

HANDBOOK ON TOLERANCE & CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN EUROPE

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Naturally all errors and omissions are my responsibility.

Florence, 23 February 2012

Anna Triandafyllidou

Scientific Coordinator of the ACCEPT PLURALISM Research Project

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WHY THIS HANDBOOK

At a time of financial and economic crisis in Europe and elsewhere, students may feel the stress of their parents coupled with rising economic and social insecurity. For many there is also a sense of **powerlessness** and of things **being 'out of control'** – the financial markets seem more powerful than national governments, the welfare state seems at risk, many people wonder whether they will ever get a pension, others are unemployed. On top of these anxieties there is also a fear that 'unwanted' migration or minorities place additional strains on the system. Such anxieties are not new however.

Europe has experienced increasing tensions between national majorities and ethnic or religious minorities, more particularly with marginalised Muslim communities during the last decade. Such conflicts have included the violence in northern England between native British and Asian Muslim youth (2001); the civil unrest amongst France's disadvantaged youth of immigrant origin (2005); and the Danish cartoon crisis in the same year following the publication of pictures of the prophet Muhammad. Muslim communities have also come under intense scrutiny in the wake of the terrorist events in the United States (2001), Spain (2004) and Britain (2005), and there is growing scepticism amongst European governments with regard to the possible accession of Turkey into the EU, a country which is socio-culturally and religiously different from the present EU-27. Tensions are also exemplified in local mosque building controversies in Italy, Greece, Germany or France in the minaret building controversy in Switzerland (2009) and the ban of the full veil (the *burqa*) in Belgium and France most recently implemented as of 2011.

During this first decade of the 21st century, politicians and academics have been intensively debating the reasons underlying such tensions and what should be done to enhance societal cohesion in European societies. The question that is being posed (sometimes in more and others in less politically correct terms) is: **What kind of cultural diversity can be accommodated within liberal and secular democracies and how?** A number of thinkers and politicians have advanced the claim that it is almost impossible to accommodate certain minority groups - notably Muslims or the Roma - in European countries, asserting that their cultural traditions and religious faith are incompatible with secular democratic governance. Others have argued that Muslims can be accommodated in the socio-political order of European societies provided they adhere to a set of civic values that lie at the heart of European democratic traditions and that reflect the secular nature of society and politics in Europe.

At the turn of the decade, the summer 2011 massacre in Norway and the racially motivated killings in the city of Florence, Italy in December 2011 are a shocking indication of how desperately fearful some people are of social change.

This Handbook seeks to inform and educate youth, to help them understand diversity and talk about it using a common set of terms. It aims to give young people the tools to resolve dilemmas that they may face in their everyday lives and in the future.

The Handbook's targeted readers are high school students and undergraduate University students between 17 and 23 years of age. However, the Handbook is also geared toward teacher-trainers, i.e. it is intended for use in programmes that prepare teachers to serve in high schools in Europe. While it could be beneficial for teachers of any subject, the Handbook may be most useful to those who are preparing to deliver courses on European civics and citizenship education.

The main purpose of this Handbook is to clarify terms commonly used to talk about diversity. Many terms (such as *nationality*, *national identity* or *citizenship*) have different meanings in different languages, and people regularly talk about them without knowing exactly what they mean. Does *nation*, for example, refer to the citizens of a given country or only to those who are of the same national origin? Does *race* refer to the colour of one's skin or some other physical trait? Or does it refer to a whole set of supposed psychological or mental traits (e.g. 'Indians are clever,' 'Black people are good at sports', 'The Japanese are shy')? Race is often confused with religion, and members of certain religious faiths are frequently characterized as stereotypes (e.g. 'Muslims are cunning', 'Jews are stingy'). Indeed, many of these terms are closely linked to negative stereotypes of minority groups. Some concepts such as *integration*, *multiculturalism* and *intercultural dialogue* are contested, and there is little agreement on what they stand for and how they relate to one another. This Handbook's first objective, then, is to define these terms and, by doing so, to give young people the tools needed to better understand the reality that surrounds them.

Secondly, the Handbook introduces **the concepts and phenomena underpinning fear of diversity.** It seeks to help young people understand the nature of negative behaviours towards diversity, enabling them to distinguish between beliefs and actions that are *xenophobic* and those that are genuinely *racist*. By clarifying such terms and giving appropriate examples, the book tries to foster an understanding of why *xenophobia*, *racism* and *prejudice* have more to do with our own fears rather than the differences of others.

Finally, **the Handbook proposes answers to the challenges of ethnic and religious diversity in everyday life.** Terms like *integration* are often employed to describe very different things, thus resulting in confusion. Integration may mean finding a job (integrating in the labour market), going to school, learning the language of a country, adopting a certain lifestyle or a code of dress (social integration), or indeed voting in elections (political integration). The meaning of the term often gets confused, as some people use it to argue that minorities and immigrants should completely mould into the way of life of the majority. Others understand *integration* to mean that people should adapt to their new environment without giving up their own language or traditions.

Taken as a whole, **this Handbook seeks both to clarify important terms associated with its subject matter and to clearly articulate the principles that should guide democratic life in European societies.** Drawing on examples of conflicts, dilemmas and solutions from different European countries, it provides insights into religious and ethnic diversity at school, at work and in public spaces. Seeking to help students grasp the terms and definitions in the context of real life problems, we hope the Handbook will prove helpful in preparing youth to be the European citizens of tomorrow.

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DIVERSITY IN EUROPE: IMMIGRANTS AND MINORITIES

Europe is often thought of as a group of separate nation-states, each with its own distinct history, culture and identity. It is commonly assumed that every individual Member State is relatively homogeneous internally. However, the reality is quite different. European countries are more internally diverse than many of us are aware.



Since the Second World War and particularly since the early 1950s, northern and western European countries have received immigrants from Asia, Africa and South America in relatively large numbers. Around 5% to 10% of the resident populations of countries like France, Britain, Germany and the Netherlands are foreign born. People with an immigration background now account for about 20% of the total population in these countries.

Following the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe in the early 1990s, international migration intensified. While redrawing the map of Europe, these geopolitical changes have led to significant population movements. People from 'new' EU Member States (mainly former communist

Diversity in Europe: Immigrants and Minorities

countries) to the east have moved into the 'old' Member States in the south, north and west. Inflows from other continents have also continued, contributing to an ever-increasing diversity in European societies. This trend has been particularly pronounced in the south. During the last 20 years countries in southern Europe that were previously characterised by emigration (such as Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece) have become important destination countries for migrants. Currently immigrants constitute 5% to 10% of their resident populations.

In addition to migration-related diversity, EU countries (especially those in central-eastern and south-eastern Europe) have significant populations of native minorities. Many of these minorities have lived in the territories for centuries. In some countries, such as Bulgaria, native minorities (Turkish Muslims and Roma) account for more than 10% of the population. In other countries, traditional minority populations (Ukrainians and Germans in Poland, for example) are comparatively small. One native minority – the Roma – warrant particular attention as they are found in nearly all EU countries. Roma populations range from a few thousand (in Sweden, for instance) to several hundred thousand (as seen in Hungary, Romania, Greece and Bulgaria).

The tables below identify the principal minority and immigrant groups in selected European countries.

Table 1
Native Minorities and Migrant Populations
in Countries Experiencing Immigration Since the 1950s and 1960s

Countries	Total population (2009)	Migrant population (size)	Largest immigrant groups (by country or region of origin)	Size	Largest native minorities	Size
Denmark	5.5 million	540,000	Turkey Germany Iraq Poland	60,000 30,000 30,000 28,000	Roma Ethnic Germans Greenlanders	5-10,000 15,000 18,000
France	65 million	4.8 million	Other EU North Africa Sub-Sah.Africa Turkey Rest of world incl. China	2 million 1.5 million 570,000 220,000 600,000	Roma	250-450,000
Germany	81.9 million	15.7 million	Poland Greece Italy Romania Turkey Russian Fed. Africa America North-America Kazakhstan Other Middle-East South and South-East Asia	1.3 million 375,000 717,000 435,000 2.5 million 1 million 477,000 385,000 179,000 656,000 1.2 million 563,000	Roma German Danes Frisians Sorbs	60-70,000 50,000 400,000 60,000
Netherlands	16.3 million	3.35 million (with one foreign born parent)	Turkey Indonesia Morocco Surinam	383,000 382,000 349,000 342,000	Inhabitants of Friesland Inh.of Limburg Roma	644,000 1.12 million 3,500
Sweden	9.3 million	700,000	Iraq Sub Sah.Afr. Former Yugosl. Poland Iran Bosnia Herz.	118,000 80,000 70,000 70,000 60,000 56,000	Roma Meankieli Saami Swedish Finns	30-65,000 40-70,000 17,000 675,000
United Kingdom	61.8 million	4.6 million	Irish * Mixed All 'black' All Asian Other ethnic	90,000 670,000 1,150,000 2,300,000 230,000	--	--

Source: Author's own compilation on the basis of the ACCEPT PLURALISM project reports. For more see <http://www.accept-pluralism.eu/Research/ProjectReports/NationalDiscourses.aspx>.

Note: This table does not include stateless nations like for instance the Basques in Spain or the Welsh in the UK. The table is based on national censuses and other national statistics' sources that measure national and ethnic minorities to different extents and in different ways.

* Immigrant groups in the case of the UK refer to national census categories on ethnic minorities rather than country of origin.

