



RACISM AND INTERCULTURAL ISSUES IN URBAN EUROPE

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Statecraft, Governance and Interculturalism

The fact that the conference, at which this chapter was originally delivered, was being held in Ghent and Belgium, where dramatic changes in the socioeconomic and political environments have taken place, is particularly appropriate for the theme of racism in European cities. However, the challenge for Belgian cities in dealing with racism is an issue of wider international concern where racism, xenophobia and chauvinism are multiplying. At the preparatory seminar for the United Nations Durban Conference on Racism (September 2001), a range of societal sector issues were discussed (see Appendix I). This chapter will discuss the issue of governance, diversity and racism in European cities. One of the intercultural problems that currently impinges on the urban European context is the rise of Islamophobia. Groups who are visibly different become vulnerable not just because of racism but because of their religion. In Britain Sikhs, who wear turbans and have beards, have been as vulnerable to violence as Muslims with beards and turbans.

Tackling racism and implementing interculturalism in European cities raises issues for the state in articulating policies at the national level to ensure that the multicultural nature of European societies and therefore of the cities is recognised. This involves a statecraft which ensures that all citizens, immigrants and refugees have legal protection from racism and also have rights and responsibilities in the polity. To avoid ethnic Armageddon in the cities it is necessary that the state at the central level ensures national resolution of racial conflict and inequity in all areas of public and social life.

National and European Union policies would then ensure that democratic solutions in complex societies are based on inclusive value systems and on shared and common understandings in the public domain. National policies to

bridge ethnic, religious, linguistic and racial cleavages would obviate the rise of extreme forms of xenophobia. It is partly the failure of statecraft that is responsible for the rise in xenophobia and racism because such phenomena are not natural to groups in society, and preventative policies are preferable to reactive strategies. The stress on *jus sanguinis* (based on blood) and *jus soli* (on soil) notions of citizenship in societies and the privileging of the ties of blood and soil undermine not only the civic concept of the national societies. They also exacerbate tensions in urban areas, particularly in the way in which urban territories become contestable spaces because nonbelongingness of certain groups is emphasised. Notions of public safety and policies to defend human rights and the plural social environments in societies are of fundamental importance to the civil state (*état de droit*) so that the school as an educational institution has a formative role in developing an inclusive ethos amongst all young people and ensuring that all children in European cities stand together as they grow together.

The transnationalisation of the economic process raises further questions of governance and regulatory processes to ensure that the polity retains enough control over its political economy to obviate inequality; breakdown of communities, high levels of unemployment and the development of a disaffected and disenfranchised underclass. Economic liberalisation and subsequent economic decline has increasingly taken away the safety net provided by the social policy provisions in society. As Castells states, the 'globalisation of power flows and the tribalisation of local communities' become increasingly juxtaposed (Castells 1989: 350). The doctrinal hegemony of the market has fragmented groups and increased tensions in mixed urban communities. Refugees and asylum seekers created by political and economic devastations are caught in 'Catch-22' situations both in countries of origin and in receiving countries. Neither provides a safe haven, yet paradoxically borders remain permeable and the issues are not purely those for cities but for the polities as a whole. In a climate of scarce resources, the refugees become the new victims of exclusion and violence at the lower strata of city life.

The basic issue of political representation and active participation in national and city politics is a prerequisite for ensuring that rights, responsibilities and civic values are indispensable and that all voices are heard. It also raises the question of how to devise integrative public policies. For instance, in order to provide access to social institutions should the underlying policy be based on social class or on the presumed 'racial' identity of excluded groups to avoid their being labelled as special beneficiaries? Hence, policies to bring about equity in education ought not to privilege one group against another. This is a difficult issue because in an urban sprawl, as opposed to the city, there are ghettos and *bidon-villes* which include single nationalities or marginalised immigrant groups.

This Third Worldisation of so-called First World cities has a yet darker version of neighbourhoods where poverty, uncertainty and displacement represent new forms of neighbourhoods. These urban slums, refugee camps, prisons and ghettos are also sites of wide-ranging sociocultural interactions,

and represents sites for futurist forms of conflicts and wars. These 'translocalities' in diasporic forms represents another issue of social diversity which remains largely underresearched. The governance of these communities may also necessitate new and different forms of EU cooperation.

