

## Highlights

# Debates on difference and integration in education

## Portugal

### The 'prudent' integration of Roma/Gypsy pupils: segregation and white flight in Portuguese compulsory schooling

Marta Araújo, Silvia Rodríguez Maeso

Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra (CES/UC)

- This report focuses on the current political invisibility of racism and anti-racist measures in the Portuguese education system, through a study of a case involving the segregation of Roma pupils in compulsory schooling and its justification as a matter of 'prudent integration'.
- In Portugal, racism is being institutionally misrecognised in the education system by the joint action and discourses of decision-makers, social workers and other civil society representatives. Vulnerable situations (e.g. the school segregation of the Roma population) are interpreted by a wide variety of institutional actors as resulting from the marginalised population's own cultural and educational deficits. This compounds a scenario in which the Roma are deemed as unfit for schooling and segregation is legitimised by means of pedagogical arguments.
- As addressed in this report, three key issues illustrate how the problem of racism persists in its contemporary complexity: 1) the political framework for education, diversity and racism; 2) the criticisms raised by European monitoring agencies regarding the education of Roma pupils and the national responses this has engendered and; 3) the specific case of segregation of Roma pupils in a state primary school in the rural North, in the wake of 'white flight'.
- The wider national domestic policy on intercultural dialogue and education has favoured the misrecognition of racism. In spite of much rhetoric on contact and dialogue, schools have tended to promote the particularisation and exoticisation of minoritised cultures.
- With the political rhetoric of interculturality stressing that intervention is not about 'the other', but about interaction, the existing framework renders the possibility of making political claims for difference illegitimate. This explains the absence of measures for bilingual education, for the teaching of non-European languages and

non-Eurocentric curricula and materials, and of arrangements for religious pluralism in schools, in spite of a model based on 'openness to the other'.

- Interculturality reduces racism to a matter of conviviality between different cultures and shifts the problem onto the 'other', whose cultural competence is constantly under surveillance. Significantly, it hinders any discussion of the historicity of racism directed towards the Roma population and, more importantly, is incapable of proposing an anti-racist strategy.
- While European agencies monitoring racism carry out some important advocacy activities and put some pressure on the Portuguese authorities, they have also promoted the reproduction and misrecognition of racism. The work of these agencies actually reveals the absence of a historically informed framework within the context of the European Union that 'joins the dots' and places these cases of educational segregation involving the Roma population alongside centuries of legislative efforts to keep this population outside its borders, or else to regulate their 'presence' – thus reinforcing the idea that they do not belong to Europe.
- The reports by a number of different European agencies continue to reveal a blind faith in a strategy that seeks to enhance the population's knowledge of 'other' cultures in order to overcome 'prejudice', thus excluding the debate on questions of power and privilege.

## Denmark

### Integration, difference and (anti)discrimination in Danish Primary and Lower Education

Tina Gudrun Jensen, Mette Kirstine Tørslev, Kathrine Vitus, Kristina Weibel

The Danish Centre for Social Research (SFI)

- The aim of this case study is to analyse how discrimination and racism are formulated in the context of the Danish *Folkeskole*. The paper is based on a case study comprising policy studies and interviews with school leaders and teachers from the *Folkeskole* in Copenhagen, representatives from national and local authorities and Danish NGOs. Analysing questions of diversity in Danish public schools, discourses drawing on multicultural (racism constituted as an individualized, exceptional phenomenon) and anti-racist (racism as individualized, institutionalised and structural) theory constitute a relevant theoretical framework, while in a Danish educational context, an 'integration (assimilation) discourse' predominates.
- Research about school performances shows that ethnic minority children perform significantly worse than ethnic majority children. Thus, while between 47 to 55% of

ethnic minority children in the 9.th grade are considered 'functional illiterate', only 14% of ethnic majority children are considered so. Research about inclusion and exclusion of ethnic minority in *Folkeskolen* to a very small degree focuses on discrimination or anti-racism when exploring the legal, social and emotional conditions for ethnic minority students and their school results. Within the last decade of Danish neo-liberal education and immigration ideology that deliberately excludes perspectives of structural inequality or conflict between ethnic groups or systematic injustice from the school system against certain groups of students, focus has unequivocally been centered on school performances and skills of ethnic minority children, communicated through policy concepts or empty signifiers like equal treatment, integration and subjective discrimination. A lack of studies focusing on issues of *discrimination* or *anti-racism* may reflect the influences on researchers from this political trend. Another obvious explanation is that local political focus in Danish schools has been framed by the same ideological trend, affecting both actual school policies and rhetoric about ethnic and cultural diversity.

