

# THE INTERCULTURAL CITY MAKING THE MOST OF DIVERSITY

## Thematic Study

<b>THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION: BUILDING A COHESIVE SOCIETY</b>
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**Mauric Coles and Robert Vincent**

**2006**

### **PREAMBLE**

This article is in three parts. The first offers some straightforward definitions of Community Cohesion and intercultural education. It attempts to trace the conceptual journey of education from the early days of assimilation, through cultural pluralism and multicultural anti-racist education to an intercultural point that has yet to gain common currency in the world of state funded education services. It aims to show that there is synergy between the community cohesion debate that surfaced after the dark days of the uprisings/ riots in English northern cities in 2000, the major systemic and theoretical changes that will arise from the *Every Child Matters* agenda and intercultural education. It argues that schools have a key role to play in developing the six competences that comprise the dynamic fusion of community cohesion and intercultural education

The second part is a detailed case study based upon some of the exciting and dynamic activities undertaken in education in Leicester City; a city that has won beacon status for promoting race equality and which prides itself on harmonious relationships between its ethnic groups. Part three concludes the article with a number of recommendations based upon its main findings. It draws out the key learning points in order that others may benefit from the wisdom of our successes and the foolhardiness of our failures.

## THE JOURNEY FROM MULTICULTURAL TO INTERCULTURAL

*We are sleepwalking our way to segregation*, said Trevor Philips, Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, in a controversial speech at Manchester Town Hall on the 22<sup>nd</sup> September 2005. 'We are,' he continued, 'becoming strangers to each other.' Citing new research from Bristol University and from the CRE itself, Philips argued that there were trends indicating that young white people were less likely than their parents to have minority ethnic friends and that some communities now live in what is technically termed 'ghettoes'. 'The fact is that we are a society which, almost without noticing it, is becoming more divided by race and religion. We are becoming more unequal by ethnicity.'

For Philips, the key response is for us, proactively, to build an integrated society. Such a society would be based upon equality, where everyone is treated equally, has a right to fair outcomes and no one should expect privileges because of who they are; upon participation where all groups in society should expect to share in how we make decisions but also expect to carry the responsibilities of making the society work; and upon interaction where no-one should be trapped within their own community. He concluded that, 'there is no doubt that Britain is facing a clear demand to make the process of integration real, active and urgent.'

Responses to Phillips speech have been mixed. Some argue that it is too scaremongering. Others, that it will unsettle and unnerve minority ethnic communities who have, over time, become more confident in their own sense of self and do not need a spotlight trained on them. There are also those who maintain that it is simply untrue; that generally young people are keener now to integrate, whilst retaining their own cultural identity, than they have ever been. What is certainly true, however, is that this is another chapter in the long debate about the changing nature of British society and about the way in which all members of British society respond to the demographic and cultural changes that have come about initially as a response to post Imperial Britain but now, increasingly, as a response to globalisation.

Immigration from the imperial and commonwealth territories in the 1950s and 1960s and the subsequent ethnic, cultural and faith changes in our school population, especially in the cities, forced schools to re-examine educational provision. The initial response was generally assimilationist: 'when in Rome do as the Romans do.' This is perhaps best illustrated by the teaching of 'English as a foreign language' through total immersion programmes where pupils were actively discouraged from using their 'mother tongues,' because the prevailing educational wisdom considered that the most efficient method of integrating pupils into mainstream. This methodology was seriously challenged for two reasons: firstly, because changes in the theoretical understanding of teaching English questioned 'immersion' and the denial of the pupil's linguistic and cultural heritage: secondly, because the racist response to immigration threatened to undermine the very values that were considered quintessentially British.

English as a foreign language gave way to *English as a second*, then *as an additional language*, a change that was predicated upon the belief that many pupils started school with a language already, that good schools built upon this foundation, and that being multilingual was a positive asset in modern society. Schools gradually moved from forbidding mother tongue speaking to celebrating it. The education system learnt to develop bilingual/multilingual approaches, which they adapted from many parts of the world that had had long experience of societies that were multilingual.

The racist reaction, both covert and overt, has been comprehensively documented over time in general and in education-specific terms. Reports like Rampton and Swann (1985) offered both analysis of the problems and proposals to tackle them. In the 1980s, major cities like London and Birmingham developed detailed policies and guidance to promote multicultural anti-racist education for *all* their pupils. Generally, they moved from an assimilationist position to one of a cultural pluralism that stressed the legitimacy of celebrating the cultural backgrounds that pupils brought to school, with an outright policy that condemned racism in all its forms and promoted race equality. Birmingham Local Education Authority (LEA) was typical of many in that, as early as 1982, it adopted a policy encouraging its schools:

- to be aware of and to counter racism and the discriminatory practices to which it gives rise
- to be aware of and to provide for the particular needs of pupils having regard for their ethnic, cultural, historical, linguistic and religious backgrounds
- to prepare all pupils for life in our multicultural society, and build upon the strengths of cultural diversity.

The policy outlines have stood the test of time and are as relevant now as they were over twenty years ago. Headteachers, education officers and members of the community have developed together more detailed explication and guidance. This guidance has been up-dated several times to take account of changing circumstances like, for example, the publication of, and the government's response to, the Macpherson Report that chronicled the events and the aftermath of the tragic killing of Stephen Lawrence. Similarly, the growing emphasis that Ofsted places on combating racism and on schools meeting pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural needs have been included in revisions.

Birmingham's guidelines unpack the sometimes tortuous language that surrounds multicultural anti-racist education and, in so doing, help provide schools with a clear, well argued theoretical framework and clear practical advice to support schools in policy implementation. Their policy is explicitly antiracist in that it attempts to tackle the racist assumptions, omissions and practices that underlie some of what we do in the education system. It is multicultural in that it takes account of, and incorporates into educational procedures, practices and content, a respect for the various cultures that make up Birmingham and Britain, Europe and the wider world.