The Kerner Report in the U.S.A. and the Scarman Report in Britain clearly shifted the analysis of urban unrest towards issues of disadvantage, which was exacerbated by cultural differences. Social policy planning and improved community relations are of great importance in avoiding the emergence of no-go areas and exclusive consciousness. The exclusions of groups from social and economic life would lead, as the Archbishop of Canterbury's Report *Faith in the City*, states to 'separate territories outside mainstream life'. As Peter Hall in *Cities of Tomorrow* (1998: 399) writes:

Here then is the final irony: in the mid 1980's the problem of the urban underclass was still as stubbornly rooted in the world's cities, and in the consciousness of its more sensitive citizens, as in the mid 1880's, when it provided the vital stimulus to the birth of modern city planning.

While the cities have on the one hand generated sophisticated knowledge, complex physical landscapes as well as sociotechnical and political innovations of great splendour, they also remain a 'site of squalid human failure' (D. Harvey 1990: 229). The impact of individualism and market-oriented government policies do not square with governments' policies of family virtues (Harvey *Ibid.*: 238).

The 'hidden hand of history' continues to play a role in the life of the city. The inability of schools to devise strategies and policies to combat xenophobia and racism can lead to grave uncertainty and to pupils 'Learning in Terror' (CRE Report 1988). At another level it raises issues of even more dangerous levels of conflict based on ethnicisation of youth gangs and the division of young people on religious and narrow nationalistic identities. This could then negate the educative purposes of school and the development of a critical consciousness and ethos, and may lead to a secular morality amongst the youth. School policies to combat xenophobia and racism may combat behaviours but not the imagination of children, and yet unless a school has effective policies and strategies to combat racism, teachers cannot do effective work with children's imagination.

Diversity and the City as an Entity

Professor Colin Holmes, in writing about London states that refugees and immigrants have been driven to this city for 'temporary or permanent shelter from the well founded fears of persecution, which haunted and pursued them in other countries' (Holmes 1990: viii). The onus of the multicultural nature of London is therefore left to those who came from 'other countries'. Yet, it is the movement from within the polity that fundamentally makes London a multicultural city, and not just those from other countries who have migrated

to it. This partly derives from how issues are defined and on the taxonomy of what constitutes elements of a multicultural city or society. If categories of language, religion, social class and nationality are part of this taxonomy, then London has been multicultural since medieval times when the French language was spoken, and traders from diverse backgrounds and Latin Christendom arrived here. Nationals of Scotland, Wales, Ireland and other parts of England brought diversities of various kinds, which contribute to London's multicultural character. Professor Holmes also stresses the notion of 'push' and 'pull' as the vehicle for migration across frontiers. Yet, urbanisation in London or other large European cities should not necessarily be seen as a consequence of 'push' and 'pull' factors, thus confusing migration with urbanisation. The assumption being made by him is that humanity is basically sedentary and society a static organism and that certain factors (economic, persecution etc.) 'push' people into migrating; and that they are 'pulled' into migrating, to certain places. However, people have continued to move and settle (as a universal and human phenomenon) from time immemorial for hunting, gathering, economic, political, travel, spiritual, pilgrimage, slavery, climatic and other reasons. Hence, the development of many other cities as diverse entities is itself part of this larger process of the human dynamic of movement and settlement. In terms of dealing with the ways in which the 'othering' of groups takes place, this raises important questions for how the social sciences should analyse the notions of belongingness, movement and of exclusion of a group in a locality.

The issue at the level of cities is about the belongingness of all groups in European cities. This presents problems because certain dominant nationalities see these cities as being 'theirs' which are encroached upon by 'others' who are aliens and not regarded as belonging. There are obviously specificities of different localities, communities, families and groups, which provide a different colour, texture and hue to different parts of many European cities. There are also differences of local politics, economies and histories – as well as how these interact with national, European and global contexts – which constitute differences in urban areas. Hence, for instance, an urban school in one European country may have more in common with an urban school in another country than schools in smaller towns or rural areas in the country in which it is located. In some cases a cross-national and European Union initiative is required to tackle common issues in large cities.

