

LANGUAGES FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

Editors: Michael Byram, *University of Durham, UK*

Alison Phipps, *University of Glasgow, UK*

The overall aim of this series is to publish books which will ultimately inform learning and teaching, but whose primary focus is on the analysis of intercultural relationships, whether in textual form or in people's experience. There will also be books which deal directly with pedagogy, with the relationships between language learning and cultural learning, between processes inside the classroom and beyond. They will all have in common a concern with the relationship between language and culture, and the development of intercultural communicative competence.

Other Books in the Series

Developing Intercultural Competence in Practice

Michael Byram, Adam Nichols and David Stevens (eds)

Intercultural Experience and Education

Geof Alred, Michael Byram and Mike Fleming (eds)

Critical Citizens for an Intercultural World: Foreign Language Education as Cultural Politics

Manuela Guilherme

How Different Are We? Spoken Discourse in Intercultural Communication

Helen Fitzgerald

Audible Difference: ESL and Social Identity in Schools

Jennifer Miller

Context and Culture in Language Teaching and Learning

Michael Byram and Peter Grundy (eds)

An Intercultural Approach to English language Teaching

John Corbett

Critical Pedagogy: Political Approaches to Language and Intercultural Communication

Alison Phipps and Manuela Guilherme (eds)

Vernacular Palaver: Imaginations of the Local and Non-native Languages in West Africa

Moradewun Adejunmobi

Foreign Language Teachers and Intercultural Competence: An International Investigation

Lies Sercu with Ewa Bandura, Paloma Castro, Leah Davcheva, Chryssa Laskaridou, Ulla

Lundgren, María del Carmen Méndez García and Phyllis Ryan

Language and Culture: Global Flows and Local Complexity

Karen Risager

Living and Studying Abroad: Research and Practice

Michael Byram and Anwei Feng (eds)

Other Books of Interest

Age, Accent and Experience in Second Language Acquisition

Alene Moyer

Language Teachers, Politics and Cultures

Michael Byram and Karen Risager

For more details of these or any other of our publications, please contact:

Multilingual Matters, Frankfurt Lodge, Clevedon Hall,

Victoria Road, Clevedon, BS21 7HH, England

<http://www.multilingual-matters.com>

LANGUAGES FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION 13

Series Editors: Michael Byram and Alison Phipps

Education for Intercultural Citizenship Concepts and Comparisons

Edited by

Geof Alred, Mike Byram and
Mike Fleming

MULTILINGUAL MATTERS LTD

Clevedon • Buffalo • Toronto

2. The transfer of education competences took place in 1981 in the Basque Country and Catalonia, in 1982 in Galicia, in 1983 in Andalusia, the Canaries and Valencia, in 1990 in Navarra, in 1998 in the Balearic Islands, in 1999 in Aragón, Cantabria, Madrid, Murcia and La Rioja, and, finally, in 2000 in Asturias, Castilla-León, Castilla La Mancha and Extremadura.
3. The education laws promulgated from the 1970s are:
 - Ley 14/1970, de 4 de agosto, General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa – General Law for Education and Funding of Education Reform (MEC, 1970).
 - Ley 8/1985, de 3 de julio, Reguladora del Derecho a la Educación (Law for the Right to Education) (MEC, 1985).
 - Ley 1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (Law for the Regulation of the Spanish Educational System) (MEC, 1990).
 - Ley Orgánica 10/2002, de 23 de diciembre, de Calidad de la Educación (Law for the Quality of Education) (MEC, 2002).
4. All the laws in this chapter are my translation from the original source.

Chapter 11

The Intercultural Dimension of Citizenship Education in Portugal

MANUELA GUILHERME, JOSÉ MANUEL PUREZA,
RITA PAULOS da SILVA and HÉLIA SANTOS

Introduction¹

The challenge of intercultural education within the general framework of education for democratic citizenship has been met quite differently according to the specific trajectories of states and their position within the world system.

Portugal can be located at an intermediary level of development and has for centuries been playing a role of mediation between core and peripheral countries. This means that, despite all the structural similarities with other European Union countries, both its current identity and status and the historical path to them reveal its distance from the core of the system.

Against this background, the move from a colonial dictatorship to a European democracy must be read carefully. Having been traditionally a country of emigration, Portugal has acquired, since the 1980s, a new condition of being a country of immigration, namely from former African colonies and, more recently, from Eastern Europe. Intercultural dialogue has therefore been a crucial trait of Portuguese culture for many years, but it has been assumed explicitly as a public policy only when the integration of 'different' communities (the 'peripheral danger') has been felt as a security-oriented priority (the 'core syndrome'). Two other elements must be added to this picture of the Portuguese approach to the intercultural dimension of education for democratic citizenship. On the one hand, it should be underlined that the awakening of Portuguese society as a whole to the demands of modern citizenship (and its presence at the heart of the education system) has occurred together with the dramatic intensification of transnational relations. From this point of view, the competition between traditional local identities and new experiences of citizenship (such as those coming from transnational

social networks or from individual identity focuses – sex orientation, gender, race, and so on) has influenced both the difficulties and the progress of the assumption of education for citizenship as a public policy. On the other hand, all these dynamics take place against a social reality of a general lack of welfare mechanisms, and this means that socio-economic asymmetries and value differences tend to be seen as intimately related, and this creates stereotypes that influence the concrete policies in this area.