- Discrimination and racism is not specifically addressed in the Danish educational law, but an action plan on equal treatment (2010) includes initiatives aiming at combatting prejudices and intolerance through dissemination of knowledge on discrimination. Discrimination is perceived as individual acts and initiatives mainly target students. While a focus area in Actionplan2010 related to education is 'anti-Semitism and Intolerance', no initiatives target Islamophobia. This has been criticized by The Danish Institute for Human Rights since Islamophobia is seen as a more widespread problem than anti-Semitism. Mother-tongue education is an issue of debate in Denmark. Since 2002 only bilingual students from EU/EEA countries are entitled free mother-tongue tuition, causing critique from various sides (e.g. researchers and ECRI) for being in violation of equal rights.
- School curriculum is determined by the Education Act. However, local authorities have the ultimate responsibility for the *Folkeskole*, including appointments, financial framework and curricula. The absence of centrally set standards can lead to very different conditions, practices and approaches at the schools when it comes to dealing with religious, linguistic and cultural differences.
- Differing positions and voices present in the material of this case study reveal ambiguities and no straightforward consensus on the issue of discrimination and racism. One common denominator among most interviewees is, however, the hesitancy to speak of discrimination, let alone racism. A study done by the municipality of Copenhagen, investigating discrimination in the *Folkeskole* in Copenhagen, concludes in 2010 that discrimination is not a major problem in the *Folkeskole*. This view is contested by professional agents working with bilingualism and bilingual students' position in the Danish educational system. They point to factual discrimination in the *Folkeskole* in regard to mother-tongue education (which is only offered students from EU/EEA countries), insufficient teaching of Danish as a second language leaving bilingual students on unequal footing in the school and a mono-cultural curricula.

- A general consensus exists among teachers and school leaders on the importance of not treating bilingual students differently from other students, based on the belief that all students benefit the most from being treated the *same*. The dilemma of this idea is that social positioning of bilingual students is determined by the pervading striving for equality in the sense of sameness. Being different becomes a problem *per se* within this perspective. The teachers are aware of the dangers of stereotyping, however pervading categorizations has led to the construction of dominant stereotypes of bilingual students as deviations to the common 'Us' based on 'being problems', 'lacking qualifications', 'lacking support from parents', 'being Muslim', etc.
- The general emphasis of equality and sameness that predominates Danish society, (re)producing the hegemonic integration discourse, allows no room for talk of discrimination. A refusal or hesitancy to speak about discrimination, even when issues of, for example, recognition or equal rights come up, indicates not only lack of a legitimate language to address discrimination, but also lacking recognition of the fact that a legitimate language is absent. Efforts towards equal opportunities for everyone – the combat of discrimination – are thus dissolved in colour-blind initiatives towards democracy and citizenship (non-legal sense). Teachers and school leaders articulate the importance of making room for everybody, hereby tapping into the dilemma of the individual, democratic right to be different and the idea of the Danish democracy build on community and common values. The only room available for difference is, in a category of deviance – or ambivalence – as a negation of 'Us', while real inclusion requires sameness.

## France

### Teaching colonial slavery in France, looking at the fight against anti-Black racism through history and memory

Pauline Vermeren

European University Viadrina (EUV)

- The struggle against anti-Black racism has not generally been endorsed by public policy in France, which is related to the failure to recognise 'Black' as a political category and to acknowledge the role of slavery, colonialism and their legacies – particularly racism - in French society, both resulting from 'colour-blind' Republican principles. Accordingly, until the 1990s slavery and colonialism were considered 'minor' elements of the history of France; this requires a discussion that engages with the variety of ways in which the history of colonialism questions French identity – i.e. the Republic is built on a universal principle of citizenship.
- In the years 2000, the question of slave trade, slavery and abolition acquired a more visible status in the educational debates and policies of the French state.

Unanimously adopted on the 10th of May 2001, the Taubira law recognised human trade and slavery as crimes against humanity and required its integration into school textbooks. Yet, this was meant to change education policy and practice overseas (e.g. in Martinique and Guadeloupe), not in mainland France, thus illustrating the 'colonial rupture' that marks education in general and that is intrinsic to the nation's educational system. In French schools, such themes have been increasingly featured mostly as a result of committed teachers' concern, social pressures and demands of associations involved in projects working on memory and identity. Yet, in the national history, the question of slavery and the very involvement of France are still hardly mentioned. There is no lieu de memoire, thus leaving the old colonies deprived of their own memory.