Urban Communities and Identities

One of the issues in analysing racism is that the minority groups are ascribed essentialist and ethnicised identities – although the realities of these presences are more complex. This sharing of spaces by the dominant and the subordinate, the coloniser and the colonised, the rich and poor, comes together in a city in a way which makes the city what it is and contributes to how it functions, as well as distinctions in all its aspects, and in its production. This production includes: political, economic, literary and cultural as well as media output. The

'other' is no longer out there but here, and there is an intersection of 'histories, memories and experiences' (Chambers 1994: 6).

One of the issues requiring analysis in relation to antiracist and intercultural agenda is the establishment of the basis of belongingness of diverse groups within an urban area or a polity. This ought to be based on a notion of inclusiveness of all groups. Hence, research in this field needs to be contextualised within a more intercultural framework, which has both historical and contemporary dimensions. In establishing such a context, the past and current exclusions would be put to rights. This therefore makes it possible to initiate a dialogue between the various groups of those who live in our cities. The past and present exclusivities, interaction and intersection of the histories, cultures and languages enables the construction of a more realistic understanding of cities, which may in turn inform us about constructing a less biased and a more meaningful future.

Communities that constitute populations in cities are not only situated within their localities but also have other identities, both at national and supranational levels. This lends an enormous range of heterogeneity to the city and its life. The complexity of all this activity defies a simplistic definition by either a dominant or a subaltern culture.

Yet, the sense of a mainstream imposed by the dominant group does not hold sway because the marginalised subaltern cultures no longer accept a subordinate status or triumphalist narratives. Hence, a reappraisal of both these narratives within European cities is necessary. This requires a re-understanding of the collated histories of what cities are, and which are seen to be more inclusive of 'other' histories, languages, knowledge and are not merely a dominant understanding of cities. One aspect of re-understanding cities is to examine the cultural production of the minority communities (in literature, films, dance, theatre, music, visual arts), when it becomes clear that such a presence cannot be stereotyped in a simplistic 'ethnic' basis. Yet, the ethnicisation of cultures as commodities mitigates against a genuine and syncretic development of such urbanised cultures.

The creation of stereotypes and caricatures is not halted by mass marketing of ethnicities, and the real lives of the various groups and communities are very distant from the world of fashionable ethnicity. The realities of the lives, struggles and the substantive concerns lose their meaning through this commodification. Those who are citizens face racial discrimination and devaluation of many aspects of their culture. Those who are refugees, asylum seekers or who do not have citizenship rights face even greater privations and are continually undermined by oppressive lives here, as well as, concerns about home, whether it is Somalia, a Kurdish village or Bosnia. There is also the loneliness of women, who are disadvantaged and powerless and of whom many have appallingly disadvantaged lives. Escape from political tyranny at home, does not improve the quality of life in many of the poor parts of European cities. A better and safe life remains a chimera.

Imagined Urban Ownerships

Such communities are trapped between the imagined pasts of home, and the alienation experienced as a result of the dominant European groups asserting notions of the 'imagined ownership' of 'their' cities in 'their nations', thus reinforcing the exclusion of already marginalised groups.

Many of the minority communities in European cities live as siege communities, whether it is women and young children who are harassed, or whether it is young men and women and the elderly who are beaten up and even murdered. These victims become symbols of retrieving what Phil Cohen (1991) has called their 'lost inheritances'.

Cities as such embody notions both of belongingness and of alienation. They have features both of a universalistic nature as well as particularisms and local differences. Yet, non-confederal localisms can become parochial, racist, insular, stagnant and authoritarian. There are thick and textured layers of political, social and economic contexts, which intersect with histories, cultures and languages. Cities therefore provide possibilities and prospects of an infinite nature, and yet can also be lonely and confining. The confederal nature of cities requires that integrative thinking and structures link individual groups and localities.