Much of the Birmingham guidance defines racism, prejudice and dissemination and describes how schools might, unwittingly, commit racist acts. It argues that skin colour, by virtue of the nature of the society in which we live, is important. It defines the nature of institutional racism in an educational context, a definition that resonated perfectly with that adopted by Macpherson over 15 years later. For Macpherson, institutional racism is,

*The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.*

Macpherson went on to argue that *it persists because of the failure of the organisation openly and adequately to recognise and address its existence and causes by policy, example and leadership. Without recognition and action to eliminate such racism, it can prevail as part of the ethos or culture of the organisation. It is a corrosive disease.*

The Birmingham document seeks also to offer definitions and guidance concerning the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of all pupils. It defined an ethnic group as one whose members have a

common culture, which makes it different from other groups. Ethnicity includes not only the historical and linguistic background of people but also their geographical location, both before and after settlement in Britain. The ethnicity of a group is formed as they respond to the value system and the social and physical environment in which they live. That is why we use descriptions like 'British Muslims' and 'Black British' and stress the cultural heritage of the many minority ethnic groups that make up our multicultural society. We talk and write of Pakistani heritage or African Caribbean heritage in order to stress that such groups have an identity that is unique to their backgrounds and that such a heritage to be valued.

Popular usage of the term 'ethnic', however, shows that the criteria used to define a group are by no means constant, sometimes having to do with culture, sometimes with religion, sometimes with ideas of being a nation and at other times with skin colour. This variability shows that the concept is a social invention having more to do with what people choose to see as being a significant difference, rather than with specific and constant cultural features.

Similarly, 'culture' is defined as the child's total lived experience in Britain today. It is inappropriate to think of culture as 'high' culture, the preserve of the privileged and educated who frequent places like art galleries and theatres. Nor is it appropriate to think of it in narrow, static terms, referring only to certain aesthetic or religious aspects and associating this only with some departed 'homeland'. Thinking of 'culture' in this limited way can easily lead to a preoccupation with exotic features, to the exclusion of other more important considerations. Any approach that sees culture in terms of saris, steel bands and samosas (the three S's) must seek to set these in the context of children and young people's experience of life here and now. The best schools always build upon the cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious background of the pupils they serve. They always create a welcoming ethos where pupils and students feel valued as individuals.

Culture, however, is a dynamic not a static process and is fundamental to how we see ourselves and how others see us. As Sandercock puts it: *the cultural embeddedness of humans is inescapable. We grow up in a culturally structured world, are deeply shaped by it, and necessarily view the world from within a specific culture. We are capable of critically evaluating our own culture's beliefs and practices and of understanding and appreciating as well as criticising those of others.* It is the role of schools to provide its charges with the tools, skills and attitudes to undertake this.

## **WHAT IS INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND WHAT IS THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN PROMOTING IT?**

**Intercultural education builds on and enhances multicultural anti-racist education. At its heart are the community cohesion and race equality agendas and the outcomes framework of *Every Child Matters*. Essentially, intercultural education places a different emphasis on parts of the multicultural anti-racist agenda.** It is predicated simply on the belief that the dynamic cultures of the various groups that make up the UK are a fundamental part of their identity and that the education service must know, understand and build upon the spiritual, moral, social and cultural backgrounds of its pupils. All ethnic groups, including the majority 'white' groups, *of whatever social class*, must feel that their background, history and narrative are valued in the school context. It must also ensure that all groups are aware of the backgrounds of groups other than their own. This must be undertaken, however, in a framework of shared values, so that all pupils have a sense of belonging. As Leonie Sandercock eloquently expresses it in her article, *Reconsidering Multiculturalism: towards an intercultural project*:

*a sense of belonging in an intercultural society cannot be based (exclusively) on race, religion, or ethnicity but needs to be based on a shared commitment to political community. Such a commitment requires an empowered citizenry.*

In a world as complex as ours, with so many different groups within the UK, no education system could teach about all the groups that are present in our multicultural society. The key to intercultural education, therefore, is to provide all young people with a set of values, perspectives, skills and attitudes that encourage and empower them. For our society to be cohesive, the education service must help transmit the following key set of six competences that young people will need in order to grow and prosper in an interdependent, intercultural and global age:

- ✚ **Cultural competence:** the ability to be able to reflect upon one's own culture and the culture of others, in order to discover the assumptions that underlie behaviours, with a view to testing out different ways of thinking and doing things
- ✚ **Emotional and spiritual competence:** the ability to be self-reflective, to be able to handle one's own emotions, to empathise with others, to be aware of and develop one's interpersonal and intrapersonal skills; to see the big picture, to have a sense of vision and life purpose, and to appreciate and develop the power of love in all we do
- ✚ **Linguistic and communicative competence:** the ability to be able to use language and other forms of communication in a wide range of different settings and different contexts and to appreciate and value the range of languages and cultures that make up Britain and the world
- ✚ **Civic competence:** the ability to understand and act upon rights and responsibilities, to understand and act upon the need for socially and morally responsible behaviour, to communicate with and understand the needs of other groups in the community, to become involved in the life and concerns of neighbourhoods and communities, to participate actively in democratic processes locally, nationally and internationally
- ✚ **Creative competence:** the ability to be inventive, to use imagination, to see things from a different perspective, to make connections between concepts, to think laterally and outside the box, to create new paradigms
- ✚ **Sporting competence:** the ability to undertake a range of sporting disciplines, to work as a team, to practise 'fair play' and to be aware that sport is a perfect vehicle for encouraging intercultural harmony through sporting action.

These intercultural competences require schools and Local Authorities to develop structures and processes that will enable them to translate, adopt and adapt their existing practices to take account of changing realities. The task is not a simple and straightforward one, for there are powerful forces and major fault lines that militate against achieving intercultural harmony. Rodney Green, Chief Executive of Leicester City Council, the country's most diverse and in many ways most harmonious city, was in no doubt about the fragility of what had been achieved and the 'huge tensions that exist between the surface'. In a recent interview, he called for a 'boldness of leadership, tempered with sensitivity to cultural differences,' which he saw as being at the heart of a cohesive agenda. This, for him, 'was not a project or a programme but a way of life.' Schools are, he went on, integral to delivering on these issues for 'sport and culture were the natural bridge builders' between the various and varied groups. Leicester city was spared the trauma of the disturbances that shook the northern cities in 2001 but the Chief Executive was keenly aware that, without more action to bring communities together, Leicester might not be so fortunate next time.