- Thus, the work carried out in this Workpackage consisted of an analysis of these debates as they are taking place in contemporary France. These are particularly relevant for education, as schools have mostly favoured the teaching of history for 'living together', rather than acknowledging the construction of a 'black identity' resulting from the history of colonialism and slavery.
- Some teachers have attempted to introduce these questions into their teaching of the syllabuses. However, remaining silent concerning a particular period of time in history is never an innocent action. For those history teachers who see the teaching of slavery as an effective pedagogical tool to fight racism, the task at hand is to provide students the necessary analytical tools to deconstruct the dominant association between being 'black' and being a slave, and the assimilation 'slave = black = victim' and 'oppressor = white'. They see this as a matrix for the education of critical citizens and a way of rethinking multicultural identities.

## Italy

### **The analysis of education policies, discourses and practices targeting the Roma in Italy: opportunities for education within difference**

Simona Pagano

European University Viadrina (EUV)

- Racism against Roma is present in today's Italian society and it generates both measures which are intended for the benefit of Roma and numerous effects which have been criticised by various institutions as discriminatory. The 'Nomad Emergency Decree', issued in 2008 by Italy's Prime Minister, and the 'Nomad Plan', established in 2009 by the City Council of Rome, are two emblematic measures.
- The 'Nomad Plan' was established as a plan to initiate the Roma's integration into mainstream society. *De facto* the provisions segregate the Roma even more and

contribute to the configuration of 'gypsies', since Roma living in camps are discriminated against in schools and at the workplace. The measures taken by the City Council follow a logic of control – educating and civilising the Roma community has been a central determinant of historical relations between Roma and non-Roma.

- The City Council of Rome pursues a racist discriminatory and segregating policy, and fails to propose substantial initiatives for the inclusion of Roma children into the education system. The measures taken consist of the assignment of the schooling projects to various civil society and anti-racist associations that include the organisation of laboratories in school for Roma children and the transfer from the camps to the various schools.
- National frameworks concerning anti-racist and 'intercultural' education are provided. However, a nation-wide proper implementation of the framework is lacking which shows in Regional divergences concerning school attendance of Roma pupils. Racism was considered by the interviewees as a problem of individual attitudes and convictions, a problem caused by intolerance and ignorance. At the same time, the Roma were blamed for their reluctance to 'integrate' into and participate in the mainstream society.
- The anti-racist activist scene seeks to oppose the institutional measures, but has proven unable to fully disentangle itself, in their proposals for solutions, from the fundamental categories underlying the imaginary of Roma 'nomads' in Italy. The institutions, the activists, and the mediation agents are sensitive to Roma experience. However, effective empowering and emancipatory projects are futile and soon reach their limits if racism is not acknowledged as a structural phenomenon that permeates society, a kind of 'cultural' setting for European societies that is far from being a problem of 'wrong' attitudes and convictions.

## Germany

### Discrimination of highly educated Muslim men in Germany

Hakan Tosuner

European University Viadrina (EUV)

- The situation of Muslims in education is critical. Only a very low percentage of Muslim pupils receive the *Abitur* (the general certificate for entering higher education). Even though the total number of Muslim students in higher education has increased in recent years, their share in the total student body still remains unsatisfactorily low. In Germany, pupil's success in education is closely connected to their class affiliation. Its three-tier school system is highly segregating, exclusive, impermeable, and particularly affects Muslim pupils as they tend to belong to a lower socio-economically class in Germany.

- The German Islam policy can be characterised as a policy of containment and formation. While policies of inclusion and cooperation with desirable actors are implemented, strategies of exclusion and isolation of undesired groups are practiced as well. One effective tool of containing and excluding undesired Muslim actors is surveillance by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (FOPC).
- The expertise and knowledge generated and disseminated by the FOPC has far reaching socio-political ramifications. It frames and limits the scope of action of other societal and governmental actors, who transmit this knowledge further into society through Media, their networks and via other means. The FOPC possesses power and influence in defining who belongs to 'us' and who does not. The FOPC annual report has de facto become an official document declaring to the German public who is a 'good' and who is a 'bad' Muslim.
- The widely spread notion that successful educational careers are the key for exemplary integration into German society cannot be upheld. Highly educated Muslim men, who not only privately practice their religion but are also actively involved in 'legalist' Islamist organisations on a voluntary basis, can be confronted with a special form of discrimination in their integration process into the job market, and thus their participation in German society at large.
- In anticipation of possible discriminatory practices, Muslim men develop various job application strategies. They feel that they are not perceived as 'normal' and not able to present themselves as they wish; that they are treated unfairly and with double-standards; and that they are somehow forced by public discourse to 'disguise' themselves, which in several cases has caused feelings of remorse. In doing this they feel bad but see no other option in order to successfully pursue their career perspectives.
- Discrimination against highly educated Muslim men is practiced in a socio-political atmosphere of anti-Muslim racism. Dichotomisation, essentialisation and hierarchisation of cultural entities on the one hand, and refusal of hybridity, permeability and dynamics on the other are characteristic of anti-Muslim racism. Through various ways and means, such as their policy on Islam, the German authorities have managed to contain, marginalise and exclude a certain type of Muslim.