Intercultural Citizenship in Portugal in Postrevolutionary Times

In prerevolutionary times (before 25 April 1974), during what is generally called the *Estado Novo*, which lasted for 48 years (1926–1974), all of them under the rule of Salazar except for the last five, the Portuguese school system was restrictive and elitist. Compulsory education during *Estado Novo* varied between three to four years, expanded to six years in 1963 and to eight years in its last Education Reform, in 1973, just before the so-called *Carnation Revolution* in the following spring. Besides being short in its mandatory years, education in general was also limited in scope, both in terms of demography and social class. Rural areas, lower-income and illiterate social classes had very restricted access to schooling, especially that beyond mandatory education. The school population in the public system therefore became increasingly homogeneous in terms of social class the higher up the education ladder one went, in addition to displaying racial and ethnic homogeneity throughout. In ideological terms, the school curriculum was also monolithic, based on single religious, political and ethnic perspectives, such as Catholicism, conservatism (just a step below other fascisms in Europe) and nationalism. Besides political repression and economic standstill, intellectual obscurantism was a prevalent tool supporting the regime.

Another aspect of social-class segregation in the Portuguese educational system was the implementation of vocational education, which started in the late 19th century in Lisbon and expanded in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of the Marshall Plan, from which Portugal partially benefited due to its neutral status during WWII, and, in consequence, the intervention of the OEEC (later the OECD), at the request of Ministers of Education under pressure of political demands for economic development (Teodoro, 2001). However, if, on the one hand, vocational education represented a possibility of climbing the professional ladder for working-

class children, on the other hand, it kept them socially segregated. Vocational education was at the time mainly focussed on the preparation of a better skilled workforce.

The long years of dictatorship and, just after the revolution, some anarchy and the attempt of a communist takeover have made the Portuguese people value an education for critical and democratic citizenship and, therefore, reference to this has remained prominent in official documents ever since 1974, despite some flaws in putting such recommendations into practice. Moreover, the transitional times just after the 1974 revolution, although somewhat anarchic, enabled creative and participatory democratic practices that still inspire political ideals and educational policies in Portugal. Furthermore, despite 'the absence of a strong, organized civil society, of social movements and citizen organizations and associations; [...] a discrepancy between the formal definition of citizens' rights and the actual access of these rights', there have been some 'movements and forms of collective action that have given rise to a number of experiences of articulating different kinds of struggles' (Santos & Nunes, 2004: 11–12) that have inspired and stimulated noticeable examples of participatory democracy in education.

Shortly after the Revolution, Portugal regained its membership of UNESCO, which had been lost due to conflict over colonial wars in Africa, and UNESCO experts came to Portugal in order to help plan educational reform. However, their Report, issued in September 1975, went unnoticed due to political upheaval and constant change of leadership at the Ministry of Education. In the 1980s, preparation for joining the European Union and deep concern with economic recovery and transformation brought back the World Bank and consequently the support of OECD expertise in educational matters. From then on, matters of democratic citizenship have had to compete with matters of professional training in the reorganisation of the Portuguese educational system and national curricula up to today. The above-mentioned transnational organisations (the World Bank, the OECD and the European Union) have, in Teodoro's view (2001), all been more concerned with political regulation and policy-making than with social emancipation. In making this point, Teodoro refers to Santos' distinction between social regulation and social emancipation. According to Santos, a state, which is mainly concerned with social regulation, is self-centred in that it does not notice colonial (de)regulation, either outside or inside itself, and it is geared towards capitalistic progress and a civilising mission. On the other hand, a state more concerned with social emancipation is more focussed on the growing awareness of its citizenry

and on their capability to have and make choices (Santos, 2004). The paradigm of modernity has been based on both pillars, that of social regulation and that of social emancipation, and its fulfilment would entail the harmonisation of both, but, 'such an overreaching aim carries in itself the seeds of frustration: unfulfilled promises and irredeemable deficits' as:

each pillar consists of independent and functionally differentiated principles, each of which tends to develop a maximalist vocation, be it, on the side of regulation, the maximization of the state, the maximization of the market, or the maximization of the community; or on the side of emancipation, aestheticization, scientificization, or juridification of the social praxis. (Santos, 1995: 2)

During the transitional period, just after April 1974, Portuguese society, and the educational context in particular, experienced an even tug of war between both forces, but gradually political and economic developments have forced stronger demands for regulation upon recent democracy. Such heavy regulation has, nevertheless, been somewhat disregarded by the population, as such an overwhelming production of legislation has caused a gap between 'advanced legislation and conservative social practices' (Santos & Nunes, 2004: 11). Intercultural and citizenship education in Portugal show this gap in that advanced legislation has provided much room for individual and collective initiative, whereas school organisation and curricula are tightly regulated, although not frequently or rigorously evaluated. This has prevented most teachers and students from daring, and supported those who do not dare, to explore these concepts. Noteworthy practices do exist but they are often made invisible while conventional routines are unquestionably predominant. Moreover, citizenship education in the Portuguese state school system, as elsewhere, has vacillated between some of the options identified by Bottery, such as educate the youth for employability, prepare workers that will contribute to fit the national workforce into the global market, educate national citizens, construct a common bond between social members or 'motivate and engage all of its citizens in the grand societal project of not only creating a more equitable and harmonious society but a more equitable and harmonious world as well' (Bottery, 2003: 116).