The differences between neighbourhoods and parts of the city mask the myriads of ways in which there are criss-crossings, which make the distinctions between localities quite bewildering. While for some this suggests immense possibilities, for others it presents a foreclosing of options. To some, like those who came from Barbados to London, Harkis to Amiens (*The Independent*, 16 November 1994) or Pied Noir to Marseilles, it was like coming home; to others it is an exile. For some new identities are formed, and syncretism is the order of the day; for others there is an activation of 'siege mentality' within siege communities. Such developments can reinforce patriarchies and allow fundamentalisms to take root.

Community Education

While identities of adults are already formed those of children are in the process of being formed. Hence, the issues of belongingness and of exclusion should be part of an educational process that enables students to transcend narrow definitions of identity.

Children are able to construct a broader understanding of life based on their own personal concerns and experiences. These understandings underpin what may emerge as multidimensional identities. Children grow up and develop different identities, as they begin to get involved in different types of collectivities, ranging from family, peer group, schoolwork and other socialising influences, including the media. Yet, unless parents and adults are also part of the educational process, racism and the narrow ethnicised identities are likely to be reinforced. This is true for both the dominant and the subordinate groups. Chauvinistic

parents and adults can undo the work of the school and unless schools have strong community links, negative spillovers can undermine their work.

In the journey from childhood to adulthood the symbols of what is important in early life change at a later period in life. The important issue to explore may be what the educational system can do in the early years of school and in higher education, to broaden the choice of identities to which young people have access.

Youth and Territory

Such questions become a major issue in modern urban contexts where youth from a diverse range of backgrounds inhabit the same territory. Youth from one particular rooted neighbourhood may feel that the emergence of 'outsiders' and other groups is occupying what they see as their locality. This feeling of displacement in their neighbourhood may be heightened because of the lack of secure identity, skills, knowledge and an ability to see the world in complex ways. The loss of the skills of the older generation heightens the dangers of this type of alienation for the younger generations. The uniqueness of being English or Belgian ought not to be so exclusive as to exclude identification with other nationalities. The school curriculum can be one site where in the history, personal and social curriculum areas, issues of nationalities and identities, including those at the local level, can be constructively explored.

The major problem facing the younger generation in poorer urban areas is their lack of educational attainments and skills. The lack of any certainty may further mar their ability to operate in complex societies. It is obviously the case that children do have a range of survival and street skills that are not recognised by formal institutions like the school, and only have currency as a subculture. One of the questions is, how can the school build constructively on the knowledge about survival and street cultures which are part of the lives of urban youth?

Much of the industrial growth in Europe in the postwar period was brought about by rural immigrants, whose skills were utilised in the development of industries in devastated economies. This was certainly true of the post-war industrialisation of Italy. Yet, as this generation of immigrants retire from work and their children are now in a position to join the working life there are various dilemmas. While the parents came from rural backgrounds and had skills related to rural areas, the younger generation who are products of the urban and industrial civilisation belong to neither, largely because of the failure of schooling to take both the educational as well as the work-skill aspects of their lives seriously. There are now young adults in European cities who have little security, education or technical skills to function as fully fledged citizens. Any intercultural education which is not fundamentally integrated into the mainstream education system or even within the main social policy provision can be counterproductive and in fact have negative i.e., xenophobic or racist, consequences.

The nature of cities and their complex population, which include the skilled working class and those working in trades and industries, has changed dramatically. Not only have many traditional trades disappeared but the movement of many industries from the large cities to new towns or to other parts of the world has removed the practices that apprenticed young men to those skills and masculine cultures. As Phil Cohen states:

The disintegration of this material apparatus and its replacement by 'post-fordist' systems of training and work has not had the effect of dismantling its symbolic structures – these continue to reproduce racism and ageism in working class cultures; but it has altered their modes of operation and anchored them to racist practice in a new way. (Cohen 1991: 11)

Confederal Identities

There seems to be a danger of constructing a singular identity in cities not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world. There are, however, not many people (apart from a few isolated communities) who have the distinction of claiming that they are firmly located within pure communities. As Murray Bookchin states:

The city is the historic arena in which – and as a result of which – biological affinities are transformed to social affinities. It constituted the single most important factor which changed an ethnic folk into a universal civitas where, in time the 'stranger' or 'outsider' could become a member of the community without having to satisfy any requirement of real or mythic blood ties to a common ancestor. (Bookchin 1992: xvi)

Urban culture would therefore be a realised signifying system and not merely a way of life.