## **THE RISE OF THE COMMUNITY COHESION AGENDA**

The 2001 riots in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham and their obvious 'racial' overtones directly led to the Home Office commissioning a report to try to discover the underlying causes and to recommend some possible solutions. An expert team led by Ted Cantle made extensive visits, not only to the riot-torn areas but also to cities like Leicester and Birmingham that have addressed some of these issues more successfully. Their findings, like those of Swann 15 years earlier, not only reflect much of what the black and minority ethnic communities have been articulating for a long time but also give voice to those disadvantaged white communities who feel disenfranchised and disempowered. Cantle's overriding and somewhat frightening conclusion was that, in spite of all the funding and good intentions, the outcome was often the very opposite of intention. In summary, Cantle found that:

- separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that **many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives;** (1)
- **the plethora of initiatives and programmes**, with their baffling array of outcomes, boundaries, timescales and other conditions, **seemed to ensure divisiveness and a perception of unfairness in virtually every section of the communities we visit;** (2)
- many community-based schemes, including those developed and run by statutory agencies, seemed to be **clinging on to the margins of anything that resembled a longer term strategy;** (3)
- area based regeneration in some cases reinforced the separation of communities;
- opportunities were far from equal in respect of housing, employment and education.

## **WHAT IS THE STRATEGY TO PROMOTE COMMUNITY COHESION?**

To counter this fragmentation, Cantle proposed a wide-ranging strategy that included a well-resourced national debate, heavily influenced by younger people, based upon a new concept of citizenship, with a coherent approach to education, housing, regeneration, employment and other programmes. These would be delivered locally via a local community cohesion plan that would promote cross cultural-contact and strong local leadership. Cantle was clear that extensive diversity education in all key agencies would be required. In all, Cantle and his team recommended 67 practical measures to be put in place by a range of agencies. Most precisely, Cantle argued that **'the emphasis should switch over time to school-based schemes (and outreach from schools) to prevent disaffection and underachievement at the earliest possible stage'** (4). Cantle did not coin the term 'community cohesion'. That was already in place. What he and his team did was to refine it and give it a coherent impetus that was previously lacking.

## **WHAT IS COMMUNITY COHESION?**

Community cohesion incorporates and goes beyond the concept of 'social cohesion'. It is closely linked to other concepts like inclusion and exclusion, social capital and differentiation, community and neighbourhood. Race equality is implicit in many of its central themes, especially those that relate to diversity and interfaith. The Local Government Association, in its comprehensive and helpful document 'Guidance on Community Cohesion', offers a broad and useful definition of a **cohesive community**. Their broad working definition of a cohesive community is one where:

- there is a common vision and sense of belonging for all communities;
- the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued;
- those from different backgrounds have similar opportunities; and
- strong and positive relationships are being developed from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods.

## **HOW IS COMMUNITY COHESION TO BE IMPLEMENTED?**

Until early 2005, the key central government driver of community cohesion was the Secretary of State for Transport, Local Government and the Regions, as it is through his department that millions of pounds have been allocated to some 90 local authorities for Neighbourhood Renewal Funds (NRF). Authorities in receipt of money have to meet certain basic floor targets in areas like education, housing and social services. In addition, they have to establish a range of processes that should be managed by a Local Strategic Partnership. Amongst other things, these partnerships are encouraged to develop their local Youth Voice and their faith communities, to build cross-cultural networks, to twin schools, to review supplementary education programmes and to develop extended schools. 'Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society,' published by the Home Office in January 2005, offers the government's most recent comprehensive strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion. At the heart of this strategy is an 'overarching objective to reduce race inequalities between 2005 and 2008.' The strategy signals the advent of a comprehensive cross-government Public Service Agreement target to monitor and reduce race inequalities over that time. It represents one of the most 'joined-up' central government pieces of thinking and action for some time. **It proposes a number of broad measures to tackle disadvantage through tailored programmes to meet specific needs.**

The areas of education, the labour market, health, housing, policing and the Criminal Justice System all receive specific targeted action, with funding streams to match. Finances have been allocated in education, for example, to help meet the needs of struggling groups like Afro-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi boys through better targeting of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant and from the expansion of the early years service. In addition, the government intends to improve the teaching of pupils for whom English is a second language and to increase the recruitment of ethnic minority teachers to at least 9 per cent of those entering the profession during the next three years, in order to ensure that teachers are more representative of the communities they serve.

For government, a cohesive society is 'one in which people from all backgrounds can work together to create leading business, respond to common challenges such as improving neighbourhoods, exchange ideas, and draw upon the best talent available in sports and the arts.' They aim to secure this by:

- supporting young people from different communities to grow up with a sense of common belonging through embedding the development of citizenship education in schools, increasing the opportunities for volunteering and promoting the new RE framework
- helping new immigrants to integrate
- providing opportunities to develop a greater understanding of the range of cultures that contribute to our strength as a country, including encouraging disadvantaged groups to become more involved in sporting and arts activities, in museums and cultural programmes, and in offering a new programme to help faith-based groups develop their capacity for such work
- providing opportunities for people from all backgrounds to participate in civic society
- continuing their strong focus on combating racism through offering more guidance to schools and youth workers and supporting campaigns such as 'Let's Kick Racism out of Football'
- marginalising extremists who promote hatred.

Central to the strategy and the vision is the belief that integration is not crude assimilation but rather retention of the individual and group identity (be it based on faith, ethnicity or culture or other factors) within a set of shared overarching values: in other words, values that will underpin survival and growth in an intercultural world. These values are implicit within the major seismic changes

that the Education, Social Care and Health Authorities and other statutory and voluntary agencies are undergoing as a result of the government's *Every Child Matters* agenda.

### **EVERY CHILD MATTERS AND THE CHILDREN ACT 2004**

Following a series of high profile child abuse cases, the government has put into place the legislative framework that will lead to a major 'step-change' in the quality, accessibility and coherence of services provided for children and young people, so that each one is able to fulfil her/his potential and that those facing particular obstacles are enabled to overcome them. The 2004 Act abolishes Local Education Authorities, which have been the cornerstone of education services since 1944, and replaces them with a combined service model that incorporates LEAs and Social Care and Health. These new Local Authorities (LAs) have to produce an integrated Children and Young People's Plan by April 2006 that has to bring local partners together to deliver against five key outcomes. Success in achieving the five outcomes will be monitored and inspected at Local Authority and school level by Ofsted and by teams of multi-agency professionals conducting Joint Area Reviews.