Table 2
Native Minorities and Migrant Populations
in Countries Experiencing Immigration After 1989

Countries	Total population (2009)	Migrant population (size)	Largest immigrant groups	Size	Largest native minorities	Size
Greece	11 million	840,000	Albanians Bulgarians Romanians Georgians Pakistanis Russians	500,000 55,000 34,000 34,000 23,000 20,000	Turks/ Muslims of Thrace Roma	80-120,000 300-350,000
Ireland	4.5 million	420,000	(data for 2006) UK citizens Poles Lithuanians Nigerians	110,000 60,000 25,000 16,000	Irish travellers	22,000
Italy	60 million	4.9 million	Romanians Albanians Moroccans Chinese Ukrainians Filipinos Sub-Saharan Africans	900,000 460,000 430,000 190,000 180,000 120,000 285,000	Roma	120-150,000
Spain	46 million	4.7 million	(data for 2010) Romanians Moroccans Ecuadorians Colombians UK citizens Italians Bulgarians Chinese Sub-Saharan Africans	700,000 760,000 380,000 260,000 225,000 165,000 155,000 152,000 ~110,000	Roma	650,000

Source: Author's own compilation on the basis of the ACCEPT PLURALISM project reports. For more see <http://www.accept-pluralism.eu/Research/ProjectReports/NationalDiscourses.aspx>

Note: This table does not include stateless nations like for instance the Basques in Spain or the Welsh in the UK. The table is based on national censuses and other national statistics' sources that measure national and ethnic minorities to different extents and in different ways.

Table 3

Native Minorities and Migrant Populations in Central Eastern European Countries

Countries	Total population in 2009	Total immigrant population (size)	Largest immigrant groups	Size	Largest native minorities	Size
Bulgaria	7.6 million	No	--	--	Turks Roma	750,000 370,000
Hungary	10 million	No	--	--	Germans Slovaks Croat Roma Romanians	200,000 100,000 80,000 400-800,000 25,000
Poland	38 million	700,000 (estimate for 2005)	Ukrainians	Unspecified	Germans Belarussians Ukrainians Silesians Roma	150,000 50,000 30,000 170,000 20-30,000
Romania	21.5 million	No	--	--	Ethnic Hungarians Roma	1.5 million 0.55-1 mill.
Turkey	72 million	(no data available)	Bosnians Pomaks Circassians Iranians EU migrants Transit migrants Refugees	2 million 600,000 2.5 million 500,000 170,000 200,000 20,000	Jews Greeks Armenians Assyrians Alevic Arabs Kurds	40,000 3,000 60,000 53,000 15 million 1 million 13 million

Source: Author's own compilation on the basis of the ACCEPT PLURALISM project reports. For more see <http://www.accept-pluralism.eu/Research/ProjectReports/NationalDiscourses.aspx>

Note: This table does not include stateless nations like for instance the Basques in Spain or the Welsh in the UK. The table is based on national censuses and other national statistics' sources that measure national and ethnic minorities to different extents and in different ways.

Diversity in Europe: Immigrants and Minorities

Minority populations - whether native or migrant in origin - can differ from national majorities in several ways. Their differences may be expressed through ethnic background, cultural tradition, language, religion or any combination of these features. Different minority populations are sometimes falsely grouped together under a single label - e.g. people from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Morocco and Turkey may be referred to collectively as 'Muslims'. It is not uncommon for minority groups with distinct ethnic or cultural identities to be lumped together according to a single shared characteristic such as religion.



THE DIVERSITY CHALLENGE

In political terms, minority groups present a challenge to nation-states that define themselves as homogenous, mono-cultural, mono-ethnic and mono-religious. Aside from seeking political representation and participation as citizens, minorities frequently establish special minority institutions to ensure the survival of their cultures and traditions. They may also challenge the dominant view of national history and appeal for a re-interpretation of past historical events (especially wars) and national heroes. The Italian majority and the Slovenian minority in Italy, for example, tend to have very different views on the development and outcome of the Second World War. The same is true of native Greeks and Albanian immigrants in Greece. Divergent views also surround the history of colonialism, with national majorities (the former colonial powers) and post-colonial immigrant groups often having very different interpretations (e.g. Algerians in France, or Surinamese in the Netherlands, or West Indians in Britain).

In practical terms, minorities may pose challenges for the majority regarding what is considered 'acceptable', 'normal' or 'deviant' behaviour. Given that the groups may have different worldviews, different religious beliefs and different conceptions of gender relations, the family and the community, the challenges can be significant.

During the last two decades, minority groups in several European countries have been characterized in media and political debates as 'unsuited' for European democratic and secular societies. The groups most stigmatised in this way have been Muslims (regardless of their ethnic origin) and Roma (regardless of their citizenship).

Muslims in Europe have often been accused of being illiberal. This issue was at the heart of a controversy surrounding the publication of caricatures of the prophet Mohammed in the Danish press. Here's a summary of what happened.

Religious Diversity and Freedom of the Press

In 2005 a Danish newspaper's publication of twelve caricatures of the prophet Mohammed led to an international crisis. The caricatures, which showed the prophet in a variety of supposedly humorous or satirical situations, originally appeared in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* on September 30, 2005. They were part of an editorial criticizing self-censorship in the Danish media. The most controversial image depicted Mohammed as a terrorist, donning a turban shaped as a bomb with a burning fuse. Islamic tradition considers any depiction of the prophet as blasphemy. In order to prevent idolatry, it explicitly prohibits all images of God, the prophet Mohammed and the major prophets of the Christian and Jewish traditions. Following the publication of the cartoons, the editors received a number of angry letters and the artists were reportedly sent death threats. The threats were widely reported in Denmark and prompted anti-Muslim comments and protests.

On October 14, 2005, two weeks after the first publication, a demonstration was held in Copenhagen to protest against the cartoons. Five days later, ambassadors from 11 Muslim countries filed complaints to Danish Prime Minister Andres Fogh Rasmussen, asking him to intervene and take a stance against the newspaper. The prime minister's initial reaction was that it was inappropriate for the government to get involved in an issue pertaining to press freedom.

In order to end the dispute, Danish diplomats offered an 'explanation' to the head of the Arab League, and on January 30, 2006, Rasmussen made an official statement. Although he expressed his regrets at the offence caused to millions of Muslims, he continued to defend press freedom. So did the editors of *Jyllands-Posten*. Their account was accepted by the Islamic Society in Denmark. Ironically, however, the efforts that were undertaken to end the dispute actually propelled it to a more serious level. A number of newspapers and media professionals in various European countries felt freedom of expression was being undermined and reacted by republishing the disputed caricatures. That decision enraged millions of Muslims around the world.

The controversy fuelled public protests in several Muslim countries. Between the 2nd and the 8th of February, some of the most violent events of the crisis occurred, notably the burning of the Danish Embassy in Syria on February 4. In Lebanon and Indonesia, public rallies became violent and Danish embassies were attacked by mobs. EU offices in the Gaza Strip were surrounded by Palestinian gunmen demanding an apology over the cartoons. In the same week there were also protests in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Iran as well as in Britain and other EU countries.

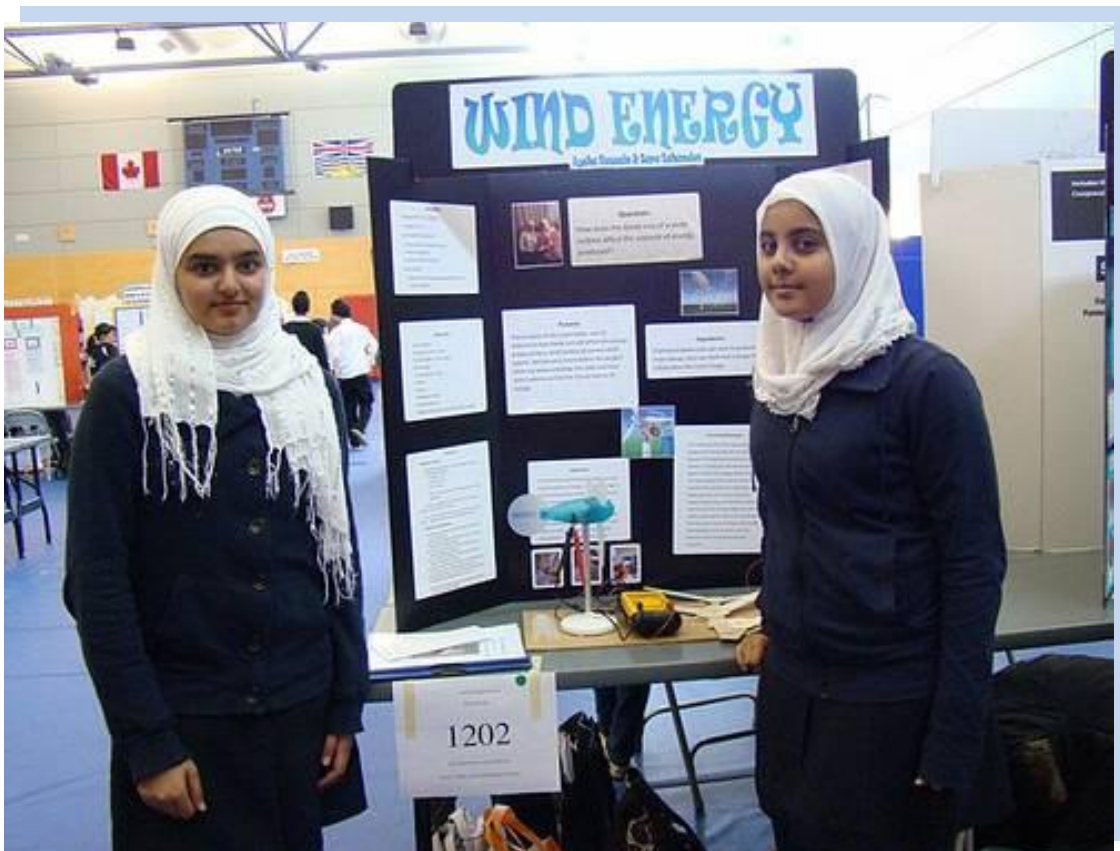
During the so-called Mohammed cartoons crisis, the media in some countries opted not to republish the cartoons. They said it was important to balance freedom of expression with a responsibility not to offend the religious faith of other people. Other European newspapers, however, chose to republish the cartoons as a way of defending freedom of expression over and above any other consideration. The matter remains contested to this day. It raises questions not only about respect for religious freedom and the limits of freedom of expression. For some, it also poses the more political question: To what degree are Islamic traditions suitable for European secular democratic societies?