While between 1975 and 1985 the Portuguese state school system was the object of several official studies and the subject of innumerable creative practices at the grassroots level, the Comprehensive Law of the Education System (issued in 1986), initiated a long succession of reforms,

legal acts and new national syllabi that were implemented and reviewed in the following two decades. The above-mentioned law ensures the democratisation of the Portuguese education system by providing different statements, such as the right of 'access to education by all Portuguese children',² and tools, such as the democratic election of all members of school boards. Notwithstanding the democratic aims of this law, it was still very Eurocentric and nationality-based, as it placed European integration and national identity at its centre, despite acknowledging 'the increasing interdependence and solidarity amongst all peoples in the world'. The regulatory legislation and documents for basic and secondary education following, in the late 1980s, the above-mentioned law, introduced one subject (Social and Personal Development) and one curricular area ('School Area'). From a regulatory point of view, these were important steps, although they did not work in the practical field. The first was mandatory for all those that were not taking an optional subject, Moral and Religious Education (Catholic or other), depending on whether the school could provide for it or not. Teachers of this subject, on a voluntary basis, could come from any academic background as long as they attended a specific short training course. Such a framework ended up in the provision of this subject in only very few schools and it happened likewise for School Area for similar reasons as it was considered a (more informal) curricular area but subject to the possibility (and will) of the school and teachers to provide for it. Similarly, for both, there were some informal and very successful experiences in some schools but they gradually died out due to other curricular pressures. School Area was put forward as an interdisciplinary curricular area that was meant to last 95–110 hours altogether and aimed to develop annual projects by each class or by the school community in order to link the school to its surrounding community (Figueiredo & Silva, 2000).

School Area and extracurricular activities played a central role in this reform as far as government documents were concerned. The fact that, one year later (in 1990), one more piece of legislation was issued by the Ministry of Education to regulate extracurricular activities, proves how central this was considered to be in this reform. However, again, they were not mandatory and depended on the initiative of schools, teachers and students, who were, at the same time, more and more pressed by curricular and bureaucratic demands. 'Special Projects' has now replaced the School Area in a different format, as it is formally inserted in the curriculum, whilst keeping its interdisciplinary approach.

Before 1974, upper secondary students were obliged to take a two-year subject called 'The Nation's Political and Administrative Organisation' and 'Catholic Religion and Morals' which was a mandatory subject for all students above primary education and it was also integrated in the primary-education curriculum. Salazar's motto 'God, Motherland and Family' extended throughout school life. After 1974, the school ethos changed radically. The subject 'The Nation's Political and Administrative Organisation' was replaced by another subject, ideologically different, called 'Introduction to Politics'. Younger students, from the seventh to the ninth form would, instead, take a new subject called 'Civic and Polytechnic Education', an interdisciplinary topic that was meant to be very practical in nature and to link the school with its community and the world of work (Figueiredo & Silva, 2000). Both disappeared from the curriculum when the new reforms started being implemented in the late 1980s. Extracurricular activities, like the so-called 'Cultural School', were given great emphasis by documents, although seldom implemented, and this gave way later to the 'School Area' mentioned above. A twelfth form was introduced, also in 1974, to precede higher education, at university or polytechnic levels, called the Student Civic Service, which was totally practical and was to be carried out in the community. This formula was given up in the 1980s and gave way to a regular twelfth year that would be introduced as the third and last year of a block that preceded higher education and is expected to be highly demanding in academic terms.

The early 1990s can be considered as the main turning point for intercultural education in Portugal. Not only foreign language education syllabi, national in scope, started approaching identity and citizenship issues and introducing related topics but also important legislation (1991) was issued by the Ministry of Education, and ratified by Parliament, creating a Board for Multicultural Education (*Entreculturas* was already its logo then, only ratified in 2001). These developments resulted, on the one hand, from the recent integration into the European Union and, on the other hand, from the acknowledgement of the decolonisation process that brought Portuguese citizens that were racially different from Asia and Africa back to Portugal or were immigrants fleeing from war in their newly independent states. Furthermore, other immigrants from Eastern Europe and also from other countries in the European Union, especially Spain, settled in Portugal, through increasing economic exchange, as a result of Portugal joining the European Union. This new development aimed to contribute to a respect for difference in the educational context by supporting projects in schools where minority students could be found. The new development also stimulated academic research support

and the inclusion of multicultural-education-related issues in initial and in-service training provided by universities. Additionally, Portugal tried to include multicultural education in other programmes that were being implemented by other departments in the Ministry of Education. Although their influence was very intense and successful in some schools and with some teachers and projects, these initiatives were generally restricted to the Lisbon area, where most minority communities are to be found.

