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Teacher education for multiple identities in Europe: a study

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Abstract

This paper reports some of the findings of a study of how teacher education currently reflects the increasing diverse school population in five European countries: France, Greece, UK, Iceland and Poland. Each of these has made distinctive changes in policy in recognition of the greater ethnic and national range of students in the school system. We analyse the views of teachers and teacher-educators in each country, suggesting that most of the professionals involved see their role as to encourage pupils to view themselves as having multiple and overlapping identities, which may (inter alia) be national, ethnic, linguistic and European. Within the scope of this paper various strategies to achieve this, at the level of the school, local area and nationally are briefly analysed and described.

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Introduction

Most countries in Europe have a long history of diversity, with many different linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups living side-by-side in towns and cities, and in a complex kaleidoscopic mosaic of communities in the countryside. The forces and patterns of nationalism, and the creation of defining distinctive nation states disrupted this, and in many places more homogeneous populations resulted, often through violent conflict or forced migration. Over the past half-century or so, the countries of Europe have begun again to have more diverse populations, with large scale labour migrations within Europe, migrations into Europe from former European colonies, and the growth in global refugee migrations (Judt, 2005). The European Union (EU) has developed policies to encourage the free movement of populations, for education and study, for work and for leisure: these policies have both an economic rationale (to achieve an unhindered movement of goods, services and labour across the EU) and an ideological motivation (to encourage intercultural understanding and amity). This new diversity in Europe is very different from the earlier diversities, and the population movements that have led to them are very different from earlier migrations (for example, the migrations to the Americas in the 16th to early 20th Centuries). Educational systems, schools and teachers have had to adapt and re-orientate their policies and practices to meet this new and constantly developing situation. This article describes some of the issues that have arisen in a disparate group of countries, and some of the strategies that have been developed to address the diversity and the multiplicity of identities found in schools across Europe.

The population diversity that has developed in European countries over this period is distinctive from that resulting from earlier migrations in several ways. Migration to the Americas, whether voluntary or through enslavement, was for most people a one-way voyage. It was expensive, took several weeks, and most new arrivals expected to remain in the Americas for the rest of their lives –to settle there, bring up their families, and to adopt the new country as their own (Coleman, 1972). Communication with the land of origin was laborious, expensive, uncertain and dependent on literacy. The theory of the 'melting pot' was of peoples of different originating cultures and religions combining to lose their separate identities to a degree, forming a society of more uniform consistency different from the original inputs (Zangwill, 1909). The subsequent development of third and fourth-generation affinities with the 'original' homeland (as 'hyphenated' Americans) does not invalidate this (see, for example, Rothermere American Institute, 2006). In contrast to this, migration to and within Europe since 1945 has been characterised by the possibility of 'return' (Anwar, 1979) and the relative ease of maintaining cultural and family contacts with the place of origin. International travel is relatively cheaper, much quicker and more frequent. The development of communication systems makes possible literally everyday conversation with family members who live in different continents. Satellite broadcasting and the internet allow migrants and settlers to keep in close contact with the media of their country of origin. Migration is easier, but is less definable, and may be (or may be thought to be) temporary and 'assimilation' into the 'host' culture is not the only option that settlers and their descendants will have.

It is therefore not only possible, but relatively and considerably easier, for a contemporary settler in Europe to sustain not just a cultural link with their original community, but to maintain and extend a specific and continuing identity as a member of that community -as well as having an identity as a citizen/member of the new community in which they find themselves. The conception of an individual having a 'singular identity' has been rebuffed by Sen (2006:176) as fallacious: 'forcing people into boxes of singular identity try[s] ... to understand human beings not as persons with diverse identities but predominantly as members of one particular social group or community'. Individuals have multiple identities -for example, perhaps simultaneously identified as a woman, a mother, a Buddhist, a lecturer, a speaker of Italian- and also multiple nested identities - as a Parisian, French, a European. This repertoire of identities is used contingently, according to location and time (Ross & Roland-Levy, 2003). It is possible -particularly in this stage of modernity- to be both British in one's workplace and Greek in one's home, and be both Greek and British in one's political participation. The range of identities that an individual expresses at any given moment is the response to the characteristics and exigencies of the moment, partly arising from individual choice, partly from external events and pressures. Many British Muslims, for example, have either chosen to stress their Muslim identity, or have had it forced on them by others, following the events of 9/11 and the London bombings of July 2005 (Modood, 2005).

