

Conceptual and Practical Links between Multicultural Education and Democratic Education: A Scandinavian Perspective

Relaciones Conceptuales y Prácticas entre la Educación Multicultural y la Educación Democrática: Una Perspectiva Escandinava

Relações Conceptuais e Práticas entre A Educação Multicultural e Educação Democrática: Uma Perspectiva Escandinava

Heidi Biseth *

University College of Southeast Norway

In this article, two separate educational fields are linked: Multicultural Education and Democratic Education. I also argue that these fields are closely intertwined. The aim of this discussion is to bring together these concepts and to investigate some of the practical implications of such an endeavor. Multicultural education and democratic education are discussed in separate sections before moving on to illustrate the practical implications through four dimensions: 1) Formation of citizens; 2) Justice and Civic Equality; 3) Living together; and 4) Cosmopolitanism.

Keywords: Democratic education, Multicultural education, Scandinavian perspective, Social Justice.

En este artículo se relacionan dos conceptos comúnmente separados, y que sin embargo están estrechamente entrelazados: educación multicultural y educación democrática. El objetivo de este trabajo es unir ambos conceptos e investigar algunas de las implicaciones prácticas que esta unión trae consigo. La educación multicultural y la educación democrática se abordan en el trabajo en secciones separadas, a continuación se ilustran las implicaciones prácticas a través de cuatro dimensiones: 1) Formación de los ciudadanos; 2) Justicia y la Igualdad Cívica; 3) La convivencia; y 4) El cosmopolitismo.

Descritores: Educación democrática, Educación multicultural, Perspectiva escandinava, Justicia Social.

Este artigo descreve dois conceitos comumente separados: educação multicultural e educação democrática. O objetivo deste trabalho é unir os dois conceitos e investigar algumas das implicações práticas que essa união traz. Educação multicultural e educação democrática são abordados em seções separadas de trabalho, em seguida, as implicações práticas em quatro dimensões são ilustradas: 1) Formação de cidadãos; 2) Justiça e Igualdade Cívica; 3) A convivência; e 4) O cosmopolitismo.

Palavras-chave: Educação democrática, Educação multicultural, Perspectiva escandinava, Justiça social.

*Contacto: post@heidibiseth.no

Introduction

In this article I propose to link two separate educational fields. In so doing, I argue that these fields are more than linked, they are closely intertwined. The aim of this discussion is to bring together these concepts and to investigate some of the practical implications of such an endeavor. This is done with a firm conviction that such an exercise will contribute to an expansion of our understanding of democracy, including an appreciation of diversity as something else than an anomaly, rather a state of normalcy in a democracy.

Such a topic can be discussed through many approaches. Since multicultural education and democratic education can be seen as two separate educational fields, the historical development of these academic fields would be interesting to investigate. In order to focus on *the links* between these two fields, however, a major historical outline must yield since it is too vast a theme to summarize adequately in the space available here.

‘Conceptual links’ I understand as moving beyond the search for *similar* concepts within the two fields, attempting to understand and find themes that relate to each other or overlap. ‘Practical links’ are recognized as the practical implications of the conceptual links, to display a pedagogic responsiveness to the conceptual framework, or the effect my particular understanding of these two fields bring off.

I cannot offer a comprehensive account of the topic, but rather an entry point in developing a discussion. First I will provide a brief introduction as to how multicultural education and democratic education respectively can be understood. Then I move on to investigate where and how they actually overlap through discussing four dimensions: 1) developing of citizens; 2) our perspectives on justice; 3) living together; and, 4) a relatively compact and brief discussion of cosmopolitanism, and then I will wrap up.

It must me stressed at the outset that the concepts of multiculturalism and democracy can always be debated. The concepts are ‘portmanteau terms’ in that they encapsulate a variety of sometimes contested meanings. They are “essentially contested concepts”, not because they are constructed, but because the problem of their proper usage is marked by continual debate (Parker, 1996, p. 108). Many formulations and definitions exist and indicate that the terms are ambiguous and the way we tend to use them and the way they capture a social reality are constantly evolving. Consequently, my use of the concepts may vary from how it is used by others.