Diversity in Europe: Immigrants and Minorities

It has been argued that because Muslims do not accept the idea that religion and political institutions should be separate, their claims cannot be satisfied by European liberal democracies. It is further argued that Muslims do not recognise the autonomy of the individual. Roma, on the other hand, have been portrayed as being unwilling to integrate into a settled modern lifestyle that includes having a 'normal' job, sending children to school and abiding by the laws.

Both groups have sometimes been stigmatised for their dress codes. While Muslim women in Europe have been criticized for wearing the headscarf (and related garments) as a form of religious attire, Roma women have been scorned for their colourful and unusual dresses. Both groups have also been criticised for promoting arranged marriages involving minors. In general they are regarded as valuing family and ethnic solidarity above individual autonomy. Hence, both groups have been seen as raising illiberal claims that European democracies cannot accommodate.

When it comes to resolving these issues, interesting approaches have been explored. The following accounts of disputes involving Muslim schoolgirls in Britain and Bulgaria are cases in point.



A dispute over religious dress at a British school ...

Begum, a pupil at Denbigh High School in Luton, England, claimed that she was required by her Muslim faith to wear a *jilbab* (a full length gown) to school. The school viewed this as a contravention of its uniform policy and decided that Begum would not be allowed to attend school again until she wore the official uniform. In response Begum sought a judicial review of the school's decision on the grounds that the school had interfered with two of her basic rights: 1) the right to manifest one's religion and 2) the right to an education, both of which are enshrined in the European Convention on Human Rights. The school - in which nearly 80% of the pupils are Muslim - argued that it had already introduced Muslim-friendly uniform changes such as trousers, *shalwar kameez* (a tunic and baggy trousers) and headscarves in school uniform colours. Administered by a Muslim headmistress, the school further argued that the uniform changes had been decided in consultation with local mosques and parents.

Begum lost the case in the High Court, but later won on appeal at the Court of Appeal. The school appealed against this decision, and in 2006 the case was heard by the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords which eventually ruled in favour of the school. In doing so, Lord Bingham of Cornhill stressed at the outset of his judgment that 'this case concerns a particular pupil and a particular school in a particular place at a particular time. It must be resolved on facts which are now, for purposes of the appeal, agreed. The House is not, and could not be, invited to rule on whether Islamic dress, or any feature of Islamic dress, should or should not be permitted in the schools of this country'. Nevertheless, he concluded that 'it would, in my opinion, be irresponsible for any court, lacking the experience, background and detailed knowledge of the head teacher, staff and governors, to overrule their judgment on a matter as sensitive as this. The power of decision has been given to them for the compelling reason that they are best placed to exercise it, and I see no reason to disturb their decision.'

Although the particular case of Begum has not been resolved to universal satisfaction (notably not to hers), it has reaffirmed a pragmatic form of multicultural accommodation that considers claims when and where they arise.

... and how a similar dispute was addressed at a school in Bulgaria

In July 2006, the Organisation for Islamic Development and Culture from the town of Smolyan in southern Bulgaria filed a complaint before the Bulgarian Commission for Protection against Discrimination (CPD). According to the complaint, the Smolyan Professional High School of Economics, which required the wearing of school uniform, acted against the Constitution and limited personal freedom and choice. The plaintiff organisation claimed that the compulsory wearing of school uniforms was especially aimed at preventing the wearing of clothes typical for the local Muslim population. The complaint focused specifically on two Muslim girls who wanted to attend the school wearing headscarves and robes instead of school uniforms. They were told by the school principal that they should remove the headscarves as they were violating the internal rules of the school. The two girls were not, however, prevented from attending their classes.

The CPD dismissed the allegation that the school was acting against the Constitution and thereby violating a fundamental right of the two students. Instead, the Commission ruled that the School Principal's decision allowing the girls to attend their classes wearing headscarves led to unequal treatment of the *other* high school students who wore the prescribed uniforms. As a result the CPD imposed sanctions against all parties - the plaintiff organisation, the school board and the Ministry of Education and Science for actions inciting discrimination and unequal treatment.

Eventually, the case was solved by allowing the two girls to finish their education in a special way - preparing for the final exams at home with the help of teachers from the school. This incident received nation-wide media coverage. The solution adopted was regarded as fair by the majority of actors involved as it allowed the girls to retain their individual religious affiliation and to complete their secondary education. It was largely perceived as an example of tolerance and acceptance of diversity because the compromise satisfied all parties

It is worth noting that wearing a school uniform is not a universal rule applied in all schools in Bulgaria. On the contrary, schools that have decided to introduce school uniforms are an exception. In all other schools, where there are no requirements regarding the way pupils dress, Muslim girls can wear headscarves in classes without hindrance.

QUESTION FOR
DISCUSSION:

What do we learn
from the two examples
cited above?

NATIONAL IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP, ETHNICITY

Minority groups differ from national majorities in any number of ways. The differences can be based on ethnicity, culture, religion or race. In this part of the Handbook we explore the meaning of 'nation' as a social group. Along the way we seek to clarify the related concepts of 'national identity', 'national heritage', 'nationalism', 'nationality' and 'citizenship'.

THE NATION

The term 'nation' implies the existence of a 'national identity', which in turn can be described as a 'feeling of belonging' to the nation. But identity is complex and multidimensional, and no single definition of 'nation' seems completely satisfactory. Nonetheless, the following definition (drawn from the writings of Anthony D. Smith¹) offers a good basis for discussion:

'a nation is a named and self-defining human community whose members cultivate shared memories, symbols, myths, traditions and values, inhabit and are attached to historic territories or "homelands", create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and standardised laws'.

As Benedict Anderson² describes them, nations are essentially 'imagined communities'. They are composed of fellow nationals who feel they share a common past and a common destiny. But one cannot go out and meet these communities personally; one can only 'imagine' their existence. Hence, in historical terms, Anderson suggests that the emergence of 'the nation' marks the passage from local communities (where everyone knew one other) to communities that are 'virtual'. These communities -these nations- exist only in our imagination.

To understand how national identity fits into our everyday lives, it is useful to consider the phenomenon of **nationalism**. Found in various forms, nationalism is linked to the 'birth' or 're-awakening' of nations. According to Smith, nationalism can be defined as the

'ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation'.

This movement often relies on the idea of a shared national heritage. Referring to cultural forms of the nation, **national heritage** consists of shared memories, values, myths, symbols and traditions as well as the recurrent activities of the members of the nation. National heritage, however, refers not only to the content of culture, but also the way in which it shapes or socialises the people who make up the population. National heritage can thus be defined as.

a set of cultural forms that characterise a specific nation and which provide for the framework within which the members of the nation are socialised.

¹ Anthony D. Smith, "When is a nation", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2002); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991); Monteserrat Guibernau, "Anthony D Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment", *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 10, No. 1-2 (2004): 125-142.

² Benedict Anderson (2006) *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, first edition 1981.

National Identity, Citizenship, Ethnicity

There can be competing definitions of the heritage of a nation. Competing elite groups may promote different historical narratives of a nation's past. Or there may be competing ideals of a nation advanced by various groups. A typical example is seen in the case of Turkish nationalism, of which there are two competing versions: the secular Republican version promoted by Kemal Ataturk in the early 20th century, and the Islamic nationalism of Tahip Erdogan's AK party which emerged in in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Greece provides a further example, with some groups placing greater emphasis on the classical Hellenic heritage and others on the more recent Oriental Christian Orthodox heritage.

Such conflicts over the dominant view of national heritage become acute at times of national crisis (that may arise out of political, military or indeed economic issues). As Smith points out, such conflicts and crises may lead to the re-interpretation of the national heritage. This was true in the case of Britain, where the imperial heritage was replaced by the Commonwealth and by a multicultural vision of nation. In France, meanwhile, past identity crises have led to a re-affirmation of the Republican heritage rather than to any radical shift towards a new interpretation of the national heritage.

National heritage, then, is more than just a collection of cultural objects and practices; it is a cultural framework within which the members of a nation are socialised; it plays a key role in forging a nation's identity.