Maintaining and extending multiple identities requires a particular range of resources, both cultural and linguistic. It is important to note that there is now a presumption in international debate and law that minorities

have particular human rights to preserve their language and culture, and that these must be respected. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (United Nations, 1992) requires states to not merely protect the existence and national, ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their territories, but to encourage the promotion of that identity. Members of minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, to practise their religion, to use their language in private and in public, to maintain associations and to participate in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life (Articles 1 and 2). This too has important implications for the future of diversity in most countries: not only is migration easier and it is more possible to maintain multiple identities, but there is an obligation on all countries and their citizens to support the cultural identities and languages of minorities, or members of minority groups, who have moved to a new country and who wish to maintain their distinctive characteristics. (Clearly, this is not a position of pure cultural relativism: these particular rights for minorities rights fall within overarching frameworks of human rights, and do not give carte blanche to minorities to maintain cultural practices -for example, with regard to the rights of women- that are at variance with these fundamental rights.)

This in turn places the 'host communities' (for want of a better term) in a novel situation. If minorities choose to maintain aspects of their separate identities in a community into which they have moved, and at the same time are accorded full rights to participate in 'mainstream' public life, then it is necessary to reformulate conceptions of what is meant by terms such as 'host community', 'mainstream', and 'we'. These terms can no longer be used to differentiate the original pre-settlement inhabitants, but now include all the communities within the country. This makes the use of expressions such as 'they will have to adjust to our culture', or 'learning our history' problematic. 'Our' culture and history now necessarily incorporate 'their' history and culture. Issues such as racism and xenophobia are not issues for the minority ethnic group, but for the majority groups. Maintaining some pure or pristine national identity or culture becomes impossible - and there is a growing body of research that suggests that most of the content of such national cultures was artificial and invented (e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Colley 1992; Wolff, 1994).

This in turn raises issues for educationalists, as one of the functions of state education has been the transmission of culture, traditionally seen as the culture of the politically dominant group (whether social class, gendered or ethnic). The development of minority rights, the maintenance of minority cultures, issues of multiple identities, the development of bilingualism – all these require teachers and schools to re-envisage their role, policies and practices. What attitudes do teachers have to cultural diversity? How do they engage with the cultural diversity they encounter in their classrooms? How do they welcome newcomers and their families and educate pupils' for life in multiethnic societies and develop their skills to challenge racism and xenophobia? How are they prepared to do this, in their initial training and in their continuing professional development? What strategies do they use? How are educational systems and curricula adapted? How does the teaching workforce reflect our new social and cultural diversity?

The study

These were among the issues considered in a project supported by the European Commission¹, Teacher Education and Multiculturalism in Europe (TEAM in Europe)². This involved a consortium of five Universities³ from December 2003 to April 2006. The specific aims of the programme were to examine both the European and the Multicultural characteristics of teachers and their work, analysing European/Multicultural aspects of teacher education and teachers' conceptions of their own and their pupils' identities in the European/multiethnic context; identifying how teachers are prepared to deal with issues of culture, identities, racism and xenophobia in their professional practice and identifying innovatory practice. To achieve this we analysed existing data; interviewed teachers and teacher educators on their views of teachers' roles in identity formation (particularly European identity) and on preparing pupils for life in diverse and multicultural societies and on fighting racism and xenophobia; and made comparative studies of innovatory practice in recruiting teachers from a wider range of social and ethnic groups, training teachers in aspects of Europe and/or multicultural societies, and preparing teachers to fight racism in schools. The timing of our fieldwork was subject to local events: for example, the French fieldwork was delayed until after the vote on the proposed European Constitution.

