Language, interculturalism and human rights: from paradigm to practice

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School, language and multi-cultural society
ASSUMPTIONS

1) Neither multiculturalism nor societal/educational responses to it are new phenomena.

2) Definitional terms relating to multiculturalism and societal/educational responses are misleading.

3) Multiculturalism is often oversimplified in its presentation-ignoring broader issues.

4) Although multiculturalism is often criticized as atheoretical, there have theoretical changes in the concept of the role of education in relation to multiculturalism societies.

5) Taxonomic frameworks for analysis do exist.

6) Some are rejecting a developmental taxonomy in favor of an oscillation model (Gundara and Jones).

7) I subscribe to a 3 stage development model (allowing for occasional regressions).

8) For the last several decades, attention focussed primarily on immigrants.

9) Now, as the opposing forces of supra-national amalgamation and ethno-linguistic separation rivet attention to both eastern and western Europe, more attention is being paid to Territorial (Indigenous) minorities, several of whom are experiencing linguistic revitalization.

10) Moving from paradigm to practice, looking at language, interculturalism and human rights, I will apply the model to three indigenous groups -- Welsh, Basque and Catalonians.
INTRODUCTION

The reality of multiculturalism societies is being met with approaches which appear to be based on three different ideologies -- assimilation, accommodation and 'interculturation'. The first, in its pure form, envisions a mono-cultural society and implies non-recognition or acceptance of the reality and permanence of multiculturalism until forced to do so (usually by some traumatic events) as well as the non-equality of dominant and subordinate groups. The second, in its early phase, is still based on the non-equality of dominant and subordinate groups with compensatory programs to accommodate (to some degree) to the needs and values of the latter. Since the goal, however, is still one of assimilating (or at best, integration) members of the subordinate groups into the dominant society, these compensatory programs can be viewed only as a transitional phase between assimilation and accommodation. As the vision of a mono-cultural society is reluctantly relinquished and replaced with a cultural-pluralist perspective, the ideology progresses to one of accommodation. The cultural pluralist view of society and its accommodation ideology permit (in addition to the transmission of the language and culture of the dominant group) attention to the language and culture of the subordinate groups. Thus, at this level, there is a proliferation of minority language and culture programs -- ethnic studies, bilingual education, alternatives to religious studies, etc... All of these programs are directed at and for the members of minority groups -- permitting the maintenance of separate identities and (ideally) shared participation in the dominant society -- a kind of balancing act between the competing goals of cultural diversity and social cohesion that constitutes the 'pluralist dilemma' referred to by Bullivan (1981). Responses based on the concept of shared participation are designed to equalize access and include affirmative action and equal opportunity programs. The last phase of this level, which serves as a transition to the next, calls for legitimizing the language and culture of the subordinate groups on the part of all members of society. Thus, in the school, there is an emphasis on multicultural education programs which requires the delicate balancing of the goals of others (School Council, 1992). Multicultural education programs introduce

1 Watson (1988) uses the terms 'assimilation', 'adjustment' and 'integration'. Banks (1988) uses 'acculturation' for the third category but 'acculturation' in some societies means must the opposite of what is intended here: the socializing of an individual into the norms and values of the dominant group rather than the idea of an interchange, an enriching of each culture by the other. Thus I prefer the term 'interculturation'.

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all students to some of the more visible aspects of the group identification of all its component groups — history, traditions, language, heroes and heroines, etc. It remains for the third level, however, based on the ideology of interculturation, to achieve (or at least have a good goal) a truly intercultural perspective. In the educational environment, proponents of this viewpoint have become champions of such programs as prejudice reduction, anti-racist education and human rights education. It is at this level that concepts of interaction, interdependence, interchange and reciprocity emerge and that programs are directed at all members of the society. In the school, 'all members of society' signifies all children, teachers, administrators, etc — and the aforementioned concepts have relevance both to content and to the structure and environment of the school itself. Building upon the understanding of the characteristics of different individual cultures (provided by multicultural education) education at this level advances to a consideration of the quality of the interaction between the cultures and nations, an appreciation of the mutual enrichment provided by interchange, an understanding of the concepts of reciprocity and interdependence, and, through related processes such as cooperative learning and conflict resolution, to education for international comprehension, peace and human rights.

This paper is based on the assumption that arriving at the ideology of interculturulation is a developmental process — that societies move sequentially through each of these various phases in the same way that a child sits, crawls, stands and walks. Just as one doesn't expect the child to run before standing and walking, it is unrealistic to expect to adopt intercultural approaches if they have not yet implemented cultural pluralist processes with their implied legitimation of the language and culture of other groups. And just as a toddler often takes a step or two and then retreats to crawling for several weeks before daring to take a few more steps, special cases in various societies or specific events may propel a jump to a later phase but usually this is short-lived unless this point has been arrived at from an ideology that has matured steadily and developmentally through each of the preceding phases.

In conceptualizing this paradigm, it appears to be applicable to a number of different countries — at times, with minor modifications. Some societies seem to move smoothly through its various stages; others seem to 'get stuck' or fixated at certain points along the way before they move on to the next phase or make a jump to a later phase in response to specific situations, while still others appear to occasionally take a long step backwards! The model seems to be applicable in the U.S. in general, and
in my own state of California in particular -- as it responds to its treasury of native population, settlers, long-standing and recent immigrants and the variety of languages and cultures that have drawn from and enriched it. Educational response to the increasing pluralization of society since the early years of the twentieth century was frankly assimilationist. In the 1940s and 50s the intergroup education movement added a focus on tolerance and mutual understanding while the 1960s introduced a sequence of educational responses based on the valuing of cultural pluralism. First, ethnic studies programs, geared primarily to members of various ethnic and racial groups, focused on famous personalities, cultural traditions and ethnic pride. Later bilingual education programs added an emphasis on the rights of different ethnic groups to be educated in their primary language. Recognizing the need for all children to understand cultures other than their own, multicultural education programs became the byword of the 70s. Early programs took the "Holidays and Heroes" or "Tacos on Tuesday" approach but, more recently there has been an emphasis on more general, universally appropriate concepts of intercultural education and anti-racist (England), prejudice reduction (U.S.), and human rights education (Canada, Australia and Council of Europe) programs, with more radical theorists calling for structural changes in the power relationships between dominant and subordinate groups.

Spain and the United Kingdom present interesting challenges to the paradigm. They each have within their borders indigenous groups with their own languages and cultures, who are a majority in their respective regions, and whose languages and cultures have only recently been to some degree revitalized. Moving from paradigm to practice, this paper represents a preliminary attempt to apply the proposed model to Catalonia and the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and to approach the task in reference to Wales. All three have had to learn how to crawl (to return to the child development analogy) after having been gagged and swaddled by a national policy that totally repressed their languages and cultures in an unrelenting policy of assimilation. The premise of this presentation is that, in societies subjected to such attempts at cultural and linguistic genocide, the intensive efforts required to reverse that situation will preclude awareness, attention to the needs and rights of 'others' as the indigenous language and culture are still perceived as vulnerable.
THE THREE REGIONS

Catalonia and the BAC: In addition to their status as rich agricultural regions, Catalonia and the BAC are the two most industrialized areas of the Spanish state. During the period of major industrial expansion (which coincided with the Franco era of harsh repression of Catalan and Basque language and culture) massive immigration from other parts of Spain was encouraged by the central government. These people, who are members of the dominant national group are, in effect, a minority (both in number and in their perception of access to the power structure) within the Catalonian and Basque regions -- even though they speak the national language and are native citizens of the Spanish state. They crammed into what had been small towns encircling Barcelona and Bilbao creating entirely Castilian speaking communities enjoying almost full employment in the 1950s and 60s. Thus, both regions and in particular, these 'immigrant' communities are hard hit by the present unemployment rate of approximately 20% (the highest in Europe). The Basque region is even more affected since the threat of terrorist activity has deterred any new industry or investments in the region. Spain also has a long-standing gypsy minority, with its own language and culture, which has resisted all attempts at assimilation and which has a significant presence in both regions. And, Spain's new role as a country of immigration has brought minority groups from other western nations plus (as an outcome of the world economic crisis and political chaos) from third world countries of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Their presence is just beginning to be acknowledged -- particularly in the belts surrounding Barcelona and Bilbao.