While nation, national identity and national heritage are linked mainly to identity issues and feelings of belonging, **nationality** is generally understood as a legal term. It denotes the legal relationship between an individual and his or her state, rather than simple membership of a nation in the sense described above. The legal relationship between the individual and the state is also referred to as **citizenship** (the set of legal rights and duties of individuals that are attached to full legal membership under domestic law).

At times, the term nationality may be used to denote an individual's belonging to a national minority group (in which case the individual's *nationality* is different from the individual's *citizenship*). Thus a member of the Finnish minority in Sweden is said to have Finnish *nationality* but Swedish *citizenship*. However, in this Handbook we use nationality in its legal sense. To distinguish minority populations from national majorities, we prefer to use terms such as minority identity, minority nation, and minority national identity.

MINORITIES

Minority group diversity in nation-states can take on many forms. It can be based on religion, language, ethnicity or a combination of these features. Each minority group faces its own set of obstacles and opportunities, but they often deal with a similar set of circumstances. Recognizing this, different types of native minorities in Sweden have gotten together to identify their common challenges and exchange views on how to deal with them effectively.



Dialogue between National and Linguistic Minorities in Sweden

Sweden is home to five recognised minority groups, each with its own language. The official minority languages in Sweden are Finnish, Saami, Yiddish, Tornedal Finnish and Romani. Being recognized as a national minority has certain advantages. For example, it can mean that a group's language and culture are given more space and attention at schools and that the group has the right to communicate with public authorities and courts of law in their own languages.

In the year 2000, Sweden ratified the European Council's two framework conventions on national and linguistic minorities (the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Charter on Protection for National Minorities). Since then, various conferences have taken place at local, regional and national levels to discuss common minority problems and strategies. These conferences are particularly relevant for people living in the northern part of Sweden, a region characterized by historical territorial minorities such as Swedish Finns, Tornedalfinns and the Saami indigenous population. Some of these conferences have been initiated by the Swedish government - e.g. the conference 'Alla har rätt' (everyone has rights). In other cases they were organized by regional authorities, such as the county administrative board in Norrbotten, which organized conferences concerning the support of minority languages in schools.

These conferences were hugely significant, because - for the first time in Swedish history - they offered members of the various minority groups the opportunity to meet in an organized manner and discuss their problems in a systematic way. The lack of substantial resources associated with the new minority policies has been a key topic in several of the conferences. The events have also been helpful in sorting out what kind of interests and circumstances are shared among the national minorities, and what kind of problems are more group specific. It has been acknowledged, for example, that the Roma population has specific educational problems in comparison with other national minorities.

Government representatives have participated in some of the conferences, providing minorities the opportunity to voice serious political demands. With conferences continuing to be held in different municipalities around Sweden, the dialogue process is stimulating different minority groups to engage in broader political activities.

QUESTION FOR
DISCUSSION:

If somebody asks
who you are,
how can you reply?

DEFINING DIVERSITY

ETHNIC, RACIAL, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

'Diversity' is a broad term that essentially means variety, i.e. made up of differing elements or qualities. In the EU slogan 'United in Diversity' the term is used in its widest sense. For our purposes, the term is meaningful in relation to specific contexts involving ethnicity, race, culture and religion. Here are some basic definitions of diversity within those contexts:

- **Ethnic diversity:** differences in ethnic descent among individuals or groups
- **Racial diversity:** different physical characteristics among individuals or groups
- **Cultural diversity:** individuals or groups having different cultural traditions, customs and languages
- **Religious diversity:** multiple religious faiths being practiced within one society.

These are not hard and fast distinctions, either in theory or practice. It is often hard to tell whether a given group is discriminated against on the basis of ethnic, cultural or racial diversity. This applies to the Roma, who are seen as an ethnic minority but also as a racial group. The following example from Hungary illustrates this type of overlap.



The Roma Minority in Hungary

In Hungary, the Roma are officially considered an ethnic minority, but there are many ways in which they are still subject to racism. Like Roma in many other parts of Europe, Roma in Hungary tend to be poor and live their lives segregated from much of mainstream society. The official response to these problems has been to try to integrate Roma. These efforts are primarily aimed at improving their economic standing; policies are not directed at recognizing their cultural diversity (unlike policies dealing with many other immigrant populations in Europe).

Popular mistrust of the Roma is an obstacle to their integration. Many people in Hungary think efforts to integrate them will ultimately fail because they view the Roma as inferior and therefore incapable of integration. These views are racist: they blame the Roma problem on the Roma because of who they are, not because of what others have done to them.

Ultimately, however, it is what others have done to them (in the form of racist discrimination, for instance) that has contributed to the Roma's deprivation in Hungary and elsewhere. Sadly, the situation of the Roma in Hungary is not at all unlike the situation of Roma in other parts of Europe. Their case shows how officially designated ethnic and cultural differences can be recast in racial terms through processes of discrimination and racism.

Religious diversity is usually less clearly distinguished from other forms of diversity because religious identity may over-ride ethnic affiliation. Indeed, people of different ethnic backgrounds may share the same religion (e.g. southeast Asians in Britain, Moroccans and Turks in the Netherlands or in Germany). In everyday speech ethnic diversity and cultural diversity are often understood as synonymous, referring to different languages, customs and traditions, including codes of behaviour, codes of dressing and values.

ETHNICITY

Ethnicity and ethnic identity are associated with common cultural features that a group of people share. These features include language, customs and values. Ethnicity also includes a belief in a common genealogical *lineage* and often (but not necessarily) ties with a specific territory.

An ethnic group, or *ethnie*, is different from a nation, according to Smith, as it shares common cultural traits but is *not necessarily self-conscious* of its ethnic identity. Nor does it raise claims for political autonomy as a nation does. Ethnicity is historically the stage that precedes the claim for national status as we can see from the following illustrative examples.

Ethnies that Developed into Nations

Before the Greek nation developed there was an ethnic group that could be labelled the Greek ethnē. The members of this group spoke Greek, followed specific customs and traditions, were Christian Orthodox, had lived in the territory of modern Greece for centuries, and had a feeling of belonging together, yet did not aspire to have a state of their own or to be independent. While the Greek ethnē existed under the Ottoman empire for centuries, the Greek nation wasn't 'born' until the late 18th century. That's when the Greeks as an ethnic group started developing a consciousness of themselves as a distinct nation that wanted to become independent from the Ottoman Empire.

The same is true for the German nation. For several centuries there were ethnic groups in Europe who shared a belief in a common German ethnic origin, spoke the German language and had a set of common German traditions. This was the case in Prussia and during phases of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires. But the German nation wasn't born until the 18th century when the idea gradually developed that 'Germans' should unite and form a nation-state of their own.

Today we use the term ethnicity to distinguish between an individual's citizenship and her or his affiliation with a specific ethnic group. Thus, a British Pakistani is of Pakistani ethnicity but has British citizenship. By the same token, a Somali Swede has Somali ethnicity but Swedish citizenship.

RACE

At the beginning of a discussion about race, it should be noted that both the concept of race itself and definitions of race are highly contested. Nonetheless, the various definitions have one thing in common: they recognize that race is associated with *natural* difference. **Race** includes features such as parental lineage and physical attributes (skin colour and other genetic traits). Importantly, it implies shared characteristics (physical and sometimes also cultural) that *cannot be chosen or cast off*. This does not mean that racial difference is indeed natural, but rather that it is *socially understood as such*. Which races exist and who belongs to which race is something that is socially constructed.

QUESTIONS FOR
DISCUSSION:

✓ What are the main native and immigrant groups in your country?

✓ In what ways are they different from the national majority?

FEAR OF DIVERSITY

RACISM

Racism is the belief that a person's identity is predetermined by genetic origin. More specifically, it is the belief that factors associated with a person's descent (ethnic, national or racial) predetermine not just their physical traits but also their psychological predispositions, mental abilities and other capacities. Racism underpins many forms of discrimination, and in extreme cases can lead to systematic abuse of human rights extending all the way to genocide.

Physical appearance, and skin colour specifically, have been important characteristics used throughout history to categorise and evaluate people. These physical differences were developed into folk taxonomies and defined as 'races' in the 18th and 19th centuries. 'Scientific' arguments were provided to sustain a presumed relationship between such characteristics and moral or socio-cultural features of people classified into these categories. In Europe the argument underlying such categorisations was that the white, European race was morally and intellectually superior to all others. Different versions of racist ideologies have found their political expression in western colonialism and imperialism, slavery and Nazism.

The United Nations uses a definition of racial discrimination laid out in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Adopted in 1965 and put into force in 1969, the Convention defines racial discrimination as:

...any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.³



³ Part 1 of Article 1 of the U.N. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm>

In 2001, the European Union explicitly banned racism along with many other forms of social discrimination. The ban is enshrined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

Racism may be conceptually related to nationalism. In Europe this is true to the degree that the process of nationalisation (i.e. the construction of a national identity and a national culture within each nation-state) involved a process of **racialisation**. The bourgeois ruling classes of the European nation-states in the 19th century racialised the underclass as inferior and backward. Simultaneously these ruling classes portrayed themselves as having a 'racial history and character' that was typical of the nation as a whole. In such discourses of ethnic descent and membership, the notions of 'race' and 'nation' often became indistinguishable.