The five countries involved in the study represent a wide range of policies, practices and experiences. In terms of involvement in European

common policies, the five represent different lengths of engagement within the European Union: France has been a member since 1956, the UK from 1973, Greece from 1981 and Poland from 2004. Iceland is not an EU member, but has been associated with the Union as a member of the European Economic Area since 1994 and before this through the European Free Trade Association. The five countries have also different experiences of migration and multiculturalism. Broadly, France and the UK have had relatively high levels of migration and settlement within and from outside Europe since the late 1950s. Greece was significantly a country of emigration till the early 1980s: since then it has had a relatively small but significant immigration and settlement from Albania, from those of Greek origin whose ancestors had left Greece in the past and in recent years from other countries. Poland had a European-origin ethnically diverse population till 1939-45, since then it has until recently been very largely mono-cultural (though with indigenous minorities). There has been some small-scale recent immigration and settlement. Iceland has had a long tradition of being monocultural: this has changed over the past 10 - 15 years, and there is now a small but growing multicultural community. The countries also have differences in size, economy, and geography. France and the UK have developed significantly different policies on citizenship and multiculturalism. Greece and Iceland have recently begun to develop policy initiatives, while Poland is not yet at this stage. France, the UK, Poland and Greece have also small but significant numbers of indigenous minorities in many cases Roma - who have been living in the country for many generations, but are often not full participants in the social and cultural activities of the majority population.

Teacher's views

Attitudes to diversity

Across the five countries, most teaching staff we surveyed (in schools and initial teacher education) were extremely positive and anxious to be supportive to minorities. They went to great lengths to ensure that the type of education provided in schools and training institutions met particular individual and group needs. Amongst both the more experienced teachers and those new to multicultural and intercultural education there was an evident commitment to develop understanding about how to be more effective practitioners. Many were trained or were acquiring specific training in ways of supporting different minority groups, but our overall impression is that such training was usually seen as specialist and responsive to particular contexts, rather than expected for all professionals in all contexts. We felt that responses to diversity, whether of different ethnic cultures or different European nationalities, should be regarded as mainstream, not contingent on local conditions. Whether or not minority ethnic group children are found in a particular classroom, school, locality or region, the teachers in all schools in Europe need to be aware of and teach about the diversity of their own country and of Europe, and recognise that such diversity may inevitably change. In some senses, teaching about diversity is more important in areas where there is little visible diversity: these are the areas where prejudices and stereotypes are likely to be more prevalent.

We found several innovative training programmes for teachers, some local and others national. There are good examples of initial teacher education, and of education for teachers who are already in post. Both groups need to be targeted as a matter of urgency. We concluded that all new teachers should be fully equipped to teach in and for a diverse, multi-lingual and multi-cultural society. Equally, some of the teachers already in post may well continue to work for the next thirty or forty years: they need to be equipped to teach in a diverse society.

Varied educational policies are developing in response to the increasing ethnic diversity that is found in some European countries, and depend in part on the recent history of the countries in question. While there are clearly local factors that play an important element in each set of responses, it is also possible to draw parallels and suggest generalisations. For example, in several cases we found that teachers and educational leaders assumed that initial migration was a temporary phenomena: a person moves to a new country to work, and it is assumed – by both the migrant and the community to which they have moved - that they will return 'home' in due course. In some instances, this led to responses on both sides that were muted compromises: cultural, social and linguistic adjustments are limited. Relatively inexpensive air flights mean that visits to the country of origin can be made more frequently; cultural materials including foods can be imported fairly easily; modern communications make it possible to maintain family cultural, social and political links with ease. In some cases the phenomena is indeed temporary, but in others the move becomes permanent, though this may not be realised, let alone articulat-

ed and accepted, until much later. There are many examples in Europe where planned returns do not happen, or where children born/brought up in the new country have remained when the parents have retired to their country of origin. Whatever the original intentions and beliefs of either the 'host' country or the migrant populations, movement and diversity need to be seen as potentially permanent and as inevitably changing the nature of our populations. There are also some 'indigenous minorities' within Europe –longstanding populations such as the Roma and the Sami– that also need to be considered within the context of this approach.

