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Against the waste of experiences in intercultural learning

Dedicated to Jean-Marie Bergeret and Peter Lauritzen,
for the guidance, for the intellectual rigueur and for the inspiration.

Intercultural learning has played a key role in non-formal education processes with young people, especially those associated with youth programmes and activities of the Council of Europe and of the European Commission.

The main purpose of intercultural learning: To inflect ethnocentric perspectives, fight prejudices and to promote solidarity actions that support equality in human dignity and respect for the plurality of cultural identities; remains fully valid and more relevant than ever in European societies, whose futures are further intertwined and interdependent with the rest of the world. This article seeks to engage in a critique of intercultural learning by: i) re-stating its key premises; ii) exploring current challenges; and iii) proposing a renewed criticism of the concepts and practices of intercultural learning as a way to realise the potential it carries for social transformation. The article also explores a possible relation between intercultural learning and intercultural dialogue in which the former can be understood as the necessary educational approach to the latter.

1/ Intercultural learning and critical pedagogy

One of the major sociological features of the XX century in Europe was the clear acknowledgement of youth as a social group and a public entity with a powerful voice; able to claim changes and ask for real participation in social and political terrains. These developments contrasted with the instrumentalisation of “youth” by the totalitarian regimes of the first half of the century. This became more evident in the 60’s when youth movements began to seriously challenge the status quo of political actors and public power. One of the most

interesting results of this movement triggered by political action was the inclusion of ‘youth participation’ as one of the major topics in the political discourse and, symmetrically, a major concern for educators and policy makers (Guilherme, 2002:1). This societal atmosphere and turbulence in Europe and the intense exchange between European and non-European thinkers brought to the arena of the educational discourse a new approach known as critical pedagogy. This ‘critical pedagogy’ is not only a critique of the past but aims to give to education a strong potential for reflection, dialogue, dissent, empowerment and democratic learning. i.e. To contribute to the shaping of active and autonomous citizens based on criti-

cal thinking. As Paulo Freire² alerted at the time, education is intrinsically a political act because it does not aim to establish just a formal literacy, but the ability to read the world in a critical way in order to transform it (Freire, 1970). So, ethics are crucial and are at the heart of education (Giroux, 1989, 1997).

In the early nineties Europe was intensively shaken again by profound changes: The fall of the wall in Berlin and its enormous political and social consequences; the war in the Balkans countries; the intensification of globalisation processes³; the generalised dismantling of welfare states; the new demographic realities of increasingly older European societies; The perceived increase of migration “waves” from non-European countries; the new transnational alliances among worker’s unions and social movements; and a new awareness of common inheritances of humanity. These are some of the most important macro events that influenced the way in which young people, politicians and educators started to re-think education.

Education both inside and outside schools, has become a clear political stake for the construction of a new subjectivity, let’s say, a renewed European identity based on a certain set of cultural specificities: a democratic Europe from the west to the east and from the south to the north; the social European model informed by the Rule of Law and Human Rights; a multicultural Europe living in peace together; and an economically efficient Europe which education and life-long learning would make the most competitive space in the world by 2010 (Lisbon agenda). In continuity with the first experiences of the 80’s, it was in this context that the recognition of the value and importance of non-formal education transformed European policy aimed specifically at young people.

Progressively, the youth policies of the European institutions would adopt some of these realities and transform them into objectives. The various European youth programmes, including youth exchanges and European voluntary service schemes have progressively become instruments for these aims, provided with specific resources, clear aims and functioning as the necessary complement of schooling. It also became clear that the ‘critical pedagogy’ born in those now challenging decades of the 60’s and 70’s was not able to change the school system as deeply as necessary nor as was hoped for by those generations⁴. New spaces and methodologies for ‘citizen education’ started to be recognized among the youth initiatives and youth organizations.

During the eighties and nineties in the Council of Europe, especially within its youth sector and its educational policy, a

relatively new concept became the ‘heart’ of the most enthusiastic discussions and methodological thoughts and proposals; ‘intercultural learning’. The focus on this concept fed on various factors: the evident rise and complexity of cultural diversity in Europe, the role of young people in the public realm and the heritage of ‘critical pedagogy’ that always accompanied it: dialogue, dialogical relations between subjects and communities, democracy, redistribution of power and peaceful social transformation. The most striking example of this is probably the development of the programme of training courses of the European Youth Centre and in particular the creation and popularisation of the long-term training courses. In the LTTCs intercultural learning became an aim and an educational approach to youth cooperation. In parallel to this process, the Youth for Europe programme (and its successors) played a key role in streamlining intercultural learning.