## Spain (Basque Country)

### Intercultural policies in a multicultural neighbourhood: experiences in three primary schools in San Francisco, Bilbao

María Martínez, David Gómez

Collective Identity Research Centre, University of the Basque Country (CEIC/UPV)

- This paper analyses the intercultural policies in the field of compulsory education in the Basque Country, and it does in a special context: the San Francisco neighbourhood in Bilbao, characterised by a significant presence of immigrant population and of the Roma ethnic group, and by a social imaginary that situates it between marginality and multicultural exoticism.
- The local narrative on the crisis of the educational institution provided by the school agents offers interpretations that correspond to the general tendencies of a 'decline' founded on the very reasons of modernity that inspired the modern school (...) the school is undergoing a form of democratization that is especially affecting its original homogenising vocation (Dubet, 2006; 2010; Gurrutxaga y Unceta, 2010). The arrival of new schoolchildren of immigrant origin appears to be activating old racial discriminations, bringing them up to date, reissuing them and giving them a new problematic weight. Racism appears as a new language that provides old inequalities with new meaning.
- There are two principal instances of differentiation in compulsory education in the Basque Country: that concerning the distinction between public and private schools; and that referring to the use of the language in the different schools, the so-called linguistic models. Three models have been established: model A, in which all the classes are given in Spanish, with *Euskera* as just further subject; model B, in which teaching takes place in both Spanish and *Euskera*; and model D, in which teaching takes place integrally in *Euskera*, with Spanish as a subject. Although there are variations depending on each historical territory, model D is predominant, with A and B showing a tendency towards becoming an ever smaller minority. Teaching in Spanish is residual and on the decline, and it is in these 'residual' schools where the greatest quantity of immigrants is concentrated to the point of being situations that are qualified as 'ghettoisation'.
- In the interpretation of the educational authorities, an imaginary is being reproduced in which the concentration of immigrants in certain schools reduces the learning capacity of the schoolchildren, over-exposing this function of primary education and mitigating the school's function of integration (Dubet, 2006) or of equalisation (Gurrutxaga and Uncueta, 2010). These differentiations threaten the possibility of a centralised educational policy and result in a management of education by programs, a form in which the interventions that attempt to stop these and other types of discrimination are inscribed. Thus, school management, far from being



posed in terms of a homogeneous and single vocation of socialisation, seems instead to be the management of difference.

- The schools studied demarcate this urban zone, which is demographically, socially and culturally special, in a triangular way; and each of the vertices of the triangle concentrates a type of ethnic specialisation into three big groups that, adopting their own social definitions, are identified as 'immigrants, Gypsies and autochthonous people'. The interpretation made by the informants of such spatialisation and specialisation of the difference in the schools of the neighbourhood is clear and unanimous. It is once again the so-called educational models that explain it.
- The Spanish Organic Law 2/2006 on Education establishes the principle of equity of education, tending towards the egalitarian treatment of all schoolchildren but also details, although as a way of guaranteeing that equality, a series of groups with special needs, for which the institution must ensure a series of resources so that the schoolchildren achieve their full educational development: those with special educational needs; those with specific learning difficulties; those with high intellectual capabilities; those who have joined the educational system late; and those who have specific personal situations or a school record.
- These 'purified' administrative categorisations of the 'other' come into conflict with educational practice. Thus, from those instances and profiles that have the management of that 'unnameable' population amongst their tasks – the *Berritzegune* and Intercultural Motivators<sup>1</sup> – a tension arises given their need to name and quantify the object of their work. On one side, the Central *Berritzegune* opts firmly to refer to that 'other' as 'foreign schoolchildren'.
- It is not a trivial question that the articulation of that 'other', which constantly escapes from the administrative categories in which the attempt is made to enclose it, is once again realised through the question of the language and specifically its absence (Gatti, 2007; Tejerina, 1992). While *Euskera* becomes a 'negative' language that constitutes two big alterity groups – the immigrant/foreign population and the Roma population – we are witnessing a second manoeuvre in which Spanish is also contributing to the construction of 'otherness'. Latin American population could be considered closer to the *We* with which they share one of the official languages, but in an exercise of establishing identity frontiers, we find numerous narratives that stress the difference between *their Spanish* and *our Castilian Spanish*. Language thus appears as the fundamental marker that constitutes the 'other' and consequently the *We* as well. This constitution of the *We* through language, and not through race, makes it evident that in the Basque case *the body does not always say everything*, and in this way, the racially marked body is insignificant *a priori* in the definition of the *We* (Dorlin, 2006; 2008).