The ideology of the newly democratized Spanish state has become one of accommodation of the languages and cultures of indigenous minorities -- with delegation of the authority to do so to the autonomous governments. Thus, these until recently oppressed minority groups are now in a somewhat ambiguous position. While they function as dominant groups in their regions, they are still constrained by parameters established by the state -- operating very much like minorities in relation to the central government.

Wales: The heyday of Welsh industrialization in the nineteenth and early 20th century quadrupled the population of Wales, and drastically altered its character. Here too, large numbers of the dominant national group came to the newly industrialized areas of Glamorgan and Gwent. When the slate, coal and steel industries of the south terminated, many of these English and English speaking immigrants chose to remain. After a hiatus of several
decades, immigration has begun again. The settled immigrants are now being joined by others from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Arab nations, China (and Chinese from Hong Kong). Labor Force Surveys completed in between census indicate that they constitute 1.2% of the total population (of Wales) and a much greater percentage in the areas of Swansea, Cardiff, as well as Bangor in the north — although their presence has not been widely acknowledged.

Language

Catalonia: Catalonia’s widely-shared language and culture played a critical role in fostering the movement for autonomy, which (except for a small contingent of extremists) has been largely viewed in linguistic and cultural forms. Catalan, closely related to other Romance languages was the language of the intellectual and commercial community, whose nineteenth century literary revival sparked the movement for autonomy. In fact, Catalonia represents an example of reverse dyglossia, a bilingual situation where the minority language is the prestige language.

The Catalan language evolved from the popular Lath of Roman settlers who, starting with the second century, substituted Latin for the indigenous languages (except in the western Pyrenees where Euskara remained unchanged). In the tenth century Latin disintegrated into the Romance languages. After the Arab conquest and the Christian reconquest, several languages crystallized and were reduced to Galician, Castilian and Catalan. Catalan was firmly planted in Catalonia and its conquered areas. From the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, Catalan and Castilian vied for prominence and inspired literary movements but Castilian steadily advanced while Catalan influence lessened. When Aragon lost political power in the fourteenth century, Catalan literature and official use waned and continued to wane under the unification begun by Ferdinand and Isabela. The 18th century saw the repression of all languages except Castilian. Catalan underwent a nineteenth century renaissance, a brief revival under the Second Republic, and forty years of total repression in the 20th century. During this period, the use of Catalan in schools, newspapers, religious services, media, business and public administration was officially banned. After years of maintaining the language and culture in semi-secrecy, it became a voluntary subject and, with the restoration of the Generalitat in 1977, a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools. Today, the Institute of Catalan Studies is charged with ensuring the vitality of the language. Within
Catalonia, there are two main varieties of the language (eastern and western) plus Aranese (spoken in the Valley of Aranes). Siguan estimates that about 50% of Catalonia’s six million residents speak Catalan as a mother tongue and another 30% speak or understand it (Siguan, 1988). In respect to the Catalan language, Table 1 presents official figures on the percentage of people in each province in a hierarchy of categories ranging from understanding to speaking, reading and being able to write the language.

**TABLE 1**

**Knowledge of Catalan in the Four Provinces of Catalonia**
(by percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Understand</th>
<th>Speak</th>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Write</th>
<th>N° response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona</td>
<td>90,3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>60,5</td>
<td>31,5</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarragona</td>
<td>92,8</td>
<td>72,9</td>
<td>63,7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lleida</td>
<td>96,3</td>
<td>82,8</td>
<td>71,6</td>
<td>37,1</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girona</td>
<td>95,1</td>
<td>80,1</td>
<td>70,7</td>
<td>39,3</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90,3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>60,5</td>
<td>31,5</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: CIDC: Consortium of Information and Documentation of Catalonia, 1988.*

**The Basque Autonomous Community:** Euskara (the Basque language) is an ancient and non-Indo-European language, with a paucity of written literature, whose speakers tended to be located in the rural and less educated segment of the population. Although maintained through the middle ages and the early years of Spanish unification, it did not expand. Considered archaic, with little written literature, and handicapped by its dyglossic situation in relation to Castilian, it had begun to disappear by the nineteenth century, when it underwent a literary spurt no where nearly as extensive or popular as the Catalan Renaissance. Basque nationalism has leaned heavily on a shared ethnic background with strong expression of the desire for complete political independence, and the Basque language as its badge of nationhood. The Franco regime’s concerted program of cultural repression intended to crush the nationalist spirit focused particularly on the language. Thus the last
hundred years have witnessed an attempt to revive the language, followed by a period of severe repression, a second clandestine revival movement, and, since the granting of autonomy in 1978, the compulsory learning of Euskara at all levels of the educational system. The Academy of Basque Language has, to some degree, overcome the fragmentation resulting from the variants and dialects of the language by developing a standardized and unified Euskara Batua. The total number of Euskara-speaking persons has remained fairly steady, but, since the population of the Basque provinces has more than tripled in the past one hundred years the net effects is a sharp decline in the proportion of the population of the region that speaks the language (Clark, 1981). Siguán estimates that about 25% of the two million people in the BAC speak Euskara (Siguán, 1988). In respect to Euskara, Table 2 presents official figures on the percentage of people in each province in a hierarchy of categories ranging from understanding to speaking, reading and being able to write the language.

TABLE 2

Knowledge of Euskara in the Three Provinces of the
Basque Autonomous Community
(by percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Understand</th>
<th>Speak</th>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Write</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alava</td>
<td>13,06</td>
<td>11,45</td>
<td>10,28</td>
<td>9,31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vizcaya</td>
<td>27,65</td>
<td>25,16</td>
<td>21,26</td>
<td>18,87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guipuzcoa</td>
<td>56,55</td>
<td>53,35</td>
<td>43,53</td>
<td>39,32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35,27</td>
<td>32,66</td>
<td>27,16</td>
<td>24,36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Wales: Welsh belongs to Brythonic branch of Celtic which began to separate into independent languages in the middle of the 6th century. By the Middle Welsh period (1150-1400) a standardized language has developed by bardic poets and used by gentry. The process of language shift begun with the Act of Union of England and Wales in 1536 from which time Welsh was restricted to the family, the community and religion -- primarily amongst the rural poor. Although Welsh was banished from public life, translation of the Bible in 1588 guaranteed the survival of the language. Circulating and chapel
Sunday Schools in the 18th and 19th centuries, respectively, provided instruction in Welsh language but the inferior status of the language was accepted, even by its speakers. In the 19th century there were strenuous efforts to eliminate the language aided by large-scale immigration and emigration. The 1857 Report of the Commissioners says: "The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people... It disservers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilization, and bars the access of improving knowledge to their minds." A London Times editorial of the mid 19th century said: "The Welsh language is the curse of Wales; its prevalence and ignorance of English have excluded and even now exclude the Welsh people from the civilization of their English neighbours. If it is desirable that all the Welsh should speak English, it is monstrous folly to encourage them in a loving fondness for their old language. The sooner all Welsh specialities disappear from the face of the earth, the better (Cited in Grant, 1988, p. 157).