Put bluntly, nationalism and national identity often involve an element of racism; in the effort to impose cultural homogeneity they tend to create racialised 'Others'. Ethnic minorities or immigrant communities often play the part of the subordinated, racialised Other in a nation-state, although nationalism does not necessarily involve a racist view of other nations or ethnic groups.

There are **two principal types of racism**:

- **Biological racism** - creating a direct link between ethnic/racial descent, physical appearance and the abilities of an individual. This kind of racism has been condemned and actually forbidden in the European Union. Nonetheless, immigrant and native minorities often become the subject of racist comments and of racial discrimination.
- **Cultural racism** - arguing that immigrant or native minority populations cannot integrate in society because of their culture. This view holds that a group's cultural traditions and customs condition their behaviour, abilities and capacities. Cultural racism argues that there are irreducible differences between certain cultures that prevent the integration of specific immigrant or native minority populations in society. This type of racism has also been called 'subtle' or 'symbolic' racism.

In both biological and cultural racism, the approach is discriminatory and serves to maintain the privilege of one group (the majority) over another (the minority). Cultural racism is similar to biological racism to the extent that cultural difference is seen as irreducible; it is considered dependent upon ethnic descent, a presumed psychological predisposition, environmental factors or a specific genetic makeup. As far as consequences are concerned, cultural racist discourses and attitudes differ little from biological racism. Their effects are racist, even if their arguments are not explicitly racial.

Fortunately, 'scientific' arguments about the existence of biological 'races' identifiable by socio-cultural features have now been discredited. Racism nevertheless persists as ideology and practice in western societies, though perhaps in more subtle and covert forms than in the past. As a matter of fact, immigrants and ethnic minorities are usually categorised on the basis of their physical appearance and associated cultural or ethnic features. As a well known Dutch linguist Teun van Dijk⁴ argued.

⁴ van Dijk, A.T. (1991) *Racism and the Press*, London: Routledge

‘Throughout western history [such categorisations] have been used to distinguish in- and out-groups according to a variable mixture of perceived differences of language, religion, dress or customs, until today often associated with different origin or bodily appearance.’

Race thus becomes intertwined with ethnicity and culture, and it becomes difficult to distinguish between them. Cultural differences are commonly used to justify racial discrimination and the exclusion of minorities. When analysing racism and discrimination in real life situations, it is often hard to distinguish between racism and ethnic prejudice. (Is prejudice against the Roma, for instance, related to their expression as a ‘racial’ group or as an ‘ethnic’ group? Does it have more to do with their presumed biological predispositions or with their cultural traditions?)

The children’s web site of the BBC offers a short but useful guide on how to deal with racist behaviour.

Dealing with Racist Behaviour

(from the BBC children's website <http://www.bbc.co.uk/cbbc/>)

Racism is when someone thinks different skin colour or religious beliefs make some people better than others.

Racists bully people who are different to them. They do this by name-calling or violence.

Racism is not just a black and white thing. Many children are picked on because they look different, speak a different language or have different religious beliefs.

Some people have to wear certain styles of clothing because of their religion and very often get bullied because of this. Racism includes picking on people who are from a different country too.

If you think you or someone you know is being bullied because of their skin colour or religion:

- Do not join in the racism
- Tell a friend and a teacher what is happening
- If a friend is being racist, ask them why

XENOPHOBIA AND ETHNIC PREJUDICE

Terms such as ‘xenophobia’, ‘racism’ and ‘ethnic prejudice’ are often used as synonyms in everyday speech, but they actually refer to quite distinct phenomena. Explaining the differences between these terms can be useful in identifying the ideas and mechanisms that underlie them.

Xenophobia is an *attitude* that expresses itself through hostile reaction to foreigners in general. It is linked to specific preconditions (above all economic factors) that foster its development. The main objective of xenophobia is the expulsion of new groups. In Europe, for instance, the targets of xenophobia are not foreigners from affluent western countries like the USA or Australia but rather people from developing countries who usually come to Europe in search of employment and better living conditions.

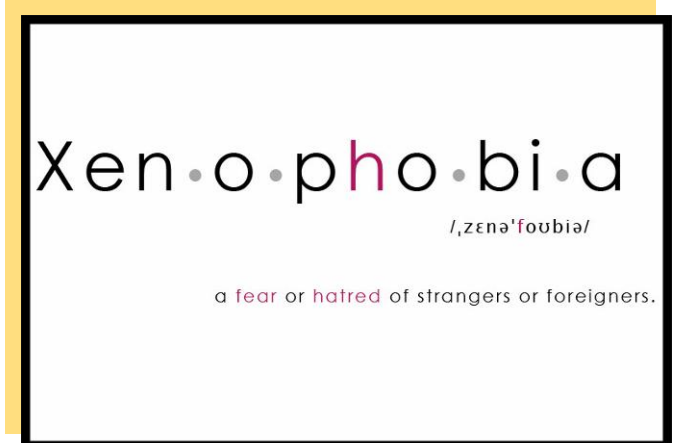
Racism, on the other hand, is linked to established *practices* -social, political and economic- that deny certain groups access to material and symbolic resources⁵. In other words, racism is not simply a negative attitude towards outsiders but rather aims at subordinating the minority group within (and outside) the nation-state.

Ethnic prejudice, meanwhile, is broader than structural racism. The American sociologist Gordon Allport defined ethnic prejudice as:

‘an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. The net effect of prejudice, thus defined, is to place the object of prejudice at some disadvantage not merited by his own misconduct’.

In his seminal book on *The Nature of Prejudice*,⁶ Allport makes it clear that prejudice is not simply a prejudgement or a misconception due to some overblown generalisation or wrong information. Instead, prejudice is characterised by resistance to change even in the face of new, more accurate information that undermines an erroneous belief. Moreover, those who hold prejudiced views tend to become emotional when those views are threatened by contradiction. So, while someone might discuss and change a simple prejudgement without emotional resistance, the same is not true of a prejudice.

An important distinction should be made here between prejudice and racism. Unlike racism, prejudice is not necessarily linked to socio-economic inequality and does not necessarily imply that the person or group who is the object of prejudice is subordinate to the perpetrator. Racism and prejudice, however, often do coincide. The situation at of the Horvath street school in Budapest provides a good



⁵ Hall, S. (1989) Rassismus als ideologischer Diskurs, *Das Argument*, 31: 913-21

⁶ Allport, G. (1954), *The Nature of Prejudice*. New York: Addison-Wesley

example. It shows how socio-economic disadvantage and ethnic difference can coincide to form ethnic prejudice. It also illustrates an innovative approach to dealing with ethnic prejudice in a school environment.

Addressing Ethnic Prejudice in Schools & Promoting Roma children Integration

The Horvath street school is adjacent to an 'urban ghetto' in Budapest where the majority of the city's Roma children live. The school also has a high proportion of children from less disadvantaged backgrounds, thus giving the school a very mixed social and ethnic composition overall. School administrators have worked to accommodate this situation and ensure that all children complete the school successfully. The school's main priorities are to nurture the talents of its students and provide them with equal opportunities. In many other parts of Hungary (and, indeed, the world) these two priorities are often regarded as mutually exclusive. This institution, however, insists the two belong together.

The school organises both specialised and non-specialised classes. The selection of children for these classes is done based on learning ability that usually (but not always) correlates with social background. The specialised classes are about 30-40% Roma (with many from mixed marriages), and in the non-specialised classes they are 80%.

The school makes efforts to compensate for the inequalities between these two classes. Classes with more disadvantaged children devote special attention to cultivating other types of talents beyond good learning skills (e.g., sports). Both classes employ modern pedagogical methods, including cooperative learning and small group activities. Great emphasis is also put on communication with parents: parents are strongly encouraged to get involved with the activities and life of the school. The school actively continues its outreach to these parents in an attempt to widen its support base.

In contrast to most other Hungarian schools, this school openly confronts issues having to do with Roma culture and otherness. This has two dimensions. First, the school has introduced a curriculum that is explicitly designed to construct a positive Roma self-image by developing and nurturing their cultural identity through the organisation of after-school music clubs and integrating Roma history into the overall curriculum. Second, the school promotes open and inclusive dialogue on negative, discriminatory events and cases affecting the Roma.



The 'success' of the school can be measured by the uncommon ways in which both teachers and pupils talk about ethnicity. Teachers invoke a 'social argument' which accounts for Roma disadvantage in terms of unemployment, socio-economic deprivation, and discrimination. This is in sharp contrast to the views of teachers in most other schools, which are typically prejudiced and often blame minority cultures for their own shortcomings. Roma children in this school are in mixed groups with non-Roma children and they have developed a more positive self-image compared to Roma children in other schools.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

- ✓ Do you think there is racism towards minorities or immigrants in your country?
- ✓ What kind of racism? Biological or culturalist?
- ✓ Are you aware of any initiatives to fight racism in your city/neighbourhood?

ACCEPTING [?] DIVERSITY

As we all know, European societies are ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse. This diversity is the result of deep historical developments and the way the individual nation-states were formed in the last few centuries. But it is also the result of more recent immigrations from other countries and continents. The European Union's slogan 'United in Diversity' embraces both kinds of diversity: the kind that exists among Member States and the diversity of minority and immigrant groups within each Member State.

There are different ways to address ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. Here we will discuss the most important approaches, namely: integration and assimilation, multiculturalism and interculturalism, tolerance and respect.

INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

Of all the terms this Handbook seeks to define, 'integration' is among the most difficult. For a starting point on this, let us consult the *Asylum and Migration Glossary* issued by the European Migration Network.⁷ There integration is defined as a 'dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of member states'. The Glossary also reminds us that 'the promotion of fundamental rights, non-discrimination and equal opportunities for all are key integration issues at the EU level.'

Among scholars (particularly sociologists and political scientists who deal with the subject professionally) the term integration is considered fuzzy. But the word does feature prominently in many public debates, so it is important to have at least a minimal working definition.

For our purposes, **integration** can be defined as:

A social, economic and political process involving the insertion of immigrants into a specific country. Integration requires effort by migrants to adapt to their new reality and effort by the host population to adapt to the presence and participation of migrants in the society.

Integration should not be confused with **assimilation**, which is:

A social process by which immigrants completely adapt to the traditions, culture and mores of the host country. Assimilation means eventually becoming part of the host nation and gradually abandoning one's own ethnicity, culture, and traditions.

Whereas integration is a two-way process, assimilation is a one-way street that involves wholesale absorption into the destination country with an attendant loss of pre-migration identity.

⁷ The European Migration Network consists of National Contact Points (EMN NCPs) in each Member State and is coordinated by the European Commission, Directorate General for Home Affairs. The objective of the European Migration Network is to provide up-to-date, objective, reliable and comparable information on migration and asylum, with a view to supporting policy-making in the European Union in these areas.

While examples of successful integration initiatives can be found all over Europe, a particularly instructive case is provided by the Gaelic Athletic Association in Ireland. Reflecting the challenges of a society that has recently become multi-ethnic and multicultural, it shows how even an institution created to promote national identity and national heritage can contribute to the integration of immigrant populations.

Integrating Diversity in Sports: The Gaelic Athletic Association

One of the largest and most influential organisations in Ireland, the Gaelic Athletic Association coordinates a range of Irish sports such as hurling, Gaelic football and camogie at national, county, local and school levels. It also promotes Irish culture and language. Founded in 1884, the GAA played a major role in the cultural and national revival that led to independence from Britain. Closely connected with the Irish language and Catholicism, it was at that time a key embodiment of national identity.

Today, the GAA's network of one million members extends to all areas of Ireland. Its aim: to strengthen 'the national identity in a thirty-two-county Ireland through the preservation and promotion of Gaelic games and pastimes' (GAA Constitution 1.2). Increased immigration and the greater cultural and ethnic diversity of Ireland's population have presented important challenges for the work of the GAA.

A response to this challenge came from the GAA itself, in conjunction with the Equality Authority, an independent official body responsible (along with the Equality Tribunal) for promoting equality. Starting in 2009, the Equality Authority held meetings with GAA officials to arrange appropriate equality awareness workshops for the GAA.



The GAA set up an Inclusion and Integration Working Group. In December 2009, Equality Authority staff began a programme of equality workshops for GAA officials, first for members of the Working Group and selected headquarters staff members. This was followed up in 2010 with workshops for full time staff of the four Provincial Councils of the Association around the country.

Other elements of the GAA's Inclusion and Integration strategy are:

- appointment of a dedicated inclusion officer,
- development of a welcome pack in a variety of languages for every club and school;
- inclusion training for all coaches;
- provision of local 'have a go days'; and
- the development of a respect initiative for all involved in sports.

In articulating this programme, the principal concepts invoked have been equality, integration, inclusion, respect, anti-sectarianism, and anti-racism. The GAA is now regarded as a distinctive and pioneering Irish sporting organisation in this respect

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION:

- ✓ Propose specific measures for integrating immigrant children in your school.
- ✓ Discuss how integration of these children would be different from assimilation.
- ✓ What would assimilation entail?

MULTICULTURALISM AND THE INTERCULTURAL APPROACH

As we just observed, integration and assimilation are general terms that refer to the different ways migrants are included in (or absorbed by) the host society. Now we are going to look at two specific models of integration. These models are 'multiculturalism' and 'the intercultural approach'. Both are being used to foster integration of migrant and ethnic minority populations in a number of countries.

Multiculturalism and interculturalism are 'normative' terms. That is, they refer to how and under what conditions different communities (different cultural groups) *should* be integrated into a society. The state, it has been noted, has the duty to assure that all citizens - regardless of religious faith, ethnic descent or cultural tradition - are able to enjoy their rights without being obliged to assimilate and adopt the majority culture or religion. This quest to make citizenship more sensitive to the cultural identities of the citizens themselves is commonly referred to as 'multiculturalism'.

Like integration, **multiculturalism** is a term with many definitions and, consequently, has often been a source of confusion. Here we will work with the following minimal definition:

Multiculturalism is a diverse set of normative ideals and policy programmes that promote (in different ways and by different means) the incorporation and participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities into state and society, taking into account their ethnic and religious differences.

Extending that thought, **multicultural citizenship** refers to:

A set of rights and duties that takes into account the cultural, ethnic and religious diversity of the groups that form part of a state and appropriately integrates their needs into an existing set of rights and duties attached to their citizenship.

Now, let's move on to a term that is becoming increasingly important but is not very well known yet outside of specialist circles. The term is **interculturalism** (also referred to here as **the intercultural approach**). While this term sounds rather similar to multiculturalism, it is actually something quite different. Interculturalism focuses on the *interplay* of cultures; it is a process based on dialogue and actual engagement between individuals from different cultures. The intercultural perspective acknowledges that a multitude of cultures may co-exist within a society. Individuals are seen as the carriers of different cultures, and thus intercultural dialogue involves dialogue between individuals of different ethnic or religious groups. This is not a private dialogue (one that takes place, for instance, within a family) but rather a public one that can take place in institutional contexts such as the school or the workplace.

A recent example of intercultural accommodation is Ireland's decision to have public hospitals perform male circumcision of newborns upon their parents' request.

Male Circumcision in Ireland: An Example of Intercultural Accommodation

In August 2003, a 4-week-old son of Nigerian citizens died at Waterford General Hospital one day after being admitted for complications following a home circumcision. His death prompted discussions around the subject of male cultural circumcision in Ireland and highlighted the lack of appropriate services.

Following the increase in Ireland of ethnic minority populations (especially of Muslims, who recommend circumcision as a rite of cleanliness at one week and in any case before puberty), provision for male circumcision on religious and cultural grounds became an issue. A Waterford Regional Hospital doctor appealed for 'arrangements' to be made for the needs of the immigrant community. He was supported at the Health Board meeting by another doctor who highlighted the fact that Ireland had become a multicultural country. The argument was put forth that hospitals must be able to provide circumcisions to male babies within 30 days of their birth, as people from Islamic cultures often feel compelled to have this procedure carried out within this period.

In 2004 the Minister for Health and Children appointed an expert group to provide advice on practical issues, ethical concerns and basic needs surrounding circumcision performed for cultural reasons. The committee received submissions from a number of sources and reviewed the international experience in this area. Several months later the report of the expert group (the Gill Report) was presented to the Minister for Health. It recommended that the Health Service Executive (HSE) provide a regional service capable of performing the requested number of cultural male circumcisions (estimated to be between 1,500 and 2,000 annually) and that the procedure should ideally take place within the second half of the child's first year. The report urged that the circumcisions be performed as a day-case procedure by trained surgeons and anaesthetists with pre- and post-operative assessment in adequately equipped units, and that medical staff who have ethical objections to the procedure should be allowed to opt out of the service. Further, the expert group warned that anyone performing a circumcision in the absence of these conditions and which resulted in injury to the child could be subject to the criminal law dealing with child protection. The Committee was satisfied that the practice as carried out by Mohels⁸ should be permitted to continue but regularly reviewed.

The South Eastern Health Board, within whose area the child died, did not wait for the Gill report. Their management team recommended that the procedure be made available immediately at Waterford Regional hospital, on cultural and religious grounds.

Aside from the health-related concerns, the issue was seen by those supporting the provision for circumcision in Ireland as meeting the need for reasonable accommodation of cultural, ethnic and religious diversity in the Irish health services and granting respect for the cultural and religious beliefs of others. It was argued that not providing such a service could result in sending a negative message about diversity and could be seen as a form of discrimination against families already suffering other forms of discrimination. The opponents to the provision of circumcisions as part of the health service described the act as a 'mutilation' and argued that 'the State, while being sympathetic to strongly held cultural and religious beliefs, should nevertheless use all means at its disposal to prevent those pernicious cultural or religious practices that manifestly result in harm to others' (Dr. Matt Hugh, Dublin surgeon).

⁸ A Mohel (Hebrew term) is a Jewish person trained to practice the covenant of circumcision.

So, as the Irish anecdote suggests, the difference between multiculturalism and interculturalism is essentially a matter of emphasis. While multiculturalism focuses on group identities and the incorporation of collective difference into society, interculturalism emphasises individual difference only. These two approaches are by no means mutually exclusive. Our next example shows how multicultural and intercultural approaches can be applied successfully in tandem.

In 2007 Britain commemorated the country's 200th anniversary of the abolition of slavery. While the commemoration events raised sensitive issues, the overall approach illustrated how ethnic minorities can be incorporated in society not only at an individual level but also at the collective level, recognizing their position in the national history and their own view of a country's history.

