An Inclusive Europe: New Minorities in Europe

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Introduction

All contemporary European states are multicultural in the sense that their populations include both traditional and new minority groups. Fuelled in part by political upheaval, economic difference and freedom of movement entailed in growing economic integration in Europe, an increasing number of people have settled, with varying degrees of permanence, in countries other than their country of origin.

The integration of immigrant populations is an important issue of political debate in European countries as they search for appropriate arrangements to facilitate integration while remaining mindful of cultural difference. Although promoting inclusive multiculturalism is seen as an important goal of multiethnic Europe, we are conscious that our histories show that acceptance of diversity has not always been self-evident in policy; and that, policy has often been assimilationist in tone, placing periodic demands on immigrants to give up their traditional lifestyles and adopt the dominant living modes in the society to which they have immigrated. The dilemma is often how best to reach the goal of inclusive multiculturalism.

In this booklet we raise conceptual and policy questions that serve both to illustrate complexity and the importance of context. Rather than advocating any particular policy or practice we provide activities that encourage students to reflect on concepts and policies.

National identity and minorities

The modern history of Europe is the history of nation-states and national identity has been the dominant form of collective identity since the eighteenth century. According to the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau a nation was a demos nation, i.e. a political and juridical community, and its citizens were socialised to feel devoted to their homeland and enjoy the obligations of being a citizen. His contemporary, the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, saw "nation" as an ethnos nation, which consisted of a culturally homogenous people sharing one language, ethnicity, and religion. A nationality connects a human being to a particular geographical place, embodies a historical continuity, and is constituted by a mutual belief that this group has got something in common. National identity provides people with a sense of belonging. However, this only takes place if people have the feeling of being accepted members of the national identity.

According to the philosophical theory of social constructionism, individuals and groups participate in the creation of their perceived social reality constructed through language and social interaction. Cultures, minorities, and identities are neither static, nor unified; their meanings differ from one context to another, as they themselves are

constructions. According to Benedict Anderson (1991) a national identity is a cultural construction, constituted by a mutual belief.

"A nationality exists when its members believe it does. It is not a question of a group of people sharing some common attribute such as race or language. These features do not of themselves make nations, and only become important insofar as a particular nationality takes as one of its defining features that its members speak French or have black skin" (Miller 2000:28).

Many European countries have constructed a "we" discourse in public debate which is synonymous with many national ethnos identities in Europe. These identities in most cases imply that a "real" citizen has a white complexion, a Christian belief, and speaks an official national language of the country as his/her first language, which means that the families have been speaking the official language of the country for generations. Huynik (1991:158) problematises this notion by asking 'How many generations does it take to become a full member of a nation? Moreover, this construction has consequences for people that do not share these characteristics. Citizenship and national identity can easily become notions that include some and exclude others. A boundary, drawn between "us" and "them" runs between nations as well as within nations - between citizens who fulfil the expectations of being a 'real' Greek or 'real' Slovene, and those people (groups) who do not fulfil these criteria, such as settled minorities, migration workers, asylum-seekers and refugees.

According to Giddens (1996) identity is a reflexive project that has to do with maintaining and revising narratives about ourselves. In societies we construct our own as well as others´ identities; thereby we state who is a full member of society and who is not. This implies that the possibilities of choosing and changing identities is restricted by the ways groups are perceived by other groups, especially the majority, who hold the power of being able to define the status and identity of minorities.

A 'minority' as a sociological term refers to a *non-dominant* or *subordinated* social group that might be oppressed or stigmatised on the basis of racial, ethnic, biological, or other characteristics. There are many cases when groups of immigrants are not a numerical minority; an academic usage of the term primarily concerns power differences among groups. It typically refers to an ethnic group understood in terms of language, nationality, religion and/or culture; however, minority may also include any group which differ from majority population in terms of social status, education, employment, wealth and political power. Apart from racial, ethnic, cultural (linguistic, religious) minorities, people with disabilities, economic minorities (working poor or unemployed), age minorities

(children or old people) and sexual minorities, may also be regarded as minority as they are experiencing oppression and domination.

