

all different  
all equal

# Diversity Youth Forum

Report



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# **DIVERSITY YOUTH FORUM**

**Forum report**

**Edited by Alessio Surian**

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- Mr Hasan Habib, 'All Different – All Equal' Finland National Campaign Committee
- Ms Pervana Mammedova, 'All Different – All Equal' Azerbaijan Nation Campaign Committee
- Mr Luis Manuel Pinto, European Peer Training Organisation
- Mr Michael Privot, European Network Against Racism and the Forum of Muslim of Youth and Students' Organisations
- Ms Bettina Schwarzmayr, European Youth Forum
- Ms Ramiza Sakip, Forum of European Roma Young People
- Ms Manuela Tavares, Young Women from Minorities
- Ms Mariam Yassin, European Steering Group of the Campaign; Advisory Council on Youth.

The secretariat support was coordinated by Rui Gomes, Head of the Education and Training Unit at the European Youth Centre in Budapest (EYCB), and included Antje Rothemund, Executive Director of the EYCB, Annette Schneider and Iris Bawidamann, educational advisors, as well as Michael Raphael, manager of the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign. Administrative support was competently provided by Geraldine Grenet, Viktoria Karpatska and Zsuzsanna Molnár.

# INTRODUCTION

The 'All Different - All Equal' European youth campaign for diversity, human rights and participation is part of the action plan adopted by the official Summit of heads of state and government in Warsaw, which states the following: "(...) *To promote diversity, inclusion and participation in society, we decide to launch a Europe-wide youth campaign, in the spirit of the European Youth Campaign against racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance' (1995).*" The campaign has run from June 2006 to September 2007, in cooperation with the European Union and the European Youth Forum. It was based on national campaign committees who mobilized the relevant partners and organised their own programme for the campaign in each member state.

The richness of European society lies in its cultural diversity, expressed also by the number of minority groups and communities present in the national states. Whether national, religious, ethnic, social or cultural, minorities are an important asset for a future intercultural Europe. Moreover, the immigration flows resulting from globalisation and increased interdependence are likely to further increase this multiculturalism.

However, diversity is not always accompanied by social cohesion and co-operation, both of which are pre-conditions for equality in dignity and equality in access to rights and social opportunities. Situations of discrimination, as well as poverty and social exclusion, remain problematic to many societies. Young people are important vectors in promoting social change with regard to this, not the least because they represent the future that is already present..

Diversity provides the key for developing common values in Europe, assuring its economic success and enriching its cultural landscape.

"We are concerned about a fear-driven climate of public debate which refuses the key value of Diversity. (...) we want to prove that Diversity provides the key for developing common values in Europe, assure at least its economic success and enrich, if not its cultural production. Our motivation is selfish – we do not trust a Europe disregarding Diversity and drifting towards a system of relations between nations only; we have seen enough of this in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; we feel that our own safety and the safety of children and young people depend on the courageous continuation of the big Diversity Project called Europe. However, we

observe that this is not everybody's agenda. Many different recent events in Europe threaten the concept of Diversity, and point not only to the need for employment of young people and their social inclusion, but also to the need for a concept of Human Rights Education, aimed at lowering levels of humiliation and discrimination.”

This call for involvement in the campaign by its European Steering Group describes very well the purpose and the meaning of the Diversity Youth Forum, which this report documents.

The Diversity Youth Forum comprised some 150 young people and youth leaders representing all diversities in Europe. Over four days, they shared their opinions and aspirations regarding diversity, human rights and participation. Their diversity not only made the European Youth Centre Budapest a very special place, but also gave participants a chance to interact with the many diversities of Budapest.

The most visible outcome of the Forum is the Final Declaration, but its results and impact go significantly further beyond that. This report provides evidence and the memory of some of those outcomes. Others cannot be documented, especially as diversity is meaningful when lived and practised by opening to, and communicating and cooperating with the many others that represent diversity.

The personal dimension of learning about diversity and human rights cannot, in any case, replace the political and social dimensions that the challenges to diversity represent. To quote the participants' final declaration:



We want to see a lively and creative Europe, where people of different age, gender, abilities, religions, sexual orientation, ethnic, national, cultural and social background can fully participate in the shaping of their societies and live in dignity and peace.

In a very modest way, this report is also a contribution to this vision.



# MAKING A DIFFERENCE: LEARNING THAT MATTERS

## Conclusions by the General Rapporteur

The Diversity Youth Forum was organised at the European Youth Centre in Budapest (EYCB) from 24 to 29 October 2006, in the framework of the 'All Different - All Equal' European Youth Campaign for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation. The 'All Different – All Equal' campaign is an integral part of the Action Plan decided by the Council of Europe's Summit of Heads of States and Governments in Warsaw 2005, which claims "to promote diversity, inclusion and participation in society, we decide a Europe-wide youth campaign...". The campaign is run by the co-managed youth sector of the Council of Europe and is supported by the European Commission. The campaign is based on the work of the National Campaign Committees in 46 member states of the Council of Europe to ensure wide synergies and mobilisation for the campaign at a local, national and regional level. Through this campaign the Council of Europe is consolidating a significant tradition of work in this field.

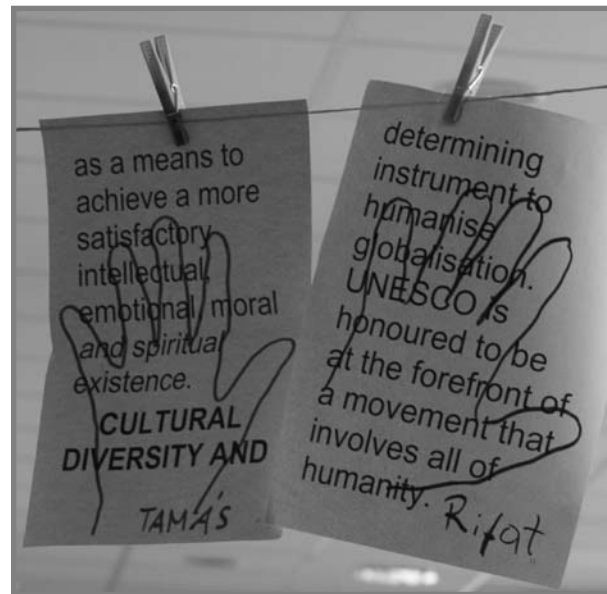
The 1995, the European Youth Campaign 'All Different – All Equal' against Racism, Antisemitism, Xenophobia and Intolerance (RAXI) marked a turning point in the strategies and networking opportunities in the youth field. It promoted communication, activities and educational tools in favour of a tolerant society based on the equal dignity of all its members. The campaign in 1995 'streamlined' the Council of Europe's activities in the fight against all forms of intolerance and brought new contacts and shared activities with new partners, and a better cooperation between NGOs, governments and the Council. Two educational products of the 1995 campaign have been the 'Education pack' and 'Domino'; both have been translated into several languages and recently re-printed.

The editorial process and the national and international events linked to their dissemination as well as the networking activities developed on the basis of these educational tools have been instrumental in shaping the Council of Europe's Human Rights Education programme and the new networking activities around 'Compass', the manual for human rights education with young people. This youth programme was launched in 2000 by the Council of Europe's Directorate of Youth and Sport in order to consolidate and to establish education and learning about, for and in Human

Rights throughout Europe. The programme built upon the previous achievements of the Council of Europe youth sector in the fields of intercultural learning, participation and empowerment of minority youth and its expertise in developing educational approaches and materials for practitioners in youth work. From 2006 to 2008 the Directorate of Youth and Sport puts special emphasis on human rights education, intercultural dialogue, inter-religious co-operation and respect for cultural diversity.

The Directorate of Youth and Sport has also implemented a wide range of activities in relation to intercultural learning, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, such as the project on 'Youth promoting peace and intercultural dialogue' and activities sparked by the Partnership on Youth with the European Union. Young people from regions that have suffered from armed conflict (such as the Balkans and the Caucasus) have received specific attention. In recent years both the Council and the European Union have been developing the Euro-Mediterranean dialogue by promoting targeted international activities and bringing together representatives of young people from Europe and the Mediterranean.

The Diversity Youth Forum was decided by the European Steering Group (ESG) of the campaign, in order "to bring together, motivate and galvanise young people representing the diversity of minorities and majorities across Europe". As recommended by the ESG, the forum identified key issues and objectives related to diversity, human rights and participation from the point of view of young people. In



particular it addressed such issues as the following: diversity and discrimination; multiple discrimination, diversity and social cohesion: how to secure both? The working groups' results point to the fact that the Forum builds on and contributes to both the Council of Europe and the European Union's current programmes in these fields highlighting the significant role and variety of contributions by local and national authorities, private initiatives and NGOs' local, national and international activities. In addition, the Diversity Youth Forum presents a format that can be adapted at national level.

Along with qualified input by relevant European institutions and guest speakers, animated by the Citizen Diversity Café initiatives and energising environment, working groups discussed and analysed threats and obstacles to diversity and equality for young people in Europe today. It was an opportunity for participants to exchange information and good practices about the realities they work with and to discuss issues related to the campaign and its objectives.

Cross cutting issues were addressed in each group, including discrimination(s), violence, (in)security, the role of the media, education, multiple discrimination and political participation.



The various groups shared the forms and source of these threats, analysed possible common features and trends across different countries, and came up with possible responses, strategies and actions to address the problems they had identified.

The working groups also identified and proposed concrete principles and criteria for these responses to take root in the framework of the campaign and beyond. These principles and criteria of youth work for diversity are included in the Final Declaration and, in greater detail, in this report.

Working groups' contributions range from the acknowledgement of the need to develop a clear agenda on how to tackle multiple discrimination to concrete proposals such as the demand for a standard setting instrument (recommendation, charter or similar) to promote human rights education in Europe and for involving civil society in developing it.

Consistent with a 'diversity' forum, guest speakers and participants contributed with very diverse input to the working groups. Some sessions benefited from challenging questions, others from well-structured papers, and some from a combination of both. Two papers focusing on the educational dimension of the diversity discourse help to establish links with the two other key topics of the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign, Human Rights and Participation, and are reproduced in the central part of the report.

Finally, all working groups made proposals for following-up the issues of the symposium in a consistent and sustainable manner – in terms of projects and in terms of policies. The proposals are framed in the Final Declaration and concern:

- The Council of Europe
- The European Commission
- National institutions, including the campaign committees
- Youth organisations

## ***The forms of diversity***

It is difficult in a short report to catch the spirit of five very intense days involving committed participants from a variety of organisational, institutional and cultural backgrounds. And yet there are a couple of sentences by Simon Stevens that do catch that spirit: “It is important to understand that diversity is very diverse and that cultural difference occurs in many ways. Let’s avoid hypocrisy in saying this is extreme while this is okay. Celebrating diversity means achieving equality for all and understanding and respecting each other’s perspectives. I propose we all make a commitment to look at diversity outside our comfort zones and ask each other about our experiences, even if that is challenging.”

Diversity is *struggle*, is *potential*, is *life* and much more, said participants when they had the first opportunity to introduce themselves to each other at the opening session of the Forum. Qualified guest speakers at that session made it clear that diversity is a complex cultural concept and socio-political issue. The core aspect in addressing diversity within relations is to acknowledge differences in the first place. Diversity itself is an issue demanding institutional recognition.

European institutions are giving attention to Diversity: the support to the ‘All Different – All Equal’ campaign, the work around Intercultural Dialogue, and the launch in 2007 of the European year of ‘Equal opportunities for All – Towards a Just Society’ are all indications of a will to promote reflection and action on diversity issues. The working groups organised by the Forum participants around various diversity issues produced numerous examples of practices and proposals to address a human rights based perspective in order to achieve a fair treatment of all citizens as well as in order not to exclude anybody from the category of ‘citizen’.

What did we learn from this forum? Probably the most important message is that differences matter and therefore should be taken into account. It is not possible to

rule out serious policy making in this field by simply saying that underneath our differences we are all basically the same. Participants in the forum have shared and made recommendations about significant differences. Working groups and discussions have indicated how important it is in order to be able to discuss a 'difference' to be able to do it against the background of something that is shared. Implicitly they have questioned the naturalness of both 'similarities' and 'differences'



and brought up many examples and reasons for not taking them for granted but rather for properly taking them into account as two sides of the same dynamic process involving multiple 'difference' faces.

In his paper *Deconstructing 'Difference' and the Difference This Makes to Education*, Nicholas C. Burbules highlights that what difference theory has done is to shift the burden of proof onto the presumption of sameness, questioning why our conceptions of community and democracy do often reflect a presumed commonality among citizens. In addition, we attribute different meanings to the word 'difference'. It is possible, says Burbules, to identify at least five (at times overlapping) forms of difference.

In the first place, *variety* means different kinds within a particular category (i.e. different kinds of fruit, of language etc.) implying that there is a (some) common sense of what a 'fruit' is, or a 'language' is in order to identify types within it. There can be a struggle over how a category should be defined, and at the same time such struggle can be a way of emphasizing the very significance of the category. To talk about kinds within a category is also to say that the category matters. This might concern the different national identities, and what they mean, for instance the importance of 'nation' as a category in today's fragmented world. Assertions of difference in terms of a category also mean that we share at least some minimal understanding about what the category is, and a common sense that it is a significant category.

A second type of difference is a difference in *degree*, such as when differences are conceived as different points along a continuum of qualities (for example, different heights). In this case the assumption is that people share a common understanding

of the features that the continuum describes, and have comparable senses of what some of the demarcations are along it. Challenges to dominant norms may focus on displacing the 'usual' significant dividing points by emphasizing others, or the arbitrariness of particular dividing points, such as skin colour. Challenges to such models may take into account rejecting the whole scale, as in the scale of 'intelligence' as measured by IQ tests. In itself this critique is a statement intended to highlight a difference, for example, an assertion of a different conception (*kind*) of intelligence.

*Variation* is a third kind of difference. A variation can be translated as a different combination of and/or emphasis on certain elements, as occurs with the choice of notes in musical variations. This perspective seems relevant within the contemporary reflection about different body types or different states of ability or disability, considered not as deviations from a 'normal' body type, but as legitimate alternative states of corporeal identity, sharing an understanding of the same basic components, of body elements, senses, and capabilities, expressed in different ways and in different relations to one another.

The fourth kind of difference is a *version*, something referring to a familiar standard being altered through interpretation, but unlike a variation, leaving the key elements of the standard unchanged, as in the different versions of a play. Differences of sexual and gender identity are being discussed from the perspective of interpretation and reinterpretation, questioning certain sexual and gender roles.

An *analogy* can also be viewed as a (fifth) kind of difference, one that has to do not with common standards, but with comparable, parallel standards, such as styles of dress, slang vocabulary, bodily ornamentation, and so on. At a more complex level, Burbules, "one might also talk about a diversity of moral distinctions and categories within this same type of difference. A difference by analogy shows that, even when a particular difference in itself is novel, unexpected, or unique, it can be shown to serve comparable, parallel purposes, as do similar markers in other contexts. This analogy gives us a potential basis on which to discuss them and compare them. What is shared in common are not the particular practices, or the system of belief and value that supports them, but a larger frame of reference in which they can be seen as related, parallel, phenomena (...). Difference and sameness always occur together; each implies the other. In particular contexts, it may be important to emphasize one over the other, and this is what a good deal of difference theory is about: emphasizing differences where others have assumed sameness."

In terms of youth work and learning consequences, the mapping of difference performed during the forum will hopefully facilitate recognition and translation in order for youth, youth organisations, public bodies and policy makers to recognise significant differences and their implications where we usually do not see differences or their implications. As several participants seem to have experienced during the forum, questioning our assumptions and recognising significant differences can be an opportunity for significant insights about us and others. To borrow the language of law that has surfaced at times during the forum, it is time to share the burden of proof between the presumption of sameness and difference sensitivity.

And yet, the reality check in front of a renewed 'difference' discourse is the ability to avoid or to engage in conversation, keeping perspectives separated from one another, or fostering and making more accessible a deeper understanding of the ways in which difference and similarity imply and inform one another. This is not an academic debate. It concerns the social groups that are somehow wrongly excluded or discriminated against because of their sexual preference, skin colour, and so on, as well as the cultural communities and the way they would like to preserve their distinct identity based on religion and language, for example. In the first case the difference associated with the social group is ascribed, that is, it is a matter of being categorized by others. In the second case the difference is generated by an inscription process: it is a matter of self-categorization by the cultural community (Pierik, 2004).

These two, partly overlapping processes were made visible by the forum working groups when they highlighted different discrimination mechanisms. Social practices generate processes of categorization and cultural difference. Ascription processes affect social groups through hegemonic norms that ignore diversity. What are at stake here are the basic rules and the need to re-negotiate them especially when they prevent groups from fundamental rights such as the right to participate or to vote. Inscription processes focus on the transfer of existing cultural patterns from one generation to the next. Whereas the message to mainstream society by an excluded social group has an important 'let me in' component, the message by a cultural community often also has a 'leave me alone' component. Of course, one ability of the social group is that of turning ascribed stereotypes into inscribed regenerated images that can play a role in the process of community building. The important issue is the recognition of the social processes behind cultural differences, and that bridge-thinking and bridge-acting is always a possibility in a society which includes a diversity of cross-cutting social groups.

The Forum helped in translating the key challenges of working with diversity in proposals, recommendations and sharing of practice in such areas such as the following: youth work; education concepts and approaches to diversity; participation and integration policies; workplace, labour and corporate responsibility; advocacy and political work; mainstreaming gender.

It is worth reading and discussing the outcomes of these working groups back in the national and local context; they contribute concrete ideas and challenges for improving youth work related to diversity issues, as well as in identifying contributions by youth work to mainstream policies in this field.

Parallel to the thematic working groups, two workshops addressed practical aspects in implementing the 'All Different – All Equal campaign'. The first one was facilitated by Ms Antje Rothmund, Council of Europe, Directorate of Youth and Sport, who introduced participants to 'Campaigning in large public events - the Living Library example'. This workshop looked at how to introduce the campaign issues in large public events (e.g. festivals) by using the 'Living Library' as an example.

A second workshop was run by Mr Michael Raphael, 'All Different – All Equal' campaign director who briefed participants about 'Creating and Activating a National Campaign Committee'.

Through an intense exercise such as the Youth Diversity Forum we are becoming increasingly aware that recognising the fact that cultural difference is socially constructed does not mean that culture can easily be reconstructed and the only available position is a relativist one. On the contrary, the Diversity Youth Forum suggests that in a world where transcultural exercises are becoming everyday practices, it is important to practise the intercultural conversation without giving up a social justice and human rights based perspective.





One of the very clear messages of the Final Declaration is that youth work should be recognised and promoted as an important instrument for social cohesion. To place youth work and activism in relation to diversity within the framework of the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign is to anchor it within the framework of indivisible, inalienable and universal human rights. As the final declaration highlights, diversity can have various meanings in different social and cultural contexts. It affects us all differently through social belonging, identity, or distribution of power and wealth. The goal is to provide access to opportunities, equality in diversity and dignity for everyone.

### **References**

Burbules N.C., *Deconstructing difference and the difference this makes to education*, paper presented at the Philosophy of Education Society, Spring 1996  
Pierik R., *Conceptualizing Cultural Groups and Cultural Difference*. The Social Mechanism Approach, in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 523-544, 2004



# The 'All Different – All Equal' Youth Campaign

The Forum was an opportunity for **Mr Michael Raphael**, manager of the 'All Different – All Equal' Youth Campaign, to provide a short presentation of the campaign, stressing the core themes – a campaign for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation – and highlighting the importance for youth NGOs to take the initiative at the local as well as at the national level.

The Campaign is organised between June 2006 and September 2007 by the Council of Europe in partnership with the European Commission and the European Youth Forum.

The aim of the campaign is to encourage and enable young people to participate in building peaceful societies based on human rights, diversity and inclusion, in a spirit of respect, tolerance and mutual understanding.

The campaign is primarily addressed at:

- All young people in Europe between 12-30 years old
- Civil society organisations, both at European and national levels
- Non-governmental youth organisations and youth initiatives
- Schools and other education and training sites

Core partners of the Campaign are all concerned international organisations and international NGOs.

International Youth NGOs can link their activities to the Campaign by using the Logo and registering it in the calendar. Members of a youth organisation or another NGO linked to the topics of the campaign and national NGOs can get in touch with the National Campaign Committee in their respective country or can contact their national European Steering Committee of Youth member to co-operate in setting up a NCC to plan campaign activities.

In order to participate in the training and educational activities of the Campaign, it is possible to apply through the call for applications published on the Campaign website.

NCCs can only be set up by national governments. The NCCs can include government authorities as well as youth organisations and other representatives of the civil society.

Youth organisations can ask to become a member of the NCC. Only in the case that a government renounces setting up an NCC might the Council of Europe consider a bilateral cooperation with an NGO in that country.

### **References**

‘All Different – All Equal’ campaign: <http://alldifferent-allequal.info/>



# **Background, Objectives and Working Methods of the Seminar**

## **Plenaries, guest speakers and presentations**

“Everybody was listened to; I guess that is what democracy is about.” This remark was expressed in a working group during the Forum intensive working programme. In order to achieve such active listening and exchange conditions, the preparatory group planned a series of speeches and reports to take place in plenary as a way of highlighting both the key contents and the intended outcomes of the event.

The working methods of the seminar were introduced to participants by Mr Rui Gomes during the first plenary meeting. Plenaries included communications by representatives of European bodies and institutions, as well as examples of youth work on diversity and reports and reflection on the outcomes of the working groups. While a short written report cannot do justice to the variety of comments, questions and answers from the Forum plenary meetings, these pages reflect the quality of input and its diverse sources, including high profile youth work, institutional and academic contributions.

The time devoted to plenary meeting was also intended to facilitate the process of consultation and of reaching consensus around a common text in order to stimulate further action at the European level on diversity issues, which the Forum achieved through the Final Declaration. Within this perspective the Final Declaration has been a point of departure to consolidate the structure of the Forum and it is a point of departure for further initiatives in this field.

## **Working groups and workshops**

### ***Challenges to Diversity***

The purpose of these working groups was to discuss and analyse threats and obstacles to diversity and equality for young people in Europe today. It was an opportunity for participants to share experiences and reflections about the realities they work with and to discuss issues related to the campaign and its objectives.

Cross cutting issues including discrimination(s), violence, (in)security, the role of the media, education, multiple discrimination and political participation were addressed in each group.

The various groups shared the forms and source of these threats, analysed possible common features and trends across different countries and came up with possible strategies or actions to address the problems they had identified.

Questions addressed in the groups included:

- How, in which forms and dimension, are these issues affecting young people in our countries?
- What should the objectives or priorities of the campaign be to address those issues at the national and at the European level?
- How should those issues be addressed, and which groups need to be involved in the campaign in order for it to be effective in this area? How should young people that are exposed to these threats be a part of the campaign?
- What guidelines of action should be followed by the national campaign committees and by the Council of Europe in this respect?

Resource people ensured expertise and background information to guide the groups.

All working groups had one or more rapporteur/s, both for the feedback to plenary and for the final report. One paragraph from each group, summarising the state of the issues, was used for the final declaration.

A working group on the preparations for the campaign in Hungary took place in the morning, working in Hungarian as it concerned participants from Hungary.

### ***Youth work and youth policy responses for Diversity***

The purpose of these working groups was to identify ways of addressing the challenges and threats to Diversity – as identified in the previous day – through youth work and youth policy (in its broadest sense). Common responses (actions and tools) to different issues and threats should be identified and those responses which are linked to specific issues should also be highlighted and justified.

In addition, the working groups identified and proposed concrete principles or criteria for these responses to take root in the framework of the campaign and beyond. These principles and criteria of youth work for diversity are included in the Final Declaration and, in greater detail, in this report.

This session also offered some campaign workshops: they provided a more practical skills-based approach to campaigning for diversity.

### ***Proposals for the future European agenda on Diversity***

These working groups – working in the same composition as the previous day – rounded-up the work of the previous day and, in particular, made proposals for following-up the issues of the symposium in a consistent and sustainable manner – in terms of projects and policies. The proposals concern:

- The Council of Europe
- The European Commission
- National institutions, including the campaign committees
- Youth organisations.

The main points of the working groups are integrated in this final report and consolidated in the following text, the Forum Final Declaration.



# THE DIVERSITY YOUTH FORUM FINAL DECLARATION

We, the participants at the “Diversity Youth Forum” – representing youth and human rights organisations, youth services, governmental and non-governmental organisations and National Campaign Committees - met at the European Youth Centre Budapest from 24 – 29 October 2006 to explore concepts, issues, opportunities and challenges to diversity in Europe today and to make concrete proposals on how to approach diversity within and beyond the Council of Europe’s youth campaign for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation “all different – all equal”.

The “all different – all equal” campaign is an integral part of the Action Plan of the Council of Europe’s Summit of Heads of States and Governments in Warsaw 2005, which states “*to promote diversity, inclusion and participation in society, we decide a Europe-wide youth campaign...*”. The campaign is run by the co-managed youth sector of the Council of Europe and is supported by the European Commission. The campaign is based on the work of the National Campaign Committees in 46 members states of the Council of Europe to ensure wide synergies and mobilisation for the campaign at a local, national and regional level.

Our campaign is firmly anchored within the framework of indivisible, inalienable and universal human rights. Diversity can have various meanings in different social and cultural contexts. It affects us all differently through social belonging, identity, distribution of power and wealth. We want to see access to opportunities, equality in diversity and dignity for everyone.

We are young people, who are neither naïve nor unrealistic. We are fully aware that in the current fear driven public and political debate diversity is frequently perceived as reason for conflict, hatred and division. We see diversity as a potential, resource, enrichment, wealthy heritage and pathway to constructive cooperation and peace. However, the reality for many young people in Europe is the daily challenge of facing discrimination, conflict, violence, social exclusion and a lack of solidarity and empathy. Individuals and groups discriminated against, are made responsible for the problems they face and for finding solutions for those issues. This dynamic contributes largely to split anti-discrimination work into isolated sectors.

We want to see a lively and creative Europe, where people of different age, gender, abilities, religions, sexual orientation, ethnic, national, cultural and social background can fully participate in the shaping of their societies and live in dignity and peace.

### **We are concerned:**

- That racism and xenophobia and related discriminations are continuing to grow and spread, despite the continuous efforts made throughout the past decades. The constant increase in racist attacks seems absent from the political and educational agenda of many governments and there are fewer financial and human resources to help fighting it. The growth of Neo-Nazis groups and extreme right wing parties leads to constant and daily violations of human rights.
- That the dynamically interrelated cycle of social exclusion and poverty results in numerous interdependent problems and discriminations for young people. Poverty and social exclusion are the main obstacles to many young people's development and to their start into an independent life.
- That Islamophobia - a form of racism – constitutes a major threat to social cohesion. Islamophobia constructs the extremely diverse ethno-religious community of Muslims as a "race" and therefore leads to multiple forms of discrimination with a severe negative impact on young people.
- Expressing your sexual orientation is a Human Right and fundamental freedom that is still not legally recognised and absent in all relevant international and many national human rights protection mechanisms. Young lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people face daily active discrimination in all spheres of their lives. Above all, local, national and international authorities clearly fail to protect and ensure the welfare for and the wellbeing of LGBT young people and therefore enforce the permanent invisibility imposed on them by society.
- That disablism is systematic and institutional discrimination against disabled people within society, which continues to take place. Fears, myths and stereotypes regarding disabled people are not dispelled because disabled and non-disabled people are often separated in many aspects of life, which makes dialogue and joint effort to contest wrong assumptions merely impossible.



- About the barriers that young Roma are confronted with in their access to their human rights and the lack of recognition of Roma as equal citizens are fundamental challenges facing European societies. The absence of Roma history in curricula, the increase of anti-Roma nationalist discourse and the existing discrepancy between official policies and their actual implementation are deplorable.
- That young migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are confronted with multiple disadvantages in the country of origin: unemployment, brain drain, armed conflicts, political instability and poor economic conditions. Moreover in their receiving new countries they face challenges and threats that include a wide range of discriminations.
- That antisemitism is on the rise in Europe, with widespread antisemitic propaganda and attitudes that threaten our societies as a whole. Antisemitism must be dealt with as a problem of the whole society, and should not be seen merely as a Jewish-Muslim problem, as it is the case in the current public debate.
- That young women still find themselves disadvantaged due to underrepresentation, sexual exploitation, underpayment, imposed role models and disproportionate unemployment, glass ceilings for their career patterns by virtue of nothing more than their gender. Acknowledging that the complexities of gender go beyond the traditional understanding of men and women, it is apparent that conventional ideas of what are masculinity and femininity hinder both, girls and boys in their development.

This non-exhaustive list of phobias, perceived threats, prejudices, stereotypes and forms of hatred leads to a wide set of discriminations and human rights violations: application of double standards, imposed invisibility, verbal and written abuse, deprivation and marginalisation, isolation, mental and physical health issues, discrimination in housing, education, employment, health care, access to goods and services, structural discrimination, social, economic and political exclusion, physical violence against individuals, groups and their property.