1. Multicultural education

In Europe, ‘multiculturalism’ has a limited meaning compared to North America. According to Meer and Modood (2012), the concept is referring to a post-immigration urban *mélange*. The dominant meaning of multiculturalism *in politics* relates to the claims of post-immigration groups which then reconciles ideas of multiculturalism to ideas of citizenship, which I will return to. And, hence, multicultural education in a national or Scandinavian context has tended to focus on accommodating diversity, mainly understood as diversity created by people with an immigrant background. Therefore, multicultural education has been preoccupied with issues such as mother tongue or first language teaching and learning, acquisition of the national language, and with how to handle what is considered as cultural and religious deviance from

mainstream Scandinavian societies. In other words, the conceptual focus in education has been on what makes ‘The Others’ different and how we can contribute in a transition from perceived “deviance” towards perceived “normalcy”. Therefore, the subjects of this education are only particular groups of students in the Scandinavian schools.

The origin of multicultural education, however, is possible to trace somewhere else. Multicultural education developed in the US as a response to the Black Civil Rights Movement (Banks, 2009). James Banks would describe it as a particular approach to school reform, designed to actualize education equality for students from diverse groups. Banks also claims that multicultural education promotes democracy and social justice in that it provides all students with equal opportunities to learn. It changes the schools in such a way that it no longer reproduces the existing stratification in society. The dimensions of multicultural education provided to conceptualize and develop practices are:

- a) *content integration*; which deals with the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations and theories in their subject area or discipline;
- b) the *knowledge construction process*; how do teachers help students to understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed within it;
- c) an *equity pedagogy*; how teachers modify their teachings to facilitate the academic achievements of students from diverse groups, applying a wide variety of teaching styles corresponding to learning styles in different groups; preventing the reproduction of the existing stratification in society;
- d) *prejudice reduction* focuses on the characteristics of students’ racial attitudes and how they can be modified by teaching methods and materials; and
- e) an *empowering school culture*; questioning why there is disproportionality in achievements, how students and staff interact across ethnic, religious, and socio-economic lines. These aspects need to be examined to create a school culture which empower students from all groups.

The multicultural education outlined by Banks is a kind of education intended for all, both students and staff – in order to facilitate deep structural changes, increase academic achievement of marginalized youth and promote development of democratic attitudes and values.

It must be noted that James Banks (2009, 2011) as well as Walter Parker (1996) stresses the *E Pluribus Unum*, a phrase on the Seal of the US, also visible on the coins. This Latin phrase can be translated into “Out of many, one”, meaning that the diversity is not only acknowledged but also the foundation or source for “one-ness” or unity – and unity in diversity is indeed needed for a well-functioning democracy - which brings me to the topic of democratic education.

2. Democratic education

As this topic spans several academic disciplines, no unified body of literature exist on the topic of democratic education. Democratic education can be understood as a theory on learning and school governance in which students and staff participate freely and equally in a school democracy. John Dewey (1916/1997) is considered one of the founding fathers, so to speak, of the so-called progressive education movement. Building on this in more recent years, a European Democratic Education Community¹ is established, a non-profit organization which promotes self-determined learning as an important dimension of democratic education, with a learning community based on equality and mutual respect. Both individuals and schools can be members of this organization and in Scandinavia Denmark stands out with three member schools in 2012, with *Den Demokratiske Skole* (The Democratic School) as one example² This represents a rather radical and particular way of running a school with a school environment permeated by a wide authority granted to the students. In Denmark these are private schools which charge school fees. The Scandinavian comprehensive and unified school system is known for its high quality free public schools (Biseth, 2009a, 2010), and a relatively few parents chose or can afford to send their children to private schools. Does this imply that only a selected few schools can claim to have democratic education? If such schools are all that is available of democratic education, I tend to be rather pessimistic about our future democracy since the access is only given to a few, and often privileged. I affirm, however, that our public schools also can provide democratic education as democratic citizenship education, i.e. education of all young people in the values and virtues that we assert that our democratic societies require. It is furthermore a contribution in the construction of identities and orients moral conduct for group life (Levinson, 2011). Citizenship under democracy is different than citizenship under authoritarian governments, it often implies collaboration and participation. The aim of democratic citizenship education is implicitly to invoke democracy (Levinson, 2011). A sustainable democracy necessitates citizenship education since the historical record indicates that civic competencies are not naturally occurring in humans (Parker, 1996).