---

<sup>1</sup> The *Berritzegune* are centres of training and educational innovation that advise schools on implementation of different programs and plans. They are specially dedicated to the processes of linguistic normalization, but also to the implementation of programs of interculturality from which the figure of the Intercultural Motivator emanates, which we will discuss later on.

- The construction of the 'other' through language is made much more complex because it is articulated with a second scale of representation, which has to do with the question of the efficacy of the school in terms of results ('quality') and its capacity to include those who are the same and those who are different. If the 'autochthonous' population is the referent in terms of efficacy and integration, it is the basis for situating the collectives of immigrants and the Gypsies on a scale of representation where the Gypsies always receive the worst evaluation; they are the high point of alterity.
- Within the immigrant population we can see that position on the scale based on origin is articulated in such a way that the latter is not only understood in cultural terms, but that each origin is also assigned a specific class and educational position. The combination of both the meanings given to origin – that of culture and that of class/education/social condition – is read as determinant for situating each immigrant collective on that sub-scale of representation generated by the debate on the efficient and inclusive school. When interpreting that specialisation of difference produced by the linguistic models, the agents interviewed qualified the situation as one of structural or institutional racism. And other elements came together in the analysis linking cultural or ethnic differentiation with the social question. Thus, racism and xenophobia once again undermine the normative principles of compulsory education.
- Immigration is instituted as a metaphor of the strange, the unseasonable, due to its magnitude in a community without prior experience of receiving foreigners and to the supposedly vast and hostile cultural difference of the immigrant parents and children; this reduces the racist dimension to a quasi-anthropological dimension explaining, when not naturalising, it. Nonetheless, the Roma continues to be the figure of radical alterity, *the 'other' par excellence*.
- The form of apprehending this novel situation is through concepts that circulate profusely in the social sciences: multiculturalism and interculturalism are the fundamental ones, even though their meaning might prove elusive and ambiguous.
- The multicultural is the description, the fact, the presentation of novelty and even the diagnosis that discloses a need for intervention, while the intercultural is the purposive direction of that description and, eventually, its normative execution. Semantically, a substantive definition of the multicultural does not appear. Although efforts are made to evaluate diversity positively, in the discourse of the documents and the different agents consulted there is a predominance of the problematic background of diversity in general.
- Three figures were indicated as being central for carrying out these processes of intercultural integration: the Linguistic Reinforcement Teacher (LRT), the Intercultural Motivator and the figure of the Out-of-school Companion who forms part of the Program of Accompaniment (PA). The Intercultural Motivator goes beyond the merely linguistic question. While not ceasing to focus on the performance of schoolchildren who have recently joined the educational system, we could say that

the emergence of this figure is inscribed in that problematic conception of diversity. In any case, what these figures reveal is the specialised, focused and differentiated treatment of interculturality, a question that enters into contradiction with the principles and conceptions of the 'equality of differences', the inclusive school and work on interculturality, not only with the immigrant population but also with the schoolchildren as a whole.

- Good practices, explicitly and systematically considered as such, refer to two principal questions in relation to immigration in schools. In the first place, those referring to the reception planning that each school draws up according to a series of guidelines that the Education Department proposes. The other big area of intervention in questions of good practices concerns the 'relations between immigrant families and the school' that are contained in the document of the same name. The starting point there is the conviction that it is important for the families to participate and become involved in the schools in such a way that they come to feel the school to be their own, and that it should become 'an instance of participation and of civic training'.
- There is a breakdown in the values of interculturality based on the principles of equality of differences, and in this way there is an endorsement of the pre-eminence of class over culture, of social exclusion over racial discrimination, of poverty over xenophobia. Thus, the conditions are given for the exercise of tolerance to be developed over an initial inequality, and for there to be a greater approach towards charitable, or even civilizatory, actions than towards the socialisation of differences in favour of freedom (see: Bunting, 2011).
- Against the background of that identification of the 'other' with vulnerability and social exclusion, the cultural variable that normatively constitutes diversity as a desirable goal, declines in favour of the social problematisation of the 'other'. In this context there appears to be a movement that goes from the racial question to the social question. Thus, the school performs the role of a transforming agent of society, not so much, or not only, because of its function as an agency of socialisation of the schoolchildren, but also because it endeavours to intervene in that field of family socialisation that, in the case of the immigrant or the Roma, it is assumed to be *precarious* and *vulnerable*.