When we think about equality issues and how they affect individuals, it is important to keep in mind that people often belong to more than one community. Our identities are multifaceted and complex and these different aspects of identity can also make people a target of prejudice and discrimination on more than one level.

## **We recommend that the Council of Europe (CoE) and European Commission:**

- develop and implement legislation against hate speech.
- organise regular activities analysing and monitoring the outcomes and implementation of thematic discrimination reports developed by the national governments, while involving youth NGO's and other stakeholders in the process.
- develop a clear set of conditions when establishing external relations with countries which do not respect human rights.
- develop a clear agenda how to tackle multiple discrimination.
- promote Non Formal Education as a tool for the promotion of diversity.
- ensure substantial funding to the "All Different – All Equal" Campaign, in order to fulfil the high expectations that European youth have vested in it.
- use the "Youth in Action Programme" as a tool to tackle the above-identified challenges
- involve parliamentarians and existing structures like Committee of the Regions, the Congress for Local and Regional Authorities and the Parliamentary Assembly in the promotion and running of the campaign;
- reinforce coordination and cooperation between different CoE and EU bodies and structures, the OSCE and other international organizations to ensure a transversal approach in the campaign and beyond.
- create a standard setting instrument (recommendation, charter or similar) to promote human rights education in Europe and involve civil society in developing it.
- enhance coherence and complementarities of formal and non-formal education.
- raise awareness about prejudices and stereotypes in particular with the media and within the European Institutions.
- ensure that member states to mainstream human rights, diversity and participation in youth policy; review and up-date national youth policies regularly.
- recognise youth work as important instrument for social cohesion.
- take action when discriminatory practices and policies are adopted and/ or implemented at national level.
- encourage governments to further strengthen and establish cooperation with the NGO, trade union networks and the private sector when discussing equality in workplace.

- implement programmes and increase funding for training on diversity and anti-discrimination at the workplaces both in public and private sectors.
- act on the situation in Poland where the state officially excluded legally acting LGBT organisation from the Youth Programme and act immediately if similar cases appear.
- ensure transparent and clear visa procedures based on human dignity.
- develop a structured dialogue between civil society and European Institutions.
- guarantee that the freedom of sexual orientation is recognised legally as Human Right,
- ensure the implementation and in particular the enforcement of policies related to equality and diversity.

### **We recommend that National Governments and Institutions:**

- work with the majority in society to raise awareness of the benefits of diversity.
- inform all of society, including migrants and marginalised people in a comprehensible and dynamic way about their rights and obligations.
- Place the burden of proof to the alleged perpetrator, when discrimination occurs.
- ensure active involvement and participation of NGOs in governance processes and recognise NGO reports on discrimination.
- develop methods, structures and tools for social inclusion according to the specific realities and challenges faced by people and groups.
- promote civic formal and non-formal education of young people and adults by political and financial support.
- involve currently underrepresented groups in policy making.
- take the necessary measures to ensure that employment in key sectors such as education, police, judiciary, social and youth work, media and medicine reflects the actual diversity of society and to establish training projects to promote diversity and non-discrimination for those professions.
- ensure that educational systems do not continue reproducing inequality, prejudices and stereotypes.
- provide support to the development and distribution of easily accessible educational materials (such as COMPASS).

- introduce human rights education from kindergarten onwards as an essential element of the life long learning agenda.
- involve and offer assistance to employers in the promotion and practice of equality in the workplace in cooperation with NGOs.
- Provide resources to NGOs especially for capacity building.
- Encourage corporate social responsibility at national level.

### **We recommend that the Youth Organisations and NGOs:**

- raise awareness about the diversity of identities among and within youth organisations and among young people.
- ensure minority and disadvantaged youth's involvement and participation in the campaign at the local, national and European levels.
- be a living example for good practice in the respectful promotion of diversity.
- develop consistent advocacy work by providing a realistic and honest picture of grass roots level.
- build trustful relations and co-operate actively with the media, research, social service providers, public authorities and other civil society organisations.
- strengthen links and communication between European and local youth work.
- act against the use of violent, discriminating and condescending language starting with their members.
- play a role in monitoring discriminatory practices in the workplace and in reporting them to authorities and National Campaign Committees.
- increase awareness of the values and impact of Council of Europe's work through co-operation with the media.
- strengthen solidarity and co-operation between NGOs
- live up to the responsibility to increase the outreach of their activities and the diversity of their membership especially concerning young people who are hard to reach and not involved in any youth participation structures.

### **We recommend that the European Steering Group (ESG) and the National Campaign Committees (NCCs):**

- promote the campaign in formal education and non-formal education.
- train providers of formal and non-formal education, policy makers, researcher and journalists on the topics of the campaign.

- use art when expressing the values of the campaign.
- ensure that NGOs not involved in NCCs have access to campaign grants and activities.
- develop a clear structure and communication policy how NGOs, local initiatives, interested individuals and others can get involved in the campaign.
- “Think Global - Act Local”; the campaign messages need to reach rural and urban areas equally.
- implement human rights education as the educational strategy in the campaign.
- ensure cross-sectoral co-operation and coordination between different political and institutional bodies and lobby governmental institutions to support youth NGOs including those working with minority and disadvantaged young people.
- inform about and facilitate sharing of good practice examples.
- NCC work should be transparent and monitored by the European Steering Group.
- ensure the setting up of NCC in all CoE member states and build a common culture of cooperation between civil society and public authorities.
- inform the ESG in detail about the compositions of the NCCs, which should reflect the diversity of society.
- open some meetings of NCCs to interested parties in order to promote open decision-making processes, transparency and fruitful exchanges.
- ensure full participation and access of young people from minorities and disadvantaged groups in all activities of the campaign, while ensuring gender and geographical balance.
- provide support to the production and distribution of high quality educational materials free of national bias (such as COMPASS) in all languages for campaign activities.
- establish cooperation with institutions and services in contact with many young people such as the International Youth Hostel Federation to promote the messages of the campaign.
- include in all NCCs organisations working with gender, women’s and minority issues.
- pay special attention to discrimination based on gender and gender role in the campaign programmes, as this dimension is so far underrepresented.

- produce information and materials which are accessible and comprehensible for all young people (including minorities, young disabled people, rural youth, less educated or vulnerable youth and youth of different age groups)
- allocate the available financial resources in line with the priorities of the campaign, i.e. creating synergies on national and local level
- give visibility to reports about discrimination at the workplace delivered by NGOs and at the same time cooperate with socially responsible companies to promote examples of good practice.
- develop quality standards in order to use the “all different – all equal” campaign logo as a “quality label” for good practices of inclusion in employment and workplace.
- strengthen the co-operation between the NCCs.
- ensure the consultation and cooperation with expert NGOs when working on sectorial issues.
- establish cooperation with the media.

As young people, who are convinced that diversity, human rights and participation are not valued as they should be, we are committed to the aims of the European youth campaign “all different – all equal”. Therefore we will contribute with creative actions, outreach activities and many projects in our countries and also with our motivation, energy, skills, competencies and strong beliefs in the values promoted by the Council of Europe: Human Rights, Pluralist Democracy and the Rule of Law.



Hence, we call on decision-makers and European institutions, governmental and non-governmental organisations to join these efforts and provide support to make this campaign successful in changing mentalities.

# STARTING POINT

At the beginning of the Forum all participants were invited to express in one word the meaning of 'diversity'. It was an opportunity for everybody involved in the Forum to share and to appreciate similar and diverging views concerning the Forum's main topic, to be consistent with the Forum's approach of not taking diversity for granted, and to reach out for different ways to express and acknowledge diversity. According to the Forum participants, diversity means:



*continuous struggle and fight – strength – enrichment – life – potential – richness and respect – freedom and peace – integration – most of the time something beautiful – development – rainbow – diversity pays – the only way – heritage of the world – otherness – culture – pride – peace – access – living without guarantees – every reality – a fact – synergies – past, present and future – continuous dialogue – creativity – challenge – not boring – energy – acceptance of differences – happiness – opportunity – continuous efforts for cooperation – métissage.*

The opening speech by Ms Mariam Yassin, representing the European Steering Group of the Campaign, invited participants to consider the Forum as an opportunity to highlight how multiculturalism can be translated and implemented in positive ways. Mr Hasan Habib, from the 'All Different – All Equal' Finland National Campaign Committee facilitated individual presentations.

## **Welcome and opening speeches**

Participants were welcomed to the European Youth Centre in Budapest by **Mr Ralf-René Weingärtner**, Director of Youth and Sport at Council of Europe. **Ms Astrid Utterström**, Chairperson of the Joint Council on Youth and **Ms Karin Lopatta-Loibl**, European Commission, Directorate for Education and Culture, Youth Policy Unit, addressed the participants, reminding them of the need for the Forum to promote initiatives in the field of youth work and diversity, and of the Council of Europe and European Union's common priorities and partnership initiatives.

# A Campaign for Diversity

**Mr Ralf-René Weingärtner**, Director of Youth and Sport, Council of Europe

The 'All Different-All Equal' European Youth Campaign is a campaign *for* Diversity, for Human Rights and for Participation. This positive emphasis of the campaign is one of the elements that distinguishes it from the previous 'All Different – All Equal' campaign *against* racism, antisemitism, xenophobia and intolerance.

This forum is intended to be living evidence and expression of our resolve to proclaim Diversity as one of the key values for Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is intended as a celebration of Diversity as lived and desired by young people in Europe.

“We call on Europeans everywhere to share the values which lie at the heart of the Council of Europe’s mission – human rights, democracy and the rule of law – and to join us in turning Europe into a creative community, open to knowledge and to diverse cultures, a civic and cohesive community.”

This call from the last Summit of the Council of Europe sums up what is at stake in this campaign: a European identity based on shared fundamental values and respect for cultural diversity, a call that we obviously share with the European Commission and with the many governmental and non-governmental institutions committed to this campaign.

Respect for Diversity is part of the Human rights framework that is the framework of the Council of Europe: diversity of political opinions, diversity of religious beliefs, diversity of abilities; ethnic, national and linguistic backgrounds, of lifestyles, of gender and sexual identities. Diversity as the very essence of equality that is so well present in our slogan all different-all equal: Diversity with Equality, Equality in Diversity. But respect for Diversity is much more than respect for the Difference and the Otherness: it is also a commitment to go beyond the borderlines of Diversity, to cooperate across and beyond cultural difference, to interact rather than to isolate, and to mix rather than to separate. In this sense, and only in this sense, can Diversity be a factor for Peace, for Human Rights and for Social Cohesion.

The Council of Europe and the Directorate of Youth and Sport, in particular, have not waited for the campaign to take action in this respect. The following examples illustrate actions that have already taken place:



The training programmes with minority youth leaders, on Participation and Citizenship, on Diversity and Cohesions;

- The mainstreaming of human rights education through Compass and its dissemination in the member states undertaken within the Human Rights Education Youth Programme;
- The education and training programmes based on intercultural learning in the member states within the framework of the Partnership with the European Commission, as well as the intercultural language courses;
- The youth policy development programme, in which respect for diversity is one of the criterion for youth policy;
- The programmes of the European Youth Centres, irreplaceable places of knowledge development, intercultural education innovation and practice of democratic youth participation.

In this sense, Diversity has been, is and will be a permanent task for us all, as activists and as human beings, as we are also called to live and practise what we believe in. But Diversity, as a reality of today's Europe, is not only a source for celebration, be it of vitality, intercultural exchange, economic development or affirmation of equality in Diversity. For many – too many! – people in Europe, old and young, Diversity as also a source of phobias and the object of hatred, discrimination and exclusion. In short, Diversity and difference are an easy scapegoat for the sources of collective and individual frustrations and phobias.

Even if we are committed to positive values in this campaign, we are not naïve. We know that the violence, aggression, exclusion and discrimination of people who represent Diversity have not gone away; quite the opposite: racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance seem in many instances to be even more wide-spread, and many of their forms are dangerously tolerated as the arguments of their promoters encounter a large echo and become mainstreamed in conventional politics.

This symposium cannot, therefore, be only a celebration. It must be also a forum for identification of the threats to Diversity and the challenges that we face everyday in our societies. In this campaign we can not remain indifferent to what is happening around us and this is the reason why we are committed to campaigning: denials of the most basic human dignity; murders and physical attacks on whoever looks different or is a foreigner; curtails to freedom of expression and religion, and prevailing forms of exclusion, poverty and marginalisation that cannot be explained other than by persisting forms of discrimination.

In a campaign that is a campaign for human liberation, as the Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe put it, we cannot shy away and turn our face: we have to face Diversity and to face those that oppose Diversity in all its expressions of its richness, the potential and the wealth of variety that characterises our societies. We have to campaign, but our work will only be credible if we are also clear about what we are against. We need to take action, and action has to start right here.



But whatever we do here will be meaningless if we are not able to translate it at home in the national campaigns. We know that the campaign has very diverse dimensions, resources and support in different member states, and we are aware also that very often the same states that are committed to the campaign are also those that the campaign aims at.

Diversity, however, calls on us to have shared and united approaches on the issues, the challenges and also the objective for the campaign in as far as Diversity is concerned, for example:

- In the role and visibility that Diversity is given in the national committees and in their activities;
- In the way that Diversity issues are explored, debated and promoted;
- In the determination we put on these issues beyond and after the campaign;
- In the resolve to denounce all forms of discrimination and support young people that suffer from discrimination;
- In our capacity to work not only with 'our' young people, but with all young people;
- In our capacity to envisage long-term educational strategies and our ability to address immediate issues;
- In our capacity to see ourselves as true agents of the campaign and, therefore, to be able to put ourselves into question.

The Final Declaration will, obviously, not be the most important outcome of this symposium. It is what you will learn and exchange that matters; it is what you will take home to your national committees and organisations that can truly make a difference for Diversity. But the final declaration and all the documents that you will produce are also important to remind the Council of Europe and the national committees that the work will not end with the campaign; in fact the campaign should be simply a new beginning.

I would like to finish by quoting a message of the European Steering Group of the campaign:

“Europe is in the process of overcoming lastingly the damages of the cold war and more than 50 years of ideological division; Human Rights have become a pan-European reference system and the European Union is growing at high speed. Historically, Europe is living a peak of its history; yet nobody seems to be enjoying it. We are concerned about a fear-driven climate of public debate directed against diversity; we are concerned about the prospect of a nationalistic and exclusive fortress Europe, which



shows itself unable to face the challenge of globalisation. We must not let this happen; fortress Europe is not our vision of the future. Our call is to campaign for diversity; we want to prove that diversity provides the key for developing common values in Europe, assure its economic success and enrich its cultural production. Our motivation is selfish – we do not trust a Europe disregarding diversity and drifting towards a system of

relations between nations only; we have seen enough of this in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; we feel that our own safety and the safety of children and young people depends on the courageous continuation of the big diversity project called Europe.”

# Advocating for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation

**Ms Bettina Schwarzmayr**, European Youth Forum

I am not satisfied with the world as it is today. This is my motivation to be active in a volunteer organisation. Wealth is distributed very unequally; there is a lot of discrimination, violence and hostility around; we are all hindered in our development because of outdated and rigid role models that we should follow but that no-one will ever be able to live up to. And honestly, why should we?

The European Youth Forum is an umbrella organisation of almost 100 National Youth Councils and International Non-Governmental Youth Organisations. Together with our members we are trying to be advocates of social change, a change that would allow more people, already whilst young, to enjoy the right of being who they are with dignity. We are advocating for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation in our daily work, and this is why we deem this campaign fundamental. Following the news and headlines, it seems as if everything is about the prevention of tensions between cultures and the 'war on terror' today, especially on the lips of decision makers. This is a fear-driven debate. It worries many young people.

We do question the trend that sees the fight against terrorism as a legitimate reason to commit Human Rights violations. Words such as Peace, Freedom, Liberty, and Equality for all seem to have disappeared from the public debate, although those are the values that the Youth Forum and in fact many of you are fighting for. And these are values and visions that none of us should forget in the current debates about clashing civilisations and terrorism.

The diverse identities of Europe's citizens are an asset for our future and are key for our continent to seize the opportunities offered by the process of globalisation.

I can fully understand how easy and comfortable it is to think in boxes and label people. Having a little box for every group of people means that we do not need to understand anything or even think because everything is pre-decided. The world would be much simpler and more comprehensible: Austrians wear Lederhosen, Russians drink Vodka every day, Gays love Abba, Unemployed people are lazy, Italians talk too much, Black people are drug dealers and Muslims are terrorists.

Well, fortunately the world is not that easy. Our identities have many more layers. And yes, it is not easy to be equal but diverse. We have to challenge our own stereotypes – our internalised Racisms, our own Homophobia, Islamophobia and Antisemitism, and our daily Sexism. I sincerely believe that we need to question our own preconceptions and scrutinize the systems that we are living in.

Even where adequate anti-discrimination legislation is already in place, it is often ignored in essential questions. Policies are often oriented to a norm citizen who does not exist or just give more opportunities to those who already have plenty of opportunities.

States are promoting Anti-Racist campaigns and initiatives and they are supporting diversity measures whilst being fundamentally discriminatory themselves. This seems to be no longer a contradiction. It is all about Power relations and social change.

Many people speak about equality and pay it lip service, but the steps taken are incredibly small compared to the amount of words and promises in the field.

Youth has always been at the front line of social change, and through this campaign, we are aiming to be the guardians, promoters and multipliers of Diversity, Human Rights and Participation. Your multitude of experiences, realities and identities has to be the main contribution to the success of the campaign. But for this you have to take your experience from here home with you and continue working with it – it is your responsibility to multiply the conclusions of this Forum and to operationalise them, to implement them. Otherwise this event will just remain one Symposium amongst many.

I asked some people yesterday why they came here, and I'd like to share some of the answers with you.

One person said, "I came because Rui invited me."

Other answers were: "I want to gain new knowledge."

"I want to make new contacts."

"I believe in this campaign."

"I always combine business with pleasure."

These were some of the expectations of this seminar, and I hope these expectations will be met for all of us.

Good luck and enjoy the conference.

# HOW 'DIVERSITY' TRANSLATES IN TODAY'S EUROPE

## Reasons for Campaigning for Diversity and Human Rights in Europe Today

**Prof. Murat Belge**, Istanbul Bilgi University

Where does the title of the Campaign come from? Back in the 1970s I remember a song 'Different but equal' by Scottish singer Ewan McCall together with Peggy Seeger from the United States: they used to live and to sing together and indeed if you can manage to sing together then it is easier to live together. Back then the song referred to women's issues. There are many equality topics and under different conditions one of them comes to the forefront to be replaced by another one later on. We are all struggling with the problem of equality or, rather, of inequality. So we used to say that men and women should be equal. I would like to go beyond that and talk about the causality principle. Quoting the famous phrase 'cogito ergo sum' (I think and therefore I am) I would like to translate that into 'different ergo equal'. Equality is not something given to us. It is not biologically given, nor historically given but rather socially given. We need to struggle to establish equality. Where there is no difference, there would be no need to speak about equality.

After the end of the cold war, cultural politics are very much the rule of the day. We should not forget that there are other forms of inequality that should also find a place on our agenda. We think of the diversity problem through two metaphors. One is the mosaic metaphor: different cultures living in the same country come together as the pieces making up a mosaic. The second metaphor is that of the melting pot. The different elements are being cooked in the same pot. These two metaphors represent two opposite poles. They speak about the same issue but they imply very different approaches. Between these two poles we can find a wide range of other approaches about how to deal with diversity.

Old empires such as the Roman, the Ottoman, the Austrian (not the overseas empires) remind us of the mosaic metaphor. Coming from Turkey, I have a lot of things on my mind about the mosaic approach. The melting pot metaphor has become a well-known example, mainly in the USA. Everybody is supposed to

contribute to the final soup in some way. But one does not remain the same, unlike with the mosaic. In the process one becomes something else. The mosaic is a realistic way to run an empire composed of different people, with agreements being made with the different groups' elites while leaving the communities free to run their own internal affairs and keep their own identity. This is a type of society that came to an end with the First World War as it had already become obsolete beforehand.

The USA melting pots marks a new stage. It is not about an empire any longer but rather about a nation state that needs a homogeneous population. Of course the USA was not the best starting point for a nation state because it happened to be very heterogeneous. But America had so much to offer people that voluntarily they were able to forget for a while their origin and ethnicity and become part of America. This has become a much more relevant model for the whole world in our present age.

We are of course talking about models and models are always abstractions, or idealisations to which groups and societies try to conform in real life. In reality life tries to approximate these models, but never in a complete way. There is always a degree of freedom. What are you going to make out of these possibilities that are given to you by world history?

In a meeting like ours we posit all the values on diversity. Let me speak a word of warning: we should be aware of all these buzzwords and concepts that become fashionable all the time. Now we say that diversity is good. We have this song in Turkey that says, "accept me as I am". This is very good as far as romance goes. But when it comes to politics there are some cultural forms of diversity that we are not so prepared to embrace, such as the British governor in India faced with burning the young wives together with their deceased husbands. That stopped a long time ago in India, but I remember a Saudi princess stoned to death because of adultery 25 years ago and that is not so long ago. Are we going to co-exist with this heritage and all these cultural practices? Of course it is not always so black and white. I am fed up with hearing in Turkey, "this is our democracy; democracy is not the same all over the world". No, democracy has its minimum definition and if you don't conform to such principles you don't qualify as democracy.

There are also many more serious issues. The magic term 'culture' can become a term to defend acting against humanity. We have many forms of diversity, and there

is a lot of potential to 'otherise' other people and make scapegoats out of them. Let's take the Jewish kippa, a very innocent kippa in itself. But another Jew might find that kippa very oppressive and of course he has the right not to wear the kippa. For every political question there are many different formulations and ideas. Take, for example, the Kurds: the majority are not for separation but for their cultural rights and these are frightening words for governments: they think that they cannot grant them because they will turn independent tomorrow. But I defend them in my writings. When I go to Dyarbakir, a predominantly Kurdish city, I smell something else. Any Kurd who wants to become a writer should use the Kurdish language. The community thinks writers should write in a certain way, and that painters should paint in a certain way, and that in itself is a form of oppression. Difference and equality: we have to struggle for them but it is not easy. We all have problems with them. We have centuries of problems. Let's not deceive ourselves in thinking that we can easily overcome these problems.



I would like to quote James Joyce from *A portrait of the artist as a young man*. He writes at length about all the duties that people around him try to impose on him, such as being Irish and adhering to, being loyal to and doing something for the Catholic religion. He went to a Catholic school and was summoned by the principal who asked him whether he had felt 'the call', the vocation. The principal told him that the Church would have been happy to 'receive' him. But Stephen Dedalus wants to become an artist and the Church is not suitable for that. As he grows older he goes to college at a time of reactive nationalism. At that time it was a national duty for Irish writers to write in the Gaelic language, which is not really useful for literary purposes. But Stephen Dedalus did not want to conform to these obligations, and said, "I will not serve you," and finally left the country, as James Joyce moved to Trieste. And at the end of the book he writes about saying goodbye to his father and says for the millionth time, "I go to encounter the reality of experience and to forge into this medium the uncreated consciousness of my race." The reality of experience, with all its diversity. Joyce refused to become a soldier of Irish nationalism and Catholicism. And yet today in every part of the world there are a couple of Irish pubs and at least one of them is called 'James Joyce'. All the time we have to find democratic human solutions and if we want to be able to say, "we shall overcome them one day," we must be able to say, "we are not afraid today".



# The Problem with Diversity is it's so Diverse

## *Reflections on an ambiguous discourse and its social and political implications in Europe today'*

Dr Gavan Titley, National University of Ireland, Maynooth

### **Introduction**

Given that diversity – in all its senses – is everywhere, a good way to begin to analyse it is to engage with the everyday instances that come your way. The following example is from the *Financial Times*, 13 September 2006, and involves an ‘agony aunt’ column for high-flying business people.<sup>2</sup> The ‘white, British, male MBA student at a US Business school’ is a victim of diversity. Having questioned, during a diversity awareness class, why a recent class photograph had foregrounded ‘women and ethnic minorities’, he found himself criticised for being racist and sexist. Many of the readers that reply to him with advice assure him that he was right to ‘speak out’, as they see ‘political correctness’ as a new form of propaganda, as well a cheap form of liberal self-satisfaction. These responses, and the reasons for them, will be discussed later in this contribution, but for now the relevance of this bizarre form of therapy lies in the way it illustrates some of the difficulties with diversity as a concept.

This vignette makes the obvious point that diversity is an idea that is understood in different and sometimes conflicting ways. The first aspect of this is the *different ways diversity is understood in time and space*. The unlikely victim sees diversity as a way of describing his class in the here and now, however, as one of the respondent readers argues, the reason for current practices of diversity being ‘centuries of racism and sexism’. Given that the student’s initial complaint focuses on ethnic minorities, it is likely that in the US this involves African-Americans and Asian-Americans, which further broadens the time and space of diversity to include legacies of slavery, migration and settlement, and the more recent legacies of struggles for civil rights, of ‘identity politics’ and of ‘culture war’ in contemporary US society. The difference between these two time-spaces of diversity suggests another key divergence: for the MBA student, *diversity is a descriptive notion* – the empirical diversity of his class – whereas the reasoning behind ‘diversity awareness classes’ is a *prescriptive one*, that is, that diversity is to be valued and cultivated. The

next difference flows both from this, and from the injured confusion of the student: why am I excluded? His 'exclusion', as he understands it, is based on practices of diversity that include what we could call *power geometry*: a recognition that historically generated forms of privilege and status come with certain attributes and subject-positions, and that certain forms of discrimination and repression come with others. Thus in this case, gender and ethnicity are seen as aspects of power geometries that place 'diverse people' in different relations of power to each other. The reader who reminds the 'victim of diversity' that he is statistically likely to gain faster promotion and earn more money than his female, ethnic minority colleagues is pointing to the ways in which the relations of power geometry depend on micro and macro contexts. This temporary disadvantage/lasting advantage of the MBA student illustrates a further point: that *diversity is a discourse*, a framework both for perceiving and interpreting human society, but also for attempting to organise human experiences of and interactions in that social world. His confusion stems from failing, or refusing, to interpret the actions in the college within a given institutional discourse of diversity. The corollary of this is that his actions are interpreted as racist and sexist within the prescriptive framework of diversity favoured in the institution. And finally, the ways in which the student was not perceived as 'diversity' makes a point that brings together these discursive and political dimensions. Where there is *diversity*, there is also *that which is not diversity*. In other words, diversity is always a partial framework. In many instances that which is 'not diversity' is beyond the frame because of privileged positions that place people at the normative centre of society, in this case being a white European male. But as we shall see, frameworks of diversity can also ignore and even compound forms of discrimination and marginalisation.

This example, and the dimensions of diversity I have highlighted, point to some of the analytical and political challenges of working through a discourse of diversity in national and European campaigns. The differences in understanding and conflicts in perception inherent in this example suggest that a variety of forms of translation are required to sustain a European campaign and its national adaptations. These translations are not just linguistic – which of course is never just a technical exercise anyway. The translation is a broader discursive one, through



which the globalised idea of ‘diversity’ is shaped into a socially coherent and politically useful concept in the ‘entangled modernities’ of the Council of Europe’s Europe.<sup>3</sup> The aim of this presentation is to identify aspects of that translation, and it will proceed through the following key objectives:

- By investigating how diversity is *made to mean*
- By analysing diversity as a *mobile* institutional, policy and campaigning discourse
- By evaluating diversity as a *political idea* in contemporary Europe.

### ***Diversity on the move: the mobility and fluidity of discourse***

*Summary: This section examines ‘diversity’ as a mobile idea and fluid discourse that moves through organisational, institutional and other mediating networks. This implies that what ‘diversity’ means is never set, and that different understandings of it flow in and out of each other. By examining two illustrations of this, the section concludes that campaigners need to be aware of how the frameworks they work through describe and prescribe their social realities, and how open they are to the experiences and politics of people described as ‘diverse’.*

In an era where the movement of people, money, risks, information and images transforms internal and external relations in and between societies, it should come as no surprise that ideas and discourses are also constantly on the move, flowing across boundaries and being transformed through translation and implementation. In particular, discourses associated with the socio-political work of international institutions such as the UN, of globally networked NGOs (particularly in the field of Human Rights), and of transnational corporations have diffused through institutional cooperation, networks and scales of governance, funding programmes, and through the increased articulation of ideas and practices of diversity in a globalised public sphere. To use an idea suggested by the sociologist John Urry, ‘diversity’ can be thought of as a *fluid phenomenon*, flowing through interlocking networks of money, symbolic and material power, and political agency.<sup>4</sup> As with any fluid, diversity is not solid or stable: it may be temporarily contained, and is prone to leaking and changing shape and consistency. This metaphor of fluidity suggests that campaigners must approach ‘diversity’ with an awareness of its mobility, diffusion and transformation in and between particular environments. In working with diversity as a fluid discourse, we can never discount the presence of different or contrary flows, or hope to contain and fix a particular meaning and set of values (if such a situation were even desirable). This can be

illustrated using an example from a recent edition of *Youth Opinion*, which discussed the development of the overall campaign. The political importance of a campaign on diversity was argued for as follows:

The celebration of diversity, as an added value, is crucial today in a Europe which is a diverse continent. Learning more about each other is an enriching experience that usually leads someone to a greater sensitivity and understanding of others. That is why diversity is essential to ensure Europe's cohesion.<sup>5</sup>

While this is nothing more than a summary statement, it does illustrate the ways in which any articulation of diversity is linked into wider discourses, assumptions and practices of 'diversity'. More specifically, this extract places this notion of 'diversity' firmly in relation to – and in conflict with – other institutional practices of diversity. It does this in the following ways:

1. *Political dimension*: Diversity is not just given as a fact, but has an intrinsic value which must be supported up to and including 'celebration';
2. *Hermeneutic/educational dimension*: it suggests that this intrinsic value can be manifested to people through individual interaction and engagement, and that it is highly likely that such engagement will result in personal enrichment;
3. *Ideological dimension*: the intrinsic value of diversity is its contribution to social cohesion, which suggests it is progressive – as opposed, for example, to radical – political mission.