Commemorating the Abolition of Slavery in Britain: An Example of Multicultural Accommodation

Coping with Britain's imperial and colonial legacy presents a number of challenges. Assuring that non-white people find a proper place in British society is one of these challenges. Deciding how the British 'national story' might be adapted to acknowledge past injustices is another. Examples of past injustice are abundant: The 'plantocracies' of the Caribbean relied on forced labour, particularly for the production of sugar. English port cities, Bristol among them, were the hubs of transatlantic enslavement and of trade in commodities produced by slave labour.

With the immigration of Black Caribbeans after the Second World War, this fraught history has become a matter of considerable importance. Various initiatives have emerged since the 1980s and 1990s to contribute to a history 'from below' that acknowledges the contributions of black people and considers their continued experiences of discrimination. Such considerations came to the fore in the 2007 celebrations marking the 200th anniversary of the 'abolition of slavery' in Bristol.

The idea that 1807 had seen the 'end of slavery' (and that this 'end' could be attributed to the actions of white abolitionists) caused offence - not least because slavery in various forms continued on territories under British control well into the 20th century.

Both nation-wide and locally, such debates occurred in the run-up to the 2007 commemoration of the bicentenary of abolition. For Bristol, two million pounds were provided by the Heritage Lottery Fund and 150,000 pounds by Bristol City Council to fund 24 local initiatives in the context of 'Abolition 200'. Where local commemorations up to the mid 1990s had largely ignored Bristol's fraught history, this represented a significant move towards acknowledging the city's role in the transatlantic slave trade.

Simultaneously, however, a significant number of local actors and black grassroots groups expressed uneasiness with how the official discourse continued to reflect a white perspective. Various protests occurred during the 2007 commemoration (notably by the Bristol-based group 'Operation Truth'). A 'steering committee' made up of local groups was set up in Bristol. Together with various other local dignitaries, the city's Lord Mayor issued a declaration acknowledging that 1807 was not the end but rather the 'beginning of the end of slavery'.

Multiculturalism and interculturalism are holistic approaches that include views on what culture is or should be. They also reflect views on how individual and collective needs arising from different cultural backgrounds should be met. As such these approaches are closely related to the principles of tolerance and respect for cultural, religious and ethnic diversity.



QUESTIONS FOR
DISCUSSION:

- ✓ How is citizenship defined in your country?
- ✓ Does this definition include minorities and recognize their difference?

TOLERANCE AND RESPECT

In recent years the term 'tolerance' has popped up frequently in public debates. Aside from its popular usage in discussions about law enforcement (where policies of 'zero tolerance' are advocated), the concept of tolerance has become a key feature in discourse concerning minority groups. But tolerance is by no means a new concept, and - unlike 'integration' or 'interculturalism' - it is relatively easy to define.

On a basic level, **tolerance** means:

to refrain from objecting to something with which one does not agree.

While the basic definition of tolerance is fairly straightforward, the mechanism behind the phenomenon is rather more complex, involving several essential elements. It begins with someone (or a group of people) objecting to a particular belief or behaviour. This person or group must also be convinced that their objection is legitimate. Moreover, they must be in a position to suppress (or combat) the 'objectionable' belief or behaviour. Finally -and this is the crucial step- they must then decide to forgo suppression and instead allow the 'objectionable' belief or behaviour to persist, whatever the consequences may be.

As the American political philosopher Preston King puts it, tolerance is meaningful when the 'tolerator' has the power to interfere with the actions of another act but does not exert this power.

The terms 'tolerance' and 'toleration' are usually used interchangeably as synonyms to describe situations where one allows practices or attitudes to persist even though one disapproves of them. Historically, the development of the idea of tolerance in Europe began in the 16th and 17th centuries in response to the Protestant Reformation and the Wars of Religion. It started as a response to conflict among Christian denominations (and also to the persecution of witchcraft and heresy). In the 16th and 17th century, writers such as the French intellectual Michel de Montaigne questioned the morality of religious persecution and offered arguments supporting toleration. In the 17th century the concept of toleration was taken up by British thinkers such as John Milton and was further developed in the late 17th century by John Locke in his *Letters concerning Toleration* and in his *Two Treatises on Government*. Enlightenment philosophers such as Voltaire in France and Lessing in Germany further developed the notion of religious tolerance, although these ideas did not prevent intolerance and violence in early modern Europe. Tolerance was then understood with reference to religious diversity (dominant religions' toleration of minority religious groups) while today the concept is applied to all forms of difference including race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality and gender.

It is important, however, to acknowledge that tolerance has non-European roots as well.

The Non-European Roots of Tolerance

Toleration is often thought of as an achievement of European Enlightenment thinking. Yet, however significant the contributions of thinkers such as by Michel de Montaigne, John Locke and Friedrich Lessing may have been, they do not present a complete picture. Likewise, the idea that the Enlightenment set in motion a process that led directly and necessarily to the tolerance of the 21st century is short-sighted. It tends to disregard the many reversals that occurred in the process, sometimes even in defence of Enlightenment values. (The most infamous example is found in the oppressive phases of the French revolution.) It also ignores the contributions made from different perspectives and backgrounds, such as the possibility to justify toleration on religious grounds.

Medieval Christianity, while not a particularly 'tolerant' system of beliefs on the whole, provided some precedents. Toleration -the non-interference in the life of others- could be justified on strictly religious grounds, such as by the idea that God's omnipotence and the incomprehensibility of his actions should lead humans towards humility in their judgments- towards toleration.

Ideas and practices of tolerance had also developed outside the European context. Buddhism has historically been inclined towards toleration. Ashoka, for example, introduced moral principles of both public and individual conduct intended to respond to the immense socio-cultural diversity of his Indian Empire in the 3rd century BC.

Ideas and values of toleration underpinned Islamic practices that were often far more accommodating towards religious difference than their Christian counterparts. Although commonly misrepresented as an 'inter-faith utopia', Muslim Andalusia offered types of accommodation and co-existence that were unknown in the rest of Europe. Later, the millet system in the Ottoman Empire made it possible for religious communities to organise their affairs in relative autonomy, thus accommodating cultural and religious diversity within the empire.

While the Enlightenment is rightly understood as an important starting point for contemporary ideas of toleration, we should be aware of alternative origins. The value of cultural pluralism and ideas of intercultural coexistence have been proposed in different ways, emerging not only from the secular Enlightenment but also from within religious traditions.

Because the concept of tolerance is so crucial to our subject matter (as indicated by the Handbook's title), we are going to give it more thorough consideration. Let's begin by looking at tolerance in a western religious context.

From the time of the Enlightenment, a distinction was made between:

- mere toleration (i.e. adherents of a dominant religion allowing religious minorities to exist although they are seen as mistaken and harmful) , and
- the higher level concept of religious liberty which involves equality between all religions and the prohibition of discrimination among them.

Depending on how you look at it, this distinction is either the main weakness or the main strength of the concept of tolerance. Some thinkers criticise it because they feel that toleration implies a negative view and therefore constitutes a form of discrimination. They prefer to focus on the notions of acceptance and recognition of cultural diversity (further discussed below).

It is worth noting that tolerance implies a relationship of power: **only majorities have the power to tolerate minorities**. A minority (one that is not dominant) cannot tolerate a majority because it does not have the power to do so. However, a minority may (or may not) be tolerant regarding diversity among its own members.

Susan Mendus and Preston King, two political philosophers that have written extensively on the subject, see toleration (or tolerance) as a practical matter. They regard it as practical because each society has to set the limits of what and who it tolerates and what or who it does *not* tolerate. They also consider it an appropriate way to approach issues of cultural diversity and discrimination against minorities.

Sticking with practicalities, toleration raises questions as to (a) who or what *should not* be tolerated, (b) who or what *should* be tolerated, and (c) who or what should not only be tolerated but *accepted*. When it comes to policies for addressing diversity, tolerance can in fact be proposed as a middle solution that stands between intolerance and acceptance.

A technical breakdown of this **three-tiered approach to diversity** (with toleration representing the middle way) would look something like this:

- Individuals, groups and practices to whom/which toleration is not granted
- Individuals, groups and practices to whom/which toleration is granted
- Individuals, groups and practices for whom/which toleration is not enough and other approaches are (or should be) more relevant, such as equality, respect, recognition

The repetition of ‘individuals, groups and practices’ above is important because it highlights the fact that tolerance may be applied to a minority group as a whole, an individual who belongs to such a group and/or ‘divergent’ customs or practices of the minority individual or group.

It is important to note that the relationship between *tolerance* of difference and *respect* for difference is not necessarily a hierarchical one. Respect is not *always* a better institutional or practical solution for accommodating difference. Public recognition and respect may be appropriate for *some* diversity claims and may satisfy *some* requests of minority groups. For other types of diversity claims tolerance may be a better ‘fit’.

The following pair of illustrative anecdotes are intended to provide material for discussing some of the concepts explored in the Handbook. The first example is drawn from the controversy surrounding the construction of the Central Mosque in Cologne, Germany. It illustrates how local conflicts can be resolved in a spirit of respect and accommodation rather than excluding the claims of a minority group. The second anecdote focuses on an initiative by the City of Copenhagen to provide special training for teachers. Exemplifying respect for diversity in school life, the initiative was aimed at improving the ability of teachers to communicate with minority parents.

Respect for Diversity. The Controversy over Cologne's New Mosque

In 2006, the Turkish Muslim organisation DITIB publicly presented a plan for a large new mosque in Cologne. Members of the conservative CDU party criticised the architecture, which was closely linked to the Ottoman traditional style and thus, in their opinion, excluded non-Turkish Muslims. In that same year, the right-wing populist organisation Pro-Köln started a petition for a referendum against the building of the mosque.