► What is intercultural learning really about?

The works of Hendrik Otten (1997) – with his “Ten theses on the correlation between youth encounters” - and Peter Lauritzen (1998) – had a key role in establishing the conceptual frameworks and the epistemological foundations of intercultural learning⁵.

“What we miss is the courage to understand all what we know and to draw conclusions from it.”

Sven Lindqvist⁶

There are probably as many definitions of intercultural learning as there are of culture. We would like to use the one put forward by Equipo Claves that sees intercultural education as “a process of social education aimed at promoting a positive relationship between people and groups from different cultural backgrounds” (Equipo Claves, 1992:82) not only because it is at the basis of

the Education Pack “all different – all equal” but also because it recognises the necessary correlation between personal/individual learning/action and group/collective learning/action.

It is important at this point to re-visit some of the fundamental topics which ‘Intercultural Learning’ – as a concept and as an educational methodology – brought into the debate and into educational practices. We present three of the most relevant issues that constructed the corpus of this quest for a positive intercultural living in European context.

a/ Tolerance to ambiguity

‘The tolerance to ambiguity’ (Otten, 1997)⁶ means, on one hand, the recognition of the cultural differences among European societies and communities and the other hand, to acknowledge the intrinsic incomplete character of each cultural system and, therefore, to accept the ambiguity and multiple uncertainties generated by the cultural encounter⁷.



As stated above, the crucial potential of this concept of ‘tolerance to ambiguity’ is not only based on the recognition of diversity and difference but on learning how to learn from and work positively with it. It does mean also to include uncertainty, in-determination in education – which is already revolutionary because education by definition should be normative and reproductive. Ultimately, this means not only to develop respect and reverence for the existence of the ‘Other’ but also to educate our minds and social behaviour to the ‘unknown’ as a positive cultural research “browser”, in order to enlarge our capacities for dialogue and living together.

The very modern presumption that everything has to be explained and verified is seriously challenged by this concept. In fact, ‘tolerance to ambiguity’ is the precondition of any intercultural approach that de-centres the discourse and the practices from the dominant culture; ensuring that it is possible to voice what is considered the ‘margins’. Following this reasoning ‘tolerance to ambiguity’ is a requisite for a dialogical route even when we do not/will not master every element in the process. This concept announces emancipation for all rather than the assimilation of some.

Some would state that ‘tolerance to ambiguity’ is, in this sense, a post-modern concept. However it is important to stress that this concept and its translation into educational methodologies ought not to be used as a mere celebration of the differences. Rather it should be a common effort to find multiple senses and potentialities from the cultural encounters. It is a powerful tool of empowerment for local and global transformation.

Peter Lauritzen conceptualized much of this innovative insight and in a co-operative way constructed operational frameworks that could be applied to different educative activities as a paradigm of “European Education”. The heuristic⁸ capacity of the ‘tolerance to ambiguity’ in education has been demonstrated by the development of an important range of European training courses, workshops, and forums, realized and evaluated since the early nineties at the European Youth Centres or supported by its qualified trainers and advisors. At the heart of these initiatives was this main idea: it is possible to live together in peace if we tolerate to build up a Europe where the other, the unknown, takes part of it and is fully recognized as constitutional to its richness. Intercultural learning implies thus discovery and transgression (Lauritzen, 1998) as well to be able to deal positively with insecurity and uncertainty. The ambiguity concerns the very concept of culture and cultural determination: it will be impossible to interpret and explain facts and behaviours on the basis of cultural diversity only – while at the same time expanding the capacity for cultural competence. Intercultural learning values knowledge about cultural diversity while at the same time it implies a relativisation of the role of cultural knowledge. Otherwise, the culturally competent will be the interpreter of the other in the same way that Orientalists⁹ sought to understand and conceptualise better the “Oriental people” than the ones concerned.

b/ Diatopical hermeneutics¹⁰

Another competence associated to ‘intercultural learning’ practices and its theoretical discussions is the relationship between majority groups and minority groups in the European social and political context (Brander, Gomes et al., 1998; Council of Europe, 2004a). It is clear that diversity inside Europe happens socially and educationally within a power relations system, where there are some who see themselves and are perceived as the majority and those who are perceived or who feel themselves as minorities. The endless discussion about the overlapping identities and how through them each person can live as a member of a majority and at the same time belong to a minority group, is an important question but is not the main concern of our analysis here. We believe that ‘intercultural learning’ aims to explicitly question ethnocentrism and its power to become normative (as in becoming the norm) to the mainstream to which the other cultures have to be confronted and evaluated.