As we can see, discussing diversity is normative – it implies a value-based project – and therefore it is necessary to be clear, both analytically and politically, on the dimensions and implications of the 'diversity' that is articulated. In the example above, it is easy enough to reach for contrary understandings of diversity – that celebrating diversity is a product of consumerist logic, that such humanist notions of contact and shared understanding are naïve about power and context, and that current discourses of diversity and social cohesion are nothing more than upgrades of top-down multiculturalism. However, a serious problem arises when those advocating diversity are unaware of the counter-flows, understandings and ideologies present in the fluid. An illustration of this – and one I offer because of a lack of comparative European research – is given by Alastair Bonnett in his discussion of 'the Americanisation of anti-racism'.<sup>6</sup> By Americanisation, Bonnett does not have in mind a simple formula that can be linked to any specific US

political administration. Instead, he examines the ways in which influential global agencies such as the World Bank replicate US-derived categories of classification and perspectives on socio-cultural life. In particular this involves models of 'race relations' and 'minority inclusion' produced by experiences of US social politics, welded with neo-liberal orthodoxies of market economy, the role of transnational capital, and the subjectivity and possibilities of the 'modern' individual. Bonnett is not suggesting that the fluid translations I have discussed do not take place at the interface between World Bank projects and national/local agencies and agents. Instead, he argues that:

The World Bank disseminates a model of social change that does not require US consent or involvement – it may, indeed, be at variance with US government priorities at any one time – yet it reflects a vision that melds US-Americanisation and neo-liberalisation. To a degree that has not yet become explicit in other world regions, the World Bank's vision for Latin America has recently been marked by a concern for the 'social inclusion' of ethnic minorities within the market economy. To this end the Bank interprets and categorises a number of Latin American societies through the lens of 'race relations', whilst approaching racial and ethnic identities as forms of capital which racist 'traditions' conspire to waste. (p 1085)

Once again, Bonnett is not accusing the World Bank of not listening, or a lack of local consultation. His point is more fundamental: that the listening is to a large extent pre-determined by the framework for hearing, which interprets the ways in which local anti-racist groups represent themselves and their social analysis through fundamental discursive assumptions ("that ethnic and racial identities are usefully thought of as forms of social capital; that multi and inter-cultural social inclusion enables 'deeper' participation in the free market; that the development of racial self-identification, racial categories, and, more broadly, 'race relations' provides an appropriate model for the development of anti-racism" pp 1093-4). Thus, given that the World Bank operates according to a particular vision of the relationship between economic development and social emancipation, the operationalisation of this vision employs categories – of ethno-racial classification, for example – and assumptions – that minorities want to see themselves as forms of potential capital – that may not only be alien to the 'target reality', but which may imperialise that reality materially and ideologically (by interpreting differences in classification and political agency as 'resistance', or 'tradition', and by withholding funding accordingly). Bonnett concludes:

The World Bank places itself on the side of the ‘bright morning dawning’ that will sweep away stagnate hierarchies. At the same time, it is acting to move the focus of equity politics away from structural and global processes and onto small-scale interventions and the need for deeper market entry. In this way neo-liberal anti-racism is institutionalized by transnational capital. Anti-racism is absorbed and reconstituted into a new form that is able to be both socially combative and act to sustain existing hegemonic power relations. (p 1095)

In our terms, it should now be clear that the reason for questioning the ways in which diversity is articulated is not just intellectual curiosity, a perhaps stimulating break or diversion from the real, concrete work of campaigning. What Bonnett is suggesting, and which we can see at work in this campaign, is that discourse and the way in which it is operationalised has an actual, *performative* impact on social life. Not for nothing did Stuart Hall, in explaining discourse, argue that it involves ‘the world being made to mean’. The case of the World Bank illustrates how the categories and assumptions passed on and embedded by institutional processes and practices have power over how



local actors present themselves, their realities, needs, problems and visions. The question for us, then, is in what ways does this focus on diversity, and the networks through which it will flow, have the same kind of impact? When we listen, what, but more importantly how, do we hear? I will return to this question in the final part of this essay, when I examine ways of evaluating ‘diversity’ at work.

### ***Shaping ‘diversity’ – a selection of key flows and currents***

*Summary: This section suggests some main currents of thought and practice that have influenced the array of theories and approaches associated with ‘diversity’, and which may, in different ways and to varying extents, flow through the ‘diversity’ that emerges from this campaign. The summaries are by necessity short and simplified, and the reader is invited to assess the relevance of them to their own context. Key currents include liberal multiculturalism, postmodernism, the influence of feminisms, abilism and queer politics, and the general elevation of culture and identity to the heart of contemporary politics. It is also argued that ‘diversity’ cannot be understood without examining its relation to societies of consumption and media-saturation.*



In terms of this campaign, it is almost impossible to quantify and analyse the different flows of ‘diversity as a fluid’ that are briefly stabilized here. Broadly, it is clear – though I am also enormously ignorant of how ‘diversity’ or complementary notions have been developed and disseminated in ‘post-communist’ or ‘transitional’ Europe – that the main influence on this campaign is the melding together of a variety of forms of mainly Western political contestation active since at least the 1960s, but given a new intensity by the ideological reconfiguration of the

world post-1990. As Yudhishtir Raj Isar puts it, diversity and cultural diversity are discourses “in support of ‘the right to be different’ of many different categories of individual/groups placed in some way outside dominant social and cultural norms”.<sup>7</sup> Ideas of diversity, and policy responses to diversity, can potentially include the interplay of ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, religion, physical possibilities, marital status, family status (and indeed, the limits of what is addressed under the banner of diversity are quite elastic globally).<sup>8</sup> Davina Cooper, in her important book *Challenging Diversity: Rethinking Equality and the Value of Difference* (2004), sees ‘diversity’ as the product of the interlacing of a range of political and analytical projects:

[Diversity] is a broad, discursive space that emerged out of the very particular social, cultural and political conditions of the 1980s and 1990s – namely, the dismantling of the Soviet Union and of the communist regimes of eastern Europe, the upsurge of neo-liberal ideology, the backlash against radical feminism, the expansion of lesbian and gay politics...and the struggles around multiculturalism and anti-racism. Intellectually, diversity politics sits at the confluence of several currents that include liberalism, communitarianism, poststructuralism, post-Marxism, feminism, post-colonialism and queer. Into the twenty-first century, the politics of diversity continue to exert a powerful influence of progressive and radical thinking in the West. (p5)

This overwhelming list of influences and flows is not something we need to unpick here, but the following key points can be made in relation to it:

1. Diversity should not be understood as a 'final stage' product of these overlapping political strands. As we shall see, diversity politics has been as likely to attempt to contain or manage radical politics as it is to enhance it.
2. In its more powerful manifestations, diversity politics challenges essential ideas of the human as being defined or contained by gender, ethnic or cultural background or physical possibilities. In other words, diversity is not just inherent in society, but in us as complex and changing subjects whose self-understandings and relationships change in time and space, influenced by the interplay of *affective* (subjective, felt, lived, experienced), and *ascribed* (roles, statuses, categories and stereotypes that we are structurally, socially and ideologically compelled to inhabit) aspects of identity.
3. Both of the authors quoted above place diversity firmly in something called 'the West', which, following the World Bank discussion, should not be seen as a geographical notion. This campaign marks an important break with this history.

If we were to attempt an overview of political route-ways through which current understandings and practices of diversity have flowed through space and time, the following would offer a basic set:

**1. Globalisation and Cultural policy:** Of influence here is UNESCO's World Commission on Culture and Development (1996) and their centring of cultural diversity as a way of understanding world cultural heritage. For some this initiative is compromised by its in-built internationalism, which does little to confront the ways in which 'heritage' is also produced through the emphasis and marginalisation of competing cultural traditions within the spaces of nation-states. In other words, there is a fear that 'cultural diversity' within this framework allows forms of ideological control over how national cultures are projected. In other ways, this notion of cultural diversity has led to productive comparisons with biodiversity, acknowledging that cultures have always been intertwined and interwoven, and that the loss of any one aspect, for example, of endangered indigenous languages, involves a loss of knowledge and knowledge potential for humanity as a whole.<sup>9</sup>

**2. Progressive and radical politics:** Many aspects of contemporary youth work are informed by critiques of *patriarchy*, *heteronormativity* and *ablism*. In other words, forms of 'awareness-raising', 'values-clarification' and 'empowerment' education, as



well as such ideas as compensatory or radical/critical pedagogy – in formal and non-formal settings – have been based on facilitating individuals in deconstructing the ways in which they are made invisible or rendered marginal and subaltern in hegemonic social imaginaries and assumptions. In particular this has centred on feminist and queer critiques of ‘equality’ as a liberal notion predicated on gendered, raced and idealised notions of the ‘citizen’ and ‘individual’. Movements for substantive equality, for forms of social redress as well as radical dismissals of equality have all shown that ‘equality’ must take account of the power geometry that positions different identities in relation to opportunities and barriers, as well as to accepted, ‘commonsense’ notions of reason, rationality, normativity, rightness and morality. (Think, in law, of the common way in which juries were and still are requested to think what a ‘reasonable man’ would do in a given situation when reaching a verdict.)

**3. The cultural turn**<sup>10</sup>: There has been a gradual post-war centring of culture and degrees of cultural relativism in approaches to racism and anti-racism, modernisation and development, identity and agency. Perhaps the most significant discussion of culture, at least for the purposes of intercultural learning and current diversity thinking, has been the post-war shift towards culture as an antidote to the virulent hierarchies of ‘race’. As Alana Lentin has detailed<sup>11</sup>, UNESCO played a key role in centring culture by aiming to undermine racism’s supposed reliance on the pseudo-science of race while providing an alternative explanation for human difference and diversity. To quote:

The main proposal made by UNESCO, and most forcefully by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his short book *Race and History* (1961), was that human groups could be divided according to cultures which were relative to each other. The idea that each culture contributed ‘in its own way’ to humanity as a whole sought to counter the widely accepted belief that a hierarchy of ‘race’ divided Europeans and non-Europeans. Lévi-Strauss celebrated the diversity of humanity, demonstrated by what he called, the ‘distinctive contributions’ of each cultural group. He stressed his belief that different levels of progress between such groups could not be attributed to any innate differences. Rather, progress comes about as a result of interaction between groups. The historical chance that led to the onset of modernity taking place in the West meant that the other cultures that rubbed shoulders with it experienced more rapid progress. Those that remained isolated did not. The UNESCO tradition in antiracism, to which Lévi-Strauss’s work was central, was translated into a specific approach to

opposing racism based on the belief that racism could be overcome by recognising that the real problem was one of ethnocentrism; by promoting the benefits of cultural diversity as enriching society and by encouraging greater knowledge of other cultures among western societies.

However, as Lentin goes on to analyse in great depth, a turn to culture cannot account for the ways in which 'racism without race' can both benefit from a denial of 'race' while shifting the process of racialisation to supposedly set and essential cultural characteristics and traditions. A related turn to culture can be observed in the necessity of asserting cultural difference and particularity in relation to the universalising theories of modernisation that guided 'development' from the 1950s through to at least the 1970s (and which have perhaps made an unwelcome if latent reappearance during the 'war on terror'). Primarily North American modernisation theorists – who, unlike the vast majority of theorists, had the willing ear of government – constructed the world as a series of nodes on a linear progress towards developed modernity, and primarily imagined non-Western and colonial/post-colonial contexts as 'traditional societies' in need of accelerated modernisation. As Vincent Tucker expresses it, "Modernization theorists were concerned with understanding the culture of other societies so as to manipulate them and adapt them to the exigencies of development [...] other cultural formations were viewed primarily as forms of resistance to modernization which had to be overcome".<sup>12</sup> Anti-imperialist movements and critics have, as a result, both critiqued the ethnocentric cultural assumptions that informed ideas of progress and development, and asserted the resilience and alternative world-views of cultures that had been slated for 'inevitable modernisation'.

Related to the last point above has been the critique offered by postmodern philosophers of what they term 'grand-narratives': meta-ideas for the organisation of stories of human life, including Christianity, Marxism, Enlightenment Humanism, nationalism, and so forth. Generally speaking, postmodernism has been both lauded and criticised for sanctioning widespread cultural relativism through its suspicion of universalism and trans-historical claims to validity and truth. In the same vein, postmodern approaches refused to accept the idea of Culture as 'the best that has been thought and said in the world' and instead approached culture as the practice of everyday life, where cultural products, such as television shows, youth styles and popular music, were discussed for their subjective and affective significance, rather than being dismissed for their supposedly objective aesthetic and moral inadequacy. In short, postmodernism sanctioned pluralism and relativism on all cultural registers.

**I. Identity politics & multiculturalisms:** Perhaps most importantly, the development of multicultural philosophies and policies in many countries has centred culture as the prime marker of difference and belonging, which can be seen in the way that ‘diversity’ is often implicitly intended as ‘cultural diversity’. As Colm O’Cinneide argues in his contribution to *Resituating Culture*, multiculturalism is often regarded as a response to the problems posed by liberal and republican ideas of the individual citizen inhabiting a neutral and difference-blind state.<sup>13</sup> What such universalist notions of the citizen ignored (and continue to ignore) is that equality may be formal, but it does not follow that it will be in any way substantive without reference to the impediments created by social differentiation and without regard to the ways in which barriers to access and participation must be removed. Various theories and practices of multicultural citizenship<sup>14</sup> have advocated recognition of *cultural difference* and its consequences, and agitated for countervailing representation in politics, socio-economic life and the public sphere. These debates have been closely associated with the position and rights of ‘national minorities’, and often unevenly and controversially extended to migrant ethnic groups.



The overwhelming focus on culture as a marker of identity and community in multiculturalist projects has been criticised from a range of positions. Many criticisms have come from young people, particularly so-called ‘second generation migrants’ who are unwilling to be pigeon-holed as ethnic or cultural, and spoken for by ‘leaders of the community’ who have been sanctioned by outside powers. In the UK, multiculturalism has been criticised as a micro-colonial arrangement, where people are neatly organised into a cultural mosaic, and power is shared between the metropolitan centre and

recognised ‘community mandarins’. The tendency to see and valorise people as belonging to cultural groups underplays and simplifies identity and the importance of gender, class, sexuality, disability and political allegiance in practices of identity as well as practices of discrimination. Moreover, a key criticism of multiculturalism has been that it imagines cultural recognition and appreciation to be the key demand

of ethnic minorities. This cultural reductionism gives rise to both superficial dynamics and practices of cultural exchange, and compounds the tendency to see discrimination as the product of individual prejudice rather than material and political inequalities. For many, the apparently benign and progressive focus on culture works consciously and unconsciously to weaken anti-racist politics. It remains to be seen whether contextual discourses of diversity compound or undermine these problems.

**2. Diversity management:** US-led philosophies of workplace organisation have travelled into a wide variety of organisational settings, both through the direct influence of transnational corporations and through the adaptation of these theories and programmes in corporate and non-corporate settings (such as local government, schools, youth organisations, trade unions and a range of other institutions and organisations). It is difficult to avoid enormous over-simplification in summarising some key aspects of this development; however, the rise of diversity management needs to be seen in relation to how ‘diversity’ has become a key value in lifestyle changes over the last decades. In the US context, the sociologist Ron Becker assesses the emergence of widespread ‘diversity management’ in relation to a key shift towards a post-industrial, ‘informational’ economy and the emergence of a limited yet powerful new middle class of creative professionals and service industry employees. Powered by economic and social capital, and schooled in US universities that were marked and changed by radical politics and identity debates, Becker describes the new creative class as comfortable in urban environments where diversity suggests non-conformity and creativity, and guided by ‘postmaterialist’ values where “...their economic security often translates into progressive attitudes towards sex, gender equality and the environment as well as an overall interest in lifestyle issues”.<sup>15</sup> This new economic power – sited in forms of cultural power – as well as the widespread sense of the US population as a fragmented workforce and market, led business towards a concerted re-evaluation of its approach to employment and self-projection:

Although the business sector had grappled with diversity issues for years, there was a growing sense of urgency around the topic in the late 1980s. In 1987, for example, W.B. Johnson and A.H. Packard’s influential *Workforce 2000* stressed how demographic trends and increased globalisation were creating an increasingly diverse and fragmented society. In this new context, one expert claimed, a successful organisation would be one that tried to “capitalise on the advantages of its diversity –

rather than attempting to stifle or ignore the diversity – and to minimise the barriers that can develop as a result of people’s having different backgrounds, attitudes, values, behaviour styles and concerns” (Bowens et al 1993: 36). In the early 1990s, many corporations rushed to update their human resources divisions. Policies developed and implemented in the 1960s and 1970s to foster corporate cultures in which everyone was treated the same were abandoned in favour of management techniques designed to tap into the differences that existed among employees...workshops, seminars, role-playing games, instructional videos, and discussion groups exposed participants to the diverse values and experiences of various cultural backgrounds and encouraged them to appreciate the ways in which those differences could enhance the workplace. (p182)

Outlining the emergence of the stated importance of ‘diversity management’ in a particular milieu tells us little or nothing about actual discourses of, approaches to, or impacts of ‘diversity management’. I will return to this in one of the final sections, when reviewing research on ‘diversity management’ initiatives in Europe, and their varying and ambiguous relationships to statutory equality and anti-discrimination frameworks.

As a final comment in this section on the fluid mobility of ‘diversity’, it is worth considering the suggestive parallels between US developments in the 1980s and 1990s and many European contexts today. A key criticism of ‘diversity management’ in the United States is that it is a cost-free form of gesture politics, imbued with safe forms of radicalism precisely because difference has become a prime social aesthetic. In other words, we may live in societies where lived difference is discriminated against in subtle and overt ways and through stubborn relations of power, but many of us, to obviously different extents in Europe, also live in mediated, consumer societies where difference has become a central commodity. Contemporary globalisation, in particular, has intensified the circulation of commodities that source cultural and social differences as ways of not only differentiating products, but more profoundly, as ways of offering images and narratives as elements and possibilities in the construction and mediation of self and identity. This is not to suggest that people are defined by such processes, or that this is an even or inevitable global development, but that the central importance of mediation in societies blurs any easy distinction between ‘reality’ and ‘representation’. Thus, even allowing for radical differences in societies and social

positionings in Europe, the following question posed by the anthropologist Thomas De Zengotita says something of the increasing importance of images of others, lifestyles and options in globalised, consumer societies:

Ask yourself: is there anything you do that remains essentially unmediated, anything you don't experience reflexively through some commodified representation of it? Birth? Marriage? Illness? Think of all of the movies and memoirs, philosophies and techniques, self-help books, counselors, programs, presentations, workshops. Think of the fashionable vocabularies generated by those venues, and think of how all this conditions your experience. Ask yourself: if I were to strip away all those influences, could I conceive of my life?<sup>16</sup>

At the very least, recognition of the dynamics of consumption in an unevenly globalising world suggests that campaigning 'for diversity' involves fluid movement and flow from wider, *commodified* aesthetics of diversity. This is made more complex when one of the core strategies of a campaign is the projection of images and messages in the same public spheres in which embedded and powerful connotations and associations with *diversity* circulate. Access to internet and transnational media, which is still of course a minority world luxury, affords many people an opening to a mediated world where images of difference (ethnicity and 'race', physical appearance, gendered and sexed identities, style and subcultural appearances, etc.) are sourced and circulated from a massive array of contexts and eras. As an aspect of this, images of racial and gender identities in particular appear to have been lifted from historical relationships of oppression and celebrated as distinctive and valuable in and of themselves. This is particularly noticeable in the ways in which transnational corporations have accessed identities and issue-based politics as ways of re-placing themselves as ethical and concerned global actors. The Benetton advertisement presented in the symposium input is a well-known example of this, and in fact it may appear to us at this stage to be banal.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that what is important about the Benetton advertisement is not 'race', but *class*. The three young, flawlessly beautiful models, brought together to make a diffuse and fairly banal point about difference and harmony, signify – through a notion of diversity – where difference has been separated from and elevated over inequality as society's 'big issue'. Crucially, this has been done aesthetically; almost unconsciously: the apparent vitality of the models signifies exoticism and familiarity, as well as connoting health and well-being. Most

obviously, the function of the aesthetic is to remove any sense of power geometry, and to render its absence unremarkable. The Benetton logic – and indeed it is arguably the most significant and problematic dimension of the aesthetics of diversity – is to repress inequality by presenting difference purely as something articulated through relations between diverse individuals, individual perceptions, and individualised solutions. Underpinning this is a worldview bluntly articulated by Walter Benn Michaels:

A world where some of us don't have enough money is a world where the differences between us present a problem: the need to get rid of inequality or to justify it. A world where some of us are black and some of us are white – or bi-racial or Native American or transgendered – is a world where the differences between us present a solution: appreciating our diversity.<sup>17</sup>



What Benn Michaels is hinting at is a wider criticism of diversity as the favoured if not inevitable cultural logic of neo-liberalism. It goes without saying that neo-liberalism is not a coherent philosophy or practice,<sup>18</sup> yet in many contexts it is associated with 'post-political' and 'post-ideological' analyses of society, where approaches to inequality tend to be managerial rather than transformative, and where there are few competing (secular) visions of 'the good society'. In this context, diversity politics may not only be recognition of limited

possibility, but may also provide forms of surrogate politics, where brushing against the difference of others provides a sense of transgression and an allure of marginality. This is what bell hooks has described as 'eating the other': taking possession of the identity and experience of oppressed peoples as a way of projecting one's own cultural capital and differentiated identity.<sup>19</sup>

Following the logic of fluids, these disturbing flows should not be seen as pollutants that can be prevented from moving through a public, mediated campaign on diversity. They can, however, be identified and countered through reflective personal

and organisational approaches to campaigning. Campaign materials are a useful point of reflection: to what extent do they work through and disseminate the 'aesthetics of diversity' discussed above? Does our campaign challenge people to think about their place in the power geometry of inequality, or is it at best cost-free, providing forms of 'affordably radical' politics that attract people as much because of what it projects about their identity as what it says about the 'issues'?

### ***Diversity as a fact and threat***

*Summary: This section looks at some fundamental reasons for the constant homogenising of historically existing diversity. It argues that while many contemporary societies are, and in many ways represent themselves as 'diverse', the fundamental relationships between nation-states and racialised national communities imply that heterogeneity is always likely to be repressed by homogenising strategies. It goes on to look at reasons why forms of 'diversity' may be celebrated and lived while at the same time forming the basis for the 'threats' that 'anxious societies' generate and require.*

It is a welcome cliché of diversity politics that human societies have always been diverse. Yet such clichés do not always alert us as to why diversity, or more appropriately in this context, *heterogeneity*, is constantly subsumed in *homogeneous* imaginaries and visions. This is clearly an enormous question, encompassing theoretical and contextual analyses of nations and nationalism, ethnicity and ethnicisation, patriarchy and sexuality, social knowledge and classifications of the body, and so forth. In this section I will necessarily limit the discussion to two perspectives, chosen because they may be widely applicable, or at least widely adaptable, across different national contexts. A weakness of this approach – discussing nations and constitutive otherness – is that it temporarily limits my exploration of diversity to 'cultural diversity'.

David Theo Goldberg, in his influential work *The Racial State* (2001), at first valorises our cliché:

The history of the human species, for all intents and purposes, can be told as the histories of human migration. It is the history – really the histories – of movement and resting, regenerative settlement and renewed mobility. With emerging European exploration and expansion from the late 14th century on, it is also the history of miscegenation and cultural mixing, of increasing physical and cultural heterogeneity. (p14)



Well-known discussions of the nation-state as an 'imagined community'<sup>20</sup> go some way towards explaining why this 'heterogeneity of past ages' is frequently missing or underplayed in histories, images, symbols and narratives of the national community of (real) belonging. Most people at this symposium come from countries where modern processes of nation-state formation between then late 18<sup>th</sup> and late 20<sup>th</sup> centuries have involved the negotiation not only of geo-political borders, but of borders of historical-cultural belonging and legitimacy. In many nation-states it may well be the case that the historical disavowal of human heterogeneity (generated through colonialism, trade, slavery, war and forced migration or boundary shifting, indentured labour and perhaps even adventure) in the spatially imagined community of the nation has been challenged or loosened by a range of factors. These may include state settlements with 'national minorities' on, for example, linguistic and educational entitlements, multiculturalism and the 'politics of recognition' in postcolonial societies, diaspora and stretched and contested national communities, and so forth. However the analysis of 'the racial state' proposed by Goldberg goes beyond mere questions of the 'imagined community' and who it can encompass, to question whether 'diversity' can ever become a constitutive element in national societies' self-image, ordering and dominant representations.

The key dimension of national belonging and articulation suggested by Goldberg, and one that jars with the orthodox understanding in 'diversity politics' that there 'is no such thing as race', is that modern nation states ordered themselves in terms of a relationship between the administrative space of the state and the 'homogeneous' space of the nation. As he details:

Modern states, especially in their national articulation, ordered themselves not as heterogeneous spaces but in particular as racially and culturally homogeneous ones. They have assumed themselves, falsely as a matter of fact, to be constituted upon the presumption, the insistence, of homogeneous group identity, repressively embodying sameness as a value". (p16) **In this sense, homogeneity is to be viewed as heterogeneity in denial.** (my bold)

The absence of historical memories of heterogeneity is not merely a question of the triumph of forgetting over memory, to adapt Milan Kundera, but of an active process of repression and marginalisation through historical record and popular representation. Moreover, if nations as forms of imaginative organisation need and

demand a *constitutive other* – an external other that defines the nation through a process of difference (are different nations) and similarity (all are nations) – they also need ways of understanding and controlling that other, both internally and externally. Goldberg argues that modern nation-state formation codified this constitutive difference through the political science of *race*:

Race is imposed upon otherness, the attempt to account for it, to know it, to control it. So to begin with in modernity what is invested with racial meaning, what becomes increasingly racially conceived, is the threat, the external, the unknown, the outside. It is only through the racial configuration of the external, the other, by implication, that the internal – the self – becomes (and at first by implication, silently) racially defined also. But paradoxically, once racially configured with modernity that threat becomes magnified, especially fraught, because in being named racially in a sense it is named as a threat. (p23)

The implications of Goldberg's thinking are distasteful for 'diversity politics': national belonging, dominantly understood in cultural terms today, is actually often a racialised articulation. In other words, the post-war replacement of race (as a genocidal and scientifically bogus classificatory and ideological system) with culture does little to undermine the processes by which national identities are rationalised and *racialised*. While diversity is certainly visible and indeed celebrated in more porous, postmodern societies today than it ever has been, this does not mean that certain aspects of diversity and heterogeneity will not be repressed or disciplined either routinely or in moments of crisis. Perhaps this can be illustrated by two recent examples that hint at the profound power and normality of racialisation.



*The routine*: the release of Clint Eastwood's film about the battle for Iwo Jima in 1944 between the US and Japan (and intimately associated with the iconic image of exhausted US marines raising the flag from the charred earth) has been accused of 'airbrushing' out the contributions of Black African-American soldiers who fought

both at Iwo Jima and routinely during the Pacific war. This slippage from and invisibility in the heroic narrative of Iwo Jima is not only an individual creative omission: it is based on a deeply held racial imaginary of 'American' and 'American heroism' that persists despite the multi-racial make-up of the army and society (then and now).