By the end of the century, demands for the use of Welsh began to surface, with the Welsh Language Act of 1967 ultimately giving English and Welsh equal validity within Wales. There are two major dialect continua with the northern more conservative than the southern. The most heavily Welsh-speaking areas are in Dyfed and Gwynedd (the Welsh heartland of y From Gymraeg). Clwyd and Powys also have many Welsh speakers while Gwent and South Glamorgan have the least. Yet Welsh is thriving in certain subzones in these countries. There are also communities of Welsh speakers in London, Patagonia and various parts of the Commonwealth. In terms of numbers of Welsh speakers, at the beginning of the 20th century there were 977,400 (almost 45%) according to 1911 census. By 1981 this has dropped to 500,000 (19%). The decision to speak Welsh within families appears to cut across social class and is related to perceived usefulness of the language (Edwards, 1991). [See table 3 next page.]

Thus, all these regions are currently absorbed in efforts to achieve reverse language shift (RLS) defined by Fishman (1991, p. 81) as "an attempt on the part of authorities that are recognized by the users and supporters of threatened languages, to adopt policies and to engage in efforts calculated to reverse the cumulative processes of attrition that would otherwise lead to their contextually weed language-in-culture becoming weaker, while its competitor, a strong language-in-culture, becomes even stronger...".
## TABLE 3
Primary school pupils, aged 5 years and over, by ability to speak Welsh and authority, 1990.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Speak Welsh at home</th>
<th>Do not speak Welsh at home but who can speak it with fluency</th>
<th>Speak Welsh but not fluently</th>
<th>Cannot speak Welsh at all</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clwyd</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>8166</td>
<td>18908</td>
<td>30078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyfed</td>
<td>4857</td>
<td>2838</td>
<td>6482</td>
<td>11455</td>
<td>25632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwent</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>33310</td>
<td>34198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwynedd</td>
<td>6517</td>
<td>3518</td>
<td>5315</td>
<td>1137</td>
<td>16487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Glamorgan</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>4073</td>
<td>3328</td>
<td>35884</td>
<td>43689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powys</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>5784</td>
<td>8474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Glamorgan</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>1093</td>
<td>2281</td>
<td>26481</td>
<td>30254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Glamorgan</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>2907</td>
<td>22837</td>
<td>27565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALES</td>
<td>14827</td>
<td>15181</td>
<td>30573</td>
<td>155796</td>
<td>216377</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Per cent of age group: |                     |                                                             |                             |                          |       |
| Clwyd               | 4.3                 | 5.7                                                         | 27.1                        | 62.9                     | 100.0 |
| Dyfed               | 18.9                | 11.1                                                        | 25.3                        | 44.7                     | 100.0 |
| Gwent               | 0.2                 | 1.5                                                         | 0.9                         | 97.4                     | 100.0 |
| Gwynedd             | 39.5                | 21.4                                                        | 32.2                        | 6.9                      | 100.0 |
| Mid Glamorgan       | 0.9                 | 9.3                                                         | 7.6                         | 82.2                     | 100.0 |
| Powys               | 5.5                 | 5.3                                                         | 21.0                        | 68.2                     | 100.0 |
| South Glamorgan     | 1.3                 | 3.6                                                         | 7.6                         | 87.5                     | 100.0 |
| West Glamorgan      | 3.1                 | 3.6                                                         | 10.5                        | 82.8                     | 100.0 |
| WALES               | 6.9                 | 7.0                                                         | 14.1                        | 72.0                     | 100.0 |
Legislation and policy:

The Spanish Constitution\(^2\) set the tone for the balance of cultural pluralism and social cohesion of the new democracy. The 1979 Statutes of Autonomy of Catalonia and of the BAC confer co-official status on their regional languages\(^3\). Between 1979 and 1983, the 17 autonomous communities which make up the Spanish State were constituted. Although each passed its own Statute of Autonomy (which regulates the authority and organizational aspects of the community) only six of the autonomous communities (including Catalonia and the BAC) gained almost full authority over educational matters. In 1980, Royal Decree 2808 (September 26) transferred to the BAC all aspects of education not reserved to the state, while Royal Decree No. 2809 (October 3) did the same for Catalonia. In both cases, the state retains authority in matters of structuring the educational system, expending degrees, establishing basic educational requirements, grants and scholarships, economic planning of investments, agreements on private education, teacher certification, and high inspection.

In Wales, the 1907 Code for Wales gave some recognition to the principle of bilingualism, strengthened by the 1927 Report of the Departmental Committee on Welsh in the Educational System in Wales. Plaid Cymru was formed in 1925 with the express aim of achieving an independent Welsh state within European federation. As yet, however, Wales has neither

\(^2\) Article 2 recognizes and guarantees the right to autonomy of its 'nationalities' and regions -- and their unity and solidarity as the Spanish nation. Article 3 provides the basis for the language normalization programs of both autonomous regions. It states that (1) Castilian is the official language of the Spanish state. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it. (2) Other Spanish languages will also be official in their respective autonomous communities in accordance with their statutes. (3) The richness of different linguistic modalities in Spain is a cultural patrimony and will be the object of special respect and protection. Although in this article 'Castilian' and 'Spanish' are used interchangeably, in both autonomous regions, 'Castilian' is the preferred term.

\(^3\) As Woolard (1986) points out, the subtle distinction between the obligation to know Castilian and the right (but not the obligation) to use it led to various interpretations. Also note that the Constitution mentions the official status for each language but carefully avoid the term 'co-official' which is preferred and used by the autonomous communities.
independent nor the autonomy of a representative legislative body. The Welsh Office (formed in 1965) is answerable to the Cabinet and Parliament in London and wholly outside of democratic control within Wales. The three major legislative acts concerned with reverse language shift efforts are the aforementioned 1967 Welsh Language Act, the 1976 Development of Rural Wales Act (which supports Welsh language activities such as Welsh medium nursery playgroups, cultural activities such as the Eisteddfod and, Menter a Busness to encourage Welsh in the business sector) and the 1980 Education Act (PDAG, 1991c). Various agencies in Wales are currently involved in drafting proposed sections for the anticipated new Language Act for Wales alluded to in the Queen’s address to Parliament in April, 1992. These include the right of adults to Welsh language education in both public and private sectors, provision of Welsh medium education within the higher education and vocational education settings, the rights of children 5-16 as well as those with special needs, and those under 5 to education (and care) in Welsh (PDAG, 1991b). Language policies are developed by and differ in each of Wales’ eight countries.

Status of the indigenous languages

Catalonia and the Basque Autonomous Community: It has been little more than a decade that the normalization of language and culture in Catalonia and the Basque region have been seriously underway. In that brief period, what has been accomplished? The autonomous languages are now co-official with Castilian in the region (a major accomplishment in light of modern history). For Sguan (1989), this implies that the regional language is the appropriate language of the educational system. He also points out that:

* The laws in both (Spanish) regions state that at the end of compulsory education, students will be able to use both languages with facility.
* If the child’s mother tongue is one of the two official languages, parents have the right to insist on education in their own language.
* Separation into two different education systems has been explicitly rejected.

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4 In a 1979 referendum the voters of Wales turned down devolution.

5 In its policy of centralizing control and dissipating the power of local education authorities, these eight local education authorities will be divided into 23, according to 1992 plans of the Conservative government.
* Teachers are expected to know the official languages (this has required a gradual acquisition of the regional language for much of the teaching force). * Teacher training has been directed at the goal of being able to teach in the regional language. * At the university level, the right of members of the university community to use either of the two languages has been confirmed.