The five key outcomes - Be Healthy, Stay Safe, Enjoy and Achieve, Make a Positive Contribution, Achieve Economic Well Being - are fast becoming **the** agenda and major drivers in LAs and schools. Underpinning each of these outcomes is a series of subsets, which provide more detail and substance. Unfortunately, the government chose not to include an explicit axis that related to multicultural, anti racist and intercultural education, preferring to leave it to each local authority to include such references within their Children and Young Person's Plan (CYPP). Each of the five outcome areas, however, has been written in such a way as to allow authorities to incorporate such dimensions. Indeed, if they choose not to do so, they will fall foul of legislation like the *Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000)*, which places a **duty** on each local authority to promote race equality. Similarly, it is almost impossible to conceive of a local authority not incorporating these values, practices and processes into their plans, for otherwise they would be unable to demonstrate that children were, for example, mentally and emotionally healthy, safe from bullying and discrimination, able to achieve personal and social development, and 'developing self-confidence and successfully dealing with significant life changes and challenges.' It is a relatively straightforward task to map the six competences that we outlined against the five key outcomes.

For all authorities, the development of the CYPP and its outcomes framework is still in its infancy. For some, in towns and cities like Oldham, Burnley, Manchester, Birmingham and Leicester, the incorporation of their community cohesion and multicultural/intercultural initiatives should assist them in devising plans that help marry the emerging agendas. Leicester is an authority that, over time, has developed a range of strategies to promote community cohesion and race equality. It is from this city that we draw the following detailed case study.

## **CASE STUDY: INTRODUCTION**

The intercultural work involving Leicester schools that has been developing over the past three years has, we would argue, produced practice that is exemplary at a national level. Hundreds of pupils and students have been brought together in a number of different projects, at both primary and secondary level, and both young people and their teachers have testified to the transformative nature of these experiences. For the purposes of this article, we intend to focus on some key elements of those experiences, in order that the emphasis should be on the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects and on key learning points.

## **THE EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND COMMUNITY COHESION**

Leicester City LEA failed its inspection by Ofsted in 1999, just two years after it had been established on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1997 as a separate authority as part of Local Government Reorganisation. Subsequently, over a period of several months, the OPM conducted its own assessment and evaluation of the report and the educational reality in the LEA, in order to formulate a set of proposals for taking the LEA forward. In May 2000, a new Director of Education took up post and he in turn brought in a supporting consultant with a wide-ranging brief regarding school improvement issues. At the end of 1997, Leicester City LEA included the highest percentage of failing schools in the whole country, a legacy inherited from the previous LEA, Leicestershire. Through 1998 and 1999, the LEA's Quality and Development division oversaw the steady progress of many schools out of the failing category but the situation in 2000 was still fragile and uncertain; moreover, the future of the LEA itself was also uncertain with the threat of being taken over by the private sector remaining present for some time. One response of the DfES was to set up as an experiment a non-profit agency called the School Development Support Agency, whose remit was to broker services for schools and to develop school development groups into more autonomous and self-supporting structures. More will be said about this Agency later, since its nature would prove to be critical to the development of intercultural thinking and practice in Leicester.

At this time, the DfES considered that LEA Education Development Plans should act as the key driver for school improvement and, as a mark of the importance to be attached to these Plans, the DfES decreed that Ofsted would grade all LEA EDPs in the early months of 2002. A special consultant was charged with producing this Plan, whose success under Ofsted scrutiny was deemed to be essential. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the LEA at the time, this consultant was given a relatively free rein as to both process and content. Two key aspects of her approach were (a) to ensure that every button should be pressed that might evoke a positive reaction from the DfES and (b) that widespread consultation was essential, in order to draw on thinking from both inside and outside the Education Department, so that the final document should be as representative as possible of the local situation. Importantly with regard to this second point was the belief that the Plan should be responsive to the needs of the various minority ethnic communities in Leicester, as well as to those of the indigenous population. There was a view that the poor educational performance of schools up to the end of 1997 suggested that neither constituency had been particularly well served previously.

The DfES required that EDPs should consist of a set of seven or eight Priorities, whose essentials were largely pre-determined. There was to be, however, a Priority with a local flavour and over this there was a fierce debate between the merits of a cultural diversity Priority and a language-focused Priority. In the event, the arguments for the latter prevailed, with a dual focus on minority ethnic and underachieving white working class pupils/students. The Cattle Report had appeared in the

summer of 2001 and one section within it contained a set of recommendations for LEAs, whose main thrust was that schools defined as monocultural (i.e. more than 75% of the pupils/students coming from one ethnic group) should twin with each other and develop a series of working relationships. This would operate at pupil, staff, head teacher and parent level. To some extent, there were similarities between this approach and the model of Network Learning Communities that was developing at the National College of School Leadership. The Cattle model seemed a simpler one but lacked the detailed infrastructure that was included in the NCSL approach and greatly underestimated the practical and logistical problems of implementing what on the surface might seem a simple idea.

## **BEACON STATUS AND THE PATHFINDER PROGRAMME**

The opportunity to put something of the Cattle idea into practice came at the end of 2002, when Leicester City Council was identified as a Beacon council for its work on community relations, a designation that brought with it some extra funding. Just prior to this had appeared a report from IdEA on the situation in Leicester regarding relations between different communities, which ran along similar lines to the Cattle Report but went further, in identifying the discontents of the white working class as perhaps the main issue to be addressed. One consequence of being fully informed by the IdEA report was that a decision was made to focus the Beacon Pathfinder funding (a special fund awarded by the government to fifteen local authorities to take forward their work on community cohesion) on work with children and young people, the chosen themes being drama, sport, media and conflict resolution. A management process was established and a steering group set up, to develop thinking about community cohesion and to oversee the various strands that it had been agreed to fund but from the very beginning major problems developed regarding the whole process.

We will come to the detail of particular projects shortly but we want to pause here regarding the difficulties referred to in the preceding paragraph, because they are of critical importance in terms of effective intercultural work at a strategic level. Firstly, an effective strategy needs to be underpinned by some coherent thinking, even better if this thinking is rigorous and open to theoretical debate. Much good work had taken place in Leicester over the years to build up positive community relations but it tended to consist of a cluster of separate if sometimes interlinked initiatives. With the Pathfinder programme, it quickly became evident that there was no overarching conception of what community cohesion might mean, which itself had two serious consequences. The first was that there was no significant 'buy in' at a high level, so that the programme took place on the margins of council activity. The second was that in the minds of key players, community cohesion came to mean almost anything that might refer to a group of people. If it could be taken to mean everything, then in fact it would signify nothing.