In this sense, approaching, discussing and educating for positive relations between majorities and minorities is a strong political and ethical standpoint. It means that we recognize and use cultural dynamism, global interdependency and common responsibilities (Gomes, 1998: 75-77), as analytical and educational tools; putting into question the prevalence of one cultural mode over another one. In other words, a monolithic reason versus a cosmopolitan reason (Cunha, 2007). This can be criticised as cultural relativism but in fact it is not. The main argument is that these dialogues and relationships among and between majority and minorities have to be based on the development of mutual empathy, equality in human dignity and mutual recognition. This mutual humanization (i.e. in seeing and accepting the others as fellow human beings with needs and aspirations of equal value and legitimacy to one’s own) requires responsive translation systems between cultures and powerful work methodologies. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2004; 2006) proposes a ‘diatopical hermeneutics’, which means that emancipatory ‘intercultural learning’ has to adopt procedures that recognize that all cultural systems have concepts of human dignity, respect for the others, peaceful relations modes, and positive conflict solving mechanisms. By refusing what he calls the laziness of the modern reason, we can empower individuals and communities to build up social justice and balanced relations between majorities and minorities provided that we do not waste the best features that exist in each culture.

This is crucial to the very idea of a European construction process that has to question hegemonic relations and cultural dominance characterised by the monopolistic “hijacking” of positive human values. And it is also, of course, of paramount importance to shape intercultural dialogue between states and people in a globalised world where precisely, some of the globalised elements may overshadow the local dimensions. The incapacity of ethnocentrism to provide education with strong answers to the complex questions faced by young

people today is clear and increasingly accepted. This is why racism, sexism, hetero-sexism or xenophobia are topics to be dealt by education because they were and they are perceived, in each specific culture, as manifestation and blockages to the common good. So mutuality, 'diatopical hermeneutics', consists in discovering in every culture (majority or minority) their endogenous principles that inform non-racist, non-sexist, non-heterosexist and non-violent social practices. This means that inside every culture there are mechanisms that can be mobilized to construct an inclusive, respectful, peaceful society and a better Europe for everyone.

c/ Intercultural learning and social change

The third topic that we would like to address is about 'intercultural learning' as a tool for social change. It becomes clear that using 'tolerance to ambiguity' and 'diatopical hermeneutics' as the main framework for 'intercultural learning' we cannot avoid the following question: what happens if we put into practice those principles, values and methods on a Europe-wide scale? Europe would certainly change profoundly and the main actors of this change would be the young people who have been more exposed to this educational approach. So, why hasn't it happened already?

▶ Empathy and solidarity

These three dimensions of intercultural learning have to be associated and thought over with two other notions as argued by Lauritzen (1998) and Otten (1997). They are empathy and solidarity.

Empathy as the attitude to try to see things from the point of view of the other (or how the other would feel) and ultimately the ability to place oneself in new situations (Ibid.) is also a necessary step towards addressing the prejudice and ethnocentrism that all of us have been educated into. Acknowledging that empathy itself is influenced by prejudice and that it must take into account respect for the identity (and uniqueness) of the other will also be the role of tolerance of ambiguity.

The learning function of solidarity is perfectly described by Lauritzen as "the practical, social and political side to empathy" (1998: 10) and includes the capacity to interact and work with others, undertaking social and political action and the ability to challenge and transgress existing power structures. In the globalised post-modern society a particular emphasis is being placed on the individual responsibility to solidarity, as in inter-generational solidarity, citizenship education or the concern for environment protection. This is particularly strong with the concerns for human security, global warming and climate change, for example, in which the calls for individual responsibility often mask the inability of consequent political actions. In intercultural learning, and a fortiori in intercultural dialogue, the meaning of solidarity has to be rediscovered so as to recognise, for example, the solidarities of

those who are the target of our solidarity and the need to take into account historical injustices.

Within Europe, the sense of solidarity has also to be re-assessed so as to be placed back at the heart of European integration, especially for the young generations who discover "Europe" as a matter of fact. In social terms, the concept of solidarity should also be used to balance the (over) weight sometimes given to cultural difference and diversity in relation to social cohesion. Cultural identities are not the only determining factor in social relations and they can certainly not explain, nor legitimise, situations of social exclusion and growing levels of acceptance of poverty and misery as unavoidable. The role of human rights education in this respect can only be highlighted in the same sense that human rights education and intercultural learning serve fundamentally the same purpose of securing equality in human dignity and the fight against all forms of discrimination.