## Spain (Andalusia)

**What is meant by intercultural education in Andalusia? The sense of interculturality in multicultural schools of Seville and El Ejido from the discourses and practices**

Ángeles Castaño Madroñal, Ana Anguita López

Research Group for the Study of Sociocultural Identities in Andalusia, University of Seville (GEISA/US)

- We decided to select public schools of Compulsory Primary and Secondary Education, and Baccalaureate on the basis of an environmental multicultural criteria, i.e., they are public educational schools located in multicultural social environments where students are in daily contact with cultural diversity in their neighbourhood. In Seville the schools are located in the Macarena district and Norte district. *'Miguel de Cervantes'* Public Secondary Education School has 500 students registered, its pupils of foreign origin at the level of Secondary Education add up to 60% and at Baccalaureate level 40%. *'San Jerónimo'* Public Secondary Education School has 578 students registered of whom 7% are of foreign origin. *'Buenavista'* Public Primary Education School has 320 students with a 10% ratio of foreign students. The students of foreign origin in Seville are 3.5% of the total foreign students in Andalusia. In El Ejido we have selected two educational public schools: *'Salazar'* Public Secondary Education School located in the urban area within the immigrants' residential zone, and *'Santo Domingo'* Public Primary Education School which is located in the peripheral suburbs. *'Salazar'* Public Secondary Education School has 343 students registered and 65.01% are of foreign origin, of which 75% are children of Moroccan families. *'Santo Domingo'* Public Primary Education School has 916 pupils, 21.51% are of foreign origin, and particularly at Secondary Education level the percentage ratio is of 29.21%, while at Baccalaureate level is 17.38%. Foreign students in Almeria are 17.01% of the total foreign students in Andalusia.
- The discourse on attention to cultural diversity of the education legal framework leads to an interpretation that underestimates immigrants, as from the outset conceives a deficit in the individuals who belong to differentiated collectives that should be rectified. Such discourse is developed in the Comprehensive Plans for Immigration of the *Junta de Andalucía* (PIPIA) and it is inserted in frameworks of intervention together with the objective of Interculturality, another concept that has not yet been properly developed. Therefore, the Interculturality advocated by the PIPIA of the *Junta de Andalucía* is a concept that is embedded in an immigration policy that is formally inapplicable in compulsory education. The legislative frameworks of education, LOE (Spanish Act on Education 2/2006, May 3) and its regional counterpart the LEA (Education Law of Andalusia 17/2007, December 10) mention cultural diversity as a particular (non collective) variable to be considered with other social and/or physical specificities of individuals which hinders the development of educational activities or the access to them. The LEA considers the attention to the foreign students' needs through the correction of linguistic, cognitive

and social deficits. The *Plan Esfuerza* 2010-2012 of the *Junta* also neglects the reality of specific needs emerging from cultural diversity. The School's Plans developed so far in each school do not refer any cultural variable in their Plans for Diversity. The schools' focus is based on the implementation of both the ATAL (Temporary Linguistic Adaptation Classrooms) for schools selected because of their foreign students' ratio, and the PALI (Language Support Program) which has to be requested by the schools to the Andalusian Ministry of Education and has to be supported by organisations of the third sector.