Secondly, the allocation of the funding quickly came up against the issue of buy-in at project level. The scent of extra money is intoxicating in a number of ways. In the public sector, it can facilitate a project that an individual has wanted to undertake for some time. When something like community cohesion funding comes along, it presents a golden opportunity to take down the dusty project from the shelves, adjust it to suit the particular criteria and then wait hopefully for a positive answer. Out in the voluntary and private sectors, the funding signifies, quite bluntly, jobs, even in large well-known organisations. In both cases, something seriously destabilising is likely to happen in terms of the purpose of the funding. Instead of a particular project having as its *raison d'être* the furtherance of community cohesion, the funding comes to serve quite other purpose. In private, some project managers were quite explicit about the job-creation aspect of the funding and even in public frequently had to be brought back to the core purpose of community cohesion. It is important to emphasise this issue because, if it is not addressed, the impact of such funding is blunted and there is very little after-effect. There is even the danger that some community groups

will develop cynicism about such initiatives, if the amount of talk associated with such programmes leads to little real impact on their lives.

### **PATHFINDER IN PRACTICE**

It was the Drama strand with which the School Development Support Agency was closely involved, although 'Drama' would turn out to be something of a misnomer for key elements in the strand as it developed. This is where we return to the elements of Cattle parked in Priority 8 of the Education Development Plan. It was realised that the Pathfinder funding might provide an opportunity to activate some of the Cattle recommendations and the LEA's Multicultural Adviser approached the person responsible for Priority 8 with some thoughts about using a South African group resident in Britain called Mighty Zulu Nation as the basis for developing link work between schools. Together, they came up with a sketch for a project that was later to develop into something much grander. In essentials, the plan was to twin together a number of schools and to develop close linkages between one class from each of the two schools. MZN would perform in school A, with as many pupils attending as the school could manage. Also present would be the identified class from school B. After their performance, MZN would undertake workshops with the approximately 60 pupils from the two classes and present an after school performance to parents from the two schools. Further, it was decided to ask for two contact staff from each school who would be invited to a number of Inset days and half days, where they could share their experiences and develop closer working relationships.

The project turned out to be remarkably successful and was eventually developed into a programme with 50 schools through the city council's Community Cohesion Fund, though in a somewhat truncated form. One development that occurred during this extension programme was the use of a number of other arts groups to undertake follow on work after a day spent with Mighty Zulu Nation. Would the 'catalyst' element have worked so well with a group other than Mighty Zulu Nation? It is worth unpicking some of the aspects of their work because doing so provides us with insights into what actually works with children and young people in developing better mutual understandings.

The group appear and perform in traditional Zulu dress or perhaps more accurately, undress. This in itself is very important in that there is, of course, an initial novelty but also something much more significant. The young people are presented with the starkness of the human body largely unmediated by conventional clothing. This sets up a relationship between the adult and the young person very different from the conventional one. In a sense, the usual markers and messages conveyed by clothing are erased, providing the opportunity for closer engagement. We discovered that, in particular, boys from all ethnic groups responded to this. Indeed, some of the most powerful impact, as reported to us by the teachers, was on the more disengaged white boys. The virility of the young men in the group is very powerful and enhanced by the nature of traditional Zulu dance and movement, with its warlike overtones but any possible negative aspects of this are completely countermanded by the moves being set up clearly as performance and ritual. There is a well-defined entering and exiting by the performers into the 'space' in which the ritual occurs.

Secondly, there is a running commentary by a lead member of the group that is full of humour and engagement with the young people, of a kind that is unusual in British society. The engagement is warm, genuine and unaffected, yet highly skilled in a way that one might describe as 'instinctive', with elements that would also be very successful in conventional performance. We prefer to view this as culturally produced, however, which leads us to a very important point about Mighty Zulu Nation, which is the South Africa connection. Our contention is that the success of these performers with young people in modern Britain is a product of South African history, in particular of the terrible apartheid years. The group in a sense incarnates the black experience of those years, an experience that they are able to make explicit, as at a triumphant celebration of South Africa

Freedom Day in 2004 with 250 Leicester young people. Implicitly, this is manifested through their very being and through the gentle, understanding way in which they work with young people. It is the teachers who worked alongside them that brought this quality to our attention, freely using the word *spiritual* to account for what they saw and experienced.

As a result of workshops with the teachers, some of the paired schools undertook work in the classroom on South Africa with the class that had been targeted for work with Mighty Zulu Nation. Our contention is that the South African experience is unique and has a particular resonance for British pupils. The particular ethnic make up of South Africa – including black African, white and Asian among others - provides a ‘buy in’ for most of the pupils and students in Leicester schools. There is the rich cultural history of black Africa, which Mighty Zulu Nation deploy through folk tale and music and, of course, there is the complex tapestry of black African tribes involved. There is the history of the apartheid years in all its terribleness, where the moral issues are so stark and clear in terms of a society whose every detail was governed by a racist ideology. And yet we would argue that the distance and the grubbiness of the regime make it a much better subject for study in school than, say, Nazi Germany, where the aestheticising aspects of fascism can provide a spurious coating of glamour that lessens the horror of what took place in Germany. Thirdly, South Africa provides an array of role models for young people, in particular, for those of Caribbean heritage in Britain today. As well as the iconic status and moral grandeur of Nelson Mandela there are figures such as Steve Biko, Walter Sisulu and others. It is curious that more is not made of this history in our schools, particularly since the ANC provides one of the best examples of joint black-white endeavour in recent history.

### **THE ROLE OF CREATIVITY**

During the course of the Pathfinder programme, there were many lively debates about the value or otherwise of the arts and creativity as a medium for developing community cohesion. In some quarters, they seemed to be viewed as somewhat frivolous and a distraction from the real issues. We want to argue very differently, that the arts and creativity are central to the work of developing interculturalism and improving community cohesion. This is because we contend that the arts and creativity deal with the subjectivity of the individual, with the emotional and psychological economy of the self. At their best, they help us to see the world from another person’s point of view, to stand in their shoes. It is about empathising with others, about understanding something of their thoughts and feelings. In effect, we would argue that what we are describing here is the moral sense. This is dependent on the development of the imagination, a much more effective way of developing people’s sense of the personhood of others. In creative projects, young people work together with others to achieve a common purpose. We have found that the intensity of young people’s experience is such that, even during the course of a single day, they can establish valuable connections with those from different communities. What is important is that this is then developed into more long-lasting relationships.