*The crisis*: much has been written about the 'Danish cartoon crisis', yet much of it has tended to reify cheap pronouncements on European values and civilisation on the one hand, and irredentist, pre-Enlightenment Islam on the other. Yet what was scarcely noted, in the original justification by *Jyllands Posten* for commissioning the cartoons, were the ways in which Danish Muslims were placed outside the Danish public sphere – and by extension, outside or beyond the national community – by the very act of publication itself. Thus, the liberal values of the public sphere which were consistently invoked during this period were never even initially extended to Danish Muslims. Freedom of speech, in being dominantly interpreted as freedom to publish, became sundered from the classic liberal responsibility of weighing the impact and damage of your speech on others, particularly those with significantly less possibility to contribute to the public sphere at a similar level. In other words, the 'universal values' pressed into service by the Danish journalists and their apologists were values particularised by their initial exclusion of Danish Muslims as being beyond reason and responsibility. The ideal 'Danish' audience for this debate was an idealised and *racialised* one: understood as a discursive and political community embedded in forms of national, European and civilisational legitimacy, it only made sense through its constitutive exclusion of others.

Another challenge for 'diversity politics' emerges from this picture of nation-states as formed and ordered in ways that promote homogenising logics: the challenge of examining the articulations of diversity that are permissible, and even celebrated, at any moment, and the articulations of diversity that are repressed, disavowed and controlled. Goldberg's core analysis is complemented by the compelling idea of *societies of hope and anxiety* discussed by the Lebanese-Australian anthropologist Ghassan Hage.<sup>21</sup> Hage sees national societies as mechanisms for the distribution of hope, where belonging is felt and valued in terms of possibility and participation. Yet Hage is interested in why many (predominantly but not exclusively) Western societies have become, at least partially, mechanisms for the propagation of worry and anxiety. One aspect of his answer is of particular relevance to understanding the shifting but resistant exclusions of actual heterogeneity from homogeneous imaginaries.

Hage argues that the dominant coupling of nationalism and capitalism blends two hugely powerful forms of ‘hope distribution’ in society. Uttering the national ‘we’ “...magically enables the I of the national to do things it can never hope to do as an individual I”. Capitalism – by producing a mythology of mobility and future-oriented hope – “... hegemonises the ideological content of hope so that it becomes almost universally equated with dreams of better-paid jobs, better lifestyles, more commodities, and so forth”. I will not attempt to summarise Hage’s complex argument here, but what is important is the line of argument he advances about the almost Freudian relationship between the imaginary of the nation as *motherland* and *fatherland*. The motherland suggests the caring, nurturing role of the state, wedded not just to hope and possibility but to institutional expression in public space, institutions and resources. The fatherland, in this relation, secures the borders and surveys internal and external threats to the ability of the motherland to provide nurture.

Where Hage’s argument requires reflective adaptation from the reader is in his analysis of how the interaction between ‘motherland’ and ‘fatherland’ has shifted in nations where hegemonic globalisation has, to over-simplify, continued to require the state, while being flexible about needing the society. Programmes of deregulation and public roll-back designed to globalise market economies have provoked crises in how people think about the nurture they can receive from the mothering state. As a symptom of this confusion, outsiders – in particular, racialised minorities, migrants or the socially excluded – may become embodiments of a threat to the motherland,



which requires an assertive response from the authoritative fatherland. Beyond the metaphors, this relationship can be seen in the ongoing securitisation of migration, as well as in attempts to dilute asylum status, and procedures and grounds for application. Yet there remains a further aspect of how this threat is constructed, and it recalls Goldberg’s insistence on the repression of homogeneity. For Hage, the economic migrant is not only a form of threat, but a form of disavowal. In other words, the racialised refugee or migrant seems to explain the withdrawal of the

‘nurturing breast’ of the motherland (too many demands for limited nurture), and seems to require the assertiveness of the fatherland to allow the return of the nurturing state to those who properly belong. However, this rage, Hage argues, is actually the sublimation of the realisation that the motherland could never actually nurture and never will again. The assertive fatherland masks the fact that neo-liberal global capital needs the state, but does not need society. As Hage puts it:

The more the nation moves into becoming the non-nurturing social reality of neo-liberal policy, the more this hope for a good motherland becomes unrealistic, with no connection to the immediate empirical reality of the subject. That is, rather than the imaginary of the motherland becoming articulated as a reality that needs protecting, it becomes an increasingly hollow imaginary that needs to be protected from reality...the defensive mechanisms of the fatherland are no longer directed towards ordering and protecting the nurturing motherland from internal and external threats; instead their task is to defend a fantasy of the motherland against the reality of the motherland.

What this analysis suggests is that under these circumstances, *to admit diversity is also to admit the end of hope*, or, at least, hope wedded to a fantasy of the nurturing state and the truly deserving. This is a brief and undoubtedly limited summary of a complex argument, but it hopefully does enough to illustrate, in conjunction with Goldberg, that resistance to a threatening ‘diversity’ at individual, institutional and even social levels is not usefully understood as a question of individual prejudice, countered by encouragement to engage with the automatically enriching subjectivity of the diverse other. Instead, while heterogeneities always exist within national societies – and as we have established, have become increasingly visible, free and valued – threatening forms of difference and diversity will always be generated by the constitutive dynamics of nation-state societies and through the construction of crisis and its actors. That is why in any discourse of diversity there is always a ‘that which is not diversity’ – which here represents a naturalised, ethno-racial core – which influences the contours and legitimacy of ‘diversity’ in a given context.

On the basis of this analysis, the final section goes on to pose core questions for those working with discourses of diversity in campaigning to facilitate them in reflecting on their ‘diversity politics’ in the complex socio-political landscapes we inhabit.

## Locating the *politics of diversity*: concluding questions

It is perhaps implicit in the analysis offered here that this author regards diversity as a more or less useful idea, sociologically and politically, depending on how discourses of diversity are deployed through public campaigns. In the light of the analysis in the previous sections, this means a reflexive awareness of diversity as a fluid discourse, as well as a sound sense of how and why diversity becomes coded as a threat or alien externality. In some ways, this can be summed up by arguing that it is not enough, and in fact may be counter-productive, to solely or mainly attempt to persuade people to value diversity. Diversity is never just celebrated or marginalized; instead aspects of diversity are separated, quarantined and made subject to debates about the limits of tolerance and the need to pragmatically counter threats. Instead, a sustained campaign can play a role in critiquing the 'thresholds of tolerance' or 'limits to diversity' that are articulated in a given context. The following questions may be of use:

*What is and is not diversity in a given context?* The *Guardian* journalist, Gary Younge, in covering a discussion between young British Muslims and majority discussants following the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, noted how many of the questions posed to the young Muslim participants were based on the assumption that 'this is my world; you are just living here'. In other words, depending on the power geometry and senses of (real) belonging and legitimacy we have discussed here, some identities are constantly open to question and asked to justify themselves, while others are rarely unsettled. Being 'diverse' may be empowering and part of a move towards greater empowerment, but 'not being diverse' suggests the ongoing power of normality and invisible privilege. The boundaries between these assumptions of diverse/non-diverse need to be constantly questioned.



*Is diversity a notion that strengthens or weakens moves for greater equality and social justice?* The previous discussion of diversity management in neo-liberal societies suggests that while ‘diversity politics’ have come out of different flows of political contestation, this does not mean that all approaches to diversity further those political ends. This is particularly the case in relation to equality and anti-discrimination. In *Resituating Culture*, John Wrench discusses research conducted on the ‘diversity’ strategies of a sample of European companies and institutions.<sup>22</sup> In his conclusions, he notes that diversity management in different companies and institutions may build educational strategies and institutional initiatives on a solid basis of anti-discrimination policy, yet they may also substitute ‘celebrate diversity’ initiatives – deemed to be *non-threatening* – for solid commitments to equal opportunities and anti-discrimination policies. It needs to be asked, in the youth context, whether substituting the ‘negative sounding’ anti-racism for the ‘more positive’ idea of celebrating cultural diversity replicates the same shift from the socio-political to the individual-cultural.



*Does ‘diversity’ offer hostages to fortune?* In other words, in advocating the value of diversity, are promises and claims being made that can be proved incorrect, never proved at all, or perhaps most importantly, are vulnerable to clever counter-rhetoric? John Wrench suggests a common ‘hostage’ in relation to diversity management. ‘Diversity as a resource’ is an empirical claim that can be investigated, and is researched in a variety of ways in business settings. The results of such research are obviously dependent on guiding

frameworks and indicators of diversity and ‘resource’. Current research is hugely ambivalent as to the richness of diversity to teams and organisations. Related to this, the invitation to appreciate or celebrate diversity can be problematic: does not diversity encompass freedom to appreciate or not appreciate? Campaigns by young people associated with youth cultures permeated by images of diversity may be easily categorised as people merely advocating their own exciting lifestyle, projecting

the forms of cultural capital that they themselves benefit from. This leaves such campaigns open to accusations of elitism, and indeed, counter-forms of discrimination towards 'the common people'. This form of backlash is highly developed in many European countries today.

*Does diversity have a theory of power?*

Given diversity's fluidity, and its central aesthetic and imaginative role in many public spheres, it has provided a useful discursive space and mobilising possibility for groups and interests that would not usually be associated with the generation of diversity politics. Recent examples in Europe have included smokers, fathers' rights groups, foxhunters, and most obviously, the populist far right. It is not even relevant here to attempt to evaluate whether they have the



right or not to feel marginalised and to use a diversity framework to stake their claims. What is relevant is the constant requirement to relate 'diversity' to a historical and contextual power geometry. Only recently, I heard on the BBC World Service the Indonesian government justifying their occupation of West Papua in terms of the 'new diversity' of the (forcibly settled) region. The West Papuans do not appreciate or celebrate it much, however.

*Is diversity free-floating or rooted in an analysis of time and place?* Paul Gilroy, writing in *Open Democracy* about the so-called 'war on terror', notes how the US gulag in Guantanamo has a highly publicised 'diversity management' policy in relation to the cultural and religious needs of its primarily Muslim prisoners.<sup>23</sup> He also notes, in this article, that when some of the prisoners released in 2004 returned to the UK, their descriptions of their 'cultural needs' turned out to be a little different:

In articulating their strongest desires for freedom and relief from the camp regime, they say that what they really craved was a packet of Highland Shortbread Biscuits...(Jamal al-Harith) recounted his post-colonial life story in the *Daily Mirror* and offered a welcome rebuke to



mechanistic conceptions of cultural difference. This critique lost nothing by being implicit...it is there, in that hunger, lodged in those battered and humiliated bodies that the problem of assimilation specified in the 1960s should be laid to rest forever.



This powerful example captures many aspects of interest to us. Firstly, as Gilroy notes, there is a radical difference between what he calls *conviviality* – day to day forms of living and integrating and interacting that are the usual fabric of diverse societies – and common visions of multicultural societies being composed of homogeneous ‘billiard ball’ cultures that need to be encouraged or compelled to ‘integrate’ or ‘have a dialogue’. For these British Muslim men, their cultural needs were generated by experience and particularity, but

coded in Guantanamo in terms of the routine ideas of ‘diversity management’. However, and much more importantly, the idea of ‘diversity management’ in a space removed from international regimes of justice and human rights is obviously absurd. Yet the cultural sensitivity of the Guantanamo regime received global publicity. Not only is this further proof of how ‘diversity’ can be shaped to fit very different agendas, but it compounds the need to locate and situate ‘diversity politics’ in the wider political economies of our society.

### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> This paper is an extended and elaborated version of that presented orally at the Forum.

<sup>2</sup> Copy of newspaper article distributed during presentation. The article reads as follows: “I am a white, British, male MBA student at a US business school. When we had our class picture taken for the school’s brochure all the women and the ethnic minorities were arranged at the front, and the white males were barely visible. Soon afterwards we had a class on diversity, and I mentioned that the photograph was not representative and was immediately attacked by everyone. I am a meritocrat but now I have acquired the undeserved reputation of a racist and sexist. Should I have kept quiet?” – MBA student, male, 29.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of this notion, see Göran Therborn, ‘Entangled Modernities’, *European Journal of Social Theory*, 6(3) 2003

- <sup>4</sup> Urry, J., *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (2000)
- <sup>5</sup> *Youth Opinion*, Issue 1 2006: 6
- <sup>6</sup> Bonnett, A., 'The Americanisation of Anti-Racism? Global Power and Hegemony in Ethnic Equity', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 32, 7 (2006)
- <sup>7</sup> Yudhishtir R. I., 'Cultural Diversity' in *Problematizing Global Knowledge, (Theory, Culture and Society)* 23 (2-3) 2006
- <sup>8</sup> Michaels W.B., in his book *The Trouble with Diversity: How We Learned to Love Diversity and Ignore Inequality* (2006) notes a diversity management firm in Cincinnati, USA that offers to advise companies on a range of diversity issues including 'diversity of thought' and 'diversity of birth order'. While these examples seem primarily amusing, it is worth examining the presuppositions behind an idea of 'diversity of birth order'. It takes the discussion in child psychology surrounding birth order in a family and nurturing and caring relationships between parents and siblings, and translates it from an undoubtedly relevant question of individual development to an aspect of power geometry – that is, to an aspect of self that includes one as *diverse*, and by implication, disadvantaged. Therefore while this paper primarily pays attention to the ways in which the 'limits of diversity' are proposed as a 'pragmatic' political framework in centrist politics, there is also a need for proponents of 'diversity' to question their own limits to its applicability.
- <sup>9</sup> For an interesting discussion of this see Peadar Kirby, *Violence and Vulnerability: The Impact of Globalisation* (2005)
- <sup>10</sup> The sections on 'the cultural turn' and 'identity politics/multiculturalism' have been excerpted and adapted from Titley, Gavan, *Plastic, Political and Contingent: Culture and Intercultural Learning in DYS Activities* (2004)
- <sup>11</sup> See Lentin, A.: The Problem of Culture and Human Rights in the Response to Racism in Titley, Gavan (ed.) (2004) *Resituating Culture* pp. 97-99, and *Racism and Anti-racism in Europe* (2004).
- <sup>12</sup> Tucker, V. The Myth of Development: A Critique of Eurocentric Discourse in Munck and O'Hearn (ed.) (1999) *Critical Development Theory*, p. 3. (I'd put date at end)
- <sup>13</sup> O'Connell, C.: Citizenship and Multiculturalism: Equality, Rights and Diversity in Contemporary Europe in Gavan Titley (ed.) *Resituating Culture* (2004).
- <sup>14</sup> 'Multicultural Citizenship' is an idea associated with the Canadian philosopher Will Kymlicka and his book *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (1995). For a global overview of related concepts and programmes see C.W. Watson (2000) *Multiculturalism*.
- <sup>15</sup> Becker R., 'Gay-Themed Television and the Slumpy Class: The Affordable Multicultural Politics of the Gay Nineties' in *Television and New Media*, Vol. 7 No.2 May (2006)
- <sup>16</sup> De Zengotita T., *Mediated* (2005: 9)
- <sup>17</sup> Michaels W.B., 'The Trouble With Diversity', *American Prospect*, 09.12.06
- <sup>18</sup> For an elaboration on this in terms of differences between forms of neo-liberal policy and rhetoric in the 1990s, see Gray J., *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* (2001)
- <sup>19</sup> See bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (1992).
- <sup>20</sup> See Anderson, B, *Imagined Communities* (1982), and also Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (1995).
- <sup>21</sup> See *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society* (2003)
- <sup>22</sup> From Wrench, J., 'Managing diversity, fighting racism or combating discrimination? A critical exploration' in Gavan Titley (ed.) *Resituating Culture* (2004)
- <sup>23</sup> Gilroy P., 'Melancholia and Multiculture', *Open Democracy* 3 August (YEAR??)

# Current Challenges to Diversity and Equality in Europe

**Mr Nils Muiznieks**, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)

In general, targets of racism and discrimination should be the ones to talk about their experiences and listened to when strategies are being developed. Thus, as a white, Christian, American English-speaking, able-bodied, heterosexual, middle-aged male, I am probably not the ideal candidate to speak about diversity and equality in Europe as I have experienced it.

The organizers apparently thought that my professional background means I may have something of interest to tell you. I hope they were not mistaken. I am a member of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), a group of experts at the Council of Europe that examines Europe-wide trends and the situation in individual European countries regarding racism and intolerance. We write reports that are often ignored, but sometimes create a bit of a stir in the country concerned. This was recently the case in Denmark, for example, whose government really disliked our latest report. We draft policy recommendations that for the most part are not observed, but occasionally, *occasionally* are used and make a small difference. Though we talk a lot with government officials, we also try to engage civil society in our anti-racism work, magnifying its voice and trying to enhance its stature with governments, which often do not like to listen to NGOs and find them a nuisance.

Working in ECRI is a hobby; my real jobs have been in human rights NGOs in Latvia, in the Latvian government, where I was a minister responsible for minorities, anti-discrimination and social integration for two years, and now at the university, where I teach courses on racism and minority rights.

When ECRI looks around Europe, what do we see? What are the major challenges and trends in our realm, which is to combat racism, ethnic and religious intolerance and xenophobia? We still see a lot of antisemitism, Europe's oldest sickness. 60 years after the Holocaust, antisemitism is alive and kicking in Europe. This week in Germany, the Israeli ambassador noted that Jews there no longer feel secure, that antisemitism, the number of neo-Nazis and violent trends have all grown. This is in Germany, which has done more to de-Nazify itself, to come to terms with its past

than any other country. Elsewhere in Europe antisemitic propaganda is more widespread and available now than it was 10 years ago, thanks to the internet. Old conspiracy theories about Jews ruling the world remain quite common throughout the continent. In Eastern Europe, where 4/5 of the Jews were killed during World War II, many right-wing activists deny or trivialize the Holocaust. Living Jews are few in number in Europe, but extremists regularly focus their aggression on dead Jews by defacing cemeteries. In most places in Europe, Jewish community centres and synagogues need armed guards to deter attacks, but still, regular acts of vandalism are reported. While research suggests that some of the antisemitism has been imported along with immigrants, there is plenty of home-grown antisemitism as well. ECRI has come up with general guidelines in a policy recommendation on combating antisemitism and we regularly examine antisemitism in our country-by-country work and, sadly, find it again and again.

The second most ancient European hatred targets Roma/Gypsies and Travellers. It's not quite as bad as it was a few centuries ago, when Roma were banned from entering many countries and were hunted down and killed like wild animals, but it's still pretty bad. Roma are the most common victims of attacks by skinheads and other hate groups in Central and Eastern Europe. In a number of countries, Roma have been targeted for punitive raids by police, whose duty is to protect people and uphold the law. In most European countries, Roma living conditions resemble those from another century or continent: they are often forced to live in or near garbage dumps, in unhygienic circumstances, without running water or electricity. Sometimes locals build walls to keep the Roma at a distance; in other places they run them out of town or bulldoze their settlements. This is not only the case in East European countries, but also in such 'old' democracies as Italy and Greece. Roma children have poor access to education and are often placed in special institutions for mentally disabled children, even if there is nothing wrong with them. Not only ECRI, but a host of other regional and international bodies spend a lot of time addressing anti-Roma hatred and trying to promote Roma inclusion, but we haven't really even made a dent yet.



We only recently realized that Islamophobia – fear or hatred of Islam and Muslims – was among us. After the attacks in the U.S., Madrid, London, and the Netherlands, we suddenly realized that Europe has 13-15 million Muslims and that most of us know very little about them, have not interacted with them, or taken appropriate measures to promote their equality and participation. Many people reacted to the attacks in recent years by turning against all Muslims or people perceived to be Muslims. In the aftermath of the attacks, there were widespread reports of harassment of women with scarves or veils, and dark-skinned men with beards. Racists even attacked men with turbans, ignorant that they were Sikhs, not Muslims! Even many Muslim children suffered harassment by their peers: imagine what life is like for young boys named Osama. Muslims and persons who look as if they are Muslims have been special targets for police surveillance, ethnic/religious profiling in airports and at borders, and identity checks by immigration authorities. According to recent research, profiling is particularly widespread in Russia. A growing body of research suggests that profiling does not work, because a person's appearance or cultural background is a bad predictor of criminal behaviour. However, the anti-terrorism campaign has been accompanied by a resurgence in the use of profiling by many European law enforcement agencies in the last several years. We at ECRI are now focussing on issues related to police, racial discrimination and profiling, but the new focus on anti-terrorism has made our job very difficult.

I think the greatest challenge to European democracy over the next years will be coping with immigration, asylum-seekers and refugees. We have very difficult discussions ahead of us, because the situation is clear: we need immigration to sustain economic growth, our standard of living, and our increasingly aging populations, but the European public has increasingly turned against immigration. While current headlines focus on Spain and Italy, which face thousands of desperate immigrants coming from Africa, this is a pan-European challenge. The most difficult debates, I think, will be in countries in Central and Eastern Europe, which are slowly moving from being countries of emigration to becoming countries of immigration as they develop economically. The danger is that there is no liberal, human rights-based debate on immigration. The debate has been framed by the extreme right.

This leads me to the last big, Europe-wide challenge, the growth in popularity of extreme right wing populist parties. These political parties often combine an attack on corrupt establishment elites with anti-minority or anti-immigrant rhetoric. Such parties were until recently in the governing coalition in Italy. They are now coalition

partners in Switzerland, Poland, Austria and Slovakia. They prop up the government in Denmark. They are very strong at the local or regional level in Belgium and France. They have grown rapidly in Bulgaria. ECRI has focussed a lot on racism in political discourse lately and we have found that one danger is that mainstream parties are speaking the same language as the extremist parties, especially on matters related to immigration.

The trends are not very optimistic, what about possible solutions? ECRI focuses a lot on anti-discrimination legislation at the European and national levels. I am not a lawyer and I often find law to be rather dull and divorced from reality. But the longer I work in this field, the more convinced I become that conventions and laws banning discrimination are absolutely essential. To understand why law is so important, we need to look at the effects of discrimination, the mechanics of discrimination and the means to combat discrimination.

Why is discrimination bad? You all know this, but I think it bears repeating. Discrimination is a moral affront to the principle of equality on which all of our democracies are based. It also has severe consequences at the individual, group and societal levels. At the individual level it leads to psychological trauma and alienation; it entails substantial financial costs – the cost of not getting the job, not getting the apartment, or not receiving the social benefits. Discrimination also leads to exclusion from participation and decision-making, which then leads to further policy measures that do not take the needs of the target of discrimination into consideration.



Discrimination is not only a crime against an individual, it is a crime aimed at the individual because of his or her real or presumed membership in a group. Thus, it can affect all members of that group by discouraging them from applying for a job, or from participating, for example. Even if an act of discrimination was not aimed

at them specifically, it can put fear into their hearts and undermine their self-esteem, because the target could have been anyone from the group. At the societal level, discrimination signifies lost socio-economic, cultural and political potential. It weakens democracy and undermines social cohesion. If people are kept apart through discrimination, the ensuing social distance is often accompanied by negative stereotypes and prejudices. A huge body of research tells us that contact between persons belonging to different cultural groups, if it takes place under certain conditions, leads to value change – to an increase in tolerance, acceptance and respect. If we want to promote this value change, we have to combat discrimination.

ECRI looks at anti-discrimination legislation at both the European and national levels, and here we have seen some real progress. The weak anti-discrimination provision in the European Convention on Human Rights in Article 14 has been supplemented by a much stronger one in Protocol 12 to the Convention, which recently entered into force. You may say: “Conventions? So what! They are far from my life and do not affect me.” The European Convention is a slow, but effective mechanism that has been used by thousands of people to seek remedies for human rights violations. They have received not only moral satisfaction, but financial compensation, as well. Cases often result in changes in national legislation and the way in which national courts interpret and apply the law. The European Union recently adopted the Race directive, the most far-reaching anti-discrimination legislation thus far, which requires states to bring their laws into line with this high standard. The process of transposing the directive into national law has been slow, but it has taken place everywhere in Europe. ECRI has come up with its own recommendation for model anti-discrimination legislation which has been used as a reference point by the European Court of Human Rights and some member states.

You may say, “Laws are fine, but very often they remain on paper and are not implemented.” How do you bring anti-discrimination laws to life? Here, it is important to understand the mechanics of discrimination. Why do people discriminate? One reason is stereotypes and prejudices, the presence of which cannot be used to predict discriminatory behaviour, but which they do increase the likelihood of it occurring. Another reason is that people think they can get away with it. Thus, it is important to ask whether discrimination is socially acceptable. What are the sanctions for discrimination? What is the likelihood that an act of discrimination will be punished?

This suggests two lines of attack. First, it is necessary to combat stereotypes and prejudices by promoting contact, providing information, working with the media and educating people. Second, it is necessary to punish discriminators. To do this, you need not only good laws, but well-trained law enforcement officers – lawyers, judges, prosecutors, police, equality bodies. You also need to support NGOs, because they often provide legal advice and counselling to targets of discrimination, and engage in lobbying and advocacy.



They also often engage in ‘discrimination testing’ – proving the existence of discrimination by practical means. For example, groups in various European countries have sent out the same CVs to employers, but in one application the name sounds like a typical name for a member of the national majority, while the other is a clearly immigrant name. Another example includes Roma and non-Roma applicants with similar education and professional backgrounds applying for the same job; the test proves whether there are any differences in their treatment.

The struggle for non-discrimination and equality, as with the human rights struggle in general, is an uphill battle. Old challenges and hatreds are compounded by new ones. Lessons learned are forgotten and need to be relearned by every new generation. Institutions and policies that at one point worked well grow less effective for various reasons and need to be re-evaluated. We can never win the battle completely, but there is no more important struggle to lose.

I would like to end on a personal note. I began working in the field of human rights in the context of the previous campaign in 1995. I saw values I liked, and my colleagues and I took the education packets, went to schools, and tried to shake things up a bit. For the first time, I felt there were many people who shared my values, not only in Latvia, but throughout Europe. I hope that many of you will feel this sense of solidarity and that we will meet again in ten years to compare the many battles we have lost and to savour the few small victories.



# WORKING GROUPS ON DIVERSITY AND DISCRIMINATION ISSUES/THREATS

## I. Racism and Xenophobia

*Facilitator:* Ms Manuela Tavares – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Mr Nils Muiznieks – European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)

The group started with background discussion as to the evolution of racism and what types of racism were present. Then it proceeded to identify some types of racism. It was agreed that the discussion should address issues of racism and xenophobia among young people. To what extent has youth culture been affected by racism? Is it growing?

Youth groups do not generally reflect on cultural diversity. How can we reach out to young people in youth organizations in order to help them to become more diverse? Are young people ready to accept immigrants in their schools and universities?

For the first part of the discussion, the group stuck together and had a very healthy debate on the issue of racism and xenophobia. Issues such as the peculiar difficulty in the Russian and Ukrainian situations were highlighted. The difficulty in getting the Governments of Russia and Ukraine and their citizens to shift their positions on the campaign 'All Different – All Equal' were raised. Racial attacks are common and a reason of concern for the group.

In many countries there is no National Campaign Committee (NCC) for the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign. The lack of Government support for NCCs put NGOs and civil society in a very difficult situation as to the way forward. Government representatives and politicians were indicted for the negative and discriminatory comments they have made about immigrants and people from ethnic minority communities in the past. The naming and shaming of those who made racist or discriminatory remarks locally or nationally was suggested by some members of the group. It was suggested that such names should be forwarded to the EU and the naming and shaming should be done at the EU level to expose these politicians to their European friends, but it was also suggested that their friends in

Europe were like the local politicians. They are birds of the same feather, therefore naming and shaming may not have the desired effect as birds of the same feather, they say, flock together.

It was suggested that the word 'racism' should be replaced by 'anthropologically hatred' because of the possibility of it being hijacked by racists. Politicians should be restricted from making discriminatory remarks before the election and they should have the political will and leadership to change things in society for the better.

There is currently a shift in the Europe. The focus is now on new forms of discrimination and racism. People do not want to mention the word racism or discuss it for fear of being labelled racists. Participants wondered if we could have a legitimate debate on racism.



It was agreed that kids were totally innocent and did not realize the difference between each other. Therefore, cultural education should be introduced to children in schools at a very young age. It was also suggested that the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign should be made more fashionable to attract teenagers and young people. The 'All Different – All Equal' wristbands should be made more popular as young people love to wear them. International food fairs and exhibitions should be held in schools for students, teachers and parents.

In terms of education, some people have a different understanding of and views on diversity and participation. It was suggested that there is a real fear of difference. So what can be done? These differences and lack of understanding, as well as the struggle against racism, can be addressed and explained to students using the principles of tolerance and Human Rights.



The group recognizing diversity from within and the strengths and weaknesses of its diverse members then broke up into three smaller groups, namely French, Russian, and English. This was done in line with democratic principles and to ensure maximum participation from everyone in the larger group. It is well known that some people feel intimidated in bigger groups but will speak in smaller ones.

The smaller groups reported very fierce debates when the larger group reconvened.

The results of the debates from the three groups were as follows:

1. Education: the group discussed formal and non-formal cultural educational activities. It was proposed that cultural and civil educational activities should be introduced into mainstream / formal education by the Government. NGOs on their part should try to carry out non-formal cultural and civil education.
2. Local and national authorities as well as the EU and international organisations should provide financial support in order to mobilise human resources to carry out campaign activities against racism.
3. It is extremely important to develop communication channels and access to information at all levels of society, e.g. dialogue, networking, and media to ensure exchange of information and experience
4. Think globally, act locally. All programmes and projects aimed at addressing racism should also be directed at rural and local communities, as experience and statistics show that immigrants in rural areas experience racist attacks even more than in other areas.