Louis Wirth (in Marshal 1998) defines a minority group as a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live *for differential and unequal treatment* and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. Discrimination may be directly based on an individual's perceived membership of a minority group; it is associated with prejudice and manifested in intolerant behaviour directed *against* a certain group. It may also occur indirectly, due to social structures that are not equally accessible to all.

For example, evidence of structural and institutional inequalities are highlighted in a recent Eurydice report (2009) in which data shows that access to early childhood services may be hampered by a number of factors to an extent that some children run the risk of being excluded. The most common exclusion factors include affordability and shortfalls in provision that indirectly cause lower participation of ethnic minority children due to an accumulation of risk factors (low income, low levels of education, language proficiency etc) in those underprivileged families.

Wirth points out that membership of a minority group is subjectively claimed by its members, who may use their status as the basis of group identity or solidarity. Minority status is a source of *collective identity*, and socially shared rules about who belongs and who does not, determine minority status. In any case, minority group status is categorical in nature: an individual belonging to a given minority group will be accorded the status of that group and be subject to the same treatment as other members of that group. A *sense of solidarity or group identity, and subordination status* are therefore the two key criteria accepted by most scholars in defining a minority group.

Ethnic minorities in Europe - who are they?

Today, European states are becoming places of increasingly diverse population groups with different ethnic, religious or cultural backgrounds, with multiple collective and personal identities; OECD data (2007) demonstrate that since 1995 all European countries are showing notable population increases as a result of international migrationi. In some countries, immigration has occurred only fairly recently, whereas others have long-standing experience of devising and implementing policies in this area. Migration movements include not only entries of people of foreign nationality, on which public attention tends to be focused; they also include movements of nationals and emigrants; and every country represents a unique "pattern" of minority groups (see the Greek case, Box 1).

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Box 1: the Greek case

Like many regions of Western and Southern Europe, Greece has experienced a significant change during the last three decades and especially since the late 1980s. Immigration has been from both EU (especially Poland) and non-EU countries (including Albania, the Philippines, Pakistan, Iraq and Egypt, and other countries in Africa and Asia).

Also people of Greek origin may also belong to the category 'immigrant'. One recognized group of ethnic Greek immigrants, the Vorioepirotes, are Albanian citizens mainly from Southern Albania (Northern Epirus), who consider themselves, and are recognized by the Greek State, as ethnically and culturally Greek. There are also returnee-citizens of non-EU countries who are of Greek origin in that they derive from Greece or regions beyond the borders of the Greek state which were formerly influenced by Greek culture. The majority of the individuals who belong to this category feel they have 'returned' to their 'homeland' and are Pontic Greeks or Rossopontiii, i.e. emigrants from the region of Pontos at the Southern coast and the Black sea to the ex-Soviet Republics. Pontic Greeks acquire Greek citizenship upon arrival in Greece. Repatriates are Greek emigrants who return to Greece on their own free will after a period of permanent residence abroad. Individuals belonging to this category may be Greek citizens or have acquired the citizenship of the host country. Children of Greek emigrants are also included in this category.

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While old patterns of minority groups in European states persist, immigration and rapid social and political change have produced the formation of the so called new minorities. As both the number and visibility of ethnic minority groups expand questions that need to be addressed at a national and international level are: do the members of minorities have the same social status and are they treated the same as the members of the majority or nationals; are they enjoying the same cultural and political rights; are the different types of minorities enjoying the same amount of protection? (Jovanovi 2007: 4).

Almost all societies contain types of ethnic minorities such as indigenous people, landless or nomadic communities, and immigrants.

The term indigenous people is used to describe any ethnic group of people who inhabit a geographic region with which they have the earliest known historical connection alongside immigrants which have populated the region and which are greater in number (Other related terms include 'aboriginal', 'native', 'autochthonous' people). Indigenous people's ancestors inhabited a region before the arrival of colonists; they lived independently or largely isolated, have maintained at least in part their distinct linguistic, cultural and social/organizational characteristics, remaining differentiated from the dominant culture of the nation-state and; they are self-identified as such and recognized as indigenous peoples, per se. Some of the notable indigenous populations in Europe include the Sami people of northern Scandinavia, the Nenets and other Samoyedic peoples of the northern Russia, the Komi peoples of the western Urals, and the Basque people, inhabiting northern Spain and southwestern France. Their common problems are suffering discrimination and pressure to assimilate into their surrounding societies, while loosing their distinctive cultures.