If there are fears in European cities of the local identities being swamped by an immigrant minority then there must be something wrong with constructing a notion of the dominant nation, which is timeless and perhaps quaintly archaic. It also detracts from developing political relationships based on *humanitas* and reinforces continuing kinship ties based on clan or tribe. In fact, the vibrancy of being Belgian, French, Dutch or English in cities has a greater chance of being actualised and remaining dynamic if it is seen as being multilayered, vivacious and interactive. An interactiveness has the possibility of developing understandings which are shared and allow for change and dynamism to propel a more inclusive notion of citizenship and belongingness within the city. The education system has an important and creative role to play in developing such understandings, particularly in broadening the area of commonalities and democratic culture based on shared values.

Where diversity in many cities may have initially been based on the minority nationalities from within the larger nations, it may now be enhanced by those who come from other countries. The young black British generation or children from a Moroccan background predominantly socialised in Belgium, for example, are now losing the memory of their countries of origin and feel they belong more to the cities in Europe where they are socialised. They may also

have a complex reading of cities like London or Ghent as well as British or Belgian society in general. Both the older and younger generations have complex, positive, negative and indifferent readings of these polities. They are not and cannot be converted back to subservient coolies, slaves, plantation workers, migrants, Gastarbeiter, squires or sahibs in brown skin.

To develop such an understanding requires a rational mind based on a rational system. Yet, an insecure national or city elite which has not had the courage and openness to deal with this critical issue has made things worse. It may be a problem of political failure because generally politicians have ignored the positive dimensions of social diversities in European cities. Through a sleight of hand, the deep social changes and inequalities that affect the belongingness of various groups are ignored, and problems in cities are blamed on market forces, or on the alienness and otherness of groups, based on real, or perceived, differences.

Construction of the Rural by Urban Elites

The importance of a shared belongingness in cities is necessitated by the ways in which images of green and pleasant, civilised European lands with their villages and towns are seen in essence as being part of English, Belgian or French national identities. Enoch Powell's reference to an 'alien wedge' is seen as being an intrusion into notions of Englishness, which lead to a confrontation with the English yeomen. This imagery is evoked in films and literature, and is also used by politicians like Schoenhuber and Le Pen.

As the uncertainties in the polity grow and the economy is decimated, the conurbations encroach, and the rural becomes the haven, in particular, for the upper middle class, patriots, and refuge seekers. The construction of this safe ruralism by those who are themselves thoroughly urban, hark back to the purities and certainties of the past. The values of being English, like those of the German 'Volk', emanate from the close connections between blood and soil. The village and the rural area therefore is not just a haven, but a construction related to the English or other national identity, which excludes 'the other'. As Alex Potts suggests about nationalist ideology in the interwar period:

Theory of racial identity was transferred to the inanimate landscape, a kind of reification in which the people still living and working in the countryside were assimilated, not just pictorially and aesthetically, but also ideologically to the landscape. (Potts 1989: 189)

At one level, the construction of a viable British polity lies in reinventing a notion of the urban as well as the countryside, which is non-exclusive. In areas where there is urban and rural poverty, obviously the construction of a secure national haven raises a difficulty. To do this as Potts states would view 'England as an epicentre of dynamic change rather than England as a refuge from the more violent and thrusting tendencies of the modern world' (ibid.: 166). The establishment of a symbolic relationship as well as one of parity may obviate the changes of the narrow nationalistic construction of the city and the countryside.

The State and Identities

At the national level, there is a major issue in relation to such a shift. This is exacerbated by the stridency of subsequent governments. At another level there is the issue which Edward Said refers to as 'the idea of a nation, of a national-cultural community as a sovereign entity and place, set against other places' which separates 'us' from 'them' through boundaries. He suggests that this idea of place does not cover nuances, which is a cultural issue: 'It is in culture that we can seek out the range of meanings and ideas conveyed by the phrases belonging to or in a place, being at home in a place' (Said 1983: 8). Young men from dominant communities are themselves subject to being portrayed differently at different times. For instance, as young soldiers in the Falklands, they are seen as loyal patriots, sons of the soil and yeomen. In another context, they are constructed as football hooligans, whether at home or abroad, and they become an uncivilised and bestial mob. This was the case with English football supporters in Belgium during the World Cup in 2000.