## 2. Islamophobia

*Facilitator and Resource Person:* Mr Michael Privot – European Network Against Racism, FEMYSO

The session started with the intervention by Michael Privot, who graduated in Islamology and he is currently writing a PhD thesis. He converted to Islam in 1993. He has been involved in youth work for many years and is currently working with ENAR.

Michael Privot reminded participants that it is not the first time that the Council of Europe has worked on Islamophobia. For example, a seminar was held in 2004 and the report is available.

‘Islamophobia’ as explored as a term and a definition from an ENAR report was shared: “It denotes the fear and or hatred of Islam and Islamic culture. It is viewed as a new form of racism where Muslims and other ethnic groups who are not always Muslims are construed as Muslims. It concerns discrimination in the work place, housing, school and forms of institutional discrimination”.

A number of people still try to dismiss the term ‘Islamophobia’. For instance, an argument is based upon the suggestion that the term came from Iran after the 1979 revolution and the law forbidding statements against Islam. However, this is a fallacy.

Anti-racism fights against discrimination on the ground of colour, ethnicity and race but not often on the ground of religion. In France and Belgium we are witnessing very significant anti-racist activism. Such activism is opposing the laicity (secularism) argument as well: for example, it sees the ban to wear ‘chador’ (black veil) as an infringement of basic human rights. This is one example why it is important to consider the context of discrimination. Many anti-racist movements have been evolving in a ‘laic’ environment and they tend to consider religious beliefs as something to keep for the private sphere and not for public places. Once we start to debate what is private and public, things are not so easy and obvious; they depend upon the specific context.

The studies by sociologist Stefano Allievi tell us that today we are witnessing an Islamisation of social issues. When talking about people in the media, we speak about Muslims and Islam more than students and women, as if people could be limited to a tiny part of their identity. There is a ‘second-generation’ of young

Europeans who cannot be considered immigrants. They are 'less different' but still 'islamised' in relation to the society they are living in. This fact bears a strong link with increasing Islamophobia. The role of the media is important as it is a major carrier in terms of spreading prejudices. The media have a major responsibility concerning the dissemination of islamophobic arguments. This is not specific just to Islamophobia but it applies to prejudices concerning many other social groups.

Jack Straw's positioning on wearing veils has sparked a new debate in the UK, followed by an increased number of violent attacks against Muslim women wearing veils. It is important to highlight the link between the media's impact and the impact of the political discourse on the living conditions of minorities.

The issues at stake in the use or misuse of images was evident in the Danish series of cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed, and they triggered a debate about freedom of expression. It is important to acknowledge that freedom of expression is an absolute right and that it was acquired after a long struggle. However, from an anti-racist perspective, nothing was said about the fact that there are people who have access to the media and minorities that do not have the same access: this is where the game is distorted. Taking into account the consequences of statements about minorities means that we are free to speak but we have to understand how this freedom might have an impact and may undermine social cohesion and stability worldwide, as well as at the national and at the local level.

The presentation was followed by a discussion. Some participants stressed the risk that the discussion would become too emotional if focusing on Islam. One participant left the room and some others questioned the way in which the Working Group was organized. The following are some excerpts from the discussion:

Islamophobia as a racist ideology: it creates homogeneous groups for the wrong reasons. Speaking about Islamophobia denies the richness of identities and the fact that people can be closer to different people than the ones part of their religious group. Creating groups nourishes racism.

The longer a minority is present in a host country, the greater its rights would be represented and respected. The majority will not offer rights; it is the role of the minority to get them: take the example of the Russian minority in Latvia – it is their responsibility to learn Latvian if they want to stay in the country.

Prejudices on Islam are founded on the Islamic States' behaviours and suicide bombers. Why are people in other countries reacting strongly to that? People do not know about Islam. When explosions happen, for example in Chechnya, there are no reactions from Islamic States.

The concept of Islam in Europe is wrong: suicides have nothing to do with Islam. In the Koran, killing is clearly forbidden and killing a human being is seen as killing humanity. It is important to separate the real Islamic religion and the way in which it is practised by some people, especially terrorist groups.

Only 1% of the population in Lithuania is Muslim, but 25% of the population have negative attitudes to Muslims. Their views and opinions were forged by the media. Freedom of speech is important if Muslim minorities can also accede to the media. The main issue is the lack of knowledge of Islam in Lithuania.

A roundtable discussion about Islam will not help define Islamophobia as a concept and how to combat it. But at the same time, the way in which Islam is known or not known influences the fighting against Islamophobia.

In the afternoon participants split into two working groups to continue the discussion on the main issues. The following are the main conclusions:

- Media: Independence of the media – private and public. Access for representatives of minority groups. In France, Muslims are invited to appear on TV programmes, but debates are always orientated towards Islam, which is opening the door to discussions on restrictive security policies and not focusing enough on discrimination, although many people are actively involved in anti-discrimination actions. The French institutions and the Council of Europe do not do enough to open and nourish an objective debate on Islamophobia. Other examples such as Bosnia and Latvia were presented.
- One of the main problems is that media attention is focused on violence more than on achievements and positive undertakings.
- European Muslims are not sharing the most radical ideology, as taught in Saudi Arabia.
- At the same time there are important concerns about the situation of Muslims in Europe, who are increasingly victims of racism; it is feared that their difficult situation is only beginning, and that it could deteriorate.

- There should be divisions between different approaches to Islam as symbolized through the Saudi Arabic model, the Turkish and the Iranian model. There is no unity of Islam as a religion internationally.
- There is a need to clarify the focus of discussions, namely youth and Islamophobia in Europe.
- There is a contradiction between Islamic close relationships between the State and religious authorities and the European secular approach to Human Rights.

### ***Action points:***

- Invest in partnerships between organizations and communities
- Counter hegemony: un-reality of some myths
- Use an analytical approach – to deconstruct the political discourse
- Use the AEGEE Euro-Islam project as a good example for developing knowledge about Islam.

### ***Main ideas for the final declaration:***

- Islamophobia must be clearly qualified as a form of racism.
- Different meanings of the concept of Islamophobia
- Consciousness that the phenomenon is growing
- Abuse of and misunderstanding of religion for political purposes
- Importance of working more with the media
- Destroy the vicious circle at play between security policies – Islamophobia. Islamophobia nourishes security policies and security policies favour the further growing of Islamophobic behaviours.
- A discussion was held on whether to make an explicit link between Islamophobia in Europe and the theory currently put forward in many instances that a clash of civilizations is materializing. The issue is that Islam is always opposed to Western modernity. There was agreement of the group that there is no clash of civilizations but rather that this theory highlights the abuse of religion for political purposes. However, no agreement was found to refer to this clash of civilizations as it was seen as necessary to keep the focus on youth and Islamophobia in Europe.
- Actions against Islamophobia should be based on the respect for human rights.

### 3. Homophobia

*Facilitator:* Ms Annette Schneider – Council of Europe, Directorate of Youth and Sport

*Resource Person:* Mr Bruno Selun – International Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Youth and Student Organisation

#### ***Threats and obstacles***

After the input by Bruno Selun from IGLYO, the group discussed the threats and obstacles young LGBT people are facing in their lives, directly or indirectly. Many of those were identified and the list is perhaps not exhaustive. The group identified the following threats and obstacles:

- physical violence, ignorance, aggression and oppression
- lack of understanding from the society and lack of knowledge
- excluding policies that are often narrow-minded
- lack of motivation of activists to take action for LGBT issues
- lack of education and training of teachers and trainers in LGBT issues
- lack of cooperation from the governments' side and no commitment to LGBT issues
- no legal power and law enforcement: very often the laws exists but they are either not used or neglected
- scapegoating
- existing stereotypes and prejudices
- very diverse interpretations of religions, used as a tool to deny the rights of LGBT people
- stigmatising and labelling language
- lack of information and neglecting LGBT issues in the media
- invisibility and lack of representation of LGBT people and organisations in politics
- traditions and customs present in the societies used to deny the existence and the rights of LGBT people
- accessibility to legal support and help
- lack of allies ready to join to action for LGBT rights
- over-marginalisation
- internalised homophobia
- multiple discrimination
- lack of shared values and principles.





As a result of many of the above-mentioned threats and obstacles young LGBT people suffer from direct and indirect discrimination, and develop psychosocial problems, which sometimes end in suicidal attempts. They are excluded from their families and society and they do not feel supported in their peer groups and at school, which leads to self-denial and getting 'back to the closed' or does not facilitate the 'coming out'.

### ***Objectives and priorities of the campaign in relation to LGBT issues***

1. To raise awareness on LGBT issues through disseminating information, educational activities (i.e. training courses) and other actions undertaken in the campaign
2. To strengthen community outreach in secluded and remote areas, trying to reach LGBT young people who live there through existing networks and organisations
3. To give visibility to LGBT young people in the campaign, involving them in the activities and supporting the development of projects
4. To make sure the rights of the LGBTIQ persons are placed in the wider human rights perspective
5. To use the methodology of human rights education and available tools for human rights education in the campaign in order to address LGBT issues
6. To focus on countries where homophobia is very persistent and the authorities discriminate against LGBT young people (e.g. Poland, countries in the Balkans...)

### ***How can we address this in the campaign?***

The above-mentioned objectives can be reached by supporting and organising different activities in each country, depending on what is possible, for instance posters, arts, books, articles, music and films.

More collaboration between LGBT organisations and human rights organisations should be stimulated and facilitated. What is more and probably of utmost importance is to organise workshops and training courses in order to better assess organisations in these areas. This can be done by involving as many organizations dealing with HR and rights of LGBTIQ persons as possible.

Using, encouraging, involving and training media seems to be crucial for making the LGBT young people and their concerns visible.

The educational dimension of the campaign should focus on organising training courses on LGBT issues to, for example, teachers, psychologists, youth workers and youth leaders, and parents.

The campaign should aim at supporting initiatives across Europe through information sharing, visiting, sending material and exhibitions.

In all activities using both top-down and bottom-up approaches seems to be the only way to address these issues properly.

The Council of Europe and the European Union institutions should be reminded and take **ACTIONS** against governments not respecting human rights and discriminating against LGBT people in their actions and official policies.

It is essential to broaden the range of the anti-homophobia campaign in terms of:

- involving the media (internet, radio, television, printed press)
- involving other organisations active in the fields of HR
- involving the world of education (schools and universities).

Youth should be involved in the campaign through sport and creative industry; the NCC should aim at involving LGBT youth groups which already exist and create concrete partnerships.

### ***Who should be involved?***

- All possible LGBT organisations in Europe acting at national and local levels
- Government officials and representatives (especially those responsible for youth issues)

- IGLYO and ILGA Europe
- Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and other human rights based organisations
- Global Alliance on LGBT Education
- NGOs and INGOs
- Media
- Schools
- Non-formal education providers
- Youth workers
- Young people in general
- Trade unions
- UN institutions

Young LGBT people can be reached through the internet, media, existing networks and organisations, big youth events that are happening all over Europe, and so on.

### ***Final conclusions and recommendations***



The permanent invisibility and active discrimination that young lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people face daily is a violation of their human rights. The majority of LGBT youth is affected by homophobia and transphobia as forms of gender-based discrimination; this all happens at most levels of their lives, including in the media, at school, in their families, among friends and in their religious communities. Above all, governments and international institutions in Europe clearly fail to protect and ensure the welfare of young LGBT people.

## **Recommendations:**

### *To the National Campaign Committees:*

- involve LGBT organisations in the work of the NCC
- implement human rights education as the educational strategy in the campaign
- express and show commitment to support LGBT projects (politically and financially)
- provide information on, raise awareness and support the visibility of LGBT issues in the campaign
- ensure human rights perspective when tackling LGBT issues
- ensure cross-sectoral co-operation and coordination between different political and institutional bodies, lobby governmental institutions to support LGBT organisations and give visibility to them in the campaign
- provide information in different languages
- include non-formal educational approaches in formal education.

### *To the Council of Europe:*

- monitor the state-of-the-art of NCCs
- take action against the governments that exclude LGBT issues and organisations from the campaign
- ask the Committee of Ministers to take urgent action and pressure the states to fulfil their obligation to provide human rights education to young people
- inform others about and facilitate sharing of the best examples of practice
- inform other bodies of the Council of Europe on LGBT issues being tackled in the campaign
- be present in the international media and ensure the visibility of LGBT issues.

### *To the European Commission:*

- increase funding towards LGBT initiatives and projects
- react toward the situation in Poland where the state officially excluded legally acting LGBT organisations from the Youth Programme.

## 4. Romaphobia and Antigypsyism

*Facilitator:* Ms Ramiza Sakip – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Ms Alexandra Raykova – The Forum of European Roma Young People

### ***Historical background***



The session started off by briefly going through the history and the historic background of the Roma. The Roma are said to have come to Europe from India and have taken different routes, which also explains the variations existing between the different groups today.

During World War II, two million Gypsies were exterminated; many of them died in gas chambers.

It is to be noted that the Roma have never participated in wars or fought for territory.

There are 10-12 million Roma living in Europe today, and they represent the largest transnational minority in Europe.

### ***Definitions of Romaphobia and Antigypsyism***

On the grounds of their individual experience, members of the group also worked on the definitions of Romaphobia and Anti-gypsyism.

#### **Romaphobia:**

- includes fear of the Roma
- is based on ignorance

Reasons for this fear are:

- a) envy, a form of racism
- b) stereotypes, based on assumptions of inferiority
- c) scapegoating, based on dehumanisation
- d) fear of the unknown.

### **Antigypsyism**

- includes actions against Roma
- is racism in practice
- policies/actions on the political and socio-economic levels which lead to discrimination, exclusion and violation of human rights, and persecution of Roma.

### **Challenges**

The European societies face several challenges in overcoming Romaphobia and Antigypsyism. The problems include:

- lack of Roma history in education
- fear of the unknown
- lack of cooperation between Roma and non-Roma communities
- stereotypes
- the image of Roma that they do not want to open up their communities
- different images of the Roma: for example, in Finland, the Roma drive Mercedes cars and own property, while in the Southeast Europe they live in slums
- nationalistic political discourse as a way to reinforce negative prejudices and Romaphobia
- hidden discrimination and anti-Gypsy policies in accessing social rights
- discrepancy between existing policies, reports and implementation
- wide-spread belief that the Roma are the cause for the bad image of the country abroad
- general paranoia about the Roma as criminals, drug sellers, etc.
- the Roma's lack of access to social rights.

### **Recommendations**

The group concluded that the phenomenon of Romaphobia and Antigypsyism thus exists and has to be addressed.

To cope with the above-mentioned challenges and to make tomorrow a better day for the Roma, the general awareness of all people must be raised.

Our recommendations to achieve this aim in the framework of the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign are:

- to ensure the Roma youth participation in the activities of the campaign at the local, national and European levels (CoE, EC, INGOs)
- that the NCCs should put stronger emphasise on Roma issues (campaign related) in the national campaigns, activities and plans
- to make available specific Roma-related information resources (publications, experts, contacts, etc.), which can be used by the different actors in the campaign and beyond
- that the CoE, NCCs, EC, in the framework of the upcoming campaign, should consider the outcome of the conference of FERYP on Romaphobia and Antigypsyism in November 2006
- that together with other youth advisory bodies which have competencies and are working on related issues, joint lobby actions should take place
- there is more involvement of young journalists in the European level campaign activities
- that very specific, training courses should be organised for NGOs and media on the topics of the campaign (Romaphobia or other specific topic).

As a conclusion, we are looking forward to receiving feedback on the recommendations produced and to the follow-up to them by the partner organization involved in the campaign.



# 5. Social Exclusion and Poverty

*Facilitator:* Ms Bettina Schwarzmayr – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Mr Marius Jitea – The Moynihan European Research Center

The group discussed the issues of diversity and discrimination from the perspective of poverty and social exclusion and agreed on the following key statements.

Social exclusion and poverty are a dynamic, interrelated cycle and the result of interdependent problems, such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low income, poor housing, lack of access to goods and services as well as unequal distribution of power.

Social exclusion takes different forms and shapes depending on the environment (e.g. country, culture, age, etc.) and can exist on different levels such as individual, structural and collective. The methods used for promoting social inclusion must be adopted according to the specific realities and challenges faced by people and groups.

The circle has to be broken by addressing a variety of measures from local to global level and a coherent set of methods and policies; which is not taking place yet due to a lack of communication between different actors and a lack of structured dialogue between civil society and politicians.





## 6. Migration

*Facilitator:* Mr Hasan Habib – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Ms Daria Storia and Mr Alin Chindea – International Organisation for Migration



After the presentation of the working method of our group, the resource people proceeded to the general presentation of the migration phenomenon. A brief categorization of migration took place, as well as the challenges and the threats. In reference to the former, it was stated that migration has social aspects which deal with diversity, and that there is a difference between the perception of migration by governments, society and the migrants themselves. It was also stated that citizenship and

diversity need to be defined and that integration starts ‘at home’. As for the latter exclusion, discrimination, racism and xenophobia were addressed.

The working group also addressed matters such as brain drain, forced migration and asylum, and the role of the media. Furthermore, they felt that it is important to understand why young people are emigrating (social, economic and political reasons). The need for a better life was underlined, as well as artificial borders and the fact that migrants are treated as if they were second-class people. Finally, the group addressed the need to discover the positive face of migration and its relation to development.

Subsequently, a role-play model was implemented in order for participants to feel how it is to be a migrant; the group shared emotions relating to eventually becoming a migrant. It was agreed that it is not the most pleasant situation since migrants face different forms of discrimination in their everyday lives.

Several means were addressed in order to tackle the problem, such as the role of media, which are responsible for creating stereotypes, the need for a clear definition of the migrant and migration, better conditions for migrants to preserve their identity, one-stop shop in order to facilitate long lasting bureaucratic procedures, as well as facilitating the visa procedure in order to encourage legal migration. In addition, it was stated that in order to become integrated into the host country migrants have to learn the language, and that there is a need of adaptation measures for the reception of newcomers. One suggestion was a hot line for migration issues so that, without providing personal data, migrants could get assistance.

Then the group tried to set the objectives and priorities for the 'All Different – All Equal' Campaign:

1. Educating the majority of the host society on how they can benefit from the campaign.
2. Involving more NGOs in the campaign and mobilizing more people for the campaign.
3. Integrating the campaign at a school level but also in non-formal education.
4. Education on the eventual new notions of citizenship.
5. Involvement of Youth Immigrants Association in the Campaign, as well as local society.
6. Decentralization of the campaign.
7. Training of educators, both formal and non-formal.
8. Involvement of the media.
9. Use of art when expressing the values of the campaign, such as animation, etc.
10. Informing migrants on their rights and obligations.
11. Allocating small grants for the purposes of the campaign to NGOs not involved with the NCCs.
12. Make clear to NGOs how they can participate in the campaign.
13. Enhancement of NGO participation to administrative procedures and transparent communication between Governments and NGOs.
14. Define the working guidelines of the campaign.

Afterwards, the working group addressed the fact that in the case of a lack of governmental initiatives, NGOs are able and willing to take action. Sometimes it is better that NGOs are the driving forces of the Campaign and not civil servants.

It was agreed that the media and migrant and minorities NGOs should take part in the campaign. Basically, it should not be forgotten that youth can communicate better with better with youth.

Several means could be used, such as media, press conference, and decentralisation of the campaign, artistic events, networking and the use of information technologies.

Finally, the need for advocacy work was stressed and it was proposed that the Campaign could be used for advocacy with the European Commission and other institutions.

### ***Proposals for the Final Declaration***



Several means were addressed in order to tackle the problem, such as the role of media, which are responsible for creating stereotypes, the need for a clear definition of the migrant and migration, better conditions for migrants to preserve their identity, a one-stop shop in order to facilitate long lasting bureaucratic procedures, as well as facilitating the visa procedure in order to encourage legal migration. Furthermore, it was stated that in order to get integrated to the host country

migrants have to learn the language, and that there is a need of adaptation measures of reception of new comers. A good idea would be a hot line for migration issues so that without providing personal data migrants get assisted.

- Educating the majority of the host society on how they can benefit from the campaign.
- Involvement of more NGOs in the campaign and mobilize more people for the campaign.

- Integrating the campaign on school level but also in non formal education.
- Education on the eventual new notions of citizenship.
- Involvement of Youth Immigrants Association in the Campaign, as also the local society.
- Decentralization of the campaign.
- Training of educators formal and non formal.
- Involvement of media.
- Use of art when expressing the values of the campaign, such as animating etc.
- Inform migrants on their rights and obligations.
- Allocating small grants for the purposes of the campaign to NGOs not involved with the NCCs.
- Make clear to NGOs how they can participate in the campaign.

Enhancement of NGO participation to administrative procedures and transparent communication between Governments and NGOs.

Define the working guidelines of the campaign.

Young migrants in Europe today are confronted with multiple challenges and threats.

Unemployment that leads to brain drain, armed conflicts, political instability and poor economic situation in the country of origin leave young people no other choice but to emigrate.

Racism, discrimination, xenophobia, social exclusion, unequal access to institutions and information, as well as the deprivation of their political and civic rights are the reality of young migrants today in Europe.

## 7. Antisemitism

*Facilitator:* Ms Mariam Yassin – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Mr Danny Stone – Coexistence Trust



The group started the session by listening to a presentation by Danny Stone who addressed the definition of antisemitism. There are difficulties in defining antisemitism because of its complexity. Danny Stone presented statistics of the past few years about attacks and shared with us some examples of the recent attacks that have occurred in the UK. (The main thrust of these attacks was their connection with extreme right parties, extreme left parties, campuses, Islamists, Holocaust denial, and parliament.)

After the presentation the group had a discussion about the above-mentioned issues, focusing on the challenges faced by our societies regarding antisemitism. The group discussed the challenges, and summarised the following key points:

On antisemitism the group highlighted three dimensions and identified many challenges to be tackled.

On an **awareness raising** dimension we need to determine a definition of what antisemitism means, to promote the fact that it is actually a societal problem and not only a Jewish problem or a Muslim-Jewish conflict, while recognising that it is an old issue which generates some resistance and fatigue. We need to improve education on Judaism while simplifying the antisemitism question in order to be understood by a wider public. Society must monitor the anti-Semitic attacks that happen.

On a **political** dimension we need to address the fact that both the extreme-right and the extreme-left parties are using antisemitism as part of their political vocabulary, and we must fight this. We also have to be more aware and avoid racist commentaries and jokes as part of our communication as a society, and we need to separate antisemitism from the Middle East conflict, understanding that they are separate issues. We need to



fight ignorance on antisemitism, on what it is and particularly to emphasise that it is a real problem that must be tackled. Through globalization, namely the advent of the internet, and through the media, antisemitism has become more accessible and easier to spread.

On an **emotional** dimension, we need to address the emotional side to antisemitism, where the holocaust memorial and the holocaust education must be part of any countermeasure devised to tackle antisemitism. The denial of the Holocaust, and the envy and hatred towards the Jews are also problems needing to be answered.

Based on these conclusions the group recommended:

To the Council of Europe:

- To propose to the International Court of Human Rights to take into consideration complaints against the political vocabulary used by extreme left and extreme right political parties on antisemitism;
- To organise symposiums every other year which analyse and monitor the outcomes and the implementation of the antisemitism reports developed by the national governments, while involving youth NGOs and other stakeholders in the process.

To the European Commission:

- To consider including restrictions while establishing external relations with countries that do not respect Human Rights in general, and particularly with those who promote antisemitism as an official policy;
- To promote next to its Member-States the inclusion of Human Rights Education in School Curricula, and to tackle antisemitism, including the commemoration of Holocaust.

To the National Governments:

- To include Human Rights Education in School Curricula, and to tackle antisemitism, including the commemoration of Holocaust;
- To develop annual reports on the state of antisemitism in their countries (present situation) and to report these back to the symposiums to be organised by the Council of Europe every other year.

To the Youth Organisations:

- To advocate for the use of the ‘Youth in Action Programme’ as a tool to tackle the identified challenges of antisemitism and to promote intercultural learning and exchanges among young people;
- To mainstream the awareness of antisemitism among young organisations at large and build cooperation and solidarity ties for a broader advocacy against antisemitism.



## 8. Abilism

*Facilitator:* Ms Iris Bawidamann – Council of Europe, Directorate of Youth and Sport  
*Resource Person:* Mr Simon Stevens – Enable Enterprises

To begin with, the group shared feedback and views about the plenary input. The following is a sample of the participants' statements:

"I was impressed that such high level inputs were given to activists. This filled exactly the gap between practicality and concepts."

"The input helped me discover the richness of the topic."

"It opened my mind again."

"The theory is needed for good quality in work."

The group liked and recommended:

- that the message sent out was very clear and motivating;
- that they received a definition of diversity;
- that the input was giving diversity a shape;
- the metaphor 'human diversity is like biodiversity, just as essential'.

The main challenges identified were:

- segregation
- to open the questions to society, to face them with the challenges
- participation – how to make people participate
- the difficulty of convincing people that diversity is a reality and not implied, and to accept and live diversity
- how to keep the motivation of people after the campaign
- the need to go beyond youth work and the campaign
- to raise awareness
- to develop a strategy on promoting the issue, not only doing separate activities.

One big challenge is also how to explain why we promote diversity and who are we to tell someone else that it is good. Some arguments were collected to answer the question, "Why do we want and need diversity?"

- it's us, meaning that there is even diversity in each individual (different moods, etc.)



- diversity is reality
- its giving and taking – if you want something for yourself, you also need to respect others
- if you want a change, be the change
- if we want to include and involve people, we need to accept diversity
- who defines what is normal? (normativity)
- you can understand yourself much better if you try to understand others (mirroring)
- if you want intercultural dialogue, you need to accept and live diversity

One proposal to overcome the challenges is to “start from the assumption that the other one is right” (changing attitudes).



The group discussed the difference between the medical and the social approach to dis-abilism. It was highlighted that the medical disability model places the problem with the individual and assumes that only a cure will solve it; it presents disabled people as victims of circumstance and environment, deserving pity. Individuals are supposed to adjust to disability. Rehabilitation is thus seen as part of the problem and not the solution. In general, the disability movement considers that the ‘cure’ to the problem of disability lies in the restructuring of society. Unlike medical ‘cures’, which focus on

individuals and their impairment, the social model suggests that societal restructuring is an achievable goal and to everyone’s benefit. This approach is referred to as the ‘social model of disability’.

There were mixed feelings in the group involving both being scared and being fascinated by how big and all-embracing this issue is. The group felt that there was a shared vision about the obstacles. Participants viewed the ‘All Different – All Equal’ campaign as an instrument and a framework to become active in.

# “PROMOTING DIVERSITY THROUGH YOUTH WORK”

– examples of projects addressing issues related to Diversity and Equality of Opportunities

## Deutsche Bahn Trainees Against Hatred and Violence

**Ms Semra Çelik** and **Mr Hans-Joachim Borck**, *Deutsche Bahn AG, Germany*

With more than 6,000 employees from 70 different nations and more than four million customers daily from all over the globe, transnationality and cultural diversity are part and parcel of Deutsche Bahn's business. The company consequently attaches great importance to considerate cooperation and equal rights for everyone. In recognition of its social responsibility, Deutsche Bahn launched the 'Deutsche Bahn Trainees against Hatred and Violence' project in September 2000.

The principle of respectful and harmonious cooperation is an integral part of the Deutsche Bahn corporate philosophy. The aim is to convey this fundamental attitude to the trainees as early as possible and to encourage them to show social commitment.

Deutsche Bahn is one of the largest providers of vocational training in Germany. In September 2006 over 2,300 young people began a course of studies at the Deutsche Bahn academy of vocational studies or started an apprenticeship with Deutsche Bahn. In addition to providing vocational qualifications, Deutsche Bahn also endeavours to communicate to trainees social values, such as open-mindedness, tolerance and respect.

The avowed aim of the project is to encourage the trainees to stand up for their convictions, to promote considerate cooperation and strengthen the willingness to challenge extremism, intolerance and antidemocratic trends.

The project includes a seminar module as part of the vocational training; an annual campaign competition including prizes for the winning entries and a touring exhibition of the prize-winning projects.

The annual campaign competition is the central element of the project. It begins when the young recruits start their vocational training in order for them to be aware of the subject from the start. Together with their trainers and instructors, the trainees develop ideas for preventing hatred and violence and promoting harmonious interaction.

There are no limits to the creativity of the young trainees. Impressive contributions, ranging from postcards and calendars to street installations in pedestrian precincts and works of art in stations, right through to cooperative projects with schools and clubs, testify the diverse approaches adopted by the trainees when considering the subject of contrasting hatred and violence.