In Europe there are several small nomadic or landless communities. The best known are the Roma people, often known as "Gypsies", the Sinti and Kale. There are approximately 10 million Roma in Europe mainly living in the Balkans and in Central and Eastern Europe; most of them speak Romani language. The Sinti are mainly found in the German-speaking regions (Germany, Switzerland, Austria), the Benelux and some of the Scandinavian countries and in east France (called 'Manouches'). The Kale (more commonly called "Gitanos" or "Spanish Gypsies") in the Iberian Peninsula and southern France more or less speak Kaló; there is also a 'Kaalé' group in Finland, and Kale in Wales.

"Travellers" is an administrative term which also applies to non-Roma groups with itinerant lifestyles. Irish Travellers or (in Scotland) simply Travellers are not Roma, but their nomadic culture has been influenced by Roma; in Norway there is a small group of people who call themselves Reisende; i.e. indigenous Norwegian Travellers.

Immigrants - the "new minorities" in Europe

An immigrant is often defined as a person, who for a variety of reasons (including forced migration, economic motives, or the desire to keep family together) has settled in a receiving country, or who may be seeking asylum, have refugee status, or be an irregular immigrant.

Citizenship (non-citizenship) and residence (permanent or temporary) are the two concepts and legal instruments used for the categorisation of immigrant people; however, they are not internationally used in the same manner. The three main categories of immigrants are: people with citizenship of their new state; long-term residents; and, residents within Europe who posses the citizenship of another EU State. Long-term residents who are third country nationals have become a legal category in European Community law with the European Council Resolution on the Status of Third-Country Nationals who Reside on a Long-Term Basis in the territory of the Member States (1996) and Chapter VIII (article 30) of the Amsterdam Treaty.

The Roma people are recognized as citizens by most European States in which they have been settled for a long time, but, the Roma can also be considered as a new minority as far as their recent immigration in Western Countries.

The term '**new minorities**', has been generally used in order to refer to the minority groups resulting from post World War II immigration. In recent decades, most EU member States have experienced a marked increase in the number of third country nationals (people from non-E.U. countries). New minorities originating from immigration thus encompasses categories of third country nationals legally present on the territory of an EU member State and includes not only migrant workers with permanent or seasonal contracts, but also asylum-seekers, refugees, and ethnic migrants with the main focus on the integration of the first generation. On the Tampere European Council (1999) it was agreed that the legal status of third country nationals should be approximated to that of the nationals of the member States. The Council of Europe (2001) recognises a clear link between migrants and minorities and stresses the importance of stronger protection of migrants' rights.

Social inclusion and integration of the newcomers includes legal equality (ensuring the same human rights compared to citizens of the receiving country, access to societies' resources) as well as

respecting the minority rights such as cultural, linguistic and religious rights.

A comprehensive integration policy ensures that immigrants could take an equal part in the life of society, and to participate in public life in areas such as the labour market and education. Some indicators proposed by the Council of Europe devised to measure social inclusion are:

Do immigrants have the possibility to apply for family reunification immediately upon their arrival in the host country?; Does the labour law provide for cultural and religious diversity among workers?; Are there legal provisions to promote awareness raising of minority issues such as cultural diversity in the national curriculum for all children?

Controversial issues and conceptual dilemmas

Official recognition of minority groups

The issue of establishing minority groups, and determining the extent of protection of the (minority) rights they might derive from their status, is controversial. In the politics of some countries, a minority is an ethnic group that is *recognized* as such by respective laws of its country and therefore, has some rights that other groups lack. The question of what constitutes a 'minority' in terms of international law has remained both disputed and uncertain, which in turn has hampered national and regional initiatives in addressing and applying provisions for the protection of minorities. In addition, different terminology referring to a minority is used, and often lacks definition. An absence of a universally accepted definition of the term minority, represent a risk for the status and protection of the rights of minorities; the implications are bypassing, misinterpretations and denial of certain rights to certain people (Jovanovi 2007, 6).