In the same year, 1991, another piece of legislation was issued, which regulated the school exchange and twinning programmes that were completely aimed at an integrated Europe. In 1993, the Council of Ministers issued a Resolution to support immigrants and ethnic minorities of Portuguese society in various fields, including education, employment, professional training and social security. As far as education is concerned, this Resolution gave rise to another piece of legislation to introduce the Intercultural Education Project. This was supposed to be developed nationwide and aimed to influence not only school life but also teacher-development programmes. This project started by focussing on 30 schools in socially disadvantaged urban and suburban areas for a period of two years (1993–1995), after which the second phase of the project was launched for another two years (1995–1997) with 52 schools; while the final goal was to expand it nationwide. Constant change of leadership at the Ministry of Education, new legislation and structural changes from 1997 onwards have made the continuation of education policies in Portugal difficult and therefore the Intercultural Project has also gradually waned. In 2001, another piece of legislation confirmed the creation of *Secretariado Entreculturas* and revoked the 1991 law. The Board of Multicultural Education (*Entreculturas*) has, in the meantime, moved out of the Ministry of Education into the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME), which reports directly to the Prime Minister's Office. They are now more broadly involved in the integration of the ethnic minorities and in the production of materials aimed at teachers and students.

In 1997, legislation regulating preschool education had explicitly recognised the school as a site of citizenship. It advocated respect towards different cultures and demanded that teachers appreciate their pupils' identity and culture, and suggested that they interact with their families with respect to their family environment and use differentiated pedagogies, when necessary, for the success of the children at school. In 2001, the Ministry of Education introduced a new reform for basic education whose main goal is explicitly stated as 'education for all' and

where 'particular attention to situations of exclusion' is specifically recommended. New subjects were also introduced, including 'Civic Education', to prepare responsible, active and critical citizens. Citizenship is the first of five topics to be covered by its syllabus, which encompasses the study of individual rights and guarantees (personal, political, social, economic and cultural), the nation's political and administrative organisation (President of Republic, Parliament, Government, courts and so on), international institutions (European Union and United Nations), citizens' duties (caring about social exclusion, different sorts of discrimination, etc.) and, finally, school democratic management. Portuguese as a second language is also required for students with another 'mother tongue' besides a second foreign language. However, foreign languages to be taught are generally English, German or French, with the possibility of taking Spanish, although this seldom happens mostly because the schools do not provide for it. This is because they have teachers of French and German ready to teach students, though English is clearly dominant. Since 2005 the teaching of English has been compulsory in primary schools. In 2004, a bill for a new Comprehensive Law of Education was introduced to Parliament and passed but it was vetoed by the President of the Republic, because it had not had the support of the opposition parties. This proposal reiterated the centrality of European and national identities but went a step further to acknowledge 'the Other' – 'their character, ideas and life projects'.

The impact of the Education for Democratic Citizenship Project (EDC) developed under the auspices of the Council of Europe between 1997 and 2000 was also impressive in the Lisbon area. The Ministry of Education created a Steering Committee, representing several branches from the Ministry, and the Board of Multicultural Education (*Entreculturas*), to supervise this project. In the Introduction of their Final Report one can read that:

The site of Portuguese citizenship is located in the Lisbon region and involves suburban regions such as Loures, Amadora, Almada, Seixal and Barreiro. This geographic area bears evidence of the striking historical changes that have taken place in Portuguese society: formerly a country marked by a strong flow of emigration, today Portugal is facing growing immigration, with waves of immigrants coming mainly from the former African colonies. (Ministério da Educação, 2001a: 126)

The flows of immigration have since then changed and include Brazilian immigrants as well as Eastern Europeans, especially Ukrai-

nians. These immigrants are not only competing in numbers with those coming from former Portuguese African colonies but also settling as communities throughout the country. However, Eastern European immigrants do not always bring their children with them, while Africans, and Brazilians, to a certain extent, do, and therefore these are more visible in the school context.

The EDC Project incorporated the dynamics of change in schools during the 1990s and was valuable not only in raising questions about the curricular and noncurricular dimension of citizenship education but also in stimulating projects in schools with specific ethnic characteristics. Besides working with schools, the project also dealt with city councils and associations representing, in one way or another, minority populations. The Steering Committee's mission was to articulate all activities undertaken by the various participants and eventually to write a final report. This was, according to Mendes (one of the participants), a 'bottom-up' undertaking as the schools, teachers and students volunteered to participate and set up projects originating in their own contexts (Mendes, 2004).

The EDC Project fitted well into the general project of education for democratic citizenship in the school curricula in Portugal as this is a transverse transdisciplinary area that is considered as the basis for the rest of the curriculum. The teachers are free to analyse the syllabi and decide upon which contents and methodologies they should work at each time and with each class. The teachers can work with each other across different classes with the same subject (Subject Group) or across different subjects with the same class (Class Board) or they can work independently with one subject, one level and one class. This autonomy has generated enormous creativity and initiative in some schools and by some teachers but, on the other hand, it has also allowed a great deal of avoidance of critical issues. The School Boards and heads of department have played an important role in stimulating the development of Citizenship Education transdisciplinary projects (Ministério da Educação 2001b).