The participating trainees come from all the companies in the Deutsche Bahn Group. This means that their participation in the project can be an opportunity for other employees at these companies to consider their own attitudes to the issues of violence and hatred. Deutsche Bahn communication media, such as BahnTV, Bahn-Net, Internet and the company newsletter 'DB World' provide internal and external coverage of the project, stressing that tolerance and respect are part of the Deutsche Bahn corporate philosophy in order to raise employees' awareness concerning these subjects.



# Diversity Youth Project in Flanders

**Mr Ico Mali**, *Kif-Kif*, Belgium

Kif Kif is an intercultural youth platform of Flanders (Belgium). The association came into existence with the creation of the website 'Kif Kif, the intercultural website of Flanders' ([www.kifkif.be](http://www.kifkif.be)), after a rather heavy debate on the topic of integration of migrants in the Flemish press. The start of this debate was a critical article about the so called 'integration industry', by our chairman Tarik Fraihi. The objective of the website was then to collect different opinions and reactions concerning the ongoing debate on the intercultural society in Flanders.

Since this modest start, a lot has changed. In three years Kif Kif has grown into an organisation with clear objectives and projects, and one that depends on more than sixty volunteers and 2.5 fulltime employees.

What are the objectives of Kif Kif?

Kif Kif wants to facilitate a diversity of voices, to improve the active participation of all citizens in our society, to deconstruct negative and stereotypical discourse and to stimulate critical reflection. For realising these goals, Kif Kif starts from a clear vision: democratic, pluralistic, antiracist and progressive.

But specifically, what does Kif Kif do?

In short, we do a lot. First of all, we have our website, the central working instrument of Kif Kif. You can find a lot of different things there: press releases from Kif Kif about a wide range of topics, an overview of our opinions and articles in the mainstream press, the project MediaWatch, an online radio, a forum, our own journalistic productions, a job-site, opinion articles, mainstream news, alternative news, as well as an on-line store. Kif Kif also organises public debates, exhibitions, conferences and many other activities on a regular basis.

In other words, Kif Kif is a hybrid and post-modern network, with an important focus on different sorts of communication. Keywords of our communication strategy – besides of course interculturality – are transparency, creativity, honesty and pluralism. This is, in our view, the only way to initiate structured communication with youngsters and the larger society.

Kif Kif organises a variety of activities. The following are some selected examples:

- **‘Kleur de kunst!’ (Colour the arts!):** each year we organise a cultural competition where everybody can compete, but our goal is to support and launch new migrant writers and stimulate publishers to look at the new talents in our society. The contest has become, in three years time, a big success with a lot of participants. In December the novel ‘Kif Kif’ will appear with 13 new writers, supported by a major editor.
- **Kif Kif MediaWatch:** with this project we try to educate young people in the analysis of media, and discourses in particular. Once they are trained in discourse analysis, they can choose to analyse media independently and publish on the site, or they can join the workshops we organize. And here also we are proud to say that the first book from Kif Kif mediawatch on the concept of culture and media is expected in the year 2007.
- **Radio Kif Kif:** in this we use a concept similar to mediawatch. First we train people in making a radio station, and then we offer them the material and opportunity to place their interviews, shows or reporting on-line. We are also starting with a new concept, Raki Deluxe, where we want to make 1 hour of radio per week to be broadcast on our site and on different FM radios
- **Complaint against Vlaams Belang:** Vlaams Belang is the extreme-right party in Flanders, with an explicit racist discourse. In 2005, only one year after their first conviction for racism, their racist discourse was repeated constantly, without any reaction in the public debate. Kif Kif had to take up its responsibility and filed, in collaboration with MRAX, a complaint with the Raad van State (State High Court). If they are convicted they will lose their funding from the State from between three and twelve months.

Kif Kif has grown in four years from a one-person site to an important actor in the debate about interculturality and diversity. We get an average of 2,000 visitors and 10,000 hits on a daily basis. Kif Kif is also successful in publishing our opinions in the mainstream media, and more and more people and organisations ask us for consultancy and debates.

[www.kifkif.be](http://www.kifkif.be), [ico@kifkif.be](mailto:ico@kifkif.be)

# Foreign Students' Rights Defense

**Ms Lyubov Penyugalova**, *ETHnlCS organisation*, Russian Federation

The problem: Today many foreign students in the Krasnodar region are experiencing discrimination and racism. The problem is particularly acute among students from Africa and Asia, whose appearance marks them out from the local population. The discrimination takes the form of human rights violations on the part of officials and aggressive behaviour by youth gangs (skinheads, football hooligans) and there is also evidence of intolerant attitudes towards foreigners in day-to-day life.



For a number of reasons (psychological and social) foreign students are virtually powerless to defend their rights themselves, making them extremely vulnerable to discrimination.

The aims: The international network – the youth Human Rights Movement – is implementing a programme entitled 'Protecting the rights of foreign students in Russia'. As part of this programme, a series of measures is being conducted at local level (Krasnodar region) to improve the protection of foreign students, educate people and monitor the situation with regard to foreigners.

The tasks: Within the programme, a package of measures is being introduced across the region: to investigate the situation concerning foreign students; to prevent discrimination and human rights abuses; and to provide targeted assistance for students whose rights have been violated or who have experienced direct forms of discrimination.

To date, the following activities have been implemented as part of the programme:

- Qualitative research has been carried out, making it possible to identify the most obvious problems facing foreign students in Krasnodar. Through in-depth interviews and focus groups, physical assaults have been identified as the single most pressing issue today.

- A 'security plan' for foreign students has been drawn up.
- Government officials, foreign students and an expert in the field have taken part in a round table discussion on discrimination among young people.
- Assistance has been given to the Sudanese student Mahdzhub Ali Babikir who was the victim of an assault.
- Help has been given in developing a website for foreign students ([www.fs.hrworld.ru](http://www.fs.hrworld.ru)).

In the near future, the following initiatives have been planned:

- qualitative research;
- awareness-raising measures for foreign students;
- publication of the 'security plan' to be posted on the websites of various foreign embassies and higher education establishments in Russia;
- direct co-operation with the authorities with a view to improving the security of foreign students.



# World School and School Without Racism

**Ms Marije Braakman**, *Landelijk Bureau ter bestrijding van Rassendiscriminatie*, The Netherlands

School Without Racism was born in 1984, when a group of pupils and leaders from Antwerp decided to collaborate in order to find new strategies that could be likely to put an end to growing racism.

*School Without Racism invites all the schools to educate and prepare their pupils for a society with both equal opportunities and equal rights for everybody. We would like to cope with the present-day realities with a project for the future. The first step can be made by pupils, teachers, head teachers or the parents themselves. This can start with the initiative of a single person or a group project. Both the pupils and the teachers can work together while the head teachers can invite the parents to participate.*

School Without Racism is a European movement. Its members are those national organisations which promote 'School Without Racism' in their own countries. Co-operation on a concrete, anti-racist project at European level offers enormous possibilities. Superb educational material has often been produced over the years in each of the participating countries, for example role-plays, brochures, educational packs, posters, and stickers. National organisations can become fully acquainted with this material from intense contacts (real time through co-ordinator gatherings or virtual through the web site or e-mail). More important, perhaps, is the exchange of experiences. Each national organisation develops the project according to its own specific circumstances.





At the moment SWR is active in 5 countries: Belgium, The Netherlands, Spain, Germany and Austria.

More than 350 schools in Europe have been awarded the SWR's placard. This means that they do not only organise, on a regular basis, antiracist activities, but are also members of a solid link within an antiracist network.

### ***School Without Racism***

A School Without Racism is a school:

- without either discrimination or racism;
- where genuine information about immigrants, immigration and racism is given in an objective way;
- where the study of other cultures is made not only on a cognitive basis but also on an affective basis to abolish racism;
- where racial organisations and propaganda are forbidden;
- where common activities on both racism and a multicultural society on behalf of teachers and pupils are organised.



Above all it is a school where views between young people from different origins are exchanged in order to promote both friendship and antiracism between them. All this begins with the signing of the call for a School Without Racism below. The school may become a School Without Racism when a substantial majority of the pupils have signed the call.

Then the school receives the SWR's placard that can be posted up on a prominent position inside the school area. It is a signal towards society in order to let them know that your school, which educates young people in an intercultural and antiracist spirit,

regards the title of School Without Racism as a title of nobility. The decision to become a SWR is taken by the majority of the pupils, teachers and head teachers. SWR is a pluralist movement, which works with pupils, teachers and head teachers of all school levels and types (from nursery schools to tertiary level) and parents.

### ***Calling for a school without racism***

We, students, teachers, all staff members, headmaster and board of directors of our school, say “no” to racism,

- because all people are equal and have to be able to enjoy equal chances to development,
- because any discrimination on the basis of the skin colour, of language, of religion or of nationality is unacceptable,
- because racism creates arguments, division and hatred between people,
- because every day at school, young foreigners have to cope with humiliating remarks and mockery and haven't got the same chances, because the co-existence of different cultures teaches us to see the value and limits of every culture, including our own.

According to its scientific mission, our school must actively reject all racist remarks, arguments and prejudices and the theories which lie at their basis, because racism is a lie, and it has no scientific basis, because all prejudices are considered as a truth if people say them again and again.

We pledge to ban from our school any form or expression of racism and discrimination. Our school bans racist organisations and campaigns.

The law of July 30th, 1981 concerning racism punishes “anyone who belongs to a group or association which, openly or repeatedly practises racist discrimination”.

According to its pedagogical mission, our school must take steps against racism, to increase our knowledge of other people and cultures and to develop our readiness to live positively in our multi-ethnic society.

Racism develops in an emotional environment, in which arguments are not enough to reject it. Meeting with young people from different ethnic groups is a necessary part of the task of a school without racism. For the schools with immigrant students, this means entitling them to speak about their living environment and

their situation. For the school without immigration, this means organising meeting and exchanges with schools including many immigrant students, with youth houses, or groups of immigrants.

Our school organises yearly activities against racism and is in favour of a multi-cultural cohabitation for all students, the staff teachers and if possible in relation with parents, especially for the International Day against Racism, or other local or national groups and associations.

On March 7th, 1996 Belgium signed the United Nations International convention for the removal of all forms of racial discrimination. Article 7 obliges the signing states to take immediate and efficient steps to improve comprehension, tolerance and friendship in the field of teaching.

We are going to do our best to get a minimum of 60% of signatures from students, staff teachers and others, including the headmaster and the board of directors. In this way, the school gets the name 'school without racism' and pledges itself to go on being worthy in the future.

With school without racism towards a society without racism: as a sign to society, we will post the board: 'School without Racism'.



# THE EDUCATIONAL SCENARIO

Consistent with a 'diversity' forum, guest speakers and participants contributed very diverse input to the working groups. The sessions focusing on education benefited from well-structured papers that sparked constructive discussion and proposals for the Final Declaration. The following papers focus on the educational dimension of the diversity discourse and help to establish links with the two other key topics of the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign, Human Rights and Participation.

## Recognizing the Unknown: Education and Approaches to Diversity<sup>1</sup>

**Ms Teresa Cunha**, Coimbra University

Stereotyping is not only the setting up of a false image, which becomes the scapegoat of discriminatory practices. It is a much more ambivalent text of projection and introjection, metaphoric and metonymic strategies, displacement, guilt, aggressivity; the masking and splitting of 'official' and fantasmic knowledges. Homi Bhabha<sup>2</sup>

One of the most crucial challenges that Europe of the 21<sup>st</sup> century faces consists of its capacity to develop a democratic perspective of the transnational and transcultural exchanges that are occurring and shaping the present diversity at material and immaterial level. Another fundamental challenge for Europe is to find out how to deal in a positive way with the impacts of these new forms of differentiation and multiple identities claims.

New forms of diversity and complexity are operating within our societies, crossing borders and frontiers, and producing new interpretations about what we mean by being European. The fluidity and the dislocation of the biographic – individual or collective – experience, once each person or group claims, in different circumstances, different and diverse elements of identity, establishes the terrain where equality and difference, as well as stereotypes and empathy become permanently in tension and dialectical. In this sense the observation of Pnina Werbner is quite interesting when she calls our attention by saying that the encounter can be violent and *contrasts with* [the] *altruism* of the appreciation of the Alterity. In other words, the human recognition of personal responsibility to another in his or her difference is necessary. She continues using Levinas' thoughts to explain how deep and violent the experience of diversity can be.

Unlike altruism, violence, he [Levinas] argues, denies otherness its legitimate right to exist and to be different. For Levinas 'face', the acceptance of human alterity, contrasts with the 'silence' of violence, which is the turning away of face, a silence that is the denial of the otherness.<sup>3</sup>

From my point of view, conceptualising the living diversity in democratic terms is the capacity of de-essentialisation of the Other and of bringing to the light the relational aspects of the person, group, culture, identity, and valorising, instead of the subject in itself, the concrete context attached to them. This means that diversity is, not only a concept or an experience but also a value that implies the denial of *a timeless continuity, boundedness in space, an organic unity, an internal sameness and an external difference or otherness*<sup>4</sup>. As Edward Said says, essentialising the Other is *obliterating people as human beings*. In other words, it is by suppressing the multiple voices, narratives and their complexity that we silence and dispossess people from their own humanity. It is why it is so important to reveal not only the violence of the encounters but also their potentialities in voicing counter-narratives from the margins, not merely in order to unsettle simplistic polarities and binarisms but to underline the complex cultural and ideological heterogeneity because there is no fixed division between self and other.<sup>5</sup>

This reflection makes me think that it is necessary, above the differences, to imagine and implement democratic politics of 'diversities'. Education, formal and non-formal, are major political fields of realization or frustration of equality in difference, cultural constellations against dichotomized cultures, and cosmopolitanism counter racism.

In this paper I want to discuss, on the one hand, the concepts of Difference, Diversity and Education. On the other hand, I want to address the conditions of possibility of a new epistemological framework for Human Rights and Diversity Education by proposing five rationalities and its pedagogies. In the third part of this work I aim to think and present some approaches on three main concerns when an educator conceives, designs and addresses his/her audience with educative purposes. I conclude by questioning ourselves about the main issues that remain through our collective experience as Europeans in the field of education.

It is common sense that Europe is becoming more deeply diverse. During the last two decades several crucial events or phenomena have created new self-images and new and profound problems to be faced. These include the following: the

globalization of the financial world, trade and technologies; new patterns of human mobility – from a highly mobile elite of social leaders, entrepreneurs, scientists and politicians to large numbers of people trying to flee or run away from poverty, political persecution or trafficking; the war in the Balkans and Chechnya; the drastic enlargement of the Council of Europe and European Union *via* the emergence of liberal democracies as the basic condition to belong to the European community of nations-states; the crisis of the European social model and the consequent impoverishment of large social groups such as young people, women, unemployed people, disabled people, migrants, and unqualified workers. These, among other facts, have brought to our collective imagination and to our concrete lives new challenges and new demands.

Education has always been faced with *Diversity* because education refers to human beings and all humans are diverse and different. However, nowadays in Europe, *Diversity* has become a crucial theme, and one of the most difficult issues to be addressed by educators, trainers, youth workers or other educational actors, first and foremost because it is not enough to recognize and appreciate *Diversity* among individuals but because it also needs addressing among groups, communities, cultures and heritages. However, from my point of view, the main question is that *Diversity* has become a politicized concept used to explain and legitimize a fundamental opposition between **We** – that is functioning as a collective self – and the **Others** – which functions as an essentialised Alterity. This kind of political approach to *Diversity* is to consider that one ‘group’ or ‘community’ (national, continental, religious, cultural, ethnic) is, in fact, the exclusive normative reference to the *Others*, which means very often the emergence of ideas such as exclusiveness, domination, forced choice and, ultimately, ‘the inevitable clash’ between groups, cultures or religions. The paroxysm of this idea is that kind of *global fight against terrorism* based in the simplistic and binary vision of the world that leads us to an unique normative way to understand and rule it. As Boaventura de Sousa Santos<sup>6</sup> argues, we might be close to a *social fascism* that consists of a social regime of multiple apartheid, operating inside the present political democracies, where a few people decide, rule and share the existent wealth over the majority, which is, in reality, excluded and without having the strength and the possibility to choose. This *social fascism* produces another characteristic: the rulers feel insecure and permanently threatened by the *Others* and this is why they need to build physic walls, as in Palestine or Mexico or financial walls, raising extreme poverty and the two main gaps: between those who have almost everything and those who have enough to live; between those who have enough to live and those

who do not have enough to survive. Yet still without a media dimension, this apartheid is already present in Europe and threatens people, democracy and the right to be diverse, dis-similar, non-aligned, and different.

So, I argue that *Diversity* means, from my point of view, the *recognition of the unknown*, i.e. to be tolerant to the ambiguity and the uncertainty that represents in our lives the existence of multiple *Others*. It is to be aware that recognizing the unknown we often project onto the *Other* our own desires, fears, ideas, phantoms and superstitions, in short, our imagination which means that the *Other*, the *Different* is mostly an interpretation from a concrete point of view which is mine. In this sense, and using for my purpose the feminist concept that the personal is also political, *Diversity/Alterity* is, nowadays, at the heart of the political life of our societies and is the condition of possibility to change our common future.

With the previous discussion in mind, *Diversity* also means this permanent tension between difference and equality. Recognising and dealing with *Diversity*, in this sense, is a pluriverse of abilities (cognitive, pragmatic and emotional) to claim for the recognition of the DIFFERENCE when equality de-characterizes oneself or a community, and claim for EQUALITY when difference discriminates an individual or a group. This exercise requires a critical way of thinking including a diatopic hermeneutics and an unfinished/constructivist concept of Human Rights and Human Dignity.<sup>7</sup>

## //

In line with the above reflections about Europe, Alterity and Diversity, I would like to propose a brief conceptual framework for the development of an innovative and more adequate educational practice.

First of all, I am persuaded that we need to anchor our practices and our pragmatic competences in *Other* rationalities. By this I mean that to deal with Diversity and Difference we do need Diverse and Different ways of thinking and critical knowledge.

1. First of all, the exercise of a 'cosmopolitan rationality' is necessary. It is a matter of recognising and appreciating the Diversity and considering it as constitutive of the Human Dignity. This has a principal consequence of strongly considering that all cultures have visions of Human Dignity and

Rights and, therefore, we have to listen more, learn more, and be open and attentive much more towards Differences which are a supplement and enrichment to our Human Dignity rather than an obstacle to it. Using the words of Boaventura de Sousa Santos<sup>8</sup> the ‘cosmopolitan rationality’ is the way of thinking that does not waste any person, knowledge, or experience and in doing so, raises and amplifies the possibilities of finding the ‘right’ and harmonious answers to our demands and ensuring that all single persons or communities have a dignified place in our world.

2. Secondly I propose a ‘citizen rationality’, which implies that all educational activities are engaged with personal and collective emancipation. Paulo Freire alerted us, throughout his works, that we cannot separate action and thinking: it is why one feeds the other<sup>9</sup>. He calls this strong articulation between rationality and *praxis* the ‘conscientisation’. The most important educational impact of the ‘conscientisation’ is that any learning process has to be simultaneously a performative, i.e., an act of



transformation of society and a cognitive feature. However it is important to note that this transformation means a way of working whereby any kinds of oppressive social relations become visible and could disappear by human intervention. The ‘citizen rationality’ develops an educational paradigm, which is capable of reorganising the life of a community and creating spaces for alternatives and mutual responsibility.

3. In third place I propose an ‘ecological rationality’ which does not separate humans from others creatures, and the context of common sustainability<sup>10</sup>. People always exist in a certain and specific context which is constitutive of their culture, vision and life styles. I argue that to care about people also means caring about their concrete living space. To repair the link between humans and non-human creatures or elements of their living context is the main issue to be talked about by this rationality. Meanwhile it is important to understand that this ‘ecological rationality’ does not aim only at the conservation of nature but rather at making a rupture with the present paradigm of ‘development’, based upon



accumulation and infinite growth. The 'ecological' rationality' is able to take care of the present and the future of people by taking seriously the fact that we have to look in other ways at our resources and the use of them, and to achieve this alternative developmental model we have to bring to light all kinds of knowledge – popular or scientific, cognitive, emotional or pragmatic – which can help humanity ensure a just share of common wealth among all, in the present as well as in the future.

4. In fourth place a 'non-sexist rationality' is needed in order to deal properly with Diversity through Education in Europe. In spite of all formal mechanisms for equality between females and males, we do know that discrimination, violence and poverty against women continue to be deeply rooted in our Europe. This rationality claims that we cannot discriminate according to the gender of a person, and highlights that most social relations operate under a power system that is hierarchical and unequal, aiming at the control of one gender over the other. This control can be embodied in laws but very often is incrustated in our imaginations and functions as an immaterial power over our convictions, practical choices and social and political visions. As several feminists propose<sup>11</sup>, this 'non-sexist rationality' has to break out of the naturalization of the subalternity of women in any sphere of life and struggle for more democracy in public and private realms. Education has a major role in implementing non-sexist learning processes that will promote a cultural horizon where sex and gender are merely welcome and appreciated differences.
5. Finally I am convinced that we need a 'peaceful rationality' to face the challenges that Diversity in Europe poses to all of us. This rationality is based on co-operation and not on polarization, and aims to empower everybody and not obliterate any person. This rationality, as J. Galtung and Gandhi<sup>12</sup> propose, faces conflicts as an opportunity for both personal and group positive growth and transformation. A 'peaceful rationality' allows us to be aware of our competences for communication, non-violent conflict resolution and peace, and in doing so, to put to question the efficacy and the social value of war, violence or disregard for Human Dignity and Human Rights. This rationality is also an ethic point of view concerning the value of people and does not accept any authoritarian system (educational, knowledge, political, cultural, religious), which can pass over persons and their more genuine expectations of honour, truth, respect and rights.

My argument is that Education is a privileged relationship between ethics, culture and politics that transforms the evident cultural heterogeneity into an emancipatory potential by re-interpreting realities and looking for negotiated alternatives valuable for all. In this sense, from my point of view, Education – formal and non-formal – is founded on the following ideas:



- The first idea is one that considers and understands Education as an act of human development. The major aim of Education is humanization, that is, the dynamic integration of every person in his /her own society. In other words, educating is transforming individuals into self-determined subjects able to decide about themselves with a strong sense of communality. This humanization must deal with critical old/new questions such as the following: What dimensions should be included in any education project? What kinds of fundamental learning issues should be talked about? What kinds of groups or actors should participate in the learning processes?
- Secondly, an educator/trainer, in formal or non-formal education, conceptualizing and designing his/her work must take into account and know how people learn, and develop skills and knowledge about the necessary atmospheres in which people can reach more results or participate more in the learning processes. This means having the appropriate and accurate knowledge and abilities to communicate, debate and implement dialogue.
- It is important also to be open to discuss the Right to Education and to put in everybody's agenda the theme of Education as a primarily feature of Human Dignity which grounds the possibilities to be included and participate in societies. Education as a process of humanization is therefore a process that should be capable of opening everybody's spirit to curiosity about Diversity, to the persistency to fight for rights, to resilience against domination and to the cultivation of intentionality against uniformisation.

Finally, to participate in humanization processes is to identify utopias as ‘viable possibilities’<sup>13</sup> and to be ready to respond with innovation and solidarity. This means that Education has to value every knowledge, skill or competence present in each person or group, and that through this dialogical recognition everybody becomes a learner and a trainer at the same time.

Having this reflection in mind I argue that Education, formal or non-formal, includes all educational activities aiming at the personal and social development of every individual through multiple interventions or initiatives in diverse contexts. This is why it is justified to add that Education is, without any doubt, a long-life dialectical learning process and should be primarily understood as crucial public policy at local, regional, national and European level.

All this conceptualization demands the use of consistent and adequate pedagogies such as the following:

- An ‘inclusive pedagogy’, that is, an approach that implies and mobilizes knowledge, attitudes and competences. This implies that everybody, and every community has a ‘Voice’ and is actively heard. Inclusive is the Education that is able to ‘help’ to reorganize a communitarian life in which each person does not need to give up his/her particularity and is interested in participating in the group-building and common good.
- A ‘cooperative pedagogy’ supposes a positive accumulation of different elements. The first one is the ability to establish a positive and interdependent relationship among the different people belonging to a group. Each person should develop the awareness of his/her own interest in the success of the entire group and understand that the difficulties of one person are also the difficulties of the group. Secondly, the ‘cooperative pedagogy’ needs to value emotions and ‘face-to-face’ interactions in order to develop empathy and the ability to feel responsible for oneself as much as for the others. It also aims to find and implement group strategies of self-regulation, implying that the group develops the awareness and ability to assess its own learning process and can decide upon its common objectives, needs and expectations.
- An ‘experiential pedagogy’ which puts value on freedom, discovery and the experience of each and every person. However, ‘experiential pedagogy’, in the way I conceive it, is not the experiment as such but a close relationship between practice and theory mediated by reflection. In

other words, 'experiential pedagogy' is to think about what I can do already, to be challenged by other experiences and to 'experiment' and to reflect upon them, in other words, to be able to have a critical thinking about what I have done alone, as well as at a collective level. 'Experiential pedagogy' is, in this sense, an unfinished process and is characterized by its enormous heuristic potential.

All these pedagogies are learning-process centred and social-action centred. They deny the separation between person and the group to which he/she belongs to (no one learns alone and only by him/herself) and imply a dialectical relation between theory and practice. These pedagogies target together active participation in the production, management and dissemination of knowledge, the democratization of the subjectivities, and interpersonal relationships as the social and political relations, and the emergence of mutual responsibilities concerning each other and our world.

### III

Facing a group, and being responsible for an educational programme or project, what practical challenges does all this reflection put on me? What attitudes and what methods should I use and develop? What are the limits and what are the potentialities that I need to be aware of?

1. My first concern is about space. Space is not a neutral thing. On the contrary, how it is organized, and what it looks like is crucial to improve or to block dialogue, democratic interactions and so on. Space, therefore, should be a central point of concern for trainers and educators. From my point of view, space should be prepared in a way that might blur or eliminate hierarchical positions within the group. Secondly, space may create a place for 'voices' using walls and boards. Taking care of space in a proper way, we can induce more 'intimacy', which means more possibilities of face-to-face interactions among the group by the appropriation of the multiple senses they will attribute to it.
2. The second concern is the contents. I feel that every issue, and every problem or theme should be taken as a real possibility for learning. I am convinced that it is absolutely crucial to be open to any possible theme or issue and to resist fear or insecurity. Participative democracy is a very

useful tool in this context because through it we may construct strong consensus by dialogue and open debate and share responsibilities and knowledge. Contents are also important because each trainer or educator should be aware of his/her 'ignorances'. As Chakrabarty alerts us, most of "western knowledge has been produced in relative and sometime absolute ignorance of the majority of humankind, that is, those living in non-western cultures."<sup>14</sup>

The important thing is to be aware that we do not know everything; on the contrary, we know very few things and that is why we need to read, write, travel and do everything we can to learn more. It is why we need the others, the other sides, the others' points of view, the contradiction, the debate, and the argumentation, for the amplification of our own culture. To have consciousness of our ignorance and necessity of learning more is the first step to deal positively with 'difficult' contents.

3. In the third place, as a trainer, I feel that methods are of vital importance. On the one hand methods are our ability to create an appropriate atmosphere to launch and sustain a positive learning process. The creation of an atmosphere is to facilitate participation by giving positive self-images of people, of what we are doing together and openly managing 'voices' and 'silences'. On the other hand, methods are 'roads', are 'paths', and are 'ways for mobility'. In this sense, methods are the concrete possibilities for exercising the above-mentioned rationalities and pedagogies.

My choices concerning methodologies are diverse because every person needs to be approached in a different mode, and also because every problem or issue has to be dealt with appropriately as each group reacts differently to it. I give privilege to reflection on practices or cognitive exercises and to role-plays. I am convinced that we need to elaborate methodologically the experience of being 'under someone else's skin' and to facilitate the thinking about that experience, and voice that incredible educative tool. I also value research (theoretical or empirical) because it promotes self-determination, self-discipline, curiosity, attachment to the unknown, a sense of risk, the ability to deal with uncertainty and the desire to go further. Meanwhile, research by itself does not mean much if it does not question its social usefulness by making people think about social responsibility of my/their work as trainers, youth leaders, social workers, educators or professors.

## Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to outline the difficulties and the importance of Diversity in Europe and its implications in Education. By accepting Diversity as a fluid, complex, biographic and constitutive concept of European experience and life, we open the possibilities of rescuing the profound human potentialities of the extraordinary contemporary exchanges in politics, in cultural and social experiences or technology. With this in mind, and aiming to transform silence and violence into altruism and peaceful relationships among people, cultures, nations and groups, I have presented some basis on to develop new approaches to Education, formal and non-formal, by recalling some principles of participative and respectful pedagogies and critical knowledge.