In analysing the process of normalization, this observer notes that the presence of Catalan is increasingly being felt in every aspect of life. For those familiar with Spanish, Catalan is not difficult to read and thus, a great deal of printed matter is disseminated monolingually -- in Catalan only. Understanding and speaking the language can be accomplished with relative ease -- thus many public events are mono-lingual Catalan. The prestige of the language is high, its value in the society is evident and thus, although there has been some resistance, for the most part people are willing to learn and use it -- or have their children learn it as a means of getting ahead. Most Catalans know the language, its use as mother tongue has always been high and is growing -- even in the non-Catalan segment of society. What Woolard (1986) calls the 'politics of persuasion' seems to have paid off. Catalan’s goal of Catalan as the official language with Spanish as a complementary second language is clear, progress in that direction is evident, and its realization is a reasonable expectation.

The Basque situation is quite different and the language is still quite vulnerable. There has been success in terms of language spread. More people know the language but, other than in heavily Basque-speaking rural areas, its presence is not felt in the shops, on the streets, in recreational activities, etc... Euskara is a difficult language to learn and knowledge of Spanish does not help one to read it. Thus, although great efforts are made of disseminate information in Euskara, it is always accompanied by a translation in Spanish (or, often in English). This bilingual situation (while obviously necessary) reduces the need to achieve full competency in Euskara. If the Basques are striving for the same goals as the Catalans -- a uni-lingual society with bilingual (Spanish) functionalism -- it appears unlikely that this will be accomplished. If they are willing to work with each succeeding generation to achieve second-language competency in Euskara, it seems reasonable that they will be able to ensure the survival and transmission of their unique and historic language and culture.

Wales: Assessment of progress in the revitalization of Welsh language and culture must take into account that, in contrast to Catalonia and the BAC, there is no overall national or regional language policy. Policies of
individual local education authorities range from highly anglicized Gwent, which only recently opened its first Welsh-medium secondary school to Dyfed’s controversial language policy. Five major accomplishments include:
* Growth in number of pupils studying subjects in Welsh
* Increase in number of subjects taught to CSE, O and A levels
* Setting up of an examination system for Welsh language proficiency
* Production of a range of text books and learning materials
* Setting up of resource centres for support of Welsh language instruction (Thomas, 1986).

The Education Reform Act (1988) for England and Wales requires the Secretary of State to establish the National Curriculum by specifying appropriate attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment arrangements for each of the foundation subjects. Welsh language has been recognized as a foundation subject and each of the four key stages of compulsory schooling must offer either Welsh or Welsh Second Language. Thus an additional accomplishment is the development and phased implementation of the National Curriculum attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment arrangements for Welsh and Welsh Second Language (Welsh office, 1990).

It remains for the 1991 census results (soon to be released) to indicate whether the decline in numbers of Welsh speakers (continuing even to the 1981 census) has been slowed or reversed. There has been some evidence that, for the first time, in the under 5 age group, there has been an increase in number of Welsh speakers.

Summary: Although, as noted, their levels and type of normalization are different, Euskara, Catalan, and Welsh are no longer in the 'endangered species list' of minority languages. As their languages and cultures have been strengthened, the Basques, the Catalans, and the Welsh have developed a more secure sense of the 'self' -- prerequisite to a positive concept of the 'other'. The Basques and the Catalans, both minorities in Spain, and the Welsh, a minority in the United Kingdom, are not and do not function as minorities within their regions. Of the three, Catalan is, by far, in the strongest position, and thus, presumably most open to responding to the needs of minority groups in their region. The first and necessary step is, of course, the recognition of the existence of these communities, their linguistic, cultural, and religious differences and their problems in their adopted land.
Interculturalism

First responses to the needs of minority groups are tend to take the form of compensatory programs. These are usually designed to assimilate the child into the majority culture -- often by focusing on needed languages skills, and often at the expense of his or her own language and culture. As already noted, compensatory programs may be seen as a transition between the ideology of assimilation and the next level of accommodation, when minority language and culture programs legitimize, and possibly safeguard the linguistic and cultural heritage of subordinate groups, attempts to identify minority groups within the three regions, identifies legislation and policies governing the implementation of educational responses to these minorities at the regional, national and international levels; describes current compensatory (transitional) and minority language and culture (accommodation) policies and programs, where available, and, in respect to the last phase of the accommodation level, reviews the progress of each regions in developing intercultural education programs designed to sensitize all children to the languages and cultures of subordinate groups and to equalize access, opportunity and power between dominant and subordinate groups. This next section delineates and describes the minority populations in each of the three regions, identifies legislation and policies governing the implementation of educational responses to these minorities at the regional, national and international levels, and describes current programs.

Minority populations

Gypsies: Estimates of the gypsy population of Catalonia indicate that there are about 2,000 families with 13,000 to 15,000 individuals, of whom about 6,000 are school-age children. Forty percent live in the province of Barcelona with 15% in Lleida, 20 % in Girona and 25% in Tarragona. Department of Education policy permits schools to restrict admission of gypsy children to no more than 5% of their population. Yet, gypsy families are being moved into 'integrated' neighborhoods in a massive campaign to eliminate the shanty towns before the Olympic Games. El Pais reports that rejection of gypsy children by public schools is still prevalent. Thus, according to the only gypsy in the European Parliament, access for gypsy children to normal schools is complicated by the opposition of the schools to their admission (Ramirez Heredia, as cited in Capella, 1987).

In the BAC, there seems to have been no interest until recently to ascertain the demographics of the gypsy population. On the basis of
interviews with a sample of the gypsy population, Grupo Pass (1987a, 1987b) estimates that there are approximately 7,000 gypsies in the BAC. Currently three studies (in Alava, Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya) have received financial support from the regional government as they attempt to find out how many reside in the BAC, where they are and what are their needs. One of these been carried out by a dedicated group of young teachers in the Escuela Puente Gitana of Guipúzcoa. They can account for over three hundred children in forty eight different schools and estimate that there are at least another hundred school age children not attending school -- based on reports of such children by sixteen different schools and nine municipalities (Seminario Escolarización, 1989; Iribar, Eskurdia, Barrenetxe and Alfaro, 1989).

Although Wales also has a gypsy population, centered in Merthyr Tydfill, information about its size and educational provisions has not already been available.

Immigrants from the Dominant Culture: The arrival of more than two million non-Catalans in Catalonia between 1950 and 1975 created extremely serious problems ranging from erecting shanty towns to meet immediate housing needs to vastly overstretched education and health services. Formerly tranquil towns on the outskirts of Barcelona now have populations in which the vast majority is non-Catalan, comprising almost half of the total population of the province. The majority of these people represent a monolingual Castilian working class from the impoverished agricultural regions of Murcia and Andalucía. According to Strubell, the compulsory use of Catalan by authorities and organizations was built up by politicians into a perceived confrontation between Catalan and Spanish speaking populations - - which is precisely what the gouvemment strived to avoid. "Their being no racial, or other unsurmountable difference between immigrant population and host population, the Paísos Catalans are therefore an open society. The cultural differences can, in time (and in theory) be overcome."6 (Strubell, 1984, p. 103).

According to García-González (1986) the same immigration wave (1950-1975) brought some 200,000 persons to the Basque region. He points out that there has not been a serious global study of the situation of these problems. Seventy percent are of working class, with low level education and low qualifications. They live in industrial belts, subemployed or unemployed, ethnically bifurcated, socially rejected and subject to ethnocen-

6 This seems to imply that racial and religious differences, on the other hand, are insurmountable.
tric prejudice (as 'maketros'), linguistic and cultural difficulties, and social conflict -- without the special support or attention necessary in respect to and defense of ethno-cultural pluralism and diversity. Their children represent 27.5% of the population (varying according to municipalities). García-González recommends an in-depth study and creation of special services for both first and second generation immigrants, as well as programs to foster comprehension and respect for different cultures and values.