Appropriate terminology and ethnic categorisation

These issues have given rise to some confusion in the terminology that teachers were using. Countries that have only experienced immigration relatively recently may refer to all members of minority groups as 'immigrants', using this term even for children and grandchildren who were born in the country to which their parents/grandparents had moved. Distinctions may be made by legal status: whether citizenship status has been awarded or not, or whether the individual was born in the country or not. Whatever the legal status and position of child may be, we think that in terms of their education it is essential that all teachers, schools and educational authorities treat children's rights and access to educational provision with respect and with the intention of achieving equality of educational outcomes. This point will be returned to later in more detail.

We suggest that teachers and educational institutions take great care to use the term 'migrant' or 'immigrant' with sensitivity. Assumptions must not be made that children from minority groups are themselves immigrant. It should not be assumed that simply because a parent appears to be from another ethnic group or another cultural background that they are either a migrant or a non-citizen.

There was also sometimes confusions over the ethnic definition of children. Everyone has an ethnicity, and sometimes more than one ethnicity is possible. The term 'ethnic' should not be used to mean a minority group, or people who are not 'White'. 'Minority ethnic' may well be more acceptable usage than 'ethnic minority': the latter implies that only certain kinds of ethnic groups can have an ethnicity, and stresses their characteristics as an ethnicity, rather than as a minority. We also observed that the names and definitions of minority ethnic groups are also possible areas where some teachers were confused. Ethnicity is sometimes defined in terms of country of origin – in which case, 'of Indian origin' is more accurate and sensitive than 'Indian', or 'of Algerian origin' rather than 'Algerian'. Sometimes broader geographical terms may be used, such as 'Asian' or 'North African'. Different terms will have different usages in different countries, as in the different uses of the term 'Asian' in the USA and in the UK. Sometimes terms such as 'Black' may be employed: this may be a term that is used differently by different minorities. There may also be various combinations – sometimes called adjectival or hyphenated identities, such as in the UK 'Black Caribbean', 'Black African', or 'Black British', or in the case of Poland 'Polish Roma'. There are also people of mixed heritage, who may elect to define themselves in various ways.

Educators (and policy makers) should recognise that ethnic categories are heuristic: they have particular uses, and do not have absolute or essential meanings. They are self-definitions: individuals and groups need to have complete freedom to define the ethnic category that they feel best describes them. Ethnic identifiers may change over time: new categories may become useful and necessary as populations change and as new population movements develop and groups and individuals may adopt or prefer new ethnic descriptions. In the context of multiple identities, an individual may wish to define her/his self in different ethnic terms in different contexts. This may be considered problematic, but is a necessary right of the individual. These issues mean that there is an inevitable lack of precision about these categories. Importantly, ethnic categorisations should be used with consent, care and sensitivity: categories should not be assigned to anyone merely on the basis of their physical appearance. The growth of 'adjectival identities' or hyphenated identities and the way that individuals move between identities in different contexts and times, also suggests that policy makers cannot operate with simple, absolute and unchanging definitions of an individual's cultural identities.

Another point we noted was that sometimes ethnic identities were confused with, or linked to, religious identities. We felt that it should not be assumed that followers of a particular faith are necessarily, or even likely to be, members of a particular ethnic group, or vice versa. However, in terms of the broader expression of identities, it may be that at particular times an individual may wish to proclaim their identity in terms of their faith group, rather than their ethnic origin. Great sensitivity is needed here, perhaps al-

lowing individuals to declare both their religious affiliation and their ethnic identity, if they so wish.