- Interculturality as an objective is outside the curricular content. In the schools where ethnographies were accomplished intercultural activities were focused in extracurricular activities designed and developed by the various schools' departments. When these activities are carried out, the focus is stressed in activities on markers of the culture of origin or in intercultural festivals on specific days of the school calendar. In this sense, it is impossible to deal transversally with interculturality because it involves breaking the Spanish curricular content, i.e., the reformulation of the educational content of the national imaginary.
- Schools' teaching communities are not aware of the PIPIA's discourse content on interculturality in education. The disconnection between political planning and the education in the schools is evident through this ethnographic research. This also implies a communication breakdown among the regional Ministries involved in the implementation of such 'Comprehensive Policy': The DGPM (General Directorate for Migration Policy) which before was part of the Andalusian Ministry of Government and in 2010 was relocated in the Andalusian Ministry of Employment, and the education policy arising from the Andalusian Ministry of Education.
- The meaning of cultural diversity in the schools of Seville is understood as a student's deficit which has to be rectified/compensated by the assessment of his/her Spanish language and educational deficiencies, etc. in order to achieve the insertion of the foreign student into the established programs, thus, more resources and more workload for the teachers are required. Moreover, cultural diversity is understood as an inconvenience/problem and is not conceived from a positive outlook at all. The difference is understood from the 'normalization' of the student and it is achieved by his/her proper school integration: normalizing is integrating. In this sense, the Plans' discourse is conceived through the schools relationship with other intervention agents, mediators, social workers, etc. The resources for educational orientation and intercultural mediation aim at developing actions either to contain conflicts, to promote coexistence or to 'educate for peace'.
- A lack of coordination with the intervention agents that conduct intercultural mediation has become clear, as well as the lack of awareness of the tasks they carry out and of the role they play. The same applies to the work of other external agents such as social workers and counselors, moreover these external agents have the same lacks among themselves.
- The segregationism tendency in the schools of El Ejido goes beyond the pupil's social or family dynamics, since it is mediated by the schools' socio-spatial

segregation and the activity of the Municipal School Board itself, which influences in the distribution of students of foreign origin consolidating the ghettoisation of schools. As a result, '*Santo Domingo*' Secondary Education School has a minority presence of foreign students, compared to '*Salazar*' Secondary Education School that is specialized in Moroccan students. This situation: temporary teachers, novel and unstable management teams and the difficulty in developing an educational strategy aimed to last for more than a years period, feeds an Islamophobic discourse. In the schools from El Ejido cultural diversity is conceived with respect to the Moroccan presence, ignoring the presence of students from other countries, this fact is also favouring the increase of Islamophobia and stigmatization.

- The teams of teachers and the educational and/or mediation resources are unaware of the PIPIA. It is believed that there is not any comprehensive immigration policy on education in respect to integration, moreover, the perception of the public administration and working conditions regarding education is negative.
- The lack of involvement of foreign families is perceived by the schools as a lack of interest in education, while the schools also recognize that autochthonous families do neither participate or are involved in their matters. Intercultural mediation, in this sense is reduced to family mediation with families of students of foreign origin.
- The denial of the existence of racism in schools is based on the idea of disconnection of the schools with their environmental context; racism takes place in residential and work environments but not in schools. In this sense, the teachers believe that racism and/or integration is/are not their concern/s, therefore, social problems have to be resolved, and actions have to be deployed from other areas and in those environments where such racism and/or integration take/s place. The mere fact of pupils from different cultures coexisting in the classrooms is perceived as an evidence of integration and normalization. Thus, it is possible to avoid the need for structural and training changes, and to neglect the assimilationist effects of the linguistic policy and curricular programs on minorities.

## United Kingdom

### Debates on difference and integration in education: Muslims in the UK

Katy Sian, Ian Law, Salman Sayyid

Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies, University of Leeds (CERS/ULeeds)

- Education has often been the most high profile policy field where changing national and local government priorities are signalled and implemented. The move away from prioritising issues of racial and ethnic equality in educational policy is clear in the silence on many of these issues from the Department of Education and reflects the explicit rejection of multiculturalism and policies to address ethnic diversity by the Prime Minister.
- Cuts in public expenditure and ramping up the neo-liberal agenda of choice and competition in education, developed under New Labour, are the two key drivers of current government policy on education. The biggest deterioration reported was in the quality or availability of support for ethnic minority pupils and students. The Department of Education now contains practically no information or guidance for schools on matters of ethnic minority achievement.
- Overall, this new climate of muscular majoritarianism and strengthening neo-liberalism resulting in the decimation of progressive interventions marks a political acceptance of increasing racial and ethnic inequalities, an indifference to the racialisation of education and hostility to race and ethnic specific policies and programmes.
- Education is a key sphere in which the post-racial logic manifests itself in an attempt to deal with Muslim subjects. By drawing upon interview data with respondents in the field of education our findings centred upon the way in which Muslim pupils are constructed in the schools. We examined the monitoring of 'extremism', the attack on faith schools, the effectiveness of teacher training and the promotion of diversity and the impact of racism, Islamophobia and barriers faced by young Muslims.
- Following 9/11 and 7/7 the UK government heavily invested in counter-terrorism initiatives in attempts to contain the 'threat' of 'extremism'. This is perhaps most clearly manifested with the PREVENT agenda. The main government publication produced for monitoring the threat of 'extremism' in education comes in the form of a booklet published in 2008, entitled *Learning Together to be Safe*. We identified how the implementation of such an initiative, and training of teachers surrounding 'extremism' had a specific focus upon targeting Muslim children, beginning at the age of 5. Far right extremism was merely referred to throughout the discourse as 'other' examples of extremism, as such the specific marking of extremism is only carried out in relation to Muslims. This level of monitoring at such a young age is disturbing and reinforces the wider public and political discourse surrounding the Muslim 'threat'. Our critique of such draconian measures highlighted that the