Specific information on the numbers of English settled in Wales has not been available. It is evident, however, that the urban, industrialized areas of all three regions have been heavily infiltrated by in-migrants from other parts of the nation. Since these people are speakers of the dominant language, in each case they have contributed to the diminution of indigenous language and culture.

**Foreign immigrants**: Territorially based minorities in Europe (such as the Basques and the Welsh) have long been oppressed by the nation states in which they are located. This response to oppression has often been one of nationalistic antagonism, which may easily become a chauvinistic parochialism. However, the fact of the territorial base makes their position significantly different from those minorities without one. Few doubt that they belong; their feeling of oppression is based on other factors, principally linguistic, cultural, religious and economic. For the other minorities, who share these oppressions, a further one is added. This is the widely held view that these minorities not only do not belong but should not be in Europe (Jones and Kimberly, 1986, p. 22).

The Basques, the Catalans, and the Welsh have been through a difficult period. No one, however, doubted that they 'belonged'. This oppression is, however the lot of a relatively new group in all three regions. It must be realized that, until relatively recently, Spain was traditionally a country of emigration. In the mid-1970s, however, Spain began experiencing a fair amount of immigration -- primarily from the Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Portugal. This was induced by several factors including the restrictions on immigration by other western European nations, Canada, and the U.S.; political and economic events; the cessation of internal rural-urban migration (opening low-level jobs for immigrants); and, until 1985, very loose border controls. Government statistics for 1986 indicate a foreign resident population of 293,208 -- mainly from the U.S. and Western European countries. A different picture is provided by the IOE study.

7 A term considered more appropriate by the Welsh authorities in reference to people from other parts of the United Kingdom.
(Caritas, 1987) which is the most complete work on foreign immigrants in Spain, and the work cited by most investigators in the field. They estimate, on the basis of extrapolation of data, that the actual foreign resident population is closer to 720,000 with about 73% (526,000) from third world countries and at least half of these undocumented (Bier, 1988). However, neither of these figures can be accorded credibility since the research group responsible for the Caritas study (Collectivo IEO) has acknowledged a statistical error which would lower the estimate of foreign immigrants to approximately 360,000! (La Serna, 1989)

In July, 1985 the Law on the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners was implemented in Spain. While stabilizing the rights of legal immigrants with permission to work, its effect was to also reinforce the marginalization and insecurity of the undocumented immigrants. Not only is the data on a national level questionable, but there is no available data breaking down the immigrant population by provinces or regions. Thus, it is difficult to estimate how many of these have found their way to Catalonia or the BAC. In the BAC there do appear to be at least five thousand Portuguese, an indeterminate number of Portuguese gypsies (many also Portuguese) an Arab population (primarily in Bilbao) and a sizeable Filipino community. Catalonia reportedly houses forty-five thousand Arab-Muslim immigrants from North Africa (primarily Morroccans), Centro Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia (Losada, 1988).

The Morrocan immigration dates largely from the 1960s primarily due to the closing of immigration by the French government in 1967, economic development in Spain, and the consequent availability of jobs. The middle-eastern (primarily Palestinian, Iranian and Iraqí) and centro-African immigrants are much more recent arrivals. The immigration of the former (often to political motives) began in 1968 and from 1968-1972 constituted primarily single men, with an influx of family groups starting in 1986 (Caritas, 1987; Losada, 1988). The most recent immigration group to arrive is a colony of black centro-Africans working as agricultural laborers in the Maresme district. The first wave of this group was also comprised of single men (immigrating for economic motives) who created little stir. As wives and young children began to appear in the communities involved, there has been some discriminatory community reaction. This has gotten a great deal of press, being reported on radio, television, and in *El País* (January 15, 19, 31, March 4, 8, 11, 31, 1989) with the United Nations Association of Spain condemning the occurrences in Santa Colona de Farmers as racist (Condenda, 1989).

Information obtained as to the extent of foreign in-migration to Wales and its character obtained from the literature as well as personal interviews, indicates that most of those concerned with education believe in-migration
virtually ceased with the onset of industrial decline in the 60s and 70s, are convinced that the children of those who came to Wales at that time are now thoroughly integrated into Welsh society, and, unless directly involved in schools receiving these children, are unaware of the existence of pockets of recent immigrants in need of special assistance. Estimates of populations of different ethnic groups obtained from the Office of Population and Census Statistics indicate that the largest numbers of these immigrants to Wales come from India, Pakistan and Arab nations. Recent immigrants groups also include West Indian, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Africans.

Educational policies:

Educational responses in the autonomous communities should (at least in theory) be bound by international agreements, as well as by national and regional legislation. As a member of the Council of Europe, the U. K. and Spain have a responsibility to carry out recommendations and directives of its various component organizations. For more than two decades the Council of Europe has pioneered in the area of intercultural education -- first concerning itself with the problems of nomads, migrants and minority language groups, and, recently (recognizing the significant role of teachers) with the training of teachers in the content, processes and perspective of intercultural education. Table 4 summarizes major recommendations and directives in these areas.
TABLE 4

International Agreements: Language and Culture of Minorities
(Accommodation Level)

1961 - Recommendation 285 on the rights of national minorities. Adopted by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe (April 28)
Persons belonging to a national minority shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group and as far as compatible with public order, to enjoy their own culture, to use their own language, to establish their own schools and receive teaching in the language of their choice or to profess and practice their own religion.

1975 - Resolution (75)13 containing recommendations on the social situation of nomads in Europe. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers (May 22)
Recommends that all members states take measures to implement policies delineated and inform the Secretary General of the Council of Europe of such actions taken to:
1. Stop any form of discrimination against nomads.
2. Counteract prejudice by giving the settled population better information about the origins, ways of life, living conditions and aspirations of nomads.
3. Include nomads in the preparation and implementation of measures concerning them.
4. Safeguard the cultural heritage and identity of nomads.
5. Promote schooling by the most suitable methods designed to integrate children of nomads into the normal educational system.

1976 - Recommendation of the Council of Ministers of Education of the Council of Europe. Adopted by the Council of Ministers (February 9)
With the collaboration of home country, efforts should be made to teach children in their national language and culture.

1977 - Directive of the Council of Europe (Legally binding on member states)
Member states should take measures, in collaboration with country of
origin, to teach language and culture of that country to children of migrant workers.

1981 - Recommendation 928 on the educational and cultural problems of minority languages and dialects in Europe. Adopted by the Parliament Assembly of Council of Europe (October 7)
Recommends gradual adoption of children's mother tongues for their education.

1983 - Resolution on measures favoring the languages of cultural minorities. Adopted by the Parliament of Europe (March 14)
Calls for measures to protect minority languages.

1988 - Resolution 192 on regional or minority languages in Europe.
Adopted by the Standing conference of local and regional authorities of Europe (March 16)
Defines minority languages as belonging to the European cultural heritage that are traditionally spoken within a territory by nations of the state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population and different from the language or languages spoken by the rest of the state's population. Calls for agreement on measures to promote the use of regional or minority languages in education, media, cultural facilities and activities, economic and social life.
Parties are expected to submit a report every two years to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

In practice, the step between the signing of these agreements and the implementation of programs appropriate for carrying them out seems to be missing. The Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs generally brings agreements with educational implications to the attention of the Ministry of Education, where efforts may be made to implement them, to some extent, in regions directly under their authority. In the autonomous Basque and Catalonia regions, however, there appears to be little awareness of these agreements on the part of educational administrators and, thus, little or no planned efforts at developing related curriculum, materials or necessary teacher training. In Wales, also, there appeared to be little awareness of the terms of these international agreements, although the United Kingdom is officially committed to their implementation.