The position of children and young people in describing their ethnicity should also be treated with sensitivity. In the UK, the practice is for parents of children under 11 to declare their child's ethnicity (which may not be the same as their own ethnicity), while young people over the age of 11 are judged able to determine which ethnic group they belong to. In terms of the rights of the individual, both parents' and children's choices need to be respected, and that teachers should not make a selection on their behalf. Whatever ethnic categories are used, assumptions should not be made that members of a particular group necessarily have particular cultural or linguistic knowledge. It also needs to be recognised that some individuals (including pupils) may choose not to identify with a particular ethnic group (even though they may belong to it) for fear that the data may be misused.

Ethnicity data

Our study revealed that the collection and use of ethnicity data is not consistent across Europe: in some contexts, such as in France, it is expressly forbidden to collect any such characteristics, because this is seen as potentially divisive, while in Greece collection was not authorized it was instituted to allow for better program planning, in other contexts (such as the UK) various authorities (including educational establishments) are reguired to collect such data, to enable monitoring of potential discrimination and as a way to assess community needs. In other countries (such as Poland and Iceland), a pragmatic approach is taken, to collect and use such data in different contexts. These made some aspects of our study quite difficult. Nevertheless, the experience of some countries (e.g. Iceland, the UK and Greece) is that ethnicity data can be usefully employed for the purposes of monitoring provision, ensuring that resources can be targeted where appropriate, determining the efficacy of policies, and in monitoring inequalities (e.g. discriminatory and racist behaviours and outcomes). Ultimately, data is needed about current population distributions,

because this will predicate particular strategies and policies, and the development and distribution of educational resources. This is salient as the distribution of young people of school age of a migrant population may be different from the distribution of adults.

Educational strategies

Our survey charted a range of policies and initiatives in this area, and we were able to identify examples of good practice in each country. There were positive and imaginative initiatives in all countries, but there was overall a need for a more concerted and widespread set of policies for educational services and provision. We suggest that perhaps using various human rights agendas may be of help in determining a focus: using particularly firstly children's rights, which refer to all children, of whatever nationality or ethnic origin who need protecting from others (which may include from parents and from institutional policies, as well as from the behaviour of individuals), and secondly, the rights of minorities, which include the rights to preserve culture and language, as well as to exercise general civic rights of social inclusion and participation. Both of these sets of rights should impact on all of those involved.

Children brought up in these current circumstances of increasing diversity present social and educational institutions with a particular set of issues that require a strategic response by these institutions and personnel, at all levels of organisation, from the European to the classroom. Children of what is often regarded as the 'host' community need to be educated and brought up in an environment that respects diversity, welcomes and engages with difference, and asserts all children's individual and communal rights. Children of what are often seen as the 'new' communities need all of the above, plus special protection of their rights to maintain cultural and linguistic identities. There also needs to be a more widespread recognition that 'national' cultural identities are (and continue to be) changing, and that this should be welcomed. These cultural identities are a construct of the current present populations, and not an historical remembrance by particular sections of the population.

We suggest that if policy makers can create these conditions, the very process of doing so will create a new sense of 'Europeanness'. We found

that some of the barriers (articulated by teachers and teacher educators) to a sense of sharing a partial common European identity were the result of difficulties in accommodating the rights and needs of the other: policies that lead to the political and social inclusion of minority groups across Europe may in themselves create the conditions for the recognition of commonalities between members of European states. There is evidence, for example, that some UK hesitancy among teacher/teacher educators comes from the perception that 'others' in Europe are unable or unwilling to demonstrate multicultural policies and to accept non-White diversity.

Recognition also needs to be given to the fact that there are different kinds of minorities (Migrants, Pontic Greeks, Roma, Sami, Regional, second generation, etc), and that their needs may well be very different. Different settlement groups also need to be considered in respect of their own individual needs, including their current desires to be recognised as a specific group. Policy makers and practitioners need to be very sensitive in not grouping together 'migrants', 'minorities' or 'the other'.

In summary, all educational policy makers need to develop policies that target both the majority (because racism is a problem and issue of the 'host' community, not of the minorities: the education services should help children respect newcomers and their children) and particular minorities (who may need specific help in language acquisition, but also in language and cultural maintenance). There are good examples of web-based support in several countries, for example Iceland, France and the UK⁴.