Being convinced that the discussion above is a small part of a longer and more complex process, I do not want to finish this text without enunciating some of the questions that remain to be discussed, dealt with and answered. As Alterity teaches us, this paper, in fact, is just a working paper, a contribution to an endless process of thinking of the new and the unexpected. Rather than giving definitive or ‘universal’ answers, the most important thing is to keep the energy to go further and question:

- a) What kind of challenges does the Diversity in Europe – in cultural but also in political terms – bring to Education, especially non-formal Education?
- b) How can we educate and deal with the tension between difference and equality, i.e., what educational epistemologies, and methodological approaches must we develop in order to innovate and respond to Diversity in Europe?
- c) In this context, what is the role of intercultural learning and what are the criteria that allow intercultural learning to be a responsible and adequate tool concerning Diversity in Europe?

- d) What concrete changes should we start taking notice of and promoting in the field of Education?
- e) What are the most valuable methods that you use in order to obtain an appropriated and useful educative atmosphere to deal with Diversity?
- f) In what aspects is the European Campaign 'All Different – All Equal' already the concrete emergence of *other* rationalities, such as, cosmopolitan, citizen, ecological, non-sexist and ecological?
- g) What are the limits of dealing with Diversity?

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## Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> This title is inspired in an article by Hélder Macedo, 1992.
- <sup>2</sup> Apud, Gandhi, 1998: 78.
- <sup>3</sup> Werbner, 2000: 227.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibidem: 228.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibidem.
- <sup>6</sup> Santos, 2002b: 33-34.
- <sup>7</sup> Santos, 2002.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibidem.
- <sup>9</sup> Freire, 1975.
- <sup>10</sup> Boff, 1999; Mies; Shiva, 1993.
- <sup>11</sup> See, among others, Betty Reardon, Chandra Talpade Monhanty, Donna Haraway, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo.
- <sup>12</sup> Galtung, 1996; Gandhi, 1999.
- <sup>13</sup> Freire, 1975.
- <sup>14</sup> 1992: 3





# Revising Human Rights Education

**Mr Kirill N. Babichenko**, *Migration & Law Network* (HRC 'Memorial', Russia)

This paper presents an educational approach to human rights education the motto of which is: "To educate by *entertaining* instead of preaching." (Example titles of lectures or 'jumps' are given in italics).

The possible appellation of the human rights course could be *ZEBRA* – that jumps from the swamp of prejudice. Why 'Zebra'? This image is black and white – the symbol of different languages and cultures. It is fresh, dynamic and positive but not a Eurocentric logo. The web-resource might be named: [www.zebrajump.com](http://www.zebrajump.com). '*Direct action is my reaction*'.

We have to start *choice-making* and *value-seeking* education in support of oppositional or separate identity – to be actors, not just objects of action. It will help to overcome 'group-think syndrome' which creates an *us/them* atmosphere. '*Don't conform – act reform!*'

We need to require *new categories* of connection, and *new visions* of what our relationships with one another can be. We have to elaborate *new patterns* of thought and action. '*Do things in another way*'.

Firstly, we shall *reconceptualize* old terms as categories of analysis by arguing against racial attitudes of people and working to overcome racism by revising the deeply embedded concepts such as 'race' and 'nation'. It is possible to formulate positive and neutral terminology without questionable connotations. Studying the history of the term challenges its power – '*Race is a cage – step out!*'

Secondly, we shall *transcend the barriers* created by our experience with discrimination in order to build the types of coalitions essential for social exchange. This will help to solve a number of problems, for example, to spread a common positive identity among migrants instead of usual 'guest identity' they possess. '*Social drive instead of evening drink*'.

We also need to understand the connections between the categories of *analysis* and *personal issues* in our everyday lives, particularly our scholarship, our teaching and our relationships with our colleagues and students. We have to search not our educational books only but our life experience as well. '*Many cultures – one people*'.

We need a substitution for two key premises: *either/or* dichotomous thinking should be replaced with the *both/and* pattern. 'Find the shades of grey and record all voices'.

Of course, change starts with the self and the relationships that we have with those around us must always be primary site for social change. So, 'Everyone is a change-maker!'

## **Guidelines for teachers:**

### ***Creating a Positive Environment In Which To Raise Diversity Issues'***

*„I don't discuss those issues in my classroom.... I am sure that if I did it would only open a whole Pandora's box that I just don't have time to deal with.“*

Sounds familiar? The above statement expresses the sentiments of many teachers. Time is always a factor in the school day, and teachers are not wrong to safeguard it as a precious commodity.

At the same time, there are teachers whose reasons for not addressing diversity issues in the classroom have less to do with time than with fear of conflict and concern about their competency to handle such discussions. In addition, there are teachers whose own life experiences have not included many opportunities for interaction with diverse populations, and who can feel uncomfortable addressing issues of differences in light of their limited firsthand experiences.



'Racism' is a word often spoken in hushed tones, as though it was an unmentionable subject, like a fatal disease. And to make matters more difficult, schools of education, administrators and colleagues often do not provide much expertise or support in this arena for teachers.

Recognizing that there are many legitimate reasons for teachers to be apprehensive about raising diversity issues in the classroom, the following list of teaching practices is offered to assist those who want to begin creating a safe classroom climate conducive to an honest exchange of ideas. The list is not meant to be comprehensive; rather it is intended to provide a good place to begin the journey.

### ***I. Know yourself***

Examine your own cultural biases and assumptions. Ask yourself if your understanding of cross-cultural miscommunication includes the idea that such misunderstandings are the result of a clash between two cultures, and not caused solely by the person whose ethnicity is not of the dominant mainstream culture.

### ***II. Lay a Foundation***

Lay a foundation by establishing ground rules and by defining terms. The ground rules serve as community norms that everyone in the class agrees to abide to. Ask students to develop these norms by thinking about what classroom conditions would have to exist in order for them to feel they can share their ideas and feelings openly. Keep these guidelines posted in your room at all times, and remind students that every person, not just the teacher, is responsible for seeing that the ground rules are adhered to. Define terms so that students develop an appropriate vocabulary for discussing equity issues.

### ***III. Integrate***

Integrate diversity issues into all aspects of your regular teaching. Don't relegate addressing equity issues to 'special' or 'multicultural' time. 'Valuing Difference' should never be a unit of study or a weekly, monthly or yearly theme; the concept is so basic it should be an integral part of everything that occurs in the school.

### ***IV. Allow for maturation***

Allow time for the class to mature. Introduce less complex topics first, and create time to establish trust. Recognize that the long history of mistrust between people in different groups will not dissipate overnight.

### ***V. Establish goodwill***

Establish an environment that allows for mistakes. Since most of us were acculturated into racist, sexist, anti-Semitic and homophobic (to name a few!) ways of thinking unconsciously and unwittingly, we must acknowledge that intolerant thinking will surface from time to time in ourselves and others. Create

a climate in the classroom where such behaviour can be addressed without fear of retribution. Model non-defensive behaviour in the face of being told that something you said or did was offensive to someone. Make assuming goodwill a common practice in your classroom. Recognize that assuming goodwill is harder for people who are usually on the receiving end of discriminatory treatment than for those who are not.

### ***VI. Keep learning***

Be a model of lifelong learning. Keep abreast of current issues such as affirmative action and the 'English Only' movement. Clip articles from newspapers and magazines and post them in your classroom. Make sure your words and actions match your expressed beliefs. Let students know that you consider yourself a learner in these issues, and that you see yourself as part of the learning process.

### ***VII. Avoid preaching***

Avoid preaching to students about how they should behave. According to research, preaching and exhorting do not work with students. In fact, such methodology often produces a result opposite to the desired effect. The same holds for books and videos that convey an over-simplified 'brotherhood message'. Such material makes it easy for students to tune out because they already know the 'right' answer. Provide opportunities for students to resolve conflicts and solve problems.

### ***VIII. Use 'Emergency' lessons***

Interrupt name-calling, slurs, jokes, teasing, excluding or other prejudicial behaviour whenever you see it occur. A teacher's failure to address an incident of prejudice can signal to students that such behaviour is acceptable. Create an 'Emergency' lessons file in which you keep lessons that address issues of prejudice and discrimination.

### ***IX. Share personal experiences***

Sharing life experiences in class can help students develop empathy. Make your classroom a place where students' experiences are not marginalized, trivialized, or invalidated. Be careful not to create a hierarchy of oppressions where students will be vying for victim status based on their membership in targeted groups. At the same time, acknowledge that experiences in which prejudice and/or discrimination have occurred are unique and cannot be equated to each other.

### ***X. Review resources***

Review materials so that classroom displays and bulletin boards are inclusive of all people. Insure that the books and videos you use do not reinforce existing stereotypes; point out such examples to students when you see them. Don't trivialize culture so that it is reduced to the three usual F's: foods, festivals and famous men.

### ***And finally...***

Always remember the awesome power we have as teachers; let us use it wisely and well.



# WORKING GROUPS AND WORKSHOPS ON YOUTH WORK AND YOUTH POLICY RESPONSES

## I. Youth Work

*Facilitator:* Mr Hasan Habib – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Ms Susie Green – SALTO Diversity

Working in two separate small groups, the group identified the following challenges to youth work:

1. Exclusion of the non-EU countries in European programmes
2. Reaching out to the unorganised youth and young people in rural areas: they are often forgotten as they don't have direct programmes to target them
3. Narrowing the gap between the authorities and field of youth work
4. Working with the media
5. Moving on from projects and/or short-term solutions to sustainable strategy and long-term thinking
6. Recognising other elements of youth work, e.g. the importance of preventative approach and not only intervention after the issue has arisen.

In order to tackle such challenges the groups recommended the following:

- All Youth in Action activities should be accessible to all European countries, supported by the Council of Europe (CoE) (e.g. youth initiatives bring values both to the realities of youth work equally in Sweden and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so why not allow them in?). “I have to prove to another European that I am in fact European. Do they want me or not?”(Jasmin, BiH)
- Dialogue between the stakeholders should be promoted; decision-makers, NGOs and other actors in the field of youth work should meet to inform each other from different perspectives of the ‘All Different – All Equal’ campaign and beyond. This would aim to increase transparency and respect on all sides.

- Principals, themes, values, objectives of the 'All Different – All Equal' campaign should be reflected in youth policies at local, regional, national and international levels. "The values of the 'All Different – All Equal' should be kept in youth work and in the dialogue after the campaign ends... Show by the living example why the values of the campaign are important." (Annina, Finland)
- National action should not only involve national governments but local ones as well.
- If there are no policies, they should be written and they should be updated and adapted to different realities, and revised every 5 years with the co-ordination of the CoE and the EC, including the co-operation of umbrella organisations, NGOs, governmental officials and informal groups. "Youth is responsible for youth." (Dejan, Germany)
- Distribution of resources should not only be concentrated in urban areas and not only for minority groups. The emphasis should be encouraged in empowering the so-called 'unorganised' or harder-to-reach youth. "The YOUTH programme – it's really beautiful that such a thing is possible for young people but are the people who really need it the ones using it?" Tom, Belgium
- CoE to ensure that the consequences of migration need to be addressed properly at governmental level – taking responsibility in the consequences from the emigrating country.
- Recognition and validation of youth work and its impact and benefits for and with young people at all levels, including that recognition of youth work should be implemented not only in EU countries but in all CoE countries.
- Young people should be the foundation of the whole action and be encouraged to participate. This demands from authorities that they don't just hear but also listen to the voice of young people. "If we as young people cannot call for changes in the future, who can?" "Decision-makers are too old to remember what it is to be a young person; there's no participation of young people at top level." (Jasmin, BiH)
- There are different approaches to youth work and different definitions of youth worker: all levels of actors need support, education and training to prevent 'brain drain' in the youth field. "Youth work without volunteers is impossible." (Dejan, Germany)
- To work with the media to challenge stereotypes, and to increase the awareness of the impact of the work of the CoE in e.g. Human Rights Education. It is felt that the proportion of attention is unduly given more to the issues related to the European Commission (finance, international politics etc.).

## 2. Education Concepts in Approaching Diversity (Formal and Non-Formal Education)

*Facilitator:* Ms Ramiza Sakip – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Mr Dariusz Gzremny

The group discussed educational methods and educational approaches for diversity. It addressed individual formal and informal education, within and beyond the ‘All Different – All Equal’ campaign, including issues relating to:

- Intercultural education
- Right to education
- Role of education in relation to human rights

The group identified the following challenges:

- Being overburdened by curricula
- Problem of integration and belonging
- Identity problem
- The need to promote diversity, but without assimilation and alienation: we must fight against the disappearance of cultures
- Lack of understanding of what diversity is (knowledge)
- The need to educate people (through entertaining means)
- Problem of information, communication
- The need to transmit experience
- Fear leading to exclusion
- Lack of participation: passivity (“we must play our citizen role”)
- Resistance of the authorities
- Problem of cooperation between the different groups
- The need to work on areas of common interest
- Lack of standards in human rights education

In response to the question: ‘What does education for diversity aim at?’, the group provided the following suggestions:

- Raise the awareness of people about what they are losing
- Highlight the damages done to the individual and society
- Identify the needs of each group
- Break the stereotypes and prejudices



- Promote intercultural learning
- Encourage mutual respect of human being
- Form cooperations
- Promote harmony and multicultural understanding
- Develop dialogue
- Educate on human rights
- Promote common human values and values of human rights
- Build the pyramid of values
- Understand and accept one's own identity
- Show respect and tolerance
- Integrate but do not assimilate
- Action is needed. Active participation of all groups in public life

The group discussed how these educational issues should be addressed and implemented concretely during the campaign and came up with the following suggestions:

- Use of non formal education methods, working with formal and non formal groups
- Obligatory education
- Information through different challenges
- Cooperative activities, including representatives of different groups / majorities and minorities
- Human resources (teachers, trainers) + financial resources
- Workshops related to the campaign (publication)
- Long term activities with monitoring of the results
- Evaluation of the results
- Raising public awareness
- Being attractive to young people
- Training young people to take action
- Supporting youth initiatives
- Creating resources centres
- Using arts
- Giving opportunities to everyone to participate
- Attracting mass media
- Advertising through different forms
- Using all existent technology (films, Internet)
- Being accessible to everybody
- Getting the support of the public authorities

Finally, the group formulated six recommendations for the final declaration:

- To ensure full participation of young people coming from diverse backgrounds and minorities in the educational activities of the campaign.
- To provide support for and make available resources that exists an all languages (e.g. *Compass*).
- To work on and create a European document that is setting standards for human rights education in Europe.
- To ensure education for diversity is available for all in formal and non-formal settings.
- To make sure education for diversity takes into account the specificities and needs of different groups in society.
- To promote and stimulate youth activism by providing and supporting educational activities and projects on diversity for young people in Europe.



### 3. Participation and Integration Policies

*Facilitator:* Ms Iris Bawidamann – Council of Europe, Directorate of Youth and Sport

*Resource Person:* Mr Khaalid Hassan – Dutch National Youth Council

Khaalid Hassan – Somali, Labour Youth, establishment of DNYC – introduced the participants to the following issues:

- Dutch Situation: focus on migrant minorities, 50% of youth in the big cities are a minority; Mohamed is the most common name for new born children; demographic changes.
- Integration me: 'It is a battle of hearts and minds.'
- How do we ensure equal chances for young people in education, and employment? Is talent being wasted?
- How can we create social inclusion? How can we avoid tension, discrimination?
- Integration and participation is one of the most important and complex minority-related challenges faced by countries and societies worldwide, and especially in Europe.
- The interaction between minority and majority community in a country can be positive and mutually beneficial. Hence, there is no single uniformly acceptable definition of integration. The concept of integration is interpreted differently in different countries. In this working group when talking about integration we will be generally referring to a two-way process of adaptation by minority and majority communities.
- As integration is a two-way process, effective integration strategies need to target not only minorities but also the majority community in order to be effective.
- Integration and participation is big topic; Van Gogh; 11 September; electoral revolution in 2002.
- On 8 September a European conference hosted Danish and Dutch Ministries and NYCs. This was a follow-up of the first International Ministerial Conference about integration hosted in the Netherlands. Everyone in Europe sees that societies struggle with how to integrate minorities.
- Look at education. In almost all European countries, 2<sup>nd</sup> or even 3<sup>rd</sup> generation young people score lower. Unemployment is mostly double under migrant minorities.

- This can be explained by the social economic disadvantage, smaller networks, cultural differences, language barriers, living in ghettos, discrimination, and prejudice.
- Racism and xenophobia is widespread. In Europe between 20 and 50% of the European population has negative attitudes towards Muslims.
- These tensions are manifest in intolerance and ignorance, and create communities who live next to each other and now with each other and sometimes violently, for example in the French banlieues, and the riots in Bradford and Birmingham (England).
- Governments and the civil society are opening their eyes further towards the issue, while for a long time they closed their eyes, afraid of stirring up tensions or being afraid of electoral punishment.
- Integration is critical to social cohesion and stability, to maximizing one's economic and social contributions, and for the improvement of the quality of life in a community.
- Integration does not happen by itself, and a democratic culture must constantly be nurtured. It is imperative to address challenges – and problems as well. No-one benefits from tiptoeing.
- But participation and integration is not only government issue but an issue of the society as a whole. And in Holland this is something that we are only now starting to understand after 50 years of immigration and with nothing having been done on this matter to date.
- Education and employment are the new areas where integration should start.
- Minority youth have many resources and potential (multicultural competences, language skills, transnational consciousness and networks), which can greatly benefit society in both social and economic terms. In view of the demographic trends in the developed world, the successful integration of minority youth into society is critical to sustainable economic development and social cohesion. This includes inclusion in youth work and youth organisations.



- Ensuring a cohesive yet plural Europe is to a large degree dependent on the integration and participation of young people in society. In order to ensure successful integration of young people, one needs not only to have debates on youth-issues but also to involve young people actively in these discussions. Youth organisations can play an important role in this.
- Promoting cohesion, inclusion and equal opportunities should be key guiding principles for integration and participation.
- Ideas from the conference include empowerment through role models, activities in community centres, sport clubs, intercultural media (for example, FUN X), and a European diversity day. Courses could be run for teachers and national employment pools.
- This and much more needs doing. Some examples from Holland include:
- Supporting migrant organisations, offering languages lessons for newcomers, celebrating the naturalisation of new Dutch people, giving a special focus to women, training police in battling hate crimes, supporting organisations battling discrimination, supporting/educating religious figures, launching a national campaign for integration and cooperation of communities, supporting NYC in involving minority youth, supporting local and regional governments, devising a charter for the local and regional participation of young people.

The discussion was then centred on the following five key questions:

- How do we ensure equal opportunities, participation in youth work and society in general for young people, regardless of ethnic, social or religious background?
- Should Youth Work be used as a tool in the integration and participation of youth minorities?
- How should youth organisations try to involve minority youth? What best practices are there?
- At what levels should integration and participation happen? (local, regional, national, European?)
- What should be done in light of the campaign on integration?

Based on these discussions, participants formulated a number of recommendations that were integrated into the final declaration.

## 4. Workplace, Labour and Corporate Responsibility

*Facilitator:* Mr Luis Pinto – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Ms Svitlana Tymchenko – Ukrainian Union of Youth Organisation

The group discussed the morning's Deutsche Bahn presentation and agreed that it was a very good example of what a corporate approach to diversity management is. When asked about the motivations for such initiatives, the Deutsche Bahn speakers answered, 'because it is part of our image'.

The group went on to share some descriptions from the different countries represented:

### *Moldova*

In Moldova there is little industry, therefore it is a country of services where most of the products need to be imported. The country's major production is connected to agriculture; many young people wish to have higher education and in order to finance their studies they search for jobs, most of them (70%) on black market and the rest in small businesses (30%).

### *Italy*

An example was presented based on the work implemented by Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL), a trade union dealing specifically with issues of discrimination in the workplace. CGIL offers the services of a 'hotline', legal advice and information. Another initiative is the training on diversity issues in the workplace.

### **Changing practices**

It's often easier to make structural changes, such as installing a ramp for wheelchair users or adapting the website for people with visual impairments. Interpersonal changes at the level of attitudes and behaviours are often more difficult to achieve. One of the possible tools to intervene at this level is 'diversity training'; all participants agreed that it was very difficult to enter the workplace environment with a directive message saying 'how things should happen'.

As a strategy, NGOs should have a discourse of offering a service and a partnership to the employers, helping them to improve the life quality of their workers and therefore increase efficiency.



The first to review practices and adopting principles of equality for diversity in the workplace should be the public institutions, setting the example for other sectors. Following the same line, campaigning for 'All Different – All Equal' should start inside the non-governmental organisations who participate in the campaign, using it as an opportunity to reflect on how inclusive they are in their workplace and workforce. "Just because they carry the campaign that doesn't mean they have nothing to learn from it."

The campaign should involve all sectors. The inclusion of trade unions at all levels could represent a key partnership in passing the message to the workplace, for example ETUC – European Trade Union Confederation. The following five key areas should be tackled:

### **Anti-discrimination laws**

Through Article 13, the member-states of the European Union now have the obligation of transposing anti-discrimination directives into national legal systems. Still, in some cases member-states have not managed this process effectively through not following all the recommendations or not promoting the knowledge or use of such laws, such as in Italy, where a law was approved in which the burden of proof of discrimination is on the employee and not the employer.

On anti-discrimination laws, one may ask the following questions which, depending on the answers, demonstrate the level of development of the legal systems and its mainstreaming:

1. Do they exist in your country?
2. If yes, do people know about them?
3. If yes, do they make use of them?

In the Netherlands, for instance, the laws exist and employees know about them but the legal process damages the interpersonal relations between the complainer and its employer and colleagues, so that even if the case is won, the complainer sees

him/herself forced to leave the job in any case, or preferring not to start a lawsuit. Another example is Portugal, where the law allows women or men to enjoy the same time of parenting leave, but due to cultural reasons, men are very rarely the ones to take the leave and women do not dare to take full leave since reintegration into the workplace is made very difficult, damaging her opportunities to progress in her career.

Moldova also allows up to three years of parenting leave, but the social security pays little more than 10 euros a month.

### **Contextualization of discrimination**

Another idea is that the discrimination of certain social groups does not happen horizontally, the same way. Many factors, such as the nature of the job, the qualifications of the job searcher and issues relating to identity, greatly influence opportunities for obtaining fulfilling jobs.

Education and social sectors seem to be easier places for women to find jobs; the artistic field also seems to be more accepting of non-heterosexual people.

The 'geometry of power' also plays a very important role: it is different being a black cashier to being a black supermarket manager.

In the Netherlands, access to the labour market for young people from ethnic minorities is more difficult if they have qualified from higher education.

Tokenism is often used to shift the attention from reality. By putting the focus on the exception of the successful person coming from a minority group, one tends to pass on the message that this is in fact the majority of the cases.

### **Business case for diversity**

When arguing with the business sector about inclusion of diversity one needs to use a language of economic value. For instance, when, in a small Italian town, the Italian community started opposing the coming of immigrants of Chinese origin, being afraid that the business they would run would damage local commerce, the arguments used by local NGOs changed the perspective: the hospital in the region would not close because it would serve the increased population; translators and interpreters would be needed; the immigrant population would also need to use services and consume products contributing, in the end, to the development of the local economy.



## **Sexism**

“We have been talking a lot about minority groups but in Portugal there are two big majorities: men and women.”

Women’s situation in the workplace is particularly disadvantaged, especially when crossing gender with those coming from minorities. Another issue that is very alarming is sexual harassment in the workplace and also the ‘double shift’: Portugal has one of the highest levels of participation of women in the labour market but one of the lowest in sharing family and home tasks between men and women. This doesn’t mean equality; it means that women have to work more to obtain the same quality of standards in life as men do.

## **Responsibility**

It is important to think and clarify what the responsibilities of the employer and the employee are. For example, many employers have started including in their labour contracts a charter promoting equality in diversity, where the employer clearly states that in that workplace no-one shall be discriminated against based on their identity; all workers have to sign such a charter when joining the workforce. This is a practice that has been more easily adopted by bigger companies. If governments introduced such principles of equality in labour laws, this would also be the way to reach small companies, where discrimination has more chances of occurring.



# 5. Advocacy, Political Work and the Legal System

*Facilitator:* Ms Bettina Schwarzmayr – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Mr Larry Olomoofe – European Roma Rights Centre

Initially, the group structured its work around a few selected topics: advocacy, how to lobby a government, and what makes people listen (strategy). In the second part of the session the group focused on key recommendations for different key actors.

## **Advocacy:**

The initial input focused on some key points in advocacy work in relation to diversity issues:

- Advocacy: convincing other people or trying to convince people to stand up for their rights is also as hard and as important a task for advocacy as convincing the European commission
- Advocacy: force the authorities to give something to those people having trouble accessing their rights. It simply forces the authorities to stretch the possibilities.
- Advocacy is not to protest and use the media. The use of the law by detecting the mismatching HR issues in the law, and not raising one's voice can also work.
- Recognition rate is too low, so advocacy work can be done by a satellite organisation.
- Advocacy also includes watching processes and bringing cases above the surface.
- Advocacy is gaining allies not enemies. If you are right you need allies not enemies.
- Usually people are resistant to including young people in decision-making processes as they are not mature enough, so advocacy in the youth policy field is important as well.
- If there is enough patience, the process can go forward.
- Advocacy is showing the world the existing ghost, and exposing what already exists. Advocacy is everyday life. The best advocacy is the one you have in your daily life.
- The nature of advocacy activities can vary accordingly, as can the reason for advocacy. Sometimes it's important to be criticizing, sometimes to raise one's voice, sometimes to make things invisible and also sometimes to make things smoother.

- Encourage the government to provide the solution we need. It is a question and notion on how to be effective.
- Being dependent on the state can cause problems in terms of advocacy but the state also provides the license for the work you are doing. The measures are quite simple interpretations of international agreements. Thus the role should be determined by and according to the target group. If you have problems in recognition of rights it is not possible to talk about the enjoyment of these rights. (Take, for example, the case of Roma people.)
- Providing information and improving the tools for accessing the information is also a part of advocacy.

### **How to force the government to do something:**

- Public disappointment and massive reaction
- Use ECHR and advisors to put pressure on the state
- Advocacy is communication and step-by-step process on a long path.

### **What makes people listen to advocates?**

- Trust
- Amusing people, entertaining them, a sense of touch
- Timing, waiting for the right time.
- 1. Vision 2. Proof 3. Good communication skills 4. To know what your persuasions are.
- Motivation. Specific competences to do what and when and how. Working towards a win-win deal.
- Transparency and being a part of the system as well as knowing more about the dynamics instead of shouting totally outside.
- Being honest
- *Morality*: None of the arguments makes sense if they are not based on moral standards and understanding.

Q. Not all crimes should have morality, e.g. Death penalty in US.

- Morality is personal and not necessarily collective.
- Human rights morality is more important
- There is a bridge of morality. Human Rights has been talked about for the last 50 years and it has a morality backside. (e.g. Hungarian case, where the PM lied and lost the support of the public.)

**A good advocate:**

- has vision
- has evidence
- has good communication skills
- can choose the right target
- has honesty /morality
- has information
- is consistent
- is transparent
- has metaphysical individual judgement
- has all that it takes to produce expertise, and knows how to convince and make change happen



The group formulated the following *recommendations*:

**General:**

- de-centralize
- the Council of Europe (CoE) should have closer contact with the European Commission and make use of the CoE influence to use the EU campaign as a tool to promote diversity.
- name and shame
- the campaign is too wide. 10 years ago we knew what we were fighting for. This was and is too positive and we need to know why we are fighting. We need to focus on the purpose, and why we mobilise.
- focus on results / evaluations
- reach the individual and show that the campaign is theirs and make them feel concerned
- involve the target group (the ones who experience discrimination)
- change the social norms
- everybody should stand up for somebody else, not for themselves, to make the change as I am standing for my problem everyday. Make the campaign a concern for someone else's right.
- network and seek better cooperation – e.g. use specialized organisations, e.g. HR watch, Amnesty

- lobby
- academic support
- use the right words
- target politicians
- educate for equality

### **Recommendations to the NGOs**

How can they build credibility?

- consistency – honesty and responsibility
- mainstream the campaign in the work of NGO – not another way around
- build on the media – make them become your friends
- incorporate a research dimension in the work of NGOs
- target appropriately
- cooperation and trust between the NGOs; sharing materials and results with each other in a more effective way.
- cooperation beyond NGOs with the social services and providers (public and private)
- the contents of what the media spread is not important, whether it's good or bad: it's important to be mentioned.
- use information in a strategic fashion (statistic academics) and be ready to advance counter arguments.
- justice system: shift the burden of proof, e.g. training judges

### **Recommendations to the Campaign for a successful partnership:**

- advocacy campaign should be based on resources available – pragmatic
- focus on the quality of message; it's better to make a qualitative impact
- bad practice – campaign on closing temporary camps
- identify the problem – the first step to finding solutions
- know what you want to achieve before investigating ways to reach your objective
- monitor the work of the ECHR and ECJ
- ensure that the NCC are set up
- make sure that information can circulate between actors involved
- importance of financial support
- precondition of a campaign – get the support of the public authorities needed for trust
- make all NCC meetings open to all, stressing the importance of an open decision making process.