The consequent rise of local or neighbourhood nationalisms can be seen as defensive attempts at ownership of local communities. However, while such groups might feel that they belong to certain neighbourhoods in cities, these neighbourhoods may themselves belong to a totally different set of agencies.

These realisations are personified by Canary Wharf in London, about which Stuart Hall in a lecture stated:

The brutal reality was that a local community was expunged and expelled and an area flattened to give rise to that monument to Thatcherism – Canary Wharf. This Fetishistic token which can't even rent itself! In one small area a completely abandoned white population was left. Then into this cauldron were dropped some Bangladeshis. It should be no surprise that someone was able to knit these bits together ... It brings them together. It distils them. It requires a simple story and there is always at least one political group infinitesimal it may be, which will tell the story. (Hall 1998: 211)

The rise of neo-fascist activity and electoral strength in many cities is one obvious result of this. Rumour and misrecognition have added to constructing this 'other' who is amidst us and can never be one of us. 'The Other' can be identified as a source of 'our alienation'. The creation of such imagined communities to replace the disintegrated real communities attempts an instant retrieval of lost inheritances. Part of this retrieval is a retrieval of a territory. This is reflected in the 1936 March of the Mosleyites through the East End in London, when many Eastenders joined in stopping the march into what was seen as 'our area'. They yelled, 'they may be yids, but they are our yids'.

Cities are enriched by various communities such as the Italian, German, Jewish and Irish, who have made vast contributions to all aspects of life of a city like London. However, during periods of war and national tensions, those constructed as alien enemies have paid a supreme price. Peppino Leoni, the owner of the Quo Vadis restaurant in London during the Second World War, was arrested after Mussolini joined the war:

As I walked down the corridor towards the cells I felt a sudden hatred for the police, for the British Government which had issued instructions for my internment, and for all forms of authority. I have slaved for years, in fact 33 years, because I first came to England in 1907, to establish my restaurant, and a man of my own nationality had destroyed everything in an instant ... I deeply resented the fact that after 33 years in England with no political blemish on my record, I'd been scooped up without proper consideration.

Leoni was not alone in being treated like this. Others who did manual and skilled labour, worked in professions as well as made contributions to literary and cultural life were also interned.

The architecture in cities respects a complex story. For example, in London, the Jama Masjid at the corner of Fourier Street and Brick Lane started its life as a Huguenot Church in 1744; fifty years later it was a Wesleyan Chapel; then from 1898 to 1975 it was the Spitalfields Great Synagogue, when it was sold to the East End Bengalis. The Tower of London was used in the thirteenth century as a sanctuary for Jews from rioting mobs. Later it was used by the constabulary as a prison for Jews. The Tower therefore acquired different meanings at different times because of its different functions. In the same way, cities therefore have different meanings not just in architectural terms but because of the complex identities of people living in them. The city can be a very poignant tool for learning and teaching, a site for understanding the complex architectural and material histories of a polity.

Secular City and Education

The schools as secular institutions function in what have become largely secular cities. This in effect means that different groups can coexist in the city. The school as an institution has an obligation to provide a safe environment in which the educational process is not hampered by extremist racist or religious groups; although in many conurbations, racially discriminated communities not only live in terror but also have to learn in terror.

The right of all children to good quality education is a basic citizenship right, which the European Union and national governments should protect. The idea of a good intercultural education that is by definition opposed to racism and fundamentalisms ought to be based on a school ethos that is inclusive of the good values of urban communities. The best of these values are necessary in being represented in the school to ensure that all students are not only seen to belong, but do, in fact, belong to the school. This ought, in turn, to ensure individual and group rights as well as responsibilities.