Educational institutions need to recognise the need to develop flexibility, and to constantly review and upgrade the skills and knowledge of their workforces. Once trained, professionals will need sustained and targeted support in maintaining their professional activities in a constantly developing social environment. Another important way to achieve this recognition is through ensuring that the educational professions include people drawn from across the range of minorities found in a society. Such inclusion should not be designed or used so that education has 'representatives' of particular groups (any more than female teachers 'represent' women in schools). While it is not expected that other professional groups necessarily include minorities, there are anti-discriminatory laws and policies on recruitment, training places and appointments, so that opportunities exist: but teaching in particular is, we argue, different, and does need to include a proportion drawn from minorities.

There are several arguments that suggest it is important. Most of these arise from some particular characteristics of the nature of education, and

of the way we organise learning in our schools. Some of these relate to the nature of teaching and learning:

Learning is a formative activity conducted through a variety of processes, some of which are explicit and very visible (for example, through the formal prescribed curriculum), and some of which are subtle, almost invisible and barely understood, even by practitioners. The processes of learning thus convey a wealth of meanings to young people at an impressionable and formative period in their lives: who conducts this process is an important part of the process.

Learning is a social process: it takes place in the interactions between teacher and learner, and learner and learner. Teachers determine the social relationships under which learning occurs. They are in a prominent position of authority, trust and power. Who teaches is critical for the learning process, and designating a person as a teacher is not undertaken lightly. Important messages –to society and parents and above all to children– are conveyed in deciding who shall be given the accolade of teacher.

Learning is undertaken by all children/young people. Many of our other social provisions are episodic and accidental. We do not all use the health service, for example, and most use is transitory and intermittent. Learning is conducted over a long period of time. Disregarding notions of life-long learning, it is a process that we require all our young people to undergo for a period of at least eleven years.

We therefore argue that the teaching profession must have the capacity to reflect the full spectrum of cultural and social traditions and systems in their collective professional practice. Each individual teacher brings to her or his work a set of cultural norms and expectations. Good teachers are reflective and self-critically aware of this, but none of us can recognise all the culturally and socially determined mores that we carry. It is important the teaching profession as a whole can match the range of cultural and social varieties that our society contains. Educational systems need to be delivered by teams of professionals who can match that range, in their explicit practice and in their subconscious behaviour and attitudes. Both the formal and the hidden curriculum need to be managed and delivered in a way that reflects the varieties of social practice in each society, and this in turn demands that the teaching profession is drawn fully and explicitly from that range of cultures and ethnicities in our society. Education has the subtlety and the nuance to make each individual feel that her or his cultural set is acknowledged and valued, thus empowering her or him as a learner. Racism and xenophobia, both individual and institution-

al, are major issues in contemporary society. Racism is very properly an important concern for all teachers, but some of the subtleties of racist practice and behaviour may be more obvious or more capable of recognition, by teachers who have themselves some direct experience of having suffered from racist behaviours themselves. Teachers from the majority community, however well intentioned, trained and experienced they are in anti-racist work, will still be unaware of and unable to identify and analyse much of the xenophobia, chauvinism and racism in society.

Teachers are a particular and special category: they are the one face of civil society that every child will meet, every working day, through the whole of their formal education. It is therefore particularly critical that this 'face' of civil power be seen, visibly and explicitly, to represent all of our society. The presence of teachers drawn from all groups in society will mean that firstly, all pupils – majority as much as minority – will recognise that members of the minorities have as much power and prestige as any other citizen, and secondly, that pupils who themselves come from the minorities will recognise that they too can and should aspire to excellence, esteem and authority.