monitoring of young Muslims in schools is simply unfair, unacceptable and unnecessary.

- The 'problem' of faith schools only seems to emerge with the development of Muslim faith schools, despite the fact they only constitute such a small percentage of all faith schools. The tropes of such schools as 'dangerous', 'unsafe' and promoting 'segregation' and 'extremism' furnish the 'threat' of the Muslim 'other'. We critiqued such opposition surrounding Muslim faith schools by demonstrating the positive role they play in multicultural Britain.
- In a society where Muslims are subject to increased racism and Islamophobia, faith schools provide a safe environment from such attitudes and practices, such protection is often not provided in mainstream schooling. Moreover, in terms of educational achievement young Muslims often perform better in faith schools than they do in mainstream schools, this is significant and extremely encouraging as statistics maintain that Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils are more likely to be failed by the mainstream education system, in light of this evidence the fact that Muslim children are achieving higher grades and pass rates in faith schools can only be positive.
- Our research has shown that faith schools offer Muslim children the targeted support they do not receive in mainstream schooling. As such it is important to challenge the stubborn Islamophobic position, which attempts to fix the 'threat' and 'danger' of 'segregated' Muslim faith schools, and instead celebrate the positive role they play for all children in a diverse and multicultural society.
- We found that racism in schools was prominent through attitudes of teachers and pupils and also within the very structure of the system. What is remarkable is the lack of commitment and measures instituted within the system to challenge such practices and more worryingly the inadequate training in place for teachers and staff surrounding these issues. The knowledge and understanding of teachers surrounding racism, tolerance, difference and so on is extremely weak and this must be addressed.
- It is somewhat astonishing that the training is so poor in this area, yet the training surrounding 'extremism' is prioritised in schools with a high Muslim/BME population, this despite the fact that there are many more cases of racism than there are of 'extremism' in schools. This is perhaps the most clearest manifestation of the wider political and social context; the neglect of anti-racism and diversity training seems to point to the notion that schools have seen 'an end' of racism (despite incidents which show the opposite), thus such training is no longer necessary, however, when it comes to the Muslim 'problem' training on 'extremism' is prioritised. This reflects the paradox to be found across western plutocracies where post-racial logics enable societies to declare themselves as non-racist, however this non-racism does not extend to include racism against Muslims, thus Islamophobia is 'acceptable'.



- If schools are to represent a place of inclusion, the system itself needs to be inclusive, at the moment this is not the case, the small proportion of BME staff in schools is not an example of inclusivity, the lack of training and poor commitment to the promotion of diversity through the curriculum, is not an example of inclusivity, recurring incidents of racism by teachers is not an example of inclusivity, and the increased marginalisation of Muslims is not an example of inclusivity. All these examples present a depressing picture of the current state of the British education system and needs to be addressed if we are serious about challenging structural racism and inequality.
- Muslims, both pupils and parents, have an extremely weak support system which works to alienate and marginalise them, thus debilitating their potential to achieve in the education system. As a largely socioeconomically disadvantaged community (particularly Pakistanis and Bangladeshis), more targeted support networks need to be established between the school and the home to enable access and understanding on both parts. The needs of Muslim pupils must be considered outside the framework of assimilation. Muslim pupils are simply neglected by teachers in terms of encouragement and help, and parents are often blamed for their children's underachievement rather than the impact of structural racism. The very culture of schools tends to reinforce a racialised discourse which stresses that Muslims are 'incompatible' with the mainstream values of British society, and the barriers and obstacles they encounter are often blamed on their religious customs and cultural practices. These damaging assumptions 'other' Muslim pupils and restricts their ability to participate fully within the education system.
- There are a number of weaknesses and limitations of anti-racist measures in the sphere of education. Muslims are being failed by the education system. In multicultural Britain young Muslim pupils (and other BME groups) should be supported and encouraged, rather than marginalised and excluded, if they are to achieve their full potential in education.