Walter Parker (1996) holds three conceptions of citizenship education which can prove fruitful in this discussion, categorizing them as follows:

- The *traditional conception* of citizenship education includes knowledge and understanding of how governments work, skills for required political behavior (e.g., voting), in addition to a commitment to what is considered core democratic values;
- The *progressive conception* of citizenship education incorporates the traditional one with more focus on deliberation, working for a stronger democracy and promote the individual participation;
- Whereas the traditional and progressive conceptions of citizenship education, according to Parker, relates to the *unum* (the unity or one-ness),

¹ More information is available on their website: <http://www.eudec.org/index.html>.

² Now the numbers are reduced and *Den Demokratiske Skole* at Jutland, Denmark, appears to be closed. Left is Roskilde Sudbury School. More info here: http://www.roskildesudburyskole.dk/html/om_skolen/succes.html.

an *advanced conception* of citizenship education takes into consideration the *pluribus*, diversity in society visible through, e.g., gender, ethnicity, religion, and pay attention to inherent tensions between pluralism and assimilation. It operates in the critical junction of democracy and diversity.

Our existing theoretical frames and normative commitments carry an *implicit* democratic charge – with a focus on justice, equity, and inclusiveness. The implicit of it all, however, often fails to orient us explicitly towards questions and debates of political agency (Levinson, 2011). Themes of citizenship education are rather invisible and implicit in the Scandinavian school curriculum, indicating that we often tend to lean more towards the traditional conception of citizenship education than towards the advanced one. Maybe this also relates to what kind of understanding of democracy that is present among educators?³

Citizenship education is a fluctuating conception, but democracy is not a fixed entity either, and Levinson (2011) provides us with an illustrative continuum (figure 1):

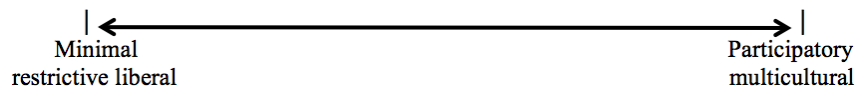


Figure 1. A continuum of democracy

Note: Retrieved from Levinson (2011).

The minimal end of the continuum appears not conducive of diversity and can be exemplified with societies which are sexist, racist or classist, e.g., in the democracy in the city state of Athens in Ancient Greece where only affluent men were considered citizens, not women, children or slaves (cf., Gundara, 2011). They were excluded from the democracy. Or in early Scandinavia where land-owning men were the ones considered citizens and with the right to vote.

Democracies today seem to have moved more in direction towards the right on the continuum, by including more people into the citizenry. But still we can pose the question on how much diversity we do allow? Political diversity, i.e. multi-party system, is common. What about social diversity and cultural diversity? How we educate our citizens for each end of the continuum is radically different. And maybe it is possible to use Parker's (1996) different conceptions of citizenship education to illustrate this?

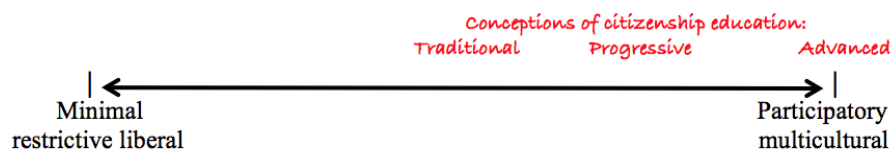


Figure 2. A continuum of democracy and notions of citizenship education

Note: Retrieved from Levinson (2011) and Parker (1996).

To educate each member of society so that they can imagine both social belonging and exercise their participation as democratic citizens requires an advanced conception of

³ See some of my previous work for an elaboration of this (Biseth, 2009b, 2010, 2012).

citizenship education where plurality constitutes an essential element. My argument is that minimal democracy is today “out of date”, not in touch with social reality nor with international obligations. Learning takes place in a socio-historic environment as well as a socio-cultural environment (Daniels, 2007). To acquire theoretical concepts, imply knowledge about the history and background of these concepts. This provides tools to understand and critically analyze different aspects of society and the world. We tend to say that learning is situated within a community of learners. Can students, regardless of identity, see themselves as part of a diversity society as well as classroom culture and to the right part of the continuum presented above?