In 2007, the author and Holocaust survivor Ralph Giordano appeared in a TV debate with Bekir Alboga, the mosque's commissioner for intercultural dialogue. Giordano demanded that the building of the mosque be stopped. He defended his position by arguing that the mosque was 'not an expression of the Muslim will to integrate, but a centre of an anti-integrative maintenance of identity' and symbolized 'an attack on our democratic way of life'. In the media debate surrounding the mosque project, issues of integration and prejudices towards Islam abounded.

Giordano expressed similar ideas to those of the right-wing movement Pro Köln. Basically, they argued that a Muslim minority with an 'alien' religion was creating a parallel society that was not able to integrate into German society. It was suggested that Muslims did not respect the German constitution, that their veiled women offended the aesthetic sensibility of ordinary people, and that they had general difficulties adapting to modernity.

Unlike many of his fellow party members in the conservative CDU, Cologne's mayor, Fritz Schramma, defended the 'constitutional and moral right' of the 120,000 Muslims of the city to have their own place of worship. He expressed the hope that the mosque would also be 'eingekölscht' soon, meaning that it would be embraced in the local environment.

In 2008 the Cologne mosque conflict became a rallying point for a group seeking to hold an International congress against the 'Islamisation of Europe' in the city. Pro Köln tried to organise a demonstration against the building of the mosque, but they met broad resistance from the people of Cologne. The counter-demonstration against the right-wing movement was so strong that the Cologne police finally forbade the demonstration against the mosque, which had in any case been blocked by thousands of Cologne citizens and officials. Many of the international leaders of right-wing populist movements who had come for the anti-Islam congress were unable to leave Cologne airport because the taxi drivers refused to transport them. These visitors also had difficulty finding lodging because hotel owners declined to accommodate them, and the owners of bars refused them drinks.

When the issue was finally settled, the mayor of Cologne proudly proclaimed: 'With strong commitment, humour and intelligence we fought against this racist nonsense.'



Intercultural Dialogue in Denmark. Respecting the Difference of Minority Parents

In 2007 the city of Copenhagen created an 'Integration Taskforce' to act as a contact unit between the city's central administration and its street-level professionals. These professionals included social workers, teachers, childcare workers and employees of housing associations and sports clubs (collectively 'practitioners'). In its initial meetings with the practitioners, the Task Force found that they face a common problem when it comes to communicating with the parents of minority children.

The solution was to develop training courses for these practitioners and supply them with special tools enabling them to improve their dialogue with parents. A handbook was developed complete with chapters on theory, concrete exercises and management tools for implementing and developing good parent dialogue. The emphasis was on conveying the theory in simple terms and converting it into practical knowledge for application in everyday situations.

The training courses and toolkit focused on rebalancing the otherwise asymmetrical relationship in dialogue between practitioner and parent. An essential step involved helping the practitioners open up to the perspectives of the parent. Emphasis was placed on creating common solutions to concrete problems and setting clear and achievable objectives such as getting minority pupils to participate in school excursions or gym classes. The desired mode of dialogue contrasted significantly with the standard hierarchical approach in which the practitioner speaks from a position of power. The initiative sought to provide alternatives to the situation in which the practitioner informs or 'tells' the parents what is expected of them and which solution is the 'right' one. The pragmatic, goal-oriented approach offered ways of 'bracketing out' discussions about fundamental principles or values in order to be able to deal with the concrete issue at hand.



Through this type of dialogue the minority parent is recognised as an individual of equal standing and as a generally competent parent whose ideas, points of view and feelings matter (and not just as a person with a particular minority identity). A parallel idea in the initiative is that minority parents should not only be 'invited' to school events that may be culturally unknown to them (e.g. the Danish Carnival celebrations), but should be also be 'involved' in their creation (the motto being: 'Do not invite, involve!').

The initiative also sought to help the practitioners become more aware of their sometimes unconscious prejudices or pre-judgments. An effort was made to help them to see how these views may influence their interactions with minorities. The main focus, however, is not on changing convictions or eradicating prejudices, but on establishing rules for professional behaviour in connection with creating and maintaining dialogue.

The idea of professionalised dialogue with minority parents has been vindicated through the feedback of participants in the training courses. The general experience, supported by interviews with minority parents, is that continued contact with and involvement of parents can be hugely beneficial in facilitating participation of minority children in key school and after-school activities.

QUESTIONS FOR
DISCUSSION:

- ✓ What kind of claims of minority or immigrant groups should not be tolerated in Europe?
Please give examples
- ✓ What kind of claims or needs of minority immigrant groups should be accepted and respected?
Please give examples

THE ACCEPT PLURALISM RESEARCH PROJECT

TOLERANCE, PLURALISM AND SOCIAL COHESION: RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY IN EUROPE

In 2001, violent conflicts between native British and Asian Muslim youth took place in northern England. In 2005, civil unrest amongst France's disadvantaged youth of immigrant origin expanded all over the country. In 2006, the publication of pictures of the prophet Mohammed in Denmark generated the so-called 'cartoon crisis'. Muslim communities have come under intense scrutiny in the wake of the terrorist events in the United States (2001), Spain (2004) and Britain (2005). Extreme right wing politicians such as Geert Wilders in the Netherlands and parties such as the Northern League in Italy gained votes by playing on the electorate's fears of the 'Muslim' or the 'immigrant'. The current economic crisis provides further fruitful ground for racist and discriminatory behaviour towards minorities: the massive expulsions of Roma populations from Italy in 2008 and from France in 2010 are dramatic examples. The tragic events in Norway in summer 2011 are yet but another expression of this social malaise.

ACCEPT PLURALISM is about tolerance and acceptance of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in contemporary Europe. This European FP7 project [Socio-Economic Sciences & Humanities] investigates the meanings of tolerance in a variety of contexts with a special focus on 'what needs to be done' now in Europe in order to proceed to more coherent societies, while respecting ethnic, religious and cultural plurality.

In recent times, the integration and accommodation of ethnic and religious minorities and their special needs or claims have been an important concern for the European Union. In some countries challenges relate more to immigrant groups while in others they concern native minorities. The question that has often been posed, in more or less politically correct terms, is **how much cultural diversity can be accommodated** within liberal and secular democracies. It is in this context that the ACCEPT PLURALISM project responds to the need to investigate whether European societies have become more or less tolerant during the past 20 years. The project investigates **what tolerance means in different countries and under different circumstances**. Do we (not) tolerate specific practices or specific minority groups (immigrant or native) or indeed specific individuals?

The divide between **liberal tolerance** (not interfering with practices or forms of life of a person even if one disapproves of them) and **egalitarian tolerance** (institutional arrangements and public policies that fight negative stereotyping, promote positive inclusive identities and reorganise the public space in ways that accommodate diversity) lies at the core of ACCEPT PLURALISM research.

However, the borderline between what is tolerable and what is intolerable is not always clear-cut and not everyone agrees on where the borderline lies. Which are the processes through which the lines are drawn 'here' or 'there'? What are the implications of drawing the boundary 'here' or 'there'? Are the political discourses on pluralism relevant to the actual policies and/or to their implementation? What is the difference between (in)tolerant practices, policies and institutions?

ACCEPT PLURALISM critically reviews past empirical research and the scholarly literature on the topic. It conducts original empirical research in 15 EU member states: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the UK, and one accession country: Turkey, focusing on key events of national and European relevance that thematise different understandings and practices of (in)tolerance and/or acceptance of cultural diversity. These countries produce a mosaic of diverse experiences and traditions regarding ethnic and religious diversity: western European states with a long experience in receiving and incorporating immigrant minorities; 'new' migrant host countries; essentially southern and, central European states that have recently joined the EU, and an associated state, the latter mostly concerned with emigration rather than immigration but also characterised by a significant variety of native minority populations.

The purpose of **ACCEPT PLURALISM** is twofold:

- to create a new theoretical and normative framework of different types of (in)tolerance of diversity;
- and
- to explore adequate policy responses that take into account the realities and expectations of European and national policy makers, civil society and minority groups.

THE ACCEPT PLURALISM PROJECT

DIVERSITY & RELEVANT GROUPS chosen in the framework of the ACCEPT PLURALISM PROJECT

Ethnic diversity

- native minorities
- immigrant groups

Religious diversity

- Muslims
- Different Christian groups
- Jews

'Racial' diversity

- 'Black' people
- Roma

Focus on specific CHALLENGES

School Life

- School (de-)segregation
- Religious schools
- Curriculum revisions
- Accommodation of diversity in everyday school life

Political Life

- Tolerance of intolerant discourses in political life.
- Public policies of exclusion: institutional obstacles to minority rights
- Recognition or opposition to minority mobilisation

PRINCIPLES GUIDING POLICY RESPONSES

Intolerance

Tolerance

Accept

Respect

Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the United Kingdom

FOR MORE INFORMATION...

...on the ACCEPT PLURALISM project see

<http://www.accept-pluralism.eu>

...the Socio Economic Sciences and Humanities Programme in FP7 see:

http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/index_en.htm

http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/cooperation/socio-economic_en.html

THE ACCEPT PLURALISM GROUP ON FACEBOOK:

<http://www.facebook.com/groups/accept.pluralism/>

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