As a result, different minority groups often are not given identical treatment. Currently, European states tend to make a distinction between some ethnic minorities being officially recognised as *national minorities* and other groups who are not. Some minorities are relatively large or historically important or otherwise recognised as important so that the system is set up in a way to guarantee them comprehensive protection and political representation. Namely, the concept of national minority is traditionally understood in a European context as referring to ethnic groups living in a state, that are linked to a nation that has constituted it's own state, so-called "kin-state". The law of several European countries defines national minorities referring to the historical ties with the state, the link to a traditional area of settlement and the citizenship of the state. The implications of those criteria are limiting the notion of national

minority to the so called *autochthonous* or indigenous groups. In addition, the "*autochthonous*" concept itself is not clearly defined or applied in same manner in countries).

National minorities seen as *historical communities* are in many countries defined in opposition with new immigrant ethnic groups (Box 2). It seems that every country represents a unique response to dealing with the problems and challenges arising from diverse ethnic structure, each using their own criteria for official recognition on some minorities and non- recognition of others.

Box 2: Three models of minority rights protection in Slovenia

Full-protection model
The Slovene Constitution and the legislation on national minorities assure the highest level of minority rights protection to the national minorities; the '*full-protection model*' is in place for Italian and Hungarian minorities, so called autochthonous national minorities, with 'protection' based on about eighty regulations and the Constitutional provisions (article 11; article 64) which provide a comprehensive set of rights – from the right to use national symbols freely, to the right to establish organisations and develop economic, cultural, scientific and research activities, as well as activities in the field of public media and publishing.

Selective extending model
Protection of the Roma community is assured on the basis of the '*selective extending model*'; the most important is article 65 of the Constitution, which stipulates status and some special rights of the Roma community.

Rudimental model
The so called modern minorities or new minorities (mostly immigrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia as well as German ethnic community) are assured the right to preserve their national identity by the '*rudimental model*' guaranteeing the right to freely express affiliation with nation or national community, to foster and give expression to his/her culture, to use language and script, in a manner provided by law in procedures before state and other bodies performing a public function (articles 61 and 62 of the Constitution)

In this three-level minority rights protection policy Hungarians and Italians benefit from well-defined, extensive rights. However, Komac (in Gosselin, 2003) argues that the autochtonous/non-autochtonous dichotomy is incoherent as Italians who settled in the country after the Second World War are considered to be more 'autochtonous' than Croats who have been living in Slovenia for a longer period of time.

Even though Slovenia is a home to Croats, Serbs and Bosnians, who came when war broke out in ex-Yugoslavia or were already settled in Slovenia when the country declared its independence in 1991, they do not have the status of an official minority. The differentiated level of minority protection for Roma has also been addressed in reports by EU institutions (see OSI 2001, 495).

Defining a minority?

An immigrant person with no-dominant ethnic, religious or cultural background might face a personal dilemma whether to define himself/herself as (primarily) as a member of a minority group or not. Namely, self-determination of a person as member of minority group is in most countries associated with certain positive measures or entitlements designed in order to guarantee equal opportunities as well as promotion of their social inclusion. On the other hand, the term minority itself has negative connotations; it often implies a status of "the Other" and "the Different" in society. Therefore it is important for European countries to provide a range of special support measures (however, it is worth considering if they need to be exclusively bound to official minority status or even if we need to use a term "minority" at all) as well as to guarantee a constitutional right to self-determination.

A wide variety of support measures are available in European schools that aim to promote integration and the academic success of immigrant children. Several legislative and special support measures have been developed aimed at ensuring:

(1) the right to education (including free compulsory education;

(2) linguistic support measures in order to develop proficiency in the language(s) of the host country or language of instruction in schools;

(3) parallel support to be taught their mother tongue and learn about the culture of their country of origin. In addition, education settings are developing intercultural education as an holistic approach to teaching conducive to interaction between cultures, and are implementing appropriate teacher training and continuous professional development aimed at developing new professional skills needed to foster a philosophy of multiculturalism and active tolerance (Eurydice 2004: 67 – 71).