This question brings me to the practical implications of the conceptual interplays between multicultural education and democratic education. I will focus on four dimensions and the first will be given most attention.

3. Formation of citizens

In the interplay between multicultural education and democratic education it is necessary to ask the following questions:

- What kind of citizenship do we want to promote?
- What kind of democratic citizens do we need for a sustainable society and democracy?
- How do we perceive a “good” citizen?
- Does formation of citizens transgress political dimensions (Parker’s traditional conception of citizenship education)?
- Do we educate for participation in civil society?

There are no simple answers to these questions. The answers relate to, among other things, how we understand what democracy and citizenship is – and is not. And for what kind of democracy we want to educate our young ones, with what kinds of cultural sensibility, deliberative competencies and political agency (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). If we see a close conceptual link between multicultural education and democratic education, the citizens need to be rather advanced, and educated for a participatory democracy.

When discussing dimensions on citizenship and civic learning in his book *Learning Democracy in School and Society*, Biesta (2011) separates civic learning into a *socialization* conception and a *subjectification* conception. If we adhere to the idea of democracy as consensus rather than in terms of plurality, disagreement and conflict, citizenship education is about socializing students into their role as active citizens, and they actively participate when they subscribe to the existing order and actively contribute to its reproduction. In this role, protest and unconventional forms of active citizenship are not seen as ingredients of a socially cohesive society. The role of education is to make “newcomers” ready for participation in the existing social and political order. This perspective on citizenship entails that democratic traits are an individual endeavor – and provides us with the possibility of measuring the level of democratic citizenship in an individual, for example as is done through IEA’s CIVED (e.g., Mikkelsen, Buk-Berge, Ellingsen, Fjeldstad, & Sund, 2001; Mikkelsen, Fjeldstad, & Ellingsen, 2002; Torney-

Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999) and ICCS studies (e.g., Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Fjeldstad, Lauglo, & Mikkelsen, 2010; Bruun, 2010; Skolverket, 2010).

Another conception of citizenship education, *subjectification*, moves beyond the reproduction of the existing democratic order and understand democracy as an ongoing process, of a unity in a context of conflict and diversity. Citizenship depends on the acts of the citizens, you become a subject when you act. Politics is then a process of subjectification, a process through which new ways of doing and being come into existence, it is a supplement to the existing order because it adds something to this order. Then democratic traits are seen as belonging to the individual-in-context or the individual-in-interaction (Biesta, 2011). Westheimer and Kahne (2004) are using different words than Biesta but nevertheless providing us with an illustrative and concrete example. Imagine that some people in the community lack food (table 1).

Table 1. What would a “good” citizen do and why?

PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN	PARTICIPATORY CITIZEN	JUSTICE-ORIENTED CITIZEN
	<i>Sample action:</i>	
<u>Contributes</u> to a food drive	<u>Helps to organize</u> a food drive	<u>Explores why</u> people are hungry and <u>acts to solve root causes</u>
	<i>Core assumptions:</i>	
To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible, and law-abiding members of the community.	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures.	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question, debate, and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time.

Note: Retrieved from Westheimer & Kahne (2004, p. 240).

The acts of a personally responsible citizen can be expected to be a contribution to a food drive based on expectation of the citizen to feel responsible and contribute to improve society. Biesta (2011) may claim that this person has been through a citizen education emphasizing socialization into the existing order. The participatory citizen described by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) would move beyond this. Not only contributing to a food drive, but initiating and help organizing one. The justice-oriented citizen, however, would investigate why some people experience a scarcity of food and work to challenge and change a society of injustice. Through a citizenship education in which subjectification of the individual is the aim, the citizen is enabled to add to the existing order (Biesta, 2011). I would argue that the latter characteristics of a citizen is what is needed to achieve a sustainable democracy.