In terms of national legislation in Spain, the 1970 Law of Education (article 51) left an open door in respect to creation of special transition schools for marginated children and a number of these were created from
1971-78. In 1978 an agreement was reached between the national Ministry of Education and Science and the National Gitano (Gypsy) Secretariat for the creation of such schools (Escuelas Puente) and thus a significant number were established between 1979 and 1981. The theory was that these were to serve as a bridge (puente) over a one or two year period, preparing gypsy children to enter the regular school system. In practice, this was not the case as very few children made the transfer. Also, on the national level, in 1983, a Royal Decree on Compensatory Education provided the basis for resources directed at compensatory education for disadvantaged groups within the regular school system. With the passage of LODE, the Escuelas Puente began to be phased out, although some still exist. By 1986, 83% of gypsy children in the Ministry of Education and Science (MEC) territory were in regular schools (Diaz, 1987). And, in the educational territories administered by the autonomous communities, 32 Escuelas Puentes disappeared (Ensenanza con gitanos, 1988). By 1987-88 the Department of Compensatory Education was coordinating the work of schools in MEC territory with a budget of 770 million pesetas (Martinez, 1987). Under the auspices and financing of the European Community, a study was undertaken to determine the educational problems of the Portuguese colony (many of them gypsies) estimated at seventy thousand, with fourteen thousand school age children. The plan is to develop bilateral agreements for the education of these children in their country of residence (in this instance Spain) with support from the home country for classes in home language and culture. Support was also being provided by the Ministry of Education and Science for compensatory programs for gypsy children initiated by the autonomous communities.

In the U.K., the policies of the 1970s and 80s represented a gradual acceptance of cultural pluralism culminating in the Swann Report. Its main recommendations were disregarded, however, with the more to the right (Gundara and Jones, 1991). Under the new National Curriculum "the lack of importance attached to community languages and the emphasis given to standard written and spoken English, seem likely to operate towards an uncompromising assimilation of children who are, or could become bilingual to the dominant language" (Jones, 1991, p. 23). Lynch (1989) points out that the major problem facing pluralis societies is inadequate accommodation of social to cultural systems. Some focus on the language issue, some with a 'trinkets and tokens' approach and others through the human rights dimension. Few have tried a coordinated global set of initiative to achieve systematic and deliberate change towards agreed-onm goals with a national covenant of acceptable norms and values (as per the international agreements). He sees the U.K. as hapered by archaic values and structures, an outdated Parliament, a system of Public Schools (which are to public),

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exclusive universities, socially narrow judiciary, socially and intellectually skewed civil service and fatuous snobbery and calls for a national Charter of Human Rights and Liberties.

As an example of the situation in Wales, Swansea has at least two schools with recent immigrants accounting for almost half of the student population. This rapidly altered character of the school and city has taken place within the last ten years. Problems of racial prejudice are bubbling under the surface and, under the principle of parental choice, many parents have moved their children to a nearby church school. There are no efforts being made for community education. While Section II Funding is available for language instruction, this has not been sought by the local authority. Teachers are having to deal with many more learning difficulties, behavior problems, non-English speaking children plus the revolution of the National Curriculum.

An NFER (National Foundation for Educational Research) survey indicated the existence of languages other than Welsh and English in Welsh schools. However, "none of the responding LEAs had conducted language surveys of their schools and awareness of linguistic diversity appeared low" (Boume, 1990, p. 117). They concluded that although the number of immigrants is small, it is considerably larger than believed, that little thought has been given to the place of these other languages, and that none of the Welsh LEAs claimed to have provided any in-service on linguistic diversity nor "on supporting bilingual pupils' learning in the mainstream where their stronger languages were other than Welsh of English" (Boume, 1990, p. 178).

In his review of the development of multicultural education, Verne (1987) notes that in the early phase, the question is simply one of integrating minorities into the majority. Often this takes the form of intensified teaching of the official language (or languages, in the case of the autonomous regions) -- better known as compensatory education. As the majority begins to tolerate or accept the domestic use of the minorities' own language and culture and even begins to consider mother-tongue instruction at school and some attention to the minority culture -- programs such as bilingual and bicultural education or ethnic studies begin to appear. Both of these represent the accommodation level and we next consider how programs in Catalonia, the BAC and Wales adhere to the sequence within that level proposed by the model (i.e. compensatory -- minority language and culture -- multicultural programming).
Educational programs

Catalonia: In terms of compensatory programs, Catalonia took the lead in Spain, in 1982, by creating a special section (Junta de Promoció Educativa d’Escoles d’Acció Especial) to deal with problems of marginalization of all kinds and, in January 1983, this group presented a report on the educational situation of gypsy children to the Council of Education of the Generalitat, describing the ten current situation and suggesting that high priority be given to improving their situation. Since then there have been attempts to introduce several programs at the accommodation level, providing resources and materials related to minority languages and culture.

There is, in Catalonia, some recognition of the need to teach all children about other cultures -- on the part of a number of people involved in compensatory education programs, the press, etc... This recognition has not however, been converted into action, except on the basis of individual initiative. A group of about ten faculty from the Autonomous University of Barcelona ICE and Department of Anthropology have begun to include workshops about minority cultures in their Recicl.age programs for teachers in the field. They have been able to arrange for released time for teachers who have gypsy children in their classes for a one day workshop -- with the municipality paying for a substitute (Anton, 1989, personnal interview). In terms of pre-service programs, questionnaires distributed by this investigators to third year (graduating) students and interviews with the Director of the Magisterio of the University of Barcelona indicated that there is nothing in the present teacher preparation curriculum to prepare future teachers for the reality of teaching in the multicultural classrooms of this region (Parera, 1989, personnal interview). In collaboration with a colleague at this institution, a preservice intercultural education model was developed and presented at a national conference of Magisterios (Cueva and Tarrow, 1989). In Gerona, there is someone working on sensitizing teachers to the African community. And there is a newly formed working group of the Association of Teacher Education in Europe that is currently creating a network of people who are interested in multicultural education (Cueva, 1989, personnal interview). However, the majority of educators in the field who responded to a questionnaire on the need for intercultural education (as well as those interviewed) tend to focus only on the provision of compensatory programs to assimilate the immigrants into Catalan language and culture -- rather than efforts to help them preserve their own languages and cultures. Although, as we have seen, there are several programs of the latter type being offered, they are certainly not the norm -- but, perhaps a step towards an ideology of accommodation.
BAC: Authorities in the Basque region appear to have been so focused on the problems of their own vulnerable language and culture that they have only recently begun to attend to the needs of other minorities. They have just dipped a toe into the waters of compensatory programming with several beginning in September, 1989. In several of these cases the government appears to play a reactive role — recognizing the problem and providing some support after the initiative has been taken by non-official agencies or groups. Based on interviews, questionnaires, examination of curriculum guides, texts, etc... these appears to be no attempt to teach non-minority children (of educated teachers) about minority cultures. Educational responses in reference to minority groups is still largely based on an assimilation ideology, with some new (compensatory) programs representing the transition to accommodation. It appears that the next step may be a long time in coming.

Wales: The major barrier to effective policies are the widely held beliefs that (1) There is little representation in Wales of groups other than English, Welsh and long-standing assimilated ethnic minorities, and (2) that multicultural policies are not called for in schools with little minority representation. When faced with numbers of immigrant children, the approach appears to be one of providing some form of compensatory programming with the aim of rapidly assimilating these youngsters into the host society. The most common technique is for a support teacher to go into the classroom and work with small groups. If extra funds are available (through Section 11, for example) the priority seems to be to hire a home-school worker. School Heads in Swansea indicate that Welsh-medium schools receive 10% extra in their budgets, while schools with large numbers of minority children are entitled to no extra funding. Programs initiated by university faculty working with these schools deal with customs and traditions of various religions. Efforts are also made to maintain communication with the head of the local Mosque. Individual teachers have utilized drama, art, and writing activities to bring in the culture of their students.