The entitlements and positive measures are, in most cases, based on child's official minority status and often exclude some groups of children.

In the same report (Eurydice, 2004: 13) it is noted that current European legislation on the education of children who are nationals of third countries and either have legal status or have been resident for at least a certain minimum period, is concerned with granting entitlement to education under the same conditions as those applicable to nationals, but subject to certain possible exceptions. However, it contains no provisions regarding the entitlement to education of children who are third-country nationals and irregularly present on European Union territory. Neither does it include any positive measures for the assistance of immigrant children

Interpretations of the equal opportunities concept

Disputes about appropriate social inclusion policies often revolve around different interpretations of the equal opportunities concept. In some countries (even among scholars), equality is understood primarily in terms of providing the same treatment for all people-regardless of differing living situations (and needs) of people-such as immigrants and their family members. In most countries, positive and affirmative measures (in some cases called "positive discrimination") are seen as inherent to equality and thus justifiable on the grounds of equality of outcome.

The exercise Starting Points (Schiindllauer, 2006) helps the participants to understand that some circumstances and factors in one's life do represent disadvantage, and that on a road to successful integration people are not starting from the same departure points; a discriminatory system is often used to simply keep up domination of a majority group possessing characteristics that represent an advantage.

Exercise 1: <u>STARTING POSITIONS</u>

Objectives
To show different social starting positions and possibilities for individuals on the basis of belonging to a different group;
To make people aware that there are some factors which can make it more difficult to be successful in life;
To make clear that people start from different positions in life, and that many starting position are fixed.
It is important to note that this is a very strong activity requiring mutual trust within the group. The facilitator of the activity must be sensitive as categories may touch deep emotions. For example, questions about violence or drug abuse in the family may be personally upsetting. In some cases it may be necessary to drop or adjust some of the attributes on the list that are thought to be inappropriate in the context.

Procedure
- Ask the participants to stand in one line, holding each others hands (a setting that requires lots of space.)

- Tell them that you will read different attributes and that they have to make a step forward or backward, according to instructions. They should, where possible, keep hold of their neighbour's hand.

- Importantly, make it clear to participants that they have the right to remain where they are; that they are not under pressure to reveal anything that they do not wish to.

- Then read the following attributes:

Attributes	One step . . .
Personal, Origin	
you are woman	backward
You are man	forward
born in Slovenia*/Europe (*land in which the training is conducted)	forward
parents were born in Slovenia*/Europe	forward
grandparents were born in Slovenia*/Europe	forward
first language is Slovenian*/European language	forward
first language is non - European language	backward
Family	
your family consists of more than three children	backward
you had many books in your parents house	forward
at least one of your parents finished high school	forward
at least one of your parents has a university degree	forward
you are Christian	forward
You are Jewish	backward
you are Muslim	backward
you are Buddhist	backward
your parents are divorced	backward
alcohol or drug abuse in the family	backward
suicide in the family	backward
any kind of violence in the family	backward
Actual situation	
Married	forward
divorced	backward
you have children	backward
you are heterosexual	forward
you are gay, lesbian	backward
you have any kind of disability or illness	backward
problems with alcohol or drugs backward	backward
you are or have been at least once unemployed	backward
Education	
high school degree	forward
university degree	forward
learned a profession	forward
you know a second language	forward
you know more than two languages	forward

Ask the participants to look around and see who is standing in the front positions or in the back positions. For emphasis you may ask them to race to the wall in front of them.

Some questions for final discussion:

- How did you feel standing far in the front or in the back?

- How did you feel, when it was no longer possible to hold hands?

- Did anyone learn something new about her-/himself?

- What was difficult about the activity?

- What are the common characteristics of the attributes?

- Was it really me who just invented these attributes or were they taken from a real experiences of society?

- Do you think that you were always sent in the right direction?