Too often, Personal, Social and Health Education in schools is less effective than it might be because it broaches head on subjects such as sex, smoking and alcohol. Young people frequently regard this as a direct affront to their own selfhood and so bring down a shutter that will protect the core of their inner being. What skilful teachers do is take their students into a ‘third realm’ where the issues are still addressed but through characters, symbols etc. that young people can move in and out of at will. Further, because their own being is not at stake, they are more willing to deal with challenging and sensitive issues and to allow their deeper selves to become engaged. This is why good quality arts and creativity work can be such a powerful medium for developing interculturalism. It is worth adding that such work can also bring into play the element of desire, the sense of joy and pleasure, which can get under the fences erected by stereotyping and prejudice.

At the same time as the Pathfinder programme was developing, Leicester was invited by the Arts Council to participate in the third tranche of its Creative Partnerships programme. Three people were assigned to lay the groundwork for this, one of whom was the co-leader of the community cohesion work described previously. The other two were the local authority's head of arts and the Policy director for the Culture and regeneration department. All three were committed to taking forward community cohesion work in Leicester and, during the course of several meetings, developed the case that 'community cohesion' should constitute the specific 'badge' of Leicester's Creative Partnerships programme. How this will work in practice has still to be determined at the time of writing but the making of such a statement puts a marker in the sand that can act as a point from which there is only a going forward. The vision and the intention are in themselves important and can have a material impact on outcomes.

## **UP NORTH**

Another two developments that occurred at this time were a consultation process with Year 10 students regarding community cohesion and the development of links with young people in Wigan as a result of the two councils being twinned, Leicester offering community relations and Wigan the efficient strategic organisation of services. Starting with the first of these, we identified six secondary schools with particular but differing ethnicity profiles. Through our personal contacts, we then asked for six students who were 'feisty, and with attitude' since the exercise would be pointless unless we involved young people with something to say. After the students were identified, they were visited by two of us in order to explain the process to them, discuss the nature of the consultation day and begin to get to know them. The two people involved were ex-teachers of English who had taught for many years in Leicester, highly experienced in dialoguing with students but it quickly became evident that the schools were unused to involving students in this kind of way and one of them opted to provide 'gifted and talented' students on the grounds that they would not say anything controversial.

At the beginning of 2005, Ofsted reported on the state of PSHE and Citizenship education in English schools. It concluded that the former was going reasonably well but that the latter had been, in effect, a failure. We believe that this has profound implications for the development of work on interculturalism and community cohesion with children and young people. PSHE is essentially about the relationship with the self and this is where successes are being achieved. Citizenship is about one's relationship with the other, which is where Ofsted identified major weaknesses. Without such a relationship, prejudice and stereotyping become substitutes for an inner understanding of those who are different from ourselves, leaving the self open to exploitation by those with a racist agenda, whether from the extreme right or from those in 'respectable' society who whip up fears about asylum seekers and refugees as a mask for their more deep-seated racism. We would argue that this weakness in Citizenship education in schools reflects a wider problem in society regarding how citizenship is conceptualised. The government's definition seems to be about conforming to prevailing norms, rather than one where citizenship is about empowering the individual to take control of her/his destiny through active engagement in a range of communities.

It is useful to use as a contrast to this the early years practice in the schools in Reggio Emilia in Italy. There, the child is regarded as a citizen from the moment of birth and this idea drives the nature of the educational experience that children encounter from a very young age. Educational practice derives from a social vision of the kind of society that the community wishes to see in the future. Everything else follows on from that. It is no coincidence that Reggio Emilia, in contrast to most other Italian cities, has a rapidly growing population, largely composed of migrants from overseas, because this vision and its practical expression are ready-made for community cohesion. By contrast, in a recent speech, David Bell, the chief inspector of schools in England, defined the sole purpose of good quality early years education as enabling more people to enter the work force.

During the run-up to the Iraq war, when thousands of young people wanted to express their anger at what was happening, schools around Britain, including in Leicester, took a highly punitive approach to any young person who attempted to act as citizens and engage in active protest against the war. In Italy, school students were involved in negotiations with school authorities and the police as to how they could demonstrate their anger, illustrating a very different conception of what it means to be a citizen. British schools demonstrated a profound inability to deal with active citizenship and therefore Ofsted's findings must not come as a surprise. We would argue that a fundamental re-think of the meaning of citizenship is an important pre-condition of successful work with children and young people on community cohesion.

We held two days of discussion with the Year 10 students that the schools had identified and undertook detailed evaluations of their responses. These indicated a very positive attitude towards working with students from other communities and curiously the two aspects of 'Britishness' that seemed to unite almost everyone were sporting achievement and the British army. The latter was before the Iraq war and it would be interesting to see if attitudes were still the same. Despite being Year 10 students, it was very clear that this experience of discussion was new to most of the students, particularly discussion with students beyond the catchment area of the school. It was even the case that some schools struggled even to understand the nature of what we were about. Where things worked well, it was because of very good personal contact with individual teachers. Systemically, however, the process highlighted that democratic discussion and debate is a poor seedling in most of our schools. Again, we want to re-iterate that without a thriving, flourishing approach to real citizenship in schools, efforts to develop community cohesion with young people will not get far.

For work on the second day with the students, we used a local arts group who are highly experienced in working with young people and communities. We asked them to identify the most likely and outspoken students, with a view to forming a group whom we could link with a parallel group of young people in Wigan. As mentioned previously, the two councils had been judged by the government to be beacon authorities for particular aspects of their work and had agreed to link together to explore each other's strengths. The SDSA was asked to devise a programme for the young people side of the exchange and decided to build on the processes that had been developing in the consultation work with Year 10 students. The ethnic profile of Wigan is very different from that of Leicester, with only approximately 2 per cent of the population coming from a minority ethnic background. It is also not far from the northern cities whose riots had given rise to the Cantle report in the first place.