The Evolution of Concepts in Citizenship Education within the Portuguese Context

In order to understand the conceptual contents and the social and political meanings of Portuguese documents that deal with democracy, citizenship, multiculturalism and interculturalism, one must know the historical background that has provided the basis for such a mindset.

Not only does the historical construction of the nation-state affect the character, the conceptualisation and the practice of citizenship, as is evident both in Europe (Preuss *et al.*, 2003) and worldwide, but also the nature of the multicultural state that each nation has been building is significant. They reflect the model of citizenship that is adopted both by the state and by its national citizens. In Kymlicka's (2003: 147–148) words:

Different models of citizenship rest upon different images of the nature of the state, and/or on different images of the nature of the individuals who belong to it. One way to explore the idea of 'multicultural' or 'intercultural' citizenship, therefore, is to try to identify its underlying images of the state and of the individual. [...] Ideally, these two levels should work together in any conception of citizenship: there should be a 'fit' between our model of the multicultural state and our model of the intercultural citizen. The sort of multicultural reforms we seek at the level of the state should help nurture and reinforce the desired forms of intercultural skills and knowledge at the level of individual citizens. Conversely, the intercultural dispositions we encourage within individual citizens should help support and reinforce the institutions of a multicultural state.

Kymlicka's division between the 'multicultural state' and the 'intercultural citizen' is most helpful, as the concepts 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' are often used indiscriminately. However, neither the 'multicultural state' nor the 'intercultural citizen' are entities that are developing harmoniously, homogeneously or gradually in a linear process. They do not always coincide synchronically or diachronically, coherently or consistently. Portugal is one of the oldest, most homogeneous and isolated nation-states in Europe that has developed since the 13th century, but one that is rapidly developing into a multicultural nation-state. The Portuguese exemplify intercultural citizens in Europe, despite their peripheral geographical position in Europe and their strong isolationism from Europe in the first half of the 20th century. Its people have many multicultural origins (Celtic, Roman, Northern European, Jewish, Moorish, and so on), but also have a tradition of travelling to many continents and establishing settlements worldwide over the centuries.

Portugal is situated in the South-western corner of Europe facing Spain to the east and the Atlantic to the west. According to historians and poets, this Janus-like geographical position determined the paradoxical

features that characterise Portuguese identity(ies). Portugal was one of the first European nations to have its borders stabilised, since its political independence from Spain was established early in the 13th century. However, its national identity is itself not easy to identify, except as a 'border identity', in that it has always shown a predisposition to engage with a range of different possibilities stimulated by the open ocean to its west (Santos, 1994: 134).

As a result of their journeys, the Portuguese were the first to develop the notion of a global world (Modelski, 1987). Because their country was small, far from the centre of Europe and closed in by Spain, its adventurous people crossed the Atlantic in search of the unknown, discovering rather than conquering. Their particular way of colonising, which Maxwell describes by saying that 'the Portuguese were not conquistadors, like the Spaniards who followed them, but manoeuvrers' (Maxwell, 1995: 8), meant that Portugal was the last European power to withdraw from its colonies. This was due, to some extent, to the fact that it had 'disguised the nature of her presence behind a skilful amalgam of historical mythmaking, claims of multiracialism, and good public relations' (Maxwell, 1995: 19). In addition, the Portuguese were often immigrants rather than colonisers in their own colonies (Santos, 2001).

Portugal has been a semi-peripheral country that is far from the centre in Europe and not even central to its own colonies, not only because of its geographical position but also because Portugal has also been colonised informally, both at home and overseas. Santos plays with the relationship between Prospero and Caliban, characters in Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, by saying that Portugal represents both Prospero, the coloniser, and Caliban, the colonised (Santos, 2001). Portugal was (and still is) represented by her informal colonisers, from Northern Europe, especially England. In the same way she represented (still represents?) those that she colonised. In the USA, Portuguese immigrants have always been ethnically identified with African and Native Americans and, more recently, with Latin Americans. Their European origin is seldom recognised in ethnic terms, even in the Harvard *Encyclopaedia of American Ethnic Groups*. The Portuguese have themselves absorbed a self-image of a 'calibanised Prospero' (Santos, 2001: 62).

Santos defines Iberian colonialism and postcolonialism as different from those of Anglo origin (Santos, 2004). As Santos points out, Portugal's subordination to other powers did not mean a colonial deficit in relation to her colonies. On the contrary, it represented an excess as they were directly colonised by Portugal and indirectly by other powers, mainly Britain. Santos has focused many of his research projects on

Mozambique, where this was (still is) particularly evident.³ Due to her ambivalent position as both Prospero and Caliban, Portugal's colonial and postcolonial discourse has always been in the interstices between dominance and hybridisation, distance and contact. In contrast, British colonialism was constant and linear, as recognised by Santos, as their discourse was often considered to be one-sided, from a perspective of superiority, dominance, mightiness and inaccessibility, as Edward Said expounded. Portuguese and English colonialisms and postcolonialisms were/are dissimilar.