4.4 Multiculturalism or "plural monoculturalism"?

The demand for multiculturalism today is present in most multi-ethnic countries; however, as Amartya Sen (2006) argues it is important to define what form of multiculturalism should be taken. Namely, the vocal defence of multiculturalism is very often merely a plea for "plural monoculturalism", understood as cultures co-existing side by side. To him the distinction between interaction and isolation is of central importance; multiculturalism is not merely a tolerance but an interaction between diverse living modes and of varying cultural priorities.

Sen sees a hope of harmony in the contemporary world in understanding of the pluralities of human identity and stresses the importance of seeing ourselves as members of a variety of groups, to which we simultaneously belong, all of them giving us particular identity. Given our inescapably plural identities, we have to decide on the relative importance of our different associations and affiliations in any particular context. Central to leading a human life, therefore, are the responsibilities of choice and reasoning.

Exercise 2 helps participants in understanding the importance of co-existence of identities. In the photo 2 we see a Muslim woman (most likely an immigrant) demonstrating against racism in København. She is holding the Danish flag as well as a plastic bag from a well-known Danish supermarket chain ("Fotex"). She does this in a way that seems to be very natural to her showing that she is identifying with a Danish nation. The message of the exercise it that is important for minority people to identify with the nation, and participate in civil society. As Sen (2006: 164 - 165) points out, civil society has a very important role to play in the lives immigrants. He sees a future of multiethnic society in recognizing, supporting, and

helping to advance the many different ways in which citizens with distinct politics, linguistic heritage, and social priorities (along with different ethnicities and religions) can interact with each other in their different capacities, including as citizens.

Exercise 2: <u>SYMBOLS OF BELONGING</u>

Objective
To gain insight into the construction of national identity and to help the participants with understanding that the flag as a symbol is usually associated with the majority.

Reflecting on an issue of minority religious identity of the woman on the picture- to ask how it is compatible with national identity.

To endorse a critical consciousness by discovering that national identity is a construction and a narrative that can be told in different ways

Preparation
The teacher finds two pictures. One represents a majority group who makes use of a national flag. In a Danish context the picture from football matches is an example (photo 1).ii

Photo 1

Another picture represents a person from a minority group who makes use of a national flag.

In a Danish context the picture from a demonstration against racism in Denmark, have been used (photo 2).iii

Photo 2

Procedure

The two pictures are presented to the students. They have 5 minutes for individual brainstorms; then each writes on a piece of paper what the two pictures make him/her think of. They are asked to pose one question which the pictures made her/him think of.

Plenary: the questions are written on a board. Everybody takes part in dividing the questions into groups according to topics (i.e. thematicising the questions). Students are asked to look for possible connections, similarities, and differences. Than the students are encouraged to express arguments for why exactly these topics arose.

Options

Questions for small group discussions:

- *When do we use flags? What is the historical background of the flag? Does the flag have different meanings in different contexts? How other Danes would perceive this person's way of being and behaving Danish.*

- *Do you have a homeland? Which one (more than one?)? What does it take to feel at home in a place?*
  Are some people more "real" members of a nation than other people? How do you become a "real" member of a nation? Do you have to adapt to special customs, a language, or a religion? Do you have to be born in the nation in order to be a "real" member? Do you have to speak (one of) the official language(s) of the nation as your first language? Do you have to live inside the nation's territory? Or is it enough to have the citizenship?

- *Is it enough to feel that you are a member of the nation? Do you have to be acknowledged as such by others?*

Religious identity as one of the many identities

Research shows that religion continues to be an important identity marker for new immigrants and influences their integration. Immigrant groups differ in the ways they integrate religious and ethnic identities and the emphasis they place on each. Immigrant newcomers who bring values that depart or appear to depart very substantially from those of the host society may lead to the creation of social boundaries that are difficult to transcend. The question is whether certain religious minorities have values, beliefs or practices that are difficult to integrate into society because they clash with ideas about gender equality or secularism in public institutions. Ethno-religious diversity may affect commonalities of values, commitments, and social relations among individuals and groups of individual and thereby promote social integration of immigrant groups.