## **PROJECT LEARNING**

We all certainly learned a great deal from the exchange. Establishing follow through on the initial link was not an easy process. We came up against some very different understandings of community cohesion and even a complete lack of 'buy in' on the part of some colleagues in the field of education, who did not see the relevance of community cohesion work. It was through the Youth Service in Wigan that we finally made a breakthrough and they did a first rate job in facilitating and supporting the establishment of a link with a Catholic secondary school that had been undertaking excellent work on community cohesion. The first stage of the project entailed a residential in Leicester over a weekend for the Wigan students, which comprised activities with the Leicester students and the sharing of 'tastings' of Leicester and then a parallel programme in Wigan several months later. The young people were very positive about the experience, although in several cultural respects they could have come from two different countries if the language were not the same. This applied equally to the white students from the two cities, as well as to those from minority ethnic backgrounds.

We were able to have extensive discussions with adults as well and we wish to give two examples of the distance that we have to travel nationally with regard to interculturalism. Firstly, we sometimes had very different understandings of ‘community cohesion’. For some of the people that we met, it was about developing a more ‘Coronation Street’ ethos amongst white communities. Whereas we have come to believe that restoring the history and culture of the white working class in the context of its erasure from the school curriculum is vitally important, we also believe that a ‘turning inward’ to create a mythic community ethos is not the way forward. Indeed, discussion with our Wigan colleagues crystallised our view that the true history of the people of these islands is about the migrant experience, both inward to these islands but also very importantly outwards. As a seafaring people in the past, large numbers of people have been permanent or temporary migrants throughout the world, for example, as soldiers, servants, traders and sailors, yet this profoundly intercultural experience of the British peoples is not taught as such in our schools. It is significant that the main historical topic taught for GCSE is Nazi Germany, which of course has its own importance but which dangerously occludes how history can provide valuable understandings from the past to prepare young people for living in the Britain of the future. When all of the substantial population growth in Britain in the next 15 years will consist of inward migration, we cannot help but think that collectively we often look in the wrong direction regarding the education of the young.

The second illustration concerns the man who tackled us vigorously about Sikhs being allowed to wear turbans instead of the headgear required of other people. We were quite taken aback by this, thinking that this was a debate that had disappeared many years ago. It suggests what many anecdotes point towards, that there is a significant cultural difference between the attitudes in the northern part of England and those in the Midlands and south, an issue that is perhaps of great significance in the light of the London bombings and what has been called the ‘radicalisation of Muslim youth’. Developing much more of a dialogue between the two would seem to be an important step forward for intercultural work and for improved community cohesion but the logistical problems involved should not be underestimated. This has been one of the great lessons that we have learned through our community work with schools in Leicester. The Cattle Report and others talk blithely about twining schools together but even within a small city like Leicester this is highly problematic. To transport children and young people from one location to another is very expensive and one has to add on to this general organisational issues, health and safety, risk assessment and staffing. The reality is that the combination of these factors is serving to isolate young people increasingly within their own school. We all know that, nationally, school trips and residentials are declining because of the growing tangle of regulation and possible litigation surrounding such events.

Essentially, this argues for the urgency of a much more systemic and strategic approach to community cohesion. For one thing, the issues around transport present a real obstacle to developing closer links between schools. A central body that could provide cheap, efficient transport would be a major help. Secondly, it is no use constantly enjoining schools to do things differently. The ratcheting up of pressures on schools year by year has squeezed out the quality thinking time that is needed to move in a different direction. We do not propose additions to the curriculum but a change in the way we look at it. We propose that much could be gained by looking at the current curriculum through intercultural spectacles, with ‘the migrant experience’ as they key theme running through it. This would develop better understandings about the British past, improve community cohesion in the present and prepare children and young people for the waves of migration into Britain that the government is predicting for at least the next two decades.

Finally, we propose that the strands of creativity and citizenship should be brought together, with creativity as the process and real, lived citizenship in community with others as the aim. We want for a moment to dwell on the latter. Not so long ago, Ofsted produced an excellent distance-

learning course in Citizenship. It was radical and forward thinking in its model for the practice of citizenship in schools. As we have said earlier, Ofsted itself has reported on the widespread failure of Citizenship education in our schools. We would argue that the implementation of Ofsted's suggestions in its training material would in themselves revolutionise school practice and, in fact, lead to the re-engagement of adults with politics, which all the political parties say that they want. The importance of this is that, without it, community cohesion will be a damp squib in practice.

## **COMMUNITY COHESION AND THE WHITE WORKING CLASS**

We said earlier that the IDEA report into community relations in Leicester had identified the white working class as perhaps the key issue in improving the quality of community cohesion in the city. In many ways, these are the truly forgotten communities in our society. When the daughter/son of a middle class family goes to school, what they experience is a world that is highly familiar to them, in particular with regard to the kind of English language within which knowledge is encoded in Britain. For the children of the working class, what they experience is a world that is often alien from the one that they know, including the dialect of English used in schools. The version of history and culture that is presented to them is a middle class one, from which all traces of their past have been erased. When the National Curriculum was being revised in 1998/9, prior to its re-issuing as Curriculum 2000, attempts to initiate any discussion about this were fiercely prevented. Similarly, when feedback sessions for teachers and LEA staff on a particular year's SATs have been run by QCA, attempts to suggest that pupils and students are not presented with a level playing field in external assessments because of the material used for assessment purposes have been similarly suppressed. Indeed, we would argue that the experience of pupils and students from a white working class background, particularly those coming from socially and economically disadvantaged communities, have many similarities with those from African Caribbean and Muslim communities, as described by Maurice Coles and Pete Chilvers in their CREAM report for the DfES.

For interculturalism to develop, there first has to be multiculturalism. It is through the confidence that comes from a rootedness within and exploration of one's own culture that one is able to engage with the cultures of others. We would therefore argue that part of the project of multiculturalism in Britain is to restore the history and culture of the white working class back to its people. For example, a city like Leicester has a remarkable history of dissent, including major involvement in the suffragette movement, which is totally absent from the school curriculum. In the mid-nineteenth century, large numbers of very poor Irish economic migrants came to work in Leicester and settled in 'ghettoes' that were regularly attacked by the indigenous population. There were two Orange lodges in the city and all the soldiers of the Leicestershire regiment were expected to be members. Here is a great story of immigration and settlement which one might have thought would provide valuable material for understanding the shared experiences of much of the population of today's city but it is nowhere to be found in the schools. This is, of course, partly a product of the erasure of Irish and Catholic history from the English curriculum and the whole country's inability to face up to its imperial past. The rural churches of Leicestershire frequently contain flags and other mementoes of long-forgotten battles and wars, memories of Britain's past great intercultural adventure. This too is prominent in its absence and we believe should also form part of the task of multiculturalism for the indigenous population.