4. Justice and civic equality

A central aspect of democracy is that basic rights are guaranteed all citizens (Beetham, 1999; Held, 2006; Saward, 1994). This is to protect minorities from injustice and promote equality. All citizens are to be treated equally, regardless of gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, political perspectives or religion (Gutmann, 2004). Knowledge about this is crucial in democratic education. What are the implications in everyday school life? A thorough understanding of how justice plays out in society should be part

of democratic citizenship education. Theoretical and conceptual tools are important instruments for learning. Development of skills in applying basic rights in different scenarios, both imaginary and contemporary is important. For example: How and to what extent do laws protect an individual's right to carry a head scarf, hijab or a kippa in public and in private? Public debates about this topic have taken place and constitute an opportunity to discuss justice in a multicultural society. Relevant in this regard is also the Norwegian court case of Anders Behring Breivik. He is the perpetrator of the July 22, 2011, attack on the Norwegian Parliament and on Worker's Youth League summer camp, killing 77 people. In his Manifesto⁴ a far-right militant ideology is visible, particularly opposing a multicultural society, denying specific groups justice and equality. Radical and deviating political views and deeds are obviously a part of our society. Breivik belongs to a minority. Nevertheless, our democratic system is visible in that he is entitled to a court trial, following the customary judicial procedure of Oslo city court⁵.

Amy Gutmann (2004) claims that multicultural education in democracies can help further civic equality in at least two ways: first, by expressing the democratic value of tolerating cultural differences that are consistent with civic equality, and second, by recognizing the role that cultural differences have played in shaping society and the world in which we live. Civic equality calls for an education that empowers the citizens to disagree, and to deliberate over their disagreements. If claims to toleration and recognition are assessed on grounds of civic equality, then among the most significant variations among groups will be their tolerance or intolerance of their dissenting members and other groups.

A central argument by Bhikhu Parekh (2001, 2006) is that cultural diversity and social pluralism are of intrinsic value precisely because they challenge people to evaluate strengths and weaknesses of their own cultures and ways of life. It stretches our imagination and challenges our categories of thought. This, then, constitute an important part of citizenship education in that independent and critical thinking are seen as core competencies. In other words, the plurality of society can be used in democratic citizenship education to promote desired democratic skills. And then the next dimensions is appropriate.

5. Living together

Citizenship is not only a relationship between the individual and the state, but also a relationship between individuals of the polity (Levinson, 2011). Democracy in and of itself, as I have argued elsewhere, stimulates as well as require diversity (Arendt, 1998; Biesta, 2006; Biseth, 2014). Through diversity we need to find a way of living together, with all our co-citizens. Democratic education is a tool to achieve this means. Cooperation and collaboration are crucial features of effective teaching and learning in socio-cultural theory. Vygotsky, who is well known among those working with pedagogy in the Scandinavian countries, has heavily influenced educational theory and

⁴ "2083 – A European Declaration of Independence": <https://info.publicintelligence.net/>

⁵ In 2012 he was convicted of mass murder, causing a fatal explosion and terrorism, and sentenced to 21 years preventive detention. The sentence is available in Norwegian, for example through the major Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/Her-er-hele-dommen-mot-Anders-Behring-Breivik-6973988.html>.

practice. The call for, and regulations on, individually adjusted education is but one example of this influence. How is this relevant for this topic? His theory on the Zone of Proximal Development and the importance of scaffolding indicates a suggestion of responsiveness to diversity rather than imposition of “sameness” in learning and teaching (Daniels, 2007). We are individual human beings, with all the diversity this entails. We are also members of a community, a pluralistic community. It is in this community we live; this is our social context for learning. Education needs to recognize and create a pedagogic context in which combined teacher and learner effort results in a successful outcome – a classroom in which the student can appear competent. The individual adjusted education as core of Scandinavian education is, hence, a part of both multicultural education and citizenship education.

In our diverse democratic societies, we will also experience a population and individuals with multiple identities. Banks (2011) operates with three levels of identifications: cultural, national, and global identifications. These three identifications are highly interrelated, complex, and contextual. It is not a zero-sum conception of society; i.e. more national identification leads to less cultural identification. Individuals are capable of having multiple identifications. We all relate to cultural, national and global markers of identification, but the degree to which we have one or the other, and what they consist of, varies. Schools need to enable students to understand how life in their cultural communities and nations influences other nations and the cogent influence that international events have on their daily lives. They need to “acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function within and across diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups” (Banks, 2011, p. 250). If we only give priority to a national identity within our education system, we neglect important aspects of democratic education, namely to provide students with the skills and knowledge they need to function in an increasingly interconnected global world. Global identification leads to the next dimension of the interplay between multicultural education and democratic education.

