** installé à l'époque coloniale et l'existence, malgré la **décolonisation** (→ 93), d'un **néocolonialisme** (→ 94). L'enseignant peut prendre appui sur la première phrase du chapeau et :

- amener les élèves à **prendre connaissance de la teneur des objectifs de l'ONU** sur base du document 5/4 ;
- **rechercher dans les documents 5/1-3, 5 et 6 les éléments qui confirment les problèmes que les Objectifs du Millénaire prétendent résoudre** ; pour la dette, compléter par l'analyse de la caricature 94/2 ; pour la santé, compléter avec le document 109/2 ;

- confirmer le constat de l'inégalité Nord-Sud en observant la carte 132 et en **rechercher les causes** dans le dossier 94.
- L'enseignant peut prolonger l'enquête en :
- **vérifiant le constat sur base de l'exemple Congo-Zaïre-RDC** :
 - analyser les documents 54/8-10 ;
 - mettre en parallèle l'évolution des indicateurs présentés dans ces documents 54/8-10 et la chronologie de l'évolution du Congo (→ 119 et 120), et constater que la décolonisation ne semble pas avoir apporté une amélioration du sort de la population.
 - **mettre la décolonisation en contexte** sur base de la carte 124 et en découvrir les **causes** sur base du dossier 93.

Pour en savoir plus

Additional research information for the previous folder. Usually suggests material for teachers and pupils

- *Afrique : les chemins de la croissance*, dans *Problèmes économiques*, n° 2906, 13 septembre 2006
- *Banque mondiale, FMI et développement*, dossier de *La Documentation française* sur <http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr>
- *La dette des PED : où en est-on ?*, dans *Problèmes économiques*, n° 2892, 2 février 2006
- D.S. LANDES, *Richesse et pauvreté des nations*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2000
- *Pauvreté, inégalités et croissance : quels enjeux pour l'aide au développement ?*, dans *Afrique contemporaine*, n° 211, automne 2004

Sur Internet, consulter les sites des grandes institutions internationales comme la CNUCED (<http://www.unctad.org>), le Fonds monétaire international (FMI) (<http://www.imf.org>), le Programme des Nations unies pour le Développement (PNUD) (<http://www.un.org>), mais aussi des organisations non gouvernementales comme le Comité pour l'Annulation de la Dette du Tiers-Monde (CADTM) (<http://www.cadtm.org>).

Enjeux

Dossier 6

La mondialisation : au profit de tous ?

Balises

Main aim of this folder

Ce dossier permet à l'élève de découvrir **différentes facettes de la mondialisation aujourd'hui**, d'en établir une **définition** et d'en peser les **effets positifs et négatifs**.

Commentaires des documents

Information and suggestions regarding tasks for the pupils

6/1 [Un exemple de multinationale...]

Folder 6 document 1

Observer la carte et repérer les **différents composants de l'entreprise Toyota** : base stratégique, unités de production, agences commerciales, centres de recherche, centres de coordination (un par continent sauf l'Afrique) et centre financier ; prendre la mesure du **poids de l'entreprise en nombre**

de salariés et situer cette entreprise dans la « hiérarchie mondiale » en consultant le tableau 56/1.

- Comparer avec les informations figurant dans l'encart sur la multinationale *InBev* (→ 107, p. 278).
- En dégager une **définition** du terme « **multinationale** » ; la confronter et la compléter sur base de celle figurant dans le **lexique** en fin de manuel et sur base des explications figurant

L'économie mondiale depuis 1945

A short text or questions explain what the folder is about

Fortement touchée par la crise durant les années 1930, comment l'économie mondiale évolue-t-elle après la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale ? Quels facteurs principaux expliquent son évolution ? Comment influence-t-elle la vie quotidienne des populations ?

The section usually features documents and only in rare occasions texts by the authors

1 [Après 1945], les industries automobiles tandis qu'aux États-Unis le principe fordiste était étendu à de nouvelles formes de production : du logement au fast food (McDonald est une *success story* de l'après-guerre). (...) Ce qui relevait jadis du luxe devint la norme du confort espéré, en tout cas dans les pays riches : le réfrigérateur, la machine à laver et le téléphone. En 1971, on comptait plus de 270 millions de téléphones dans le monde, c'est-à-dire essentiellement en Amérique du Nord et en Europe occidentale, et leur diffusion allait en s'accroissant. Dix années plus tard, leur nombre avait presque doublé. (...) Bref, il était désormais possible au citoyen moyen de ces pays de vivre comme seuls les riches vivaient au temps de leurs parents (...). Il n'y a pas d'explications réellement satisfaisantes de ce « grand bond en avant » de l'économie capitaliste mondiale. (...) Il y eut (...) une restructuration et une réforme en profondeur du capitalisme et une progression tout à fait extraordinaire de (...) l'internationalisation de l'économie. De la première tendance émergea une économie « mixte » qui permit aux États de planifier et de gérer plus facilement la modernisation économique et augmenta aussi considérablement la demande. À de très rares exceptions près (Hong Kong), les grandes réussites économiques des pays capitalistes après la guerre sont des histoires d'industrialisation soutenue, supervisée, dirigée, et parfois planifiée et gérée par l'État (...). En même temps, la politique des Gouvernements au plein-emploi et, dans une moindre mesure, à la réduction des inégalités, a permis d'augmenter l'attachement à la protection et à la sécurité sociales, assurant pour la première fois un marché de consommation des produits de luxe désormais considérés comme de première nécessité. (...) La seconde tendance a eu pour effet de multiplier les capacités productives de l'économie mondiale en rendant possible une division internationale du travail plus élaborée et sophistiquée. (...) Après 1953, le commerce mondial des produits manufacturés a décuplé en 20 ans. (...) Les principales innovations qui commencèrent à transformer le monde presque sitôt après la guerre furent peut-être chimiques et pharmaceutiques.