One of the localised curriculum developments that came out of our community cohesion twinning project was the telling by pupils and students of their personal and family histories. In order to do this, children and young people had to go back to their parents and grandparents and ask them to recount their own memories of the past. The very process of being asked to shape one's experiences into a coherent narrative that others will understand is a way of giving meaning to one's past and of developing reflection and better self-understanding. It gives dignity, worth and value to one's own life experiences, often a devalued commodity for immigrant communities. This proved

to be a powerful experience for the young people involved, linking school and community closer together and in itself helping to cement inter-generational community cohesion. It became even more powerful when the stories were swapped between cultures. For example, our most successful twinning experience was between a Catholic school and a neighbouring junior school with a largely Muslim catchment. The community cohesion work led by these two schools, reinforced by the sharing of stories between pupils of the two schools, has had a very positive material impact on the parents and the local communities.

Much of the current attack on multiculturalism argues that it is about highlighting the differences between communities. It has even been accused in some quarters of having a key responsibility for the London bombings. The truth is, of course, that there is no such thing as a single 'multiculturalism'. Is the use of Mighty Zulu Nation in schools 'multiculturalism'? If you watch a large group of boys from various ethnic groups performing Zulu dance moves totally oblivious of anything other than the movement of the dance, becoming the dance itself and totally oblivious of 'difference', how do we describe and account for what is taking place? Yes, it is 'interculturalism' in practice but it is also so much more. The problem with much that has so far been written about multiculturalism and interculturalism is that it has largely failed to address the issues in terms of the 'blood and bones' of real people and their lived experiences. In their brilliant book *The Many-Headed Hydra: the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker point out that one of the leaders of the Bristol poor in the early eighteenth century was a black Muslim woman. The whole book is an account of the remarkable and shifting communities that developed around the Atlantic littoral from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. In fact, the experience and history of interculturalism has already been forged through hard experience in the past and we would argue that much of our current task is an uncovering, a recuperation, both in terms of individual lives in the communities within which we live today and in terms of the shared experiences of those communities in the recent and more distant past.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

What then is the way forward? Our experience has taught us that the following are the key issues that need to be addressed with some urgency if the practice of community cohesion is to make the intercultural city a reality.

- **Social vision should drive educational practice.** Too often, discussion about developments and changes in educational practice take place in a vacuum, unrelated to the society from which children and young people come and into which they will enter as adults. We believe that the essential premise of all educational thinking is the articulation of the kind of society that we wish to see in the future. Practice then inevitably follows from this, as well as feeding back into the vision, in a virtuous cycle of exchange.
- **Much more rigorous conceptual thinking is needed about what interculturalism and community cohesion mean, both in theory and practice.** Despite a growing amount that is being written about these issues, including government documents focusing on the latter, an analysis of the discourse being used by different writers indicates a disturbing vagueness and imprecision, particularly when the theory comes near to any kind of practice. We believe that this reflects a failure to set up a dynamic interchange between theoretical discussion and practice in the field, so that the lived reality of communities in Britain is still poorly understood.
- **Public policy at both a local and a national level needs to be informed by the rigorous thinking referred to in the previous point.** Poorly thought through policies can do more harm and good. This was identified in the Cattle Report, which pointed out that many initiatives targeted at particular communities had had the effect of erecting more barriers between different communities, producing negative consequences for community cohesion.
- **Strategic leadership of community cohesion is essential, at both a local and a national level.** Successful ad hoc intercultural work is possible but it is likely to lack sustainability without strong strategic leadership. Too much is at stake for community cohesion to be left to well-meaning gesture politics. Perhaps this is inevitable without a rigorous theoretical underpinning but that again underlines the urgency of such an undertaking.
- **The whole school curriculum needs to be reviewed through intercultural spectacles.** We are not proposing fundamental changes to the National Curriculum in terms of removing elements from what already exists and replacing them with new ones. Teachers and schools already suffer from severe pressures and strains and we believe that is very important not to add to these. We would argue, however, that much could be progressed through looking at what exists from a different perspective, the migrant experience, for example.
- **Multiculturalism needs to be re-defined as being applicable to all communities, including the indigenous population.** The term ‘multiculturalism’ has become almost synonymous with Britain’s minority ethnic communities. We believe that this has been hugely damaging to its reputation. ‘Multiculturalism’ in practice should mean what it says i.e. apply inclusively to all communities. The narratives of indigenous white communities have been largely ignored in multicultural work, which again, we would argue, has served only to erect more obstacles to community cohesion rather than helping to develop the intercultural city. If multiculturalism is the route to interculturalism, those who genuinely wish to produce such an outcome must give much more attention to the missing narratives of white communities, particularly those of the white working class.
- **The practice of interculturalism and community cohesion needs to be integral to the work of key monitoring agents.** If government believes that this work is important, then

the monitoring of interculturalism and community cohesion must be structured into the work of processes such as Ofsted inspections, Public Service Agreements and Joint Area Reviews.

- **A fundamental re-think is needed as to how best to develop citizenship in our children and young people.** We would argue that citizenship is developed through its lived practice in democratic processes, that it is not simple information-giving that will make it a reality. A serious approach to citizenship would have profound consequences for the nature of our education system and for the relationship between the teacher and the taught. The intention to involve children and young people in a much more pro-active way, as signalled in the 2004 Children's Act, is an encouraging pointer as to how we might go forward. Vague notions of participation will turn out to be pure tokenism, however, unless they are transformed into hard-edged actions for giving real power and responsibility to young people. We would argue that one indicator of the intercultural city is that it has a Young People's Parliament and active school councils that empower young people to gain a purchase on their own destiny.

*An intercultural political community cannot expect its members to develop a sense of belonging unless it equally values and cherishes them all in their diversity, and reflects this in its structure, policies, conduct of public affairs, self understanding and self-definition.'* ( Leonie Sandercock)

**Maurice Coles and Robert Vincent © 2006**

Maurice Coles and Robert Vincent work at the Schools Development Support Agency in Leicester.  
Contact [beckc900@leicester.gov.uk](mailto:beckc900@leicester.gov.uk)