6. Cosmopolitanism

‘Cosmopolite’ in Ancient Greece meant “citizen of the world” and is traced back to the Greek philosopher Diogenes. Cosmopolitanism indicates the worldwide community of human beings and Nussbaum (1994) argues in her text *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* that this implies a moral commitment to a community transcending our local one. The role of education in fostering such commitments is emphasized by Nussbaum, and in particular how human rights values can serve as a basis for global identification and a sense of allegiance to the entire humanity. Frímansson (2011) concur with Nussbaum when discussing ‘ethical cosmopolitanism’ as “the idea that everyone has rights and duties to all other persons irrespective of the context of their lives, where they live their lives, how they live their lives, or what their religion is” (p. 87) International human rights instruments, such as the Convention of the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989), are universal legal obligations and indicators of an existing cosmopolitan perspective (Frímansson, 2011). Appiah (2007) makes explicit how cosmopolitanism, and the global ethics it entails, displays how the distinction between “Us” and “Them”, the discussion of diversity as in difference, are both exaggerated and redundant. Rather than focusing on the foreignness of the foreigner, the practical implications of

cosmopolitanism is linking multicultural education with an education about, for and through democracy. Teaching and learning about the world is, hence, something that only constitutes a community of “Us”, a community that we all share.

7. In closing

The aim of this chapter was to discuss conceptual and practical links between multicultural education and democratic education. In so doing I have illustrated with four dimensions how multicultural education and democratic education have a conceptual interplay with certain practical implications. Numerous other links exist, implying that these dimensions not constitute an exhaustive list. Moreover, the fields of multicultural education and democratic education may at first glance appear with many differences or radical dissimilarities. I argue that they are relatively few and that we are rather faced with distinctions, diverse nuances of a significant topic. In other words, I assert the assumption that multicultural education and democratic education are not only linked, but are rather two sides of the same coin.

References

- Appiah, K. A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism: ethics in a world of strangers*. London: Penguin Books.
- Arendt, H. (1998). *The human condition*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Banks, J. A. (2009). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *The Routledge international companion to multicultural education* (pp. 303-322). New York: Routledge.
- Banks, J. A. (2011). Educating citizens in diverse societies. *Intercultural Education*, 22(4), 243-251. doi:10.1080/14675986.2011.617417
- Beetham, D. (1999). *Democracy and human rights*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Biesta, G. J. J. (2006). *Beyond learning: democratic education for a human future*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Biesta, G. J. J. (2011). *Learning democracy in school and society. Education, lifelong learning, and the politics of citizenship*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Biseth, H. (2009a). Democracy and education in a multicultural Scandinavia. What mandate is designated to educators? *Intercultural Education*, 20(3), 243-254. doi:10.1080/14675980903138590
- Biseth, H. (2009b). Teachers' voices: challenges with democracy in culturally complex Scandinavian schools. In H. Holmarsdottir & M. O'Dowd (Eds.), *Nordic voices: teaching and researching comparative and international education in the Nordic countries* (pp. 121-142). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Biseth, H. (2010). Diversity and democracy in Scandinavian schools: examples of good practices? In C. Govaris & S. Kaldi (Eds.), *The educational challenge of diversity in the international context* (pp. 75-98). Münster: Waxmann.
- Biseth, H. (2012). Citizenship education in Scandinavian multicultural schools: A comparative study of students' and teachers' perceptions. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 7(1), 71-88. doi:10.1386/ctl.7.1.71_1