A Eurocentric curriculum would unleash a reaction from groups who feel that their knowledge, histories and languages are excluded from the mainstream discourse of the school. Such a Eurocentric curriculum would not only disadvantage marginalised groups further but lead to 'politics of recognition' and separatist demands by subordinated groups. The 'curriculum of recognition' by such groups would also be based on demands for separate

curricula, which would negate intercultural learning. The demand for and growth of separate religious schools in England shows this is happening.

Europe not only has a reservoir of universal knowledge but also a vast range of languages spoken in its cities. Optimum policies to draw together the vast linguistic knowledge would ensure that children with other first languages can acquire second languages more systematically but also have an integrated access to the curriculum as an entitlement.

To avoid an increase in xenophobic and racist activities taking root within the schools, a strategy at the European Union level needs to be developed which ensures that there are strong school/community links in major European cities. The use of the concept of life-long learning by young people and adults within the framework of community education ought to ensure that adults are not able to negate the good intercultural work done by schools. This life-long learning ought to have two faces. Firstly, it should be seen as a way of valuing education in its own right; and secondly it should be maintained through partnerships with training institutions and employers to provide appropriate skills and training as well as jobs. Tackling racism and bullying in schools requires a multi-agency approach because the school alone cannot deal with these issues.

The Department of Education and Skills in England completed a survey of access and achievement in urban education and reported that the standard and quality of teaching was 'very disappointing'. A situation like this in European cities can lead to dismal levels of failure as well as low educational performances, which spiral downwards, particularly for immigrant and other poor children. Unless concerted European Union-level policies are activated such groups would be blamed for their failures, as victims of the wider social exclusion.

A European-wide network of good antiracist and intercultural school practices in the inner-city areas also ought to include a consideration of good intercultural teacher education. Unless there are good interculturally educated teachers, the process of a narrow schooling will continue to alienate children and lead to greater inequalities and low educational outcomes.

Good intercultural teacher education (not training) is one of the greatest challenges we face in the European Union. This is the case because European cities have resources and are reservoirs of Europe's multicultural historic past. The negation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of this syncretic history of learnings and borrowings by Greece from Phoenicians and Egyptians because of the rise of Eurocentrism can only be undertaken by interculturally competent teacher educators because they are multipliers of knowledge and attitudes. Only well educated professional teachers working in urban schools can teach children of the European polis with the Greek notion of *paidea* to develop good intercultural values and ethics. The German notion of *Bildung* which 'combines meanings of character development, growth, enculturation, and a well-rounded education in knowledge and skills' (Bookchin 1992: 59) is possible in the European city of the twenty first century, if we all work towards that future.

APPENDIX I

Durban International Seminar Preparatory Meeting on Mainstreaming Minority Rights in Development Assistance (London, United Kingdom 26–27 July 2001)

Recommendations of the Working Groups

Working Group A: Social Sector Development

- Governments should ensure that everyone under their jurisdiction including minorities and indigenous peoples has equal access to the provision of social services in law and in reality.
- Statutory bodies should develop inclusive and intercultural educational provisions and curricula that are culturally and linguistically appropriate which ensures that all groups have an understanding of their multicultural society and that there are shared and common values in the public domain which evolve through democratic consultation.
- Statutory bodies and donors should give full support to all groups and peoples, including women, the elderly, the disabled, children and those living with HIV/AIDS within those groups, assessing and analysing their own perception of rights and developmental situations and subsequent actions should reflect the outcome.
- Governments should take urgent steps to eradicate the widespread discrimination and persecution of minorities and indigenous peoples by:
 - (a) implementing national public and social policies;
 - (b) having regard to any history, particularly recent history of oppression or displacement of minority and indigenous peoples both by appropriate compensation and by remedial policies
- The recognition of social and cultural differences should be viewed as an asset and not a deficit. Groups such as the Roma and pastoralists' languages, lifestyles and livelihoods should be protected.
- All statutory bodies, donors and NGOs who fund initiatives in social service provision at various levels should ensure that minority issues are incorporated within the project management cycle, including monitoring and evaluation to ensure sustainability.
- The right to information and access to information technology should apply to all minority and indigenous peoples. Institutional networks aiming to promote and develop the minority and indigenous peoples' cultural heritage should be supported and developed.

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