Developing an appropriate policy environment

We found in our study that the institutions with the most effective practices have well defined policies that are clearly understood and followed by staff, and subject to regular discussion and review. This is true of schools, higher education institutions, regional and local authorities, and national bodies. Institutional leadership is critical. The leader of each educational institution should assume responsibility for the development and maintenance of a policy for the institution that addresses diversity in relationship to the institution's objectives. We would argue that each institution should develop a strategic policy statement that sets out its objectives for developing support for multiculturalism, race equality and diversity in its work. Five elements of this might be:

- A positive approach to population diversity and race equality and to teaching diverse groups;
- Developing the understanding of all groups of children and students towards diversity;

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- c. A curriculum that addresses the diverse origins of children and students, and is not based on the culture, language or religion of a section of the population;
- d. Addressing intercultural understanding beyond the formal curriculum;
- e. Recognising the wider range of diversities beyond the immediate population of the institution – in the region as a whole, in the country, and in Europe.

Such policy statements might be arrived at through a process of wide consultation and discussion, not created by an individual, however authoritative or expert they may be. The policy statement development process might include members of minority groups, so that their views are represented, and that institutional staff understand their perspectives. Effective policies are those that are regularly reviewed to determine their effectiveness at achieving the stated goals. This requires the ability to collect relevant data and mechanisms to review this. Review will also involve consultation with the key actors in an institution, obtaining their perceptions of how policies are being implemented, their effectiveness, any unanticipated consequence of the policy, etc., and allow for policies to be reformulated, extended and generally modified to become more effective.

We conclude with a set of questions that we think, from our analysis of these various national contexts, will help institutions (school, college or education ministry) develop policies and practices.

- Cultural and Language maintenance: How will the educational institution help minority groups maintain their culture and language?
- Language support: How will the educational institution help linguistic minorities see their home language(s) as an asset?
- Language teaching: What policies of the educational institution will support students learn the majority language?
- Multicultural education: How does the institution's curriculum reflect the culture of all students in the institution, not just the dominant culture?
- Anti-racism (ethnicities) Anti-xenophobia (other Europeans): How does the institution ensure that racism and xenophobia are seen by all students as unacceptable behaviour?
- Working with parents and community groups: How do educational establishments involve local communities in the work of the institution?
- Recruitment policies: Does the institution's staff reflect the diversity of the pupils/students it works with?

Endnotes

1. European Union: Socrates Programme, General Activities of Observation, Analysis and Innovation

2. The TEAM-in-Europe consortium was led by London Metropolitan University, and directed by Professor Alistair Ross. Each university had its own project leader and team of researchers: France: Jean-Phillipe Fons (French team leader), Gilles Leydier and Géraldine Bozec; Greece: Julia Athena Spinthourakis (Greek team leader), Panayota Papoulia-Tzelepi, Eleni Stavlioti-Karatzia, John Karras and John M Katsillis; Iceland: Sigrún Aðalbjarnardóttir (Icelandic team leader), Hafdís Ingvarsdóttir and Eyrún María Rúnarsdóttir; Poland: Beata Krzy-wosz-Rynkiewicz (Polish team leader), Elzbieta Wotodko and Joanna Strrze-mecka-Kata; UK: Alistair Ross (Project leader, UK team leader), Uvanney May-lor and Merryn Hutchings (with support in the final stages from Nicola Rollock and Katya Williams). The project produced a wide range of reports, analysing policies and practices in each country. It should be noted that in the UK the team looked particularly at practice in England, not of all the UK. All our reports are available at *http://cice.londonmet.ac.uk/TEAM*.

3. London Metropolitan University in the UK (Institute of Policy Studies in Education (IPSE), the University of Patras in Greece (Department of Elementary Education/Divisions of Pedagogy & Educational Policy, the University of Toulon in France (UFR Lettres et Sciences Humaines), the University of Iceland (Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Education), and the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn in Poland (Faculty of Arts and Educational Sciences)

4. http://annagjul.vortex.is/demo/index.htm; http://casnav.scola.ac-paris.fr/; http://www.educnet.education.fr/nenuphar/nenuphar.htm; http://www.multiverse.ac.uk; http://www.hants.gov.uk/education/ema/.

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