Taking 'Intercultural Learning' seriously means that we have in our hands not only an innovative re-interpretation of critical thinking and critical pedagogy but also a relevant accumulation of knowledge about its possibilities and limitations. In fact we do recognize that all this work, done all around Europe with so many different young people, qualifying hundreds of multipliers and trainers, to disseminate and make operational these education values, is far from being a wide spread reality. On the contrary, recent years have brought more questions and more awareness about the possible limits of 'intercultural learning' than never before. Somehow it has discredited 'intercultural learning' because it did not produce that decisive cultural change needed to create the balanced and peaceful Europe that the majority of Europeans dreamed of.

"The limits of intercultural learning are in this respect, the same as the limits of any educational programme" (Bergeret, 1995: 3), they are also narrowed by the inherent freedom and creativity associated with intercultural learning in non-formal education practices. The popularisation of intercultural learning as mere techniques for group work and simulations of culture has of course, not contributed to its success outside the circle of the converted. But we should certainly avoid throwing away the baby with the water.

It is clear that 'faith' in education has to be harmoniously questioned by a rationality which comprehends that deep changes are crossroads between various and complex factors and instruments. The theme of this reflection gives us some clues that can be useful to a more complete and complex analysis. Firstly we are convinced that this discredit of the potential of 'Intercultural Learning' does not help to interpret the new societal conditions that have emerged in the recent years. A period where terms like unavoidable capitalist concentration, terrorism, exclusivism, fundamentalism, segregation, fear and insecurity, among others, have become a globalised crucial concern. On the contrary, 'Intercultural Learning'

and its associated concepts represent an important tool for emancipation, justice, peaceful co-existence and addressing global concerns together. As with Paulo Freire, also Giroux (1997) underlines in their analyses, the right step forward is to pass from the 'pedagogy of the oppressed' (Freire, 1970) to the 'pedagogy of hope' (Freire, 2004). This means that we need to look carefully to the new conditions, to use our collective genius to give significance to what is emerging.

Secondly, it is necessary to renovate the collective resilience to act, transform and construct a Europe of and for the People and Social Justice, Intense Democratic Values, Inalienable Human Rights and the recognition of the pluriversalities of human dignity. It is interesting to recall here the inspirational alert made by Cándido Grzybowski¹¹ when he states that the worse thing that hegemonic globalization is producing is the absence of plural thinking and the destruction of the capacity to hope and dream. We would thus argue that the possibility to undertake a contemporary critique of the 'Intercultural Learning' as we have experienced in the last two decades in Europe remains necessary to preserve intact our capacity to hope and dream.

2/ Intercultural Dialogue

Intercultural dialogue has progressively emerged as a concept. It seeks to embrace the processes associated with the coexistence of and communication between different peoples and cultures in a way that respects the need for social cohesion and for respect of the diversity of identities and pluralities of belonging.

The notion of intercultural dialogue used by the Council of Europe for its White Paper is particularly useful to intercultural learning: It comprises an "open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage" that should lead to the understanding of different views of the world.

By making intercultural dialogue one of its core missions, the Council of Europe gives it a prominent role and acknowledges the need for consistent structures and policies for that exchange to occur. This mainstreaming of intercultural dialogue is also an admission of the coming of age of intercultural matters, too often left to the dedication of curious educational experts and idealists.

Intercultural dialogue and the political emphasis placed upon it is even more open to some of the critique made of intercultural learning, namely the ones elaborated by Gavan Titley (2005). Chiefly among these are the reification of culture and the implicit culturalisation of social matters. How to resolve

the equation that culture encompasses virtually all human activity and yet can not be used as the sole criterion for interpreting the quality of human interaction? How to deal with the fact that migrants and minority groups are not only cultural

actors but also social actors? As we will see below, the questions of definition of the terms and language of the dialogue, and of the subsequent power relation, are especially relevant for intercultural dialogue to be genuine and purposeful.

The values underpinning intercultural dialogue, as outlined by the White Paper, are nevertheless, fundamentally the same

as those immanent to intercultural learning. The relation between intercultural dialogue and intercultural learning can probably be developed as between wider political objectives and frameworks of intercultural relations on the one hand (intercultural dialogue) and the social educational and didactical means for it on the other (intercultural learning). This has the disadvantage of ignoring that intercultural learning can be a political and social agenda as well and that human rights education has similar educational objectives, although with a different focus and that human rights are necessarily part of the framework of intercultural dialogue.