In all three regions, the formerly oppressed subordinate group has, in effect, become the dominant group. There has been some awakening to the needs of the other groups — and to educational responses that attend to their cultural, linguistic and religious differences. Catalonia, from a more secure position in terms of recuperation of its own language and culture has made more progress in this area and is beginning to develop some programs with a multicultural emphasis. The BAC is just entering the transition phase with compensatory programming focused primarily on assimilation of subordinate groups. In Wales, there appears to be a need to recognize the existence of these minority groups to be taken into account in educational planning and
institutionalize policies and practices to meet their needs. What then is being done at the third level -- from a truly intercultural perspective and in the areas of prejudice reduction, and education for international understanding, peace and human rights?

**Human rights**

Saunders (1990) describes a situation in which each minority (and majority) will have sufficiently strong feelings of identity not to be intimidated by the proximity of other cultures. This is the premise of an 'interculturalation' ideology. At the level, one finds intercultural education, and education for peace, human rights and international understanding (the latter sometimes including development education and global education) -- each of which tends to overlap the others and has stronger bases in different societies.

Intercultural education moves educational responses beyond those directed at the minority groups themselves to the total community. It builds upon the knowledge and attitudes conveyed by multicultural education (the traditions, languages, values and norms of the different cultures comprising society) and moves to the level of interaction and interchange between cultures. In the process it also deal with such concepts as discrimination and stereotyping, requiring that all members of the community examine their own attitudes, beliefs and behavior in relation to other cultures. Included within the field of intercultural education are such programs as prejudice reduction (in the U.S.) and anti-racist education (in the U.K.).

Clearly then, intercultural education goes beyond the subject matter taught to the types of learning processes used, the structure and total climate of the school (Buergenthal and Tomey, 1976). It is premised on trust, openness and mutual respect between administrators and teachers and between teachers and students. 'Intercultural education concerns all children, all teachers, the whole school community and the whole of school life, all the subjects taught and all parents and partners in education.' (Rey M., 1986, p. 14). It implies the denunciation of all one-sidedness (however sincere) or the concept is affectively invalidated -- giving way to paternalism, ethnocentricity and even racism. Implications for both pre and inservice training of teachers were recognized by the Council of Europe in its Recommendation R(84) 18 (see table 5).
| TABLE 5 |
| International Agreements: Interculturation level |

**INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION:**
1984-Recommendation n° R(84) 18 on the Training of Teachers in Education for Intercultural Understanding/migration. Adopted by Committee of Ministers (September 25). Considering population movements irreversible and generally positive, the presence of millions of school children from foreign cultural communities, and the essential role of teacher, the training of teachers should equip them to adopt an intercultural approach. Recommends that the governments of member states encourage development of materials to support an intercultural approach, include preparation for teaching the host language more effectively, and make the intercultural dimension a feature or initial and in-service teacher training.

**EDUCATION FOR PEACE, INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND HUMAN RIGHTS:**
- Objectives include: an international dimension at all levels of education, understanding and respect for all peoples, awareness of increasing global interdependence, ability to communicate with others, awareness of duties towards one another, understanding of the necessary for international solidarity and cooperation, readiness to participate in solving community, national and world problems.
- National policy, planning and administration should take the necessary steps to carry out concerted programs of action from an interdisciplinary, problem oriented perspective.
- Special attention should be paid to the development of attitudes in preschool and to the preparation of parents.
- Teacher training should include preparation for their role relevant to the objectives, as well as opportunities for study abroad and international exchanges.

1978 - Resolution (78) 41 on the teaching of Human Rights. (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers (October, 25). Recommends that governments of member states take whatever
measures are appropriate... to ensure that the teaching of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms is given an appropriate place in curricula of teaching and training, initial and in-service, at all levels.

1985 - Recommendation n° R(85) 7 on Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Schools. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers (May 14).

Recommends that the governments of member states (within the context of their national education systems and their legislative basis) encourage teaching and learning about human rights in line with the following suggestions:

1. Human rights in the school curriculum
   - as part of social and political involving intercultural and international understanding.
   - based on concepts acquired from the earliest ages.
   - with more abstract concepts introduced in secondary school subjects such as history, geography, moral and religious education, language and literature, current affairs and economics.
   - using international agreements as a point of reference, with teachers careful to avoid imposing personal convictions.

2. Skills
   - intellectual skills including written and oral expression, ability to listen and discuss, defend one's opinions; including those involving judgement -- such as using multiple sources, analysis and identification of bias, stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination.
   - social skills including recognizing and accepting differences, resolving conflict, taking responsibility, understanding the means of protection of human rights at all levels.

3. Knowledge
   - including topics such as categories of human rights, various forms of injustice, people, movements and key events, international declarations and conventions.
   - emphasizing the positive.
   - Providing opportunities for involvement in human rights issues and expression of feelings.
4. Climate of the school
A democratic setting where participation is encouraged, views expressed openly, interactions based on fairness and justice.

5. Teacher training in the content and processes of human rights teaching.

"It is important that training should prepare teachers to welcome and understand pupils, families and colleagues from other parts of the world, to respect the diversity of languages, lifestyles, ambitions, behaviour patterns and religions, and to cope with conflicts which break out and overcome them so as to ensure the cultural enrichment of all. Teacher training is the real key to intercultural education" (Rey, 1986, p. 37).

Human rights education may be defined as the conscious effort, both through specific content as well as process, to develop in students an awareness of their rights (and responsibilities), to sensitize them to the rights of others, and to encourage responsible action to secure the rights of all. For those countries that "subscribe to international agreements dedicated to guaranteeing human rights and to democratic government, teaching human rights is a moral and legal imperative" (Tarrow, 1988, p.1). "Education in this field is seen as the best guarantee and ultimate sanction of human rights" (Ray and Tarrow, 1987, p. 3).

The objectives for education for human rights, peace, and international understanding have been awaiting universal acceptance and implementation probably since the dawn of civilization -- but, at least since the adoption of UNESCO's Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1974 (see table 5). Each of these movements tends to deal with a broad spectrum of global issues including Third World development, east-west relations, the international economic order, the arms trade, resource depletion, terrorism, regional violence, environmental issues, hunger, and human rights. All place an emphasis on educational process, as well as content -- encouraging students to examine their own attitudes and values, building a sense of trust, cooperation, and openness, developing multiple perspectives, dealing with conflict resolution and fostering active involvement of students. And, all are based on the premise that this type of education begins, not at the high school level but in earliest childhood -- pervading both the curriculum and the climate of the schools.
Interestingly enough, although there appears to be very little interest in multicultural or intercultural education -- there does seem to be some interest (in all three regions, to some degree) in the fields of international comprehension, human rights and for peace education -- although most of the initiative seems to be coming from outside the formal education system. The organizations dedicated to Third World issues are very concerned about the rights of people in Africa, in the Middle East, in Latin America -- and in getting this concern across to school children. They claim no interest, however, in the rights of people from Africa, from the Middle East, or from Latin America, who are right in the community and in the schools or in educational programmes dealing with issues raised by their presence in the community.