As Santos points out, although political colonialism is over, social colonialism is not, the latter being evident both in Portuguese society and in the ex-colonies, and, in the case of Portugal, both in her relation to the South (superiority) and to the North (inferiority), that is, Portugal is, at the same time, 'the north of the south and the south of the north' (Santos, 2004: 31–32). Portuguese colonialism was characterised by miscegenation and 'kaffirisation' and was more focused on commerce than on settlement (Santos, 2001). These features influenced the nature of her postcolonialist era, which oscillates between her own superiority and her inferiority, while perceiving the Other as both familiar and strange: Portugal is both inside and outside herself for she welcomes African, Latin American and Asian immigrants to Europe, because she is an integral part of Europe, and, at the same time, she introduces them to Europe, because she feels they are part of her colonial history and the essence of being Portuguese.

These colonial relationships are particularly recognisable and multicultural/intercultural education cannot avoid this element of Portuguese society. According to Santos, this relation entails the difference between 'regulatory knowledge', which understands ignorance as chaos, knowledge as order, and 'emancipatory knowledge', which conceives ignorance as colonialism and knowledge as solidarity (Santos, 2004: 16, our translation). The predominance of 'regulatory knowledge' over 'emancipatory knowledge' persists in the Portuguese educational system. This is due to the implementation of advanced legislation, with an updated discourse in terms of multiculturalism/interculturalism, by policy makers, school managers and teachers. This discourse is reflected in the mindsets of students who may only have partial understanding of the issues. The validation of different knowledge has been lagging behind as far as the understanding and appreciation of difference are concerned. Understanding and assessing the contents of Others' 'Knowledges' according to our own patterns and criteria, instead of 'understand[ing] and appreciate[ing] the fact that they *have* deeply-held views

that differ from ours' (Kymlicka, 2003: 164), has still been widely prevalent in the Portuguese educational system. As we move on to reveal and highlight some of the contents of documents in force, it is also important to remain aware that there is still a gap between the ideal and the reality as well as between exceptional practices and common practices (Leite, 2002).

The use of terms such as, and related to, democracy, citizenship, multicultural, intercultural, diversity, difference and integration are naturally abundant in the post-1974 documents that focus on education, citizenship education and multicultural/intercultural education while, also naturally, absent in previous documents ruling education in Portugal. Furthermore, the use of such terms has evolved according to the development of ideology in the Portuguese education system. Based on different types of discourse about education, Correia (1999) describes the post-1974 educational ideologies in Portugal by distinguishing four phases: (a) the critical and democratising phase; (b) the democratic phase; (c) the modernisation phase; and (d) the inclusion phase. The critical and democratising discourse, which erupted with the 25 April revolution, was highly politicised and focused on local education policies, but it was more concerned with democracy and freedom than with ethnic diversity, which was almost nonexistent at the time. This discourse was intense, new and engaging. It introduced radical changes in school life like the relevance given to extracurricular activities, democratic management of schools and ideological debate about school contents. The democratic phase coincides with the late 1970s and early 1980s when changes started to be legislated, democratic stability and participation were to be the rule, spontaneity and individualism to be coordinated, collective action to be organised and prioritised. The modernisation phase started with the preparation for Portugal to join the European Union and it was justified by economic pressures and high unemployment rates amongst young people. It was translated into the reintroduction of vocational education, which had been almost totally dismantled after 1974 with the abolition of the division between *liceus* (grammar schools) and technical schools, which had been transformed into the first type of more academic schools intending to prepare all students for university. It also entailed the introduction of science and technology into the regular curriculum, the enhancement of student autonomy and the linking of schools (through their curricula) to the world of work. The modernisation discourse did not imply a rupture with the previous discourses, the democratising or the democratic, in that it stood for equality of opportunities and individual fulfilment.

Finally, the inclusion phase, from the 1990s until today, has been dominated by a concern with the failures of the educational system, both drop-outs and those that remained for many years at the same level. There were several measures taken over the years, programmes undertaken, boards created and methodologies introduced, such as alternative and flexible curricula, project work, the Board for Multicultural Education, transversal, inter- and transdisciplinary areas introduced in the curriculum that tried to prevent students from failing, in particular those of different ethnic and/or racial backgrounds as the schools' populations were visibly changing, especially in the suburban areas of the capital. Teacher-development programmes were also increased and regulated at this time while teacher training centres located in schools grew. Citizenship and intercultural education was one of the priorities, besides technology and subject methodology (Portuguese, mathematics and science). For several theorists, Correia included, this attempt at inclusion has been more apparent than real, which is proved by results, as the assessment criteria have remained the same, the curricula have in reality expanded as they have overflowed the borders of the school, by including the media, politics and the work place. Furthermore, schools and teachers are blamed and made responsible for lack of success at all levels while the ethics of difference neglects social inequality (Correia, 1999).