Religious minorities may be subject to discrimination and prejudice, especially when the religious differences are interconnected with ethnic differences. Religious minorities are stigmatized and experience discrimination based on religion, and on a perception of religious minorities as a racialized 'other.' In many immigrant receiving countries particularly in Europe, it has been the religious character of minority groups rather than their racial origins which has been considered most problematic for social integration.

The role of religion in social inclusion or exclusion of religious or ethnic communities was highlighted by terrorism.

As Sen points out, a major source of potential conflict in the contemporary world is the presumption that people can be uniquely categorized based on religion and culture. In addition, the politics of global confrontation is frequently seen as a "clash of civilizations". Underlying this line of thinking is the odd presumption that the people of the world can be uniquely categorized according to some *singular and overarching* system of partitioning. Civilizational or religious partitioning of the world population yields a "solitarist" approach to human identity, which sees human beings as members of exactly one group (defined by civilization or religion, in contrast with earlier reliance on nationalities and classes). An aolitarist approach is giving automatic priority to inherited religion or tradition over reflection and choice. Sen (2006: 164-165) argues against society seen, explicitly or by implications, as a federation of religious ethnicities; He adds, that our shared humanity gets savagely challenged when the manifold divisions in the world are unified into one allegedly dominant system of classification – in terms of religion, or community, or culture, or nation, or civilization. He argues against nations being seen as a collection (federation) of ethnic and religious communities with citizens being assigned places in predetermined segments.

Exercise 3 is an example of a workshop aimed at combating 'islamophobia' and promoting interfaith dialogue in a Greek context. The example has been used in the Greek context because it touches the particular religious situation of the country. It can also be adapted for other country religious situation or conflicts.

Exercise 3: FACING INTOLERANCE AND DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS MUSLIMS: A GREEK EXAMPLE

Objectives
To make the students aware of problems related to violent actions and conflicts between different religious beliefs.

To understand and analyze discrimination, racism and 'islamophobia'.

Preparation
Ask the participants to find information in newspapers or other mass media illustrating a religious conflict. In Greece we have used an event described in newspaper. It concerns the defacement of one Iraqi migrant's copy of the Koran by a Greek police officer during an identity check. In front of the eyes of many Muslims the policeman tried to destroy it and step on it. This incident triggered angry demonstrations by hundreds of Muslim immigrants. Some time later around 1000 Muslims and members of anti-immigrant organizations demonstrated in the streets and ended up in Constitution Square in front of Parliament. The demonstration was mostly peaceful but some demonstrators collided with the Police forces causing extensive damage, burning cars and smashing windows of nearby shops. The scenes that unfolded in central Athens was unprecedented, it was the first of its kind and the demonstrators fell on the shields of the police men, regardless of the danger of injury or arrest. Other, larger group were holding the Koran and prayer to Allah and cursing enemies of Islam.

Procedure
Students are invited to comment on texts/articles from the press about this subject. The leader provides different articles from the press which develop different reactions towards this incident and consequences from several religious conflicts. (Optional: students are also invited to find articles).

The following "reactions" are taken from the media in Greece:

1. The 'Koran incident' reignited the debate around illegal immigration and raised questions over the cultural division between Greeks and a growing population of Muslim migrants and asylum seekers in Greece, a homogeneous and largely Christian Orthodox nation.
2. While most Muslim immigrants agree they have to take responsibility for how they are perceived by the Greek public,

they were quick to denounce the policeman's alleged mishandling of the Koran.

3. "The matter could have been immediately resolved if the police had simply apologised," said the president of the Muslim Union of Greece. "That would have been the end of it. But it seems to me there is some sort of political plot to make Greeks hate immigrants by forcing Muslims to pour out onto the streets.

4. In Athens, thousands of Muslim immigrants and asylum seekers from Arab nations, Africa and the Indian subcontinent are in a state of desperation. Inner-city Muslims say a large portion of its community is marginalised with near-zero chances of securing legal residency and stable employment. Many are homeless. Even those who have managed to put down roots in Greece feel disenchanted. Athens remains the only capital city in Europe without an official mosque. The city's Muslims are still waiting for ruling the Government to construct a mosque, on the outskirts of Athens.