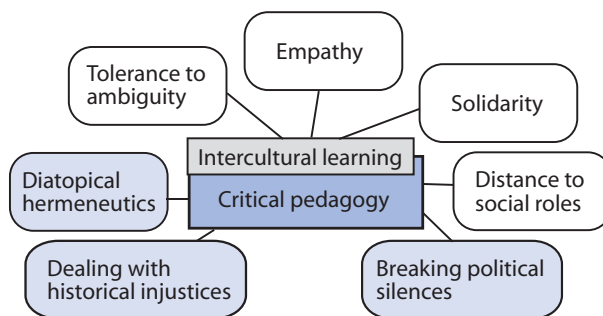
One could schematise the relations in this way
The extent to which this scheme is complete and useful is not the most important point of this paper. What it really matters is the need and our ability to problematise intercultural learning in a contemporary context in which intercultural dialogue is used as a remedy for the "clashes of civilizations", a spiritual identity/mission of Europe or the resurgences of cultural domination. It is thus necessary not only to understand the trap of simplistic analysis but also to realize that the mainstream discourse is only the most visible part of the iceberg.

3/ A new impetus for intercultural learning

In this sense we would like to propose some of the topics that have to be present in this critique in order to conceptualize an innovative XXI century 'Intercultural Learning' in Europe. The following proposals are still work in progress but aim to motivate people, trainers, educators and other actors to build up multiple re-significations and new re-appropriations of the potential of 'Intercultural Learning' to change minds, social relations, historical relations and educational approaches.

a/ Dealing with historical injustice

First of all we must admit that 'Intercultural Learning' has often forgotten to deal properly with the historic injustice imposed by European colonialisms and the consequences that



they have had in the collective meanings of the world. In line with Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Santos, 2004), and Enrique Dussel (1985) we share the idea that colonialism as a formal political system is probably finished but it keeps having a central role in social imagery as a system that legitimised roles and relations of dominators and dominated, citizens and subjects, hegemonies and subalterns, based on cultural differentialism, racism, religion, and role in human history. The issue is obviously complex, but can be exemplified by the history of power relations between communities (majorities/minorities). Too often we assist in the re-emergence of these long lasting histories (at least 5 centuries), in the subjectivities and in social relations of the ex-colonized and ex-colonizers inside Europe. We argue that we can identify several and strong signs of this coloniality¹² as the rise of nationalisms, racial purity obsessions, the repetitive claim of a Christian European identity, and the attempts to legitimate colonialism by stressing its positive role.

Having said that, we need from now on, to include in 'Intercultural Learning' a debate and an educational approach, not only on a contemporary and micro analysis concerning power relations between individuals but also a macro and historical approach: One that better takes into account historical injustices and invites a better understanding of other perspectives of history and, consequently, of the world today. Mutual and responsive dialogue implies that we are willing and able to re-make and update our archaeology of knowledge. If we look carefully to our 'common' history, it is evident that it is full of violence, domination and segregation. Another consequence of this question is that history is only apparently common because the collective memories are deeply divergent about what we call 'historical facts'. For example, the memory and the associated knowledge of a Serbian, a Bosnian, a Croat or a Kosovo Albanian about the recent wars in the Balkans are probably contradictory. The same happens concerning the history of colonialism and the inherent violence between an Angolan and a Portuguese, a French and an Algerian, a Zimbabwean and a British. Role distance as an ability and competence for practitioners of intercultural learning gets its full meaning in these encounters but it is clearly insufficient.

b/ Breaking the political silences

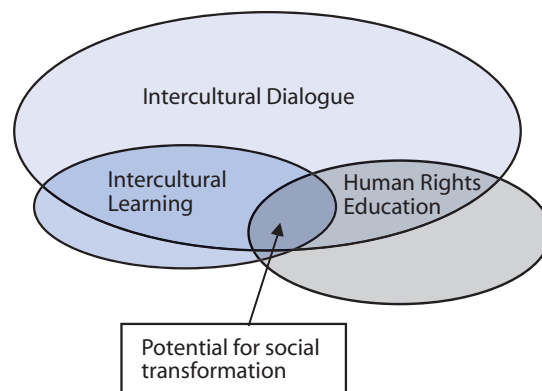
Secondly, we should complement the concept of 'tolerance of ambiguity' with another; 'political silences', to give more density to our analysis. This can be done if we turn political what is normally interpreted as methodological. For example, it is not neutral or a mere question of form or working method, when we work on Interculturality and Intercultural Learning, to discuss and to problematise (or not to discuss nor problematise) the following issues:

- Who is involved in the culture encounters?
- Who defines it as culturally relevant or relevant for dialogue?
- In what language(s) does the process go on?
- What are the un-discussed topoi because we assume as common what is probably divergent and cause of dissent – like the notion of emancipation, human rights, women's rights, secularism, sexual

identity, racism, and others?