The phases described above determine, in our view, the choice of terms and the ideals pervading official documents perceptibly and consecutively. 'National identity', for example, is a *leitmotif* in all documents (1989, 1990, 1991, 2001, 2002). In 1986, the above-mentioned Comprehensive Law refers to 'loyalty to the historical Portuguese matrix' and the 'awareness of the cultural heritage of the Portuguese people' (Article 3). With regard to the rights and duties of students in non-higher education, it is recommended that they:

develop national values and a culture of citizenship, able to promote the values of a human person, of democracy, of responsibility, of individual freedom and of national identity. The student has the right and duty to know and respect actively the values and fundamental principles laid down in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, the Flag and the Anthem as national symbols, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention of the Rights of the Child, as a matrix of values and statement of principles of humanity. (Law 30/2002, Chapter 3, Article 12)

As can be seen from this, national identity is framed by universal documents. It is also routinely anchored in the notion of European integration, for example, 'the preservation of the values of national identity in the context of European integration' (Dispatch 142/ME/90, Article 2, h). In these legislative documents on aspects of education, European 'identity' is seldom mentioned, as the word used is 'integration'. Moreover, European integration is here described as a demand for economic advancement, that is, an attempt to build up 'a new society that is able to face the challenges of modernisation resulting from the Portuguese integration in the European Community' (Law Decree 286/89), which reminds us of Habermas' question as to 'whether there can ever be such a thing as European citizenship' meaning 'the consciousness of an obligation toward the European common weal' (Habermas, 1994: 29). However, the recurrent allusion to national identity and European integration does not prevent mentioning a 'growing interdependence and necessary solidarity among all peoples of the World' (1986 Comprehensive Law, Article 3).

Multiculturalism is also a concept used in the above-mentioned legislation regulating the creation of the Board for Multicultural Education and in launching the Intercultural Education Project, which mainly deals with minority and immigrant/emigrant populations in Portugal (Gypsy, East Timorese, Cape Verdean) or abroad (in the case of Portuguese citizens). Multicultural is here used as a general term, as a 'floating signifier', in Bhabha's words, 'whose enigma lies less in itself than in the discursive uses of it to mark social processes where differentiation and condensation seem to happen almost synchronically' (Bhabha, 1998: 31). Most of the legislation mentioned above (1991, 1993, 1997), namely that dealing with the Board for Multicultural Education, the Intercultural Education Project, Measures to Support Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities by the Council of Ministers and Monitored Study, also uses the terms 'intercultural' and 'interculturality'. The first is used in connection with 'education', 'relationship' and 'dialogue'. 'Intercultural' is however also put to vague contextual use in the legislation: for example, 'problematic intercultural relations that have been arising in modern societies and even in European nations' (D 63/91, our emphasis), 'provide an intercultural relationship and favour consciousness of the European space and reinforce the values of democracy' (D 28/ME/91) and 'the Intercultural Education Project, with the following aim: [...] c) to favour the integration of youth coming from minority ethnic groups in schools and in the community, with the aim of promoting an effective equality of opportunities' (Res. Council of Ministers 38/93, 3). These

quotations give us some hints about implicit meanings. Nevertheless, theoretical studies that have expanded recently and focused on the meaning of such words as multi- and intercultural, should help us complete our conceptualisation and understanding of these terms. Particularly on the term 'intercultural', we recommend the distinction between 'intercultural experience' and 'being intercultural' as described by Alred *et al.* (2003: 3–4), the last stage involving some awareness of the intercultural experience proper.

The Intercultural Dimension in Curriculum Guidelines and National Syllabi

Both the legislation mentioned above and others provide the framework for the curriculum guidelines and national syllabi for both basic and secondary education. These attempt to specify the principles recommended by legal acts and to give more precise orientation to the teachers. The document that provides basic education with the 'Guiding Principles for Pedagogical Action' for the First Cycle (four years of primary education) includes explicitly amongst its aims 'a vision of thought that is gradually more flexible and unifying coming out of the diversity of cultures and points of view' as well as 'cultural exchange', 'the creation of habits of mutual help' and 'solidarity'. Although the latter do not entail cross-cultural interaction, the first aims establish such a scenario. With regard to the subjects Musical Expression and Education, and Plastic Arts and Education, still within primary education, it is recommended there should be contact with local and regional arts, but cultural diversity is not mentioned in this context. As far as the Study of the Environment is concerned, primary-school pupils are expected to value their identity and roots but also to develop respect for other people and cultures, to learn about minority cultures that possibly live in the neighbourhood, and reject any type of discrimination. In Portuguese lessons, primary students are supposed to engage in situations of dialogue, cooperation and confrontation of opinions, while in Moral and Religious Catholic Education they are invited to take personal positions *vis-à-vis* different religious faiths, and to commit to universal solidarity. In the meantime, Education for Citizenship is explicitly mentioned as a transversal area to all subjects and, therefore, the basis for all the curricular organisation.