5. According to Mehmet Imam, president of the Greece's Muslim Federation Filotita, there is no evidence that young and desperate Muslim migrants in Greece are turning to extremism. He does, however, believe that "some people" are trying to exploit those Muslim immigrants alienated from society and who are thus most vulnerable to radicalisation.

6. "Islam does not promote violence," said Imam, a Greek Muslim born in Xanthi, northeastern Greece. "If there is violence, then there is certainly an outside instigator."

7. "We want the officer or officers involved to be prosecuted, and the government to issue an apology," protester Manala Mohammed, a Syrian national, told The Associated Press. "We want people to show us respect."

Students are asked to discuss these different reactions, to try to understand the motives of the different parties and classify their opinions/beliefs . The following questions could be given for the small-group discussions.

- *What is your impression about this incident, what happened that day in Athens?*
- *What are the different reactions towards this incident? What are the motives of different reactions? Do you think that they are controversial?*
- *Do you think that newspaper texts can help you reconstruct the real events?*
- *Do you think that demonstrations help the whole society understand the problem?*
- *Do you think that violent reactions can help dissolve stereotyping Muslims and counter racist behaviours and ideas?*

Optional: The leader invite the participants to role-play "pro" and "contra" situation; to choose one belief statement (press reaction) which he/she (or the whole group) agree with, then they have to provide argumentation for it. The other group can provide contra argumentation. Students are asked to find some other incidents concerning religious conflicts and islamophobia. Then the leader can ask students to write down their opinions, create a small article (as journalists) in which they could describe the whole situation and comment on different and controversial points of islamophobia.

Conclusion: cultural freedom in the context of cultural diversity

As Sen points out (2006: 103) while there is no doubt that culture does matter, the real question is "How does culture matter?" He sees multicultural societies as "diversely diverse", and stresses the importance of a close link between cultural freedom and cultural diversity. He argues against culture conservation, which has become a big issue in the rhetoric of multiculturalism, often providing support for the continuation of traditional lifestyles by new immigrants in the West, and advocates for cultural freedom in the context of promoting cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is enhanced if individuals are allowed and encouraged to live as they would value living, instead of being restrained by ongoing tradition. For example, the freedom to pursue ethnically diverse lifestyles, for example, in food habits or in music, can make a society more culturally diverse precisely as a result of the exercise of cultural liberty. Diversity can also play a positive role in enhancing the freedom even of those who are not directly involved. Culturally diverse society can bring benefits to others in the form of the ample variety of experiences which they are, as a consequence, in a position of enjoy. Rich tradition of immigrant cultures can expand the cultural options of all people and enriched the cultural landscape of Europe (Sen, 2006: 113 - 115).

If we could see "the Other" more as an opportunity, we might change the perspective, and perhaps be more efficient in facing real problems.

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[i] Poland is the only OECD country among the countries showing negative net migration on a systematic basis.

[ii] http://images.google.dk/imgres?imgurl=http://mgg.dk/roligan/pic_roligan.jpg&imgrefurl=http://mgg.dk/roligan/roligan.htm&usg=__0D8SbE1SnhqQdM-FMKwevzItpiA=&h=205&w=320&sz=58&hl=da&start=1&tbnid=yHx4XJicUJx5IM:&tbnh=76&tbnw=118&prev=/images%3Fq%3Ddannebrog%2Bfodboldkamp%2Broligans%26gbv%3D2%26ndsp%3D21%26hl%3Dda%26sa%3DN

[iii] http://www.american-pictures.com/gallery/denmark/pages/dk-minority-muslim-004.htm

The Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe (CiCe) Thematic Network links 28 European states and some 80 universities and college departments which are engaged in educating students about how children and young people learn about and understand their society, their identity and citizenship.

A cross-disciplinary group, we include lecturers in social psychology, pedagogy, psychology, sociology and curriculum studies, and those who educate various professions such as teachers, social pedagogues, psychologists, early childhood workers and youth workers.