In Catalonia there are numerous organizations committed to each of these themes, some producing or disseminating materials to schools, some working directly with school children and/or teachers to raise awareness (and funds) for developing nations but they are not adapting these materials to sensitize students and teachers to the needs of third world children in their classes (Vinaret, 1989, personal interview). Although there is feverish activity and publicity surrounding the 1992 European unification, there is very little emphasis on this theme in the schools. It is treated in some of the texts used in upper grade social study classes and the subject of human rights does appear at several places in the social studies curriculum (depending on which text a teacher selects). Most schools mention human rights, but, although it is in the official national curriculum, very few schools actually do any in depth study. There are, at present, approximately twenty schools in Catalonia belonging to the Associated Schools network, several of which are actively involved in human rights issues. A number of curriculum resources are available (primarily at the secondary level) but there is a big leap from the production of materials to their dissemination and even further to their actual implementation in the classroom. None of the organizations has prioritized workshops for teachers to provide either or both the content knowledge and/or the didactic skills and methodology that would allow them to feel comfortable introducing these themes in the classroom. The majority of the teachers interviewed were unaware of the existence of most of these materials. In addition, one must realize that teacher training in Spain prepares future teachers to slavishly follow a text. There is little or no emphasis on the kinds of processes inherent in human rights education -- an open classroom, active cooperation learning, teaching of multiple perspectives, etc. Thus, it appears that education in these fields is limited to a relatively small number of teachers, who due to their own personal system of values and interest are motivated to search out and introduce young people to these themes.
In the Basque region, education for international comprehension has not been as significant in this somewhat insulated region as it is in other parts of the world. A number of organizations outside the formal educational system are the 'movers' in the fields of human rights and peace education. The Association for Human Rights in Euskadi, Germika Gogoratuz (Remember Guernica), the educational resource center of Irun, and Educators for Peace are some of the major groups. The Basque government tends to subsidize many such activities. Some of the municipal governments have also supported particular programs.

As party of the National Curriculum, teachers in Wales will be able to compensate for its nationalist tone and introduce themes of international cooperation, peace and human rights within the context of cross-curriculum themes. Development Education Centres, Early Years Trainers Anti-Racist Network, and major conferences promoted by the National Childrens Bureau (Promoting Racial Equality for Young Children in Europe) and the Commonwealth Institute (Human Rights Education) all appear to be continuing the work begun before implementation of the National Curriculum. Participation of educators from Wales in these activities does need to be encouraged. The Curriculum Council of Wales has produced a resource guide for teachers on the topic of Community Understanding. It is aimed at fostering active citizenship and understanding of human rights. Conflict resolution, appreciation of cultural diversity, and awareness of the distribution of resources are also included. The plan is to prepare guidance and exemplar material for all the key stages to complement the guide. The National Curriculum Council has produced material on Education for Citizenship and the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Development have produced a guide on Education for Mutual Understanding -- all of which are also available to teachers in Wales. Finally, BBC Wales is actively involved in meeting the need for material in this area. "Cross Currents" a series directed at the Community Understanding, a cross-curricular theme unique to Wales. The series, directed at Key Stage 3 (14-16 years old) and scheduled for all, 1992 starts with a programme for teachers and includes a guide to use with the broadcasts. Troyna and Hatchner (1991) optimistically note that the National Curriculum contains statements endorsing multicultural education and racial equality and that there is still space for teachers to continue to develop anti-racist work. They caution, however, that these themes appear to be "bolt-on aferthoughts", that there may be a resulting innovation overload on teachers and that the precedence to parental choice over the statutory duty of LEAs and their schools not to discriminate can lead to a white flight backlash.
CONCLUSION

This paper has provided examples of present policies and practices in Catalonia, the Basque Autonomous Community and Wales in reference to a tri-level model of intercultural education. In analysing process through the developmental stages of the model, we have taken into account the unique characteristics of these three cultures -- which have, in a relatively short period of time, been transformed from oppressed subordinate groups within the nation to their somewhat ambiguous status as perceived dominant groups in their respective regions. Following a lengthy period of linguistic and cultural repression based on an assimilation ideology, each has instituted assertive policies to recoup their own languages and cultural heritages. Legislation, educational programs, teacher preparation and curriculum materials have been utilized in implementing these policies -- within the parameters imposed by national legislation and directives. Evaluation studies have been utilized to justify intensification of efforts in these areas. It is clear that there has not been unanimous approval of language normalization programs in any of the three regions, although protests have not escalated and there is an appreciable change in attitude on the part of Castilian-speaking residents -- particularly in Catalonia and English-speaking residents in Wales. The difference in the linguistic situation in Catalonia, in BAC, and Wales can be traced to a number of historical, socio-economic, geographic and political factors -- in addition to the characteristics of the three languages. It is not simply a situation of the Catalonians being 'ahead' of the Basques, and the Welsh. It appears that Catalonia can reasonably expect to reach its goal of Catalan as the official language of the schools and society, with Spanish as a second language linking them to the rest of the nation and the outside world. The Basques may need to establish functional bilingual society as their ultimate goal. Without widespread mother-tongue usage, this would mean repeating the normalization process with each generation. The Welsh emphasis on language shift through programs aimed at young mothers and pre-school children, their strong support of Welsh youth groups and cultural activities, as well as Welsh-medium instruction at all levels, may ultimately result in a bilingual society.

As to the languages and cultures of subordinate or minority groups in Catalonia, the Basque region, and Wales, relatively little has been done on an official basis. It may be a case of short memories, insensitivity, 'pecking order' or insecurity and defensiveness in regard to their own language and culture, but whatever the reason, the same assimilation ideology previously employed by the central government (and so odious to all the societies) has been pursued in relation to other cultural groups. Compensatory programs
tend to afford a feeling of self-righteousness, of 'doing something' for 'them', but the ultimate goal is usually assimilation into the dominant culture. Legitimation of other cultures and languages is in its infancy in Catalonia and has yet to be conceived in the Basque region and Wales. Multicultural and intercultural education appear to be non-existent in all three. National legislation guided by fears of being "swamped" by immigrants is as difficult to reconcile with interculturalism as is regional policy that permits public schools to refuse admittance to citizens who are members of particular minority groups. Lynch eloquently presents a rather pessimistic view: "As long as the task is seen as the socialization of immigrants -- or even ethnic minorities -- to the dominant culture, and the perpetuation of an inherently unequal social hierarchy, the prospects for the development of an appropriate multicultural and intercultural education addressed to issues of educational equality in a culturally diverse society, desirous of the human rights of individuals and groups, committed to freedom from discrimination, and recognizing the issues of power and access to rewards and resources involved, remain relatively bleak" (Lynch, 1986, p. 148).

Yes, in all three regions there is some attention to programs concerned with human rights, peace, development issues, etc. These are far more prevalent in Catalonia than in the BAC or Wales. Again, this may be understood in terms of the very different backgrounds of these three regions -- Catalonia is further along and more secure in restoring its own language and culture, than the Basque region or Wales. But, it is also much easier to deal with and be charitable to Africans and Asians 'out there' than it is to deal with and extend equality to African and Asian immigrants 'right here'. To do so would mean opening one's own culture to change resulting from interaction and reciprocity. It would require viewing such change as an enrichment rather than a problem and a willingness to make structural changes assuring equality of access and opportunity and shared power.

The international agreements and recommendations cited are standard-setting. They were not intended as a description of what exists -- but rather as goals to be reached. To do so requires taking the ideas they express much more seriously than appears to be the case; using them as a basis for educational programs and policies; capitalizing on some of the outstanding programs already in existence for current and future teachers to examine their own beliefs and attitudes, build their own knowledge about other cultures, and provide opportunities for them to have the practical experiences that will permit them to be conveyous of interculturalism to the students of Catalonia, the Autonomous Basque Community, and Wales.
REFERENCES


Enseñanza con gitanos (1988) Cuadernos de Pedagogía, 156 (pp. 87-97).