- Biseth, H. (2014). MÅ vi snakke om demokrati? [Do we HAVE TO talk about democracy?]. In J. Madsen & H. Biseth (Eds.), *MÅ vi snakke om demokrati? Om demokratiske praksiser i skolen* [Do we HAVE TO talk about democracy? On democratic practices in school]. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Bruun, J. (2010). *ICCS 2009, International main results*. København: Aarhus Universitet.
- Daniels, H. (2007). Pedagogy. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 307-331). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1916/1997). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York: Free Press/Simon & Schuster.
- Fjeldstad, D., Lauglo, J., & Mikkelsen, R. (2010). *Demokratisk beredskap: Kortrapport om norske ungdomsskoleelevers prestasjoner og svar på spørsmål i den internasjonale demokratiundersøkelsen International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS 2009)* [Democratic preparedness: A short report on Norwegian junior high school students' achievements and answers to the questions in the international democracy study]. Oslo: IEA/Universitetet i Oslo.
- Frimansson, G. H. (2011). Cosmopolitanism, nationalism, citizenship and the classroom. *Nordic Studies in Education*, 31(2), 86-95.
- Gundara, J. S. (2011). Ancient Athenian democratic knowledge and citizenship: connectivity and intercultural implications. *Intercultural Education*, 22(4), 231-241. doi:10.1080/14675986.2011.617416
- Gutmann, A. (2004). Unity and diversity in democratic multicultural education: creative and destructive tensions. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Diversity and citizenship education: global perspectives* (pp. 71-98). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Held, D. (2006). *Models of democracy*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, B. A. U. (2011). Toward an anthropology of (democratic) citizenship education. In B. A. U. Levinson & M. Pollock (Eds.), *A companion to the anthropology of education* (pp. 279-298). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Meer, N. & Modood, T. (2012). How does interculturalism contrast with multiculturalism? *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33(2), 175-196. doi:10.1080/07256868.2011.618266
- Mikkelsen, R., Buk-Berge, E., Ellingsen, H., Fjeldstad, D., & Sund, A. (2001). *Demokratisk beredskap og engasjement hos 9. klassinger i Norge og 27 andre land: civic education study* [Democratic preparedness and commitment in grade 9 students in Norway and 27 other countries: civic education study]. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.
- Mikkelsen, R., Fjeldstad, D., & Ellingsen, H. (2002). *Demokratisk beredskap og engasjement hos elever i videregående skole i Norge og 13 andre land: Civic Education Study* [Democratic preparedness and commitment in students in senior high school in Norway and 13 other countries: civic education study]. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1994). *Patriotism and cosmopolitanism*. Retrieved from <http://bostonreview.net/martha-nussbaum-patriotism-and-cosmopolitanism>
- Parekh, B. (2001). Democracy, education and multiculturalism: dilemmas of citizenship in a global world. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 33(1), 157-211. doi:10.1017/s0022216x0050604x
- Parekh, B. (2006). *Rethinking multiculturalism: cultural diversity and political theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Parker, W. (1996). "Advanced" ideas about democracy. Toward a pluralist conception of citizenship education. *Teachers College Record*, 98(1), 104-125.
- Saward, M. (1994). Democratic theory and indices of democratization. In D. Beetham (Ed.), *Defining and measuring democracy* (pp. 228-247). London: Sage.
- Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., & Losito, B. (2010). *Initial findings from the IEA international civic and citizenship education study*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.
- Skolverket. (2010). Morgondagens medborgare. *ICCS 2009: svenska 14-åringars kunskaper, värderingar och deltagande i internationell belysning* [Citizens of tomorrow. *ICCS 2009: swedish 14-year old's knowledge, valuation and participation in an international comparison*]. Stockholm: Author.
- Torney-Purta, J. V., Schwille, J., & Amadeo, J.-A. (1999). *Civic education across countries: twenty-four national studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.
- Westheimer, J. & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Education Research Journal*, 41(2), 237-269. doi:10.3102/00028312041002237

Short CV of the author

Heidi Biseth

Associate Professor, University College of Southeast Norway, conducts research on democracy, diversity, human rights in a critical and comparative perspective. She heads a research group on human rights, citizenship and diversity, heads a research project on Democracy in Teacher Education in Norway, and works closely with the field of practice on these topics. Biseth is engaged in international networks in comparative and international education and has extensive experience with research, professional development and teaching in Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa. Biseth is the Vice-President of the Nordic Comparative and International Education Society (NOCIES). Email: post@heidibiseth.no