Within the 'essential competences' defined for Portuguese throughout basic education over nine years is the following aim: 'to recognise a sense of belonging to a national and trans-national community of Portuguese

speakers and respect the different linguistic varieties of Portuguese and the languages spoken by linguistic minorities in the national territory' although it is also stated, in the same document that 'mother tongue is an important national and cultural identity factor'. With regard to Foreign Languages it is expected that pupils construct a 'plurilingual and pluricultural competence' and be aware of 'linguistic and cultural diversity' as well as establish and recognise affinities and differences between the culture of origin and the foreigner culture, and adopt an attitude of 'openness and tolerance' towards foreign languages and cultures. As far as Portuguese History and Geography is concerned, students are to be stimulated to feel curiosity about diverse territories and landscapes and to acknowledge the 'unequal distribution of resources among the world population' and to express 'solidarity with those who suffer from such resource scarcity'. Geography and History then split into two different subjects at the higher levels of basic education but intercultural issues remain central to them. As far as Geography is concerned, students' interest in other countries and populations and cultural diversity are explicit goals of its syllabus. With regard to History, respect and appreciation for other cultures and religions are specially noted. Artistic Education includes, amongst its aims, that of 'understanding other cultures and traditions' and of 'facilitating communication between different cultures' as well as Drama Expression and Theatre. In Music the students are expected to study 'songs and music pieces in foreign languages' and, therefore, to learn about 'international artistic musical heritage'.

Although legislation focusing on preschool and basic education is more explicit on citizenship and multicultural education, secondary education syllabi give more detail on these issues. Foreign languages national syllabi (English, German, French and Spanish) are rich in recommendations geared to education for citizenship, respect for difference, to cultural diversity, to develop competencies of intercultural communication, to question stereotypes. French and Spanish syllabi currently in force are more explicit with regard to citizenship education and human rights education. In the Spanish national syllabus for the 10th form one can read that 'transversal themes (Education for Citizenship and social and cultural aspects of countries where Spanish is spoken) should be present in all units of the programme', while the French national syllabus for the 10th, 11th and 12th forms includes amongst its aims 'to educate for citizenship' and 'to interpret aspects of French-speaking cultures in an intercultural perspective'. The English national syllabus for the 10th and the 11th forms aims to 'develop attitudes of

responsibility and social and personal intervention'. The History syllabus for secondary education aims at the 'reinforcement of the ethical dimension' while Classical Literature for the 12th form also aims to contribute to citizenship education by building 'a strong cultural identity that does not exclude'. The Design syllabus for the 10th form aims to help students 'overcome stereotypes and prejudices' while the Economy syllabus aims 'to promote attitudes of nondiscrimination that are favourable to the promotion of equal opportunities for all'. The latter aims explicitly to contribute to classes on 'the education of the citizen', and teaches pupils respect for Human Rights. The Geography syllabus, at the secondary level, mentions education for citizenship as a main goal and solidarity as an important value to be developed amongst students themselves and with others. In the History syllabus, one can read that students should eventually display some openness to the 'intercultural dimension' of present societies. Students are also expected to analyse international documents like the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the secondary school Philosophy curriculum there is a wide range of concepts to be studied like, racism, xenophobia, volunteer work, truth, dignity and the construction of citizenship itself.

Conclusion

The multicultural and intercultural aspects of education have not been neglected in Portuguese legislation and they have also been the object of some specific laws by the Ministry of Education, especially throughout the 1990s. From our point of view, these concepts, although understandably vague, have been carefully used and are theoretically sound. Legal documents, and other regulatory documents following them, reflect a sudden, long expected, democratic turn in Portuguese society as well its growing multicultural/intercultural although paradoxical nature. They also express the development of this young democracy and her facing up to new challenges, mainly her new alignment with Europe and with other Portuguese-speaking countries, most of which had been until very recently her colonies and at war with her. Although peaceful, the pressing maturation process of a young democracy in the European and global context required the some stages to be rapidly stepped over (Santos, 2004), and this not only caused some turbulence but also made it more difficult for policy-makers, educators and others to keep pace with all the required changes. A great emphasis on schools being sites of democracy and citizenship has been evident both in legal documents and

in real school life whereas the intercultural dimension seems to lag behind, not as far as legislation is concerned, but in most schools; despite some impressive examples of good practice being scattered all over the country, they are mostly concentrated in the suburban areas of the capital where most minority and immigrant communities are settled and more visible. Foreign-language/culture national syllabi for higher levels of basic education and for secondary education, issued in the early 1990s and redesigned in the early 2000s, have revealed particular emphasis on identity and citizenship matters, and multicultural and intercultural education. It is noticeable that interculturality and citizenship have been gradually strengthened throughout the last two decades and, with great evidence, in basic education. Although the documents mentioned above only comprise a small sample of the whole legislation, they are, we believe, illustrative of the approach taken to the intercultural dimension of citizenship in the Portuguese education system.

Notes

1. This chapter is based on work carried out under the Sixth Framework, Priority 7 Project INTERACT – Intercultural Active Citizenship Education.
2. All translations of legal documents are our own.
3. Mozambique was enclosed by British colonies and is now a member of both the Commonwealth and the CPLP (Confederation of Portuguese-speaking countries).