Eric John HOBBSBAWM, *L'âge des extrêmes. Histoire du court XX^e siècle*, Bruxelles, Complexe-Le Monde diplomatique, 2003, p. 349-350 et 355-357

Flags indicating related folders

	Belgique	Europe occidentale
1930	8076	235 975
1935	8288	242 148
1940	8346	248 417
1945	8339	247 666
1950	8639	256 376
1955	8868	264 112
1960	9119	273 807

Évolution démographique de la Belgique et des 12 pays d'Europe de l'Ouest, 1930-1960, en millions d'habitants (D'après A. MADISON, *Économie mondiale, statistiques historiques*, II, Paris OCDE, 2003, p. 42-43)

	1960	1973
Allemagne de l'Ouest	55,8	115,3
Italie	52,5	118,6
Belgique	64,3	123,8
Pays-Bas	54,9	115,1
France	61,9	116
Royaume-Uni	75,3	113,3
États-Unis	81	106,7
Japon	50,9	129,6

Salaires réels par salarié (indice 100 = 1970) (D'après H. VAN DER WEE, *Histoire économique mondiale, 1945-1990*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Academia, 1990, p. 192)

Landmarks section

L'art grec

Un art mathématique ?

These sections have a lot of text, written by the authors. They have usually few, sometimes none, documents.

Pour **Pythagore**, philosophe et mathématicien au VI^e siècle av. J.-C., les mathématiques ne servent pas uniquement à calculer, à compter des marchandises ou à élaborer une comptabilité. Pour lui, l'univers est organisé à partir de calculs mathématiques qui le rendent harmonieux. Certains artistes reprennent cette idée de Pythagore : de même que l'harmonie du monde se base sur les nombres, une œuvre d'art ne peut être parfaite que si elle respecte certaines **proportions mathématiques**.

Cette préoccupation s'exprime d'abord en **architecture**. Les premiers temples grecs de style dorique sont

construits au départ d'une **mesure qui sert de base** au dimensionnement des différentes parties du temple. Cette mesure peut être, par exemple, le diamètre du bas de la colonne. La hauteur des colonnes et du **chapiteau***, la longueur et la largeur du temple, la hauteur des éléments décoratifs sont alors calculés en fonction de ce diamètre. Ainsi, dans le temple dédié à Zeus à Olympie, le diamètre inférieur de la colonne est reporté 4,7 fois dans sa hauteur et la hauteur de l'**entablement*** vaut 1/3 de la hauteur de la colonne. Les architectes veillent également à respecter d'autres règles, notamment la **règle du nombre d'or** (Phi) selon laquelle la racine du rapport de la longueur sur la

1

Reconstitution du temple de Zeus réalisé par **LIBON d'ÉLIS**, Olympie, 470-456 av. J.-C. (D'après M. ANDRONICOS, *Olympie*, Athènes, Ekdotike Athenon, 1979, p. 22)



2

L'exemple du Parthénon (D'après *Les Grecs, surdoués de l'Antiquité*, dans *Sciences et Vie Junior*, hors série, n° 58, octobre 2004, p. 51)



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101

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References:

All pages are taken from the following:

Claude Allard, Coralie Snyers, Isabelle Van der Borght, Viviane Van Liempt, Un monde en mutation (de 1919 à nos jours). Guide de l'enseignant (Construire Histoire 4, Brüssel 2008).

Exception:

The page on "Greek art"; which is from:

Jean-Louis *Jadoulle*, Jean *Georges*, Raymond *Brulet*, René *Noël*, Florence *André*, Vincent *Boitquin*, Mathieu *Bouhon*, Henri-François *Bouvé*, Marie-Christine *Connart*, Brigitte *Fossion*, Les racines de l'Occident (Construire Histoire 1, Brüssel 2005).

9.5. Curriculum Vitae

Persönliche Daten

Name:	Saman Sarshar Fard
E-Mail:	Saman.Sarshar-Fard@gmx.de
Wohnort:	Helsinki
Staatsbürgerschaft:	Deutsch
Geburtsdatum:	21.05.1984

Ausbildung

1995-2004	Geschwister-Scholl-Gymnasium Stuttgart
Seit 10/2004	Lehramtsstudium an der Universität Wien in den UF Englisch und UF Geschichte, Sozialkunde und politische Bildung
2007/2008	Auslandsjahr in Dublin, Trinity College Dublin
2008/2009	Campus Europae 1 an der University of Eastern Finland
2010/2011	CE 2 an der Universität Luxemburg

Zusätzlich

Während meinem zweiten Campus Europae Aufenthalt habe ich auch als Sprachassistent in Belgien gearbeitet. Dadurch konnte ich vor Ort für meine Diplomarbeit recherchieren.