- Who sets the themes of the culture dialogue?
- To whom are they really important?
- Who has the power to start and to end the dialogue?
- Who sets up the agenda, the place, and the time of the encounter?

Strong answers to these questions need to be found together, among the participants in any intercultural encounter and this is a political issue, which has often been silenced or, at the best, remains implicit. What we propose is to puzzle up the 'tolerance to ambiguity' with a much more demanding concept of what is relevant at the political sphere, today.



None of this is likely to make the task of thinking and practicing intercultural learning any easier. It requires conceiving and valuing time in another way. Deep changes need time, strong effort, hard work, resilience, perseverance and patience. All these values seem to be out of fashion. But if we do not find any stronger answers we cannot face the possibility of constructing another social and political paradigm, which does not end up in another set of certitudes and values and, in doing so, effectively annihilate the emancipatory role of learning. We do need to educate to an interculturality that empowers people to fundamental serenity in order to deal with transition, openness, diffusion, uncertainty, polycentrism, poly-rationalism, which configures another way of knowing, thinking and keeping in touch with our Europe inside our World.

► Are we able to do it ourselves?

As Peter Lauritzen wrote, Intercultural Learning is discovery and transgression, change and revision, insecurity and uncertainty, openness and curiosity - and perseverance, would have added, Jean-Marie Bergeret. How able are we to do it ourselves? A continued critique and reflection about it is a crucial pre-condition.

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¹Sven Lindqvist, "Utrotta varenda jävel", traduction française, Le Serpent à Plumes / Editions du Rocher, 1998 (Exterminez toutes ces brutes!)"

²Paulo Freire is one of the most known Brazilian thinkers and pedagogue. During the military dictatorship in his country he was exiled for many years in Europe mainly in Switzerland, where he developed an important part of his thinking on education as a political act or, as he called, 'a citizen education'. See, among others books, 'the Pedagogy of the Oppressed' and 'The Pedagogy of Hope'.

³We follow Boaventura de Sousa Santos when he alert us that globalisation is a very complex phenomena and does not consists only by a neo-liberal, financial and capitalist transnationalisation. He says that *in the field of transnational social and culture practices the anti-hegemonic transformation consists of the construction of an emancipatory multiculturalism, or, in other words, the democratic construction of reciprocal rules of recognition between distinct identities and cultures.* (Santos, 2002: 30).

⁴It can be argued to which extend the Eastern and Central European societies living under dictatorships were part of the same movement. Despite the seemingly opposite political perspectives between youth movements in the East and the West in those times, it can also be argued that they were all genuinely liberation movements that represented a break-away from the conformism or resignation of older generations.

⁵Youth organizations and their experiences played an important in defining and validating intercultural learning, notably the organizations specifically involved in individual and group youth exchanges and those involved in international voluntary service activities (such as workcamps and long-term voluntary service exchanges). The role of the authors mentioned and the institutions associated with their work was nevertheless essential in translating the diversity of educational and organisational practices that is typical of youth organisations into mainstreamed institutionalised youth policy objectives at the service of the project called "Europe".

⁶See also "Community Modules for Youth worker Training"

⁷It is not the aim of this article to discuss the concept of culture. Being aware of the complexity and the enormous theoretical and empirical debate going on, we use the term 'culture' in this reflection meaning that set of shared characteristics that gives to a person the sense of belonging to a certain community.

⁸By heuristic we mean using a method that encourages learners to discover solutions by and for themselves.

⁹See Orientalism by Edward Said.

¹⁰This concept starts from the idea that all cultures are incomplete and can, therefore, be enriched by dialogue and confrontation with other cultures (Santos, 2004: 40). This means the refuse of a monolithic thought but, instead a pluri-topical – diatopical capacity of reasoning and interpreting the reality.

¹¹Brazilian sociologist which cultural background combines Polish/European and Brazilian/South-American experiences. See, among other sources, www.forumsocialmundial.org.br; www.ibase.br.

¹²See, among others, the works of Enrique Dussel, Anibal Qijano or Walter Mignolo where they explore the idea of the remaining understated elements of colonialism as power relations, in social realm and subjectivities after the political colonial cycle, as such, was over.

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