**Recommendations: Partnership that influences... How to target the CoE, the EU and their respective Member States:**

- lobby EU 2 ways: via Brussels, and from the local level – harder
- have a campaign manager – spokesperson with institutions and coordination of different levels
- use existing structures – MEPs, organisations representing local authorities (EU: committee regions, Euro cities; CoE, CLRAE: Parliamentary Assembly)
- combine local and European work
- important that all actors from all levels use all actors available – know who you are and on this basis identify with whom you can work
- Reinforce the coordination at national level – ministers in charge of CoE, EU, and UN need to work together more often
- use NGOs as the bridge between all institutions and actors working on similar issues
- important role of the European Youth Forum.

Finally, the group agreed that within this framework ‘synergy’ is the keyword.



## 6. Mainstreaming Gender and Gender in the Campaign

*Facilitator:* Ms Mariam Yassin – Forum Preparatory Group

*Resource Person:* Ms Gyorgyi Toth – NaNE Women's Rights Organisation

The initial input challenged participants to share reflections about the core issue: is 'gender' just another word for 'sex'? What is the notion of gender and what are the implications for campaign teams that decide to include gender as a topic, or decide to mainstream gender into their campaign in general? 'Normality', 'tolerance', 'diversity' – what has gender got to do with this? Oppressive ideologies related to or based on the notion of biologically determined, rigid gender roles: these are the issues to address and potential challenges in campaigning for diversity.

### **Questions:**

Based on the previous discussion, the participants considered the following questions:

What are the issues relating to gender that need to be addressed (locally, nationally, Europe-wide)?

Considering gender mainstreaming, which previous trends in taking action (campaigning and other) need to be altered?

What action do you want to take to interrupt or stand up against current trends?

What resources or materials, if any, would you need to achieve your goal?

How can you get those resources?

What behaviours or steps would taking this action entail?

What is a realistic timeline for carrying out the steps involved in this action plan?

What hazards or risks are involved?

Is this action worth taking that risk? (If not, go back to the first question and think through what could be done to minimize that risk.)

What obstacles might you encounter?

What could you do to overcome these obstacles?

What supports do you have?

Where could you find more support?

How can you measure/evaluate your success? (How can slow change be differentiated from failure?)

Participants agreed on a few key definitions:

**Biological sex** refers to the physiological and anatomical characteristics of maleness and femaleness with which a person is born.

**Gender identity** refers to one's psychological sense of oneself as a male or female (or neither or both).

**Gender role** refers to the socially constructed and culturally specific behaviour and expectations for women (femininity) and men (masculinity).

**Sexism** is the cultural, institutional, and individual set of beliefs and practices that privilege men, subordinate women, and denigrate values and practices associated with women.

Participants were also introduced to the following paper by **Ms Malika Floor**.

## **What is gender mainstreaming?**

### ***Basic concepts and elements***

- **Gender equality** means that all human beings are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by strict gender roles, and that the contributions and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. Gender equality is not synonymous with sameness, but allows and values difference and diversity.
- **Gender mainstreaming** is the reorganization of work and resources so that the gender equality perspective is incorporated into all policies and operations by actors involved in policy-making and programming.

### ***Why bother?***

- **Justice and equality** (human rights standards)
- **Credibility and accountability** (50% of the human population are females)
- **Efficiency and sustainability** (of programmes and interventions)
- **Alliance** (for example, the EU sets certain requirements for gender equality for members wishing to join)
- **Chain reaction** (empowerment of women will benefit the whole society, the whole country)



- **Gender analysis** is about identifying women's and men's different roles and relations and not making assumptions about them. Through an analysis the programme interventions are better at meeting both women's and men's needs and enabling their contributions. Doing a gender analysis is a basic requirement for developing a mainstreaming strategy.
- **Gender impact assessment** is done to clarify the likely consequences which programmes have for women and men. It also analyses how the activities affect the relations between women and men.
- **Gender sensitization** refers to increasing the understanding and capacities of staff on gender differences and equality. It can take the forms of discussions and consultations, training on concepts, provision of tools and techniques, joint analysis and assessments.
- **Targetting** versus **mainstreaming** are two approaches for addressing gender inequalities. One approach does not exclude the other. Targetting refers to specific measures addressed at one gender, for example, income-generation for women to improve their economic situation, or involving men in SGBV prevention and response. Earlier, specific 'women's projects' were the norm, but their impact was limited, and often led to marginalisation of gender issues of the mainstream programming. Gender mainstreaming is about putting gender into the mainstream of the organization's activities and policies. The UNHCR has adopted this two-pronged approach of combining targetting and mainstreaming as a widely tested best practice. Targetting continues to be an important part of gender mainstreaming and in changing particular obstructive situations or attitudes. Specific programmes for one gender usually target the so-called high gender impact sectors of the operation.
- **High gender impact** versus **gender neutral sectors of operations** are terms that are used to describe the assumed or analysed programming consequences for women and men. For example, it can be assumed that the food sector has a high gender impact (what, how, by whom, and to whom food is provided has significant and differentiated consequences for women and men). Some areas can be considered to be gender-neutral, that is, having no differentiated consequences for women and men (for example, the procurement of administrative items for the office). Sometimes our assumptions about which sectors are high impact or neutral are proven wrong when analysed.

### **Faq: when have we mainstreamed gender?**

**‘Bad news’:** It cannot be completed! Gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself, but a continuous process whereby inequalities between men and women should be constantly addressed. Similarly to any other forms of discrimination or inequality (racial, ethnic, religious, political and so on), addressing gender inequality should be continuously done.

**‘Good news’:** It is possible to measure the progress in gender equality and mainstreaming and whether our strategy and activities contribute to advancing equality! Gender mainstreaming is not a mystical and immeasurable process. Inequalities and discrimination can be quantified and qualified. It is possible to develop indicators and benchmarks to measure the effectiveness, appropriateness and impact of gender mainstreaming policies and activities.

### **Step-by-step gender mainstreaming**

The steps outlined below are the main techniques and tools for gender mainstreaming. As gender mainstreaming is a process, the order of the steps is in the usual sequence but the steps are interlinked and not necessarily linear or separable. Before making any steps towards gender mainstreaming, there are a few necessary prerequisites:

- Equal participation by all stakeholders, both women and men in the mainstreaming process.
- Motivation and commitment by staff to gender equality and mainstreaming
- Specific gender equality policy that promotes equality between men and women staff members and the refugee population (or whoever your beneficiaries are on the project) and valuing their work and contributions. Gender equality policy goes beyond numbers (% of women and men).
- Statistics and data that are sex-segregated and that are not gender-biased, i.e. statistics comprise data that is relevant for both women and men.
- Necessary funds and human resources.
- Access to the necessary guidance, expertise and knowledge of gender mainstreaming.

**Step 1:** Sensitising staff and external stakeholders to gender concepts and equipping them with techniques and tools for gender mainstreaming. This can take the form of discussions, training, coaching, and the study and development of

policies and operations. Gender sensitisation can be part of the assessment of the existing capacities, skills and resources, and gaps can be reviewed in more detail through the gender analysis. Suggested resources: UNHCR Gender Training Kit and the Council of Europe Gender Mainstreaming: Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices ([www.coe.org/equality/egsms/eegsms2.98](http://www.coe.org/equality/egsms/eegsms2.98)).

**Step 2:** Undertake gender analysis of the refugee/IDP populations (beneficiaries) looking at gender inequalities and differences in the roles of women, men, boys and girls among the population. Usually the analysis looks at gender differences in rights, laws, distribution of and access to resources and representation. Both quantitative and qualitative data is used, sex-segregated to the extent possible. The analysis is participatory and involves refugees (beneficiaries), other agencies and actors. This involvement enables gaps and resources to be identified and creates ownership for gender mainstreaming. It is important to analyse gender differences prior to and after displacement. Suggested resource: People-Oriented Planning, Action for the Rights of the Child, UNDP Gender Mainstreaming Handbook.

**Step 3:** Undertake gender impact assessment by evaluating the consequences of UNHCR's and other partners' policies and programmes for women, men, boys and girls. The scope of the consequences must be described, both negative and positive consequences, in the short and long term. The assessment should look both at direct and indirect effects. Gender analysis and gender impact assessments are participatory exercises involving all stakeholders and staff members. Open discussions of gender equality should be an integral part of the analysis and assessment. Both the analysis and impact assessment can be limited to the operational sectors that are considered high impact sectors, and preferably extended to all operational sectors to detect unfounded assumptions of gender neutrality.

Suggested resources: Norwegian Government Guide to Gender Impact Assessment ([www.odin.no](http://www.odin.no)) and the Council of Europe Gender Mainstreaming book.

**Step 4:** This step is about developing a strategic plan and identifying concrete activities and actors to implement the plan. With the results and outcomes of the analysis and assessment, it is possible to identify problems and gaps, and to start setting action goals, priorities and targets. The action plan should be realistic, time-specific and measurable. It should clarify the functions and responsibilities of the

actors. Gender mainstreaming usually entails redefining priorities, re-ranking problems, reallocation of resources and redefining the stakeholders. Suggested resources: Council of Europe paper and the UNDP Handbook.

**Step 5:** Sectoral progress indicators are crucial in monitoring the implementation. Gender-sensitive indicators are disaggregated by sex, age and socio-economic background. They are designed to demonstrate differences and changes in providing equal protection and access to assistance and decision-making by women, men, boys and girls. The indicators should measure 1) the derived quality, 2) the quantity to be achieved, 3) the target group who is affected or benefits from the programme intervention, and 4) the timeframe envisaged for the achievement of the objectives. Effective monitoring is based on deciding on 1) who will be responsible, 2) what will be monitored, 3) what the monitoring tools and techniques will be, and 4) how the monitoring will be followed up. Suggested resource: FAO, Sustainable Development Section, Gender-sensitive indicators ([www.fao.org](http://www.fao.org)).



**Step 6:** The culmination of the monitoring process occurs during the evaluation. The evaluation contributes to establishing good practices and learning lessons. Evaluation is also important for accountability of resources used. Linked to the indicators, evaluation can be done at the level of output, outcome and process. As a result, we can readjust or redefine the approach, the target group/population and redetermine the partners and stakeholders that need to be involved. The evaluation is forward-looking in the sense that it includes follow-up recommendations related to the outputs, outcomes and the process itself, actors involved, methods and tools used, and resources allocated.

(Source: *Mainstreaming Gender & Age Awareness in Refugee Settings. Part II. A follow-up training for trainers*. Menedék Egyesület, Hungary, pp. 29-31.

<http://menedek.ispman.hu/cdnp/files/20060728/TOTosszefoglalo2.pdf>)

# PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

## The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue

**Mr Ulrich Bunjes**, *Council of Europe, Directorate General IV, Central Unit*

The Guidelines for the drawing-up of the ‘White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue’ were defined at the 116<sup>th</sup> Session of the Committee of Ministers (Strasbourg, 18-19 May, 2006). They are based on the view that intercultural dialogue is one tool – among several others – contributing to the democratic management of (cultural) diversity within European societies and Europe’s relations with neighbouring regions. It can also make an important contribution to the prevention of tensions. The White Paper is thus placed in a larger political context and marks the beginning of a reflection process, which the Action Plan, adopted at the Third Summit, invites the Council of Europe to elaborate and concentrate on in years to come, in order to build “a more humane and inclusive Europe”. The preparation of the White Paper and the outcome of this process will be an important occasion to define the role of the Council of Europe and the added value of its activities in the area of intercultural dialogue and of the promotion of tolerance.

Basic references of the White Paper are the universally recognised human rights as well as the ‘Faro Declaration on the Council of Europe’s Strategy for Developing Intercultural Dialogue’ and its related instruments, agreed by the European Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs at their meeting in Faro, Portugal on 27-28 October, 2005, where they set down the Council of Europe’s Strategy for the promotion of intercultural dialogue. In the ‘Faro Declaration’, the Ministers asked the Council of Europe to prepare a White Paper on integrated policies for the management of cultural diversity through intercultural dialogue and conflict prevention, in order to provide the Council of Europe with a coherent policy document. The White Paper reviews the conceptual and operational achievements of the Council of Europe that are relevant to intercultural dialogue from an inter-sectoral, multi-disciplinary point of view, and proposes orientations for future action by the Council of Europe. The religious dimension of intercultural dialogue is given appropriate attention. The White Paper, in particular:

1. identifies ways and means to respond to the need for intensified intercultural dialogue within and between European societies, so as to enhance the ability for everyone to contribute to, and benefit from, the

cultural diversity of our continent in daily life and to promote active citizenship especially among young people, as well as ensure the cohesion of our societies;

2. identifies ways and means to respond to the need for structured dialogue between Europe and its neighbours as a means of further co-operation, and to promote mutual understanding and to prevent tensions;
3. provides policy makers at international, national, regional and local levels, and civil society organisations with guidelines for the development and implementation of intercultural dialogue, and with the necessary analytical and methodological tools and standards indispensable for successful practice.

To ensure a transversal approach and achieve practical results within a relatively short time span and at acceptable costs, the work on the White Paper is implemented by a special Secretariat Task Force led by the Co-ordinator for Intercultural Dialogue. Where necessary, consultant experts are used for assisting the process. The Secretary General will submit the draft document to the Committee of Ministers.

The Intersectoral Task Force works in close co-ordination with other relevant on-going activities of the Council of Europe in the same areas (including the North-South Centre and EURIMAGES) and relevant Steering Committees. The Secretariat consults member states on their views and experiences in the field of intercultural dialogue in writing. The results of events organised by the Council of Europe and member states on issues related to inter-cultural dialogue are



taken into account as well. The Secretariat also consults with the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the Commissioner for Human Rights, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the INGO Conference, and the European Youth Centres in Strasbourg and Budapest.

The Secretariat consults, where necessary, by means of hearings or written consultations, the institutional partners of the Council of Europe (including UNESCO, the European Commission, the OSCE, ALECSO and the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures) with a view to providing an open and integrated approach for the future Council of Europe work in this field, as well as other experts, representatives of public authorities below state level, members of different ethnic and religious communities, and relevant civil society organisations.

At every stage of the preparation the Secretariat ensures that the most open and inclusive approach is adopted, within the Council of Europe and externally, so as to enable all relevant and interested partners to contribute effectively to the elaboration of the White Paper.

The draft White Paper will be submitted to the Rapporteur Group on Education, Culture, Sport, Youth and Environment (GR-C) and as soon as the Committee of Ministers has expressed itself, the Secretariat expects to be able to publish the White Paper before the start of the planned 'European Year of Intercultural Dialogue' of the European Union in 2008.



# Activities Promoting Diversity: the Youth Field and the 2007 European Year for Equal Opportunities for All

**Ms Karin Lopatta-Loibl**, *European Commission, Directorate for Education and Culture, Youth Policy Unit*

and

**Ms Brigitte Degen**, *European Commission, Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Unit Action against Discrimination, Civil Society*

In her speech, Ms Karin Lopatta-Loibl stated that she had enjoyed the four days spent at the Forum and was impressed by the commitment of the participants. She committed herself to taking good practices and relevant information “back to Brussels” in order to spread them among European Commission colleagues and disseminate them at other public events. She was glad to record the establishment of synergies among the campaign ‘All Different – All Equal’, the campaign ‘For Diversity – Against Discrimination’ and the European year of Equal Opportunities. She is also committed to informing the Commission and the Member States about the Forum Final Declaration.

Ms Degen introduced to the participants the 2007 European year of ‘Equal opportunities for All – Towards a Just Society’, implemented by the Directorate General Employment, Social Affairs, Equal opportunities, Anti-discrimination and relations with civil society.

The programme has a budget of 15 million (7,65 million at the national level based on co-financing) and it is based upon Article 13 of the EC Treaty. Its objectives are to raise awareness about discrimination and to highlight the benefits of diversity. It links to two Directives (43 and 78) that were formulated in 2000 and that are witnessing delays in being adopted as national laws, and to the 2004 Green Paper on Equality and discrimination issues in an Enlarged Europe.

The European Union anti-discrimination legislation is one of the most extensive in the world. However, the laws have to be widely known and fully applied in order to be completely effective. To this end they have to be bolstered by a clear political determination, while enjoying popular support. The European Year in 2007 is intended to provide this renewed impetus.



Calling for equal rights and adopting laws to try and guarantee them is not enough to ensure equal opportunities are available for everyone in practice. Incentives have to be given to bring about a change in behaviour and mentality. Steps also have to be taken to tackle the intricate patterns of inequality suffered by certain groups and communities in Europe, while examining the roots of these problems. Finally, we have to acknowledge our societies are changing. Examples of this are the European Union's ageing population and its increasingly multiethnic make-up. The ever-growing diversity sets new challenges that we have to meet more effectively, while offering myriad opportunities that we have to seize.

With this in mind, and precisely five years after the European Union adopted two very wide-ranging directives to prohibit discrimination in the workplace and in other aspects of daily life, the European Commission has designated 2007 as the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All. This initiative provides additional momentum for the anti-discrimination campaign and promotes equal opportunities for all, while conveying a positive message about diversity.

The Year is an initiative leading the way to a bolder strategy seeking to give momentum to the fight against discrimination in the EU, as the Commission explained in a document, published in June 2005, called 'Framework strategy for non-discrimination and equal opportunities for all'.

The five priorities of the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All are:

- Decentralised activities
- Balanced treatment of discrimination grounds
- Addressing multiple discrimination
- Ensuring gender mainstreaming
- Involving civil society and key stakeholders

Further information can be found at:

[http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/equality2007/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/equality2007/index_en.htm)

### **EU Campaign 'For Diversity. Against Discrimination'**

As part of its Action Programme to combat Discrimination, the European Commission is also running a five-year pan-European information campaign 'For Diversity – Against Discrimination'. The campaign intends to combat discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, age, disability and sexual orientation. It was launched on 16th June 2003, when EU

Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs, Anna Diamantopoulou, presented the campaign to the international press in Brussels. The first year of the campaign focused primarily on promoting diversity in the workplace. Measures for the second year of the campaign included the 'Run for Diversity', a Journalist Award and an information truck tour through EU Member States, including the ten new Member States. These activities were maintained in the third campaign year and extended by measures targeting youth, such as, for example, a mobile photo contest and local events. The campaign is being developed in close co-operation with EU governments, trade unions, employers' organisations and NGOs.



The campaign aims to communicate a positive message on diversity through a wide range of channels, such as TV or print adverts, website, seminars and media events. Brochures, flyers and posters provide information about new EU rules against discrimination in the various Member States.

### **Networking**

Diversity and dialogue are not only the key messages but also the guiding principles of the campaign, which include pan-European, national and regional measures. These measures are developed in close liaison and co-operation with partners in each EU Member State. The slogan, logo and design were tested and discussed by experts in focus groups in several EU states and reworked accordingly.

The national and regional measures, such as awareness-raising events and media activities, are developed in national teams, comprising government representatives, non-government organisations (NGOs), and employer and employee organisations. This ensures that their design and content take country-specific circumstances into account and that people who are actively involved in the development of the campaign can reflect the needs and views of the groups which the campaign is targeting. Media Consulta is responsible for the implementation of the campaign. The agency has a network of agency correspondents in every EU Member State, all of whom have expertise in the areas of social affairs and employment.

The campaign to combat discrimination will run until the end of 2007. Measures for the fourth year of the campaign will continue the 'Run for Diversity', the Journalist Award and the European Truck Tour through all 25 EU Member states and will introduce some new activities, such as an international poster contest.



It is worth noting that 2008 has been declared the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue will present a wide variety of enriching and specific projects that will be implemented in the framework of EU programmes and other Community actions. The Year of Intercultural Dialogue will encourage the mobilisation of civil society and actors at the European, national and local levels. Culture, education, youth, sport and citizenship are the main implementation fields. This initiative will mainly concentrate on areas where intercultural dialogue is more likely to contribute to 'better living' among people living in the European Union. The objective is to involve all dimensions of cultural diversity existing inside and between Member States in intercultural

dialogue. The Year 2008 should give priority to youth and should involve as many individuals as possible. The challenge consists of introducing the dialogue where it matters most, that is to say, in schools and education or training *fora*, at work but also in leisure, cultural, sports centres and civil society organisations.

The European Year is expected to:

- *promote intercultural dialogue* as an instrument to assist European citizens, and all those living in the European Union, in acquiring the knowledge and aptitudes to enable them to deal with a more open and more complex environment;
- *raise the awareness of European citizens*, and all those living in the European Union, of the importance of *developing active European citizenship which is open to the world*, respectful of cultural diversity and based on common values.

Representing a unique opportunity to strengthen ‘*mainstreaming*’ in all of the relevant Community programmes and actions in 2008, the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue will make it possible to raise the profile and increase the overall impact of these actions in the context of the Year. This will make it possible to promote a consistent image of the *multiplicity of Community actions contributing to the intercultural dialogue* while developing synergies between programmes, particularly those geared towards neighbouring countries and third countries.

The Year will also involve close cooperation between the Member States to concentrate efforts on awareness-raising and communication activities.

The Commission proposes that the European Year be allocated a budget of 10 million euro to fund three types of activity, which will constitute the operational objectives:

- an *information campaign promoting* the objectives of the European Year – to be identified by a logo – which could account for half of the budget;
- *grants for actions at Community level*, geared towards a limited number of emblematic actions on a Community scale (e.g. major festivals or sporting events) intended to raise awareness, especially among young people, of the objectives of the European Year;
- *co-financing of actions at national level* with a strong European dimension.

The preparation for the Year will need to be closely coordinated with the preparations for and implementation of the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All in 2007, in order to maximise synergies and complementarity between these two initiatives.

### **Final remarks**

The focus of the final session was the discussion and the unanimous approval of the Final Declaration. The consensus reaching session was smoothly run by **Ms Bettina Schwarzmayer**, who built upon the previous working groups’ contributions. After hearing the conclusion by the Forum general rapporteur and a communication by **Ms Alexandra Raykova** that the Forum contributed to the creation of a permanent Diversity Youth Forum in Europe, **Ms Mariam Yassin**, European Steering Group of the ‘All Different – All Equal’ campaign thanked all participants and encouraged them to make the Final Declaration an active instrument to promote a human rights based perspective on diversity in Europe.

# APPENDICES

## The Diversity Café'

**Mr Frédéric Duret-Nauche, HOST**

The purpose of this paper is to underline my 'underground' approach to the Café... sharing elements of reflection for a post debriefing.

A Café is, first of all, a space where something might happen ...

A space is as dead or alive as the people in it are made of:

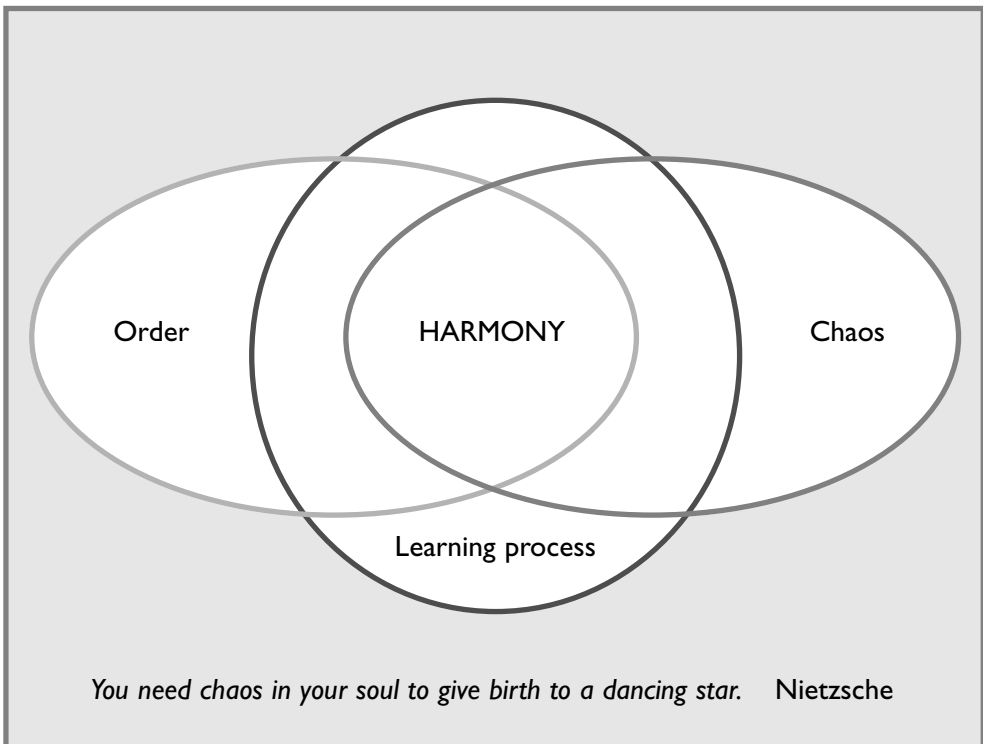
Space to be used freely by the group... space to be, space to speak out... an impulse and few tools for possible spontaneous initiatives being partly given by the host of the Café... myself, in this case. According to the nature and the proper inner dynamic and capacities of the group, the influence of the host will be more or less visible and challenging, with more or less hidden intentions, in order to make the group react; the objectives, content, the methodology of the official programme, without forgetting the possible lacks within it and questions or elements put aside (as the given starting space is never neutral), will orientate the host's choices in terms of the kind of actions that will be the most relevant.

As such, due to the structure and difficult issues to be discussed during the working days, I decided not to add any heavy debates to the evening, orientating the Café, rather, towards more dynamic exchange sessions based on creative and more physical approaches, where it is not only your mind which has the monopoly of your reactions, and still staying close to the main theme of our symposium: *The programme should be creative – an experience in diversity!*

The word 'experience' reminds me of the world of laboratories... and by its nature the Café can be seen as a true laboratory, where a safe and closed environment is created in order to improvise, experiment with new combinations, and hypothesise, the risk being to create and work only in an artificial and disconnected reality; that is why, from time to time, the host has to pay attention to give back a legitimate space to the factual external reality, using it in a creative way as a proper element of the learning process.

Bearing in mind that diversity, before being good or bad and subject to debate, is firstly an aspect of our day to day lives that can hardly be avoided, I have thus taken the liberty, among the great number of possible angles of treating such an issue, and due also to the limited time we had, of suggesting only three following working directions:

***Diversity: between extreme order and chaos lies harmony...  
the learning process being transversal***



It is between these two poles, the central focus point and red line of my motivation, that I integrated the coherence and logic for my actions.

The experience clearly demonstrated this: diversity without a clear desire for and ideal of harmony, diversity without a minimal principle of organisation, order and aesthetics, and diversity without a deep sense of responsibility and action supported by a strong will, leads simply to emptiness, nihilism or chaos; in the other direction, extreme order and law leads to sterility.

When the good balance of a space just falls into the hands of one person, the other people living in the same space, by not taking their responsibility of co-management, are simply taking a big risk. What is given nicely to them and that they are simply enjoying without thinking much about it, might just disappear the day after, moving towards one of these two extremes, as a result of a terrorist attack, a putsch, or merely as a result of their lymphatic self-consuming behaviour.

Experimenting with *participation* and *diversity* with such a large number of people is really great because our microcosm shows how groups comprising people who are basically very diverse really do, or do not, work together.



Experimenting with *participation* and *self-determination* in their deeper meanings also implies that you have to be ready if simply nothing happens, creating a potential crisis. Interestingly enough, one of the participants said once to me, “Oh, do not expect too many people to participate: they are here to speak about diversity; the symposium about participation will be in Luxembourg.” I smiled and asked what we should do about respecting in this symposium or not the issue of *human rights*. In any case, do not worry; of course that something will happen – it is the job of the host; but be careful: the host is not here

to perform and to entertain the group. The more passive the group is, the more the host will have to go further in his initiatives, with a reminder here that one can hardly challenge the deepest certitudes, behaviours and beliefs of people without being ready to keep a distance from the accepted norm.

It is nevertheless important to keep in mind that space settlements, however extreme they might be, should always pay attention to the life and work of the ‘locals’, and never forget the basic rules of security and the accessibility for all to the proposed environments and activities.

## ***Diversity, from immobility to movement***

Diversity is, for some of us, just interesting when it provides a source of exotic entertainment or when it is, in a way, frozen and under control like in an ethnographic museum full of dust. Of course, when this diversity starts to move, when the sculptures become alive (making reference to the activity of the first evening), we all have to face a change in the balance of energy.

Once the movement of diversity is activated, it is welcome especially if it can find its own sphere of expression in a space which is held by all of us, where diversity is the result of our collective commitment. That is why, offering the possibility of building the environment of the Café as a group process is an important aspect of the appropriation of the Café by the group itself.

But as the Café is just an element of the informal programme, nobody can be forced to take part in it. We are back here to the question of participation. Nevertheless, very soon, despite its secondary position, the Café, by its power over the living space and the spontaneous and motivated initiatives, and encouraged by its own dynamic, might become so present that nobody will be able to avoid its influence, between stressful pressure and peaceful atmosphere, between loneliness and open dialogue.

It might actually start simply with little details such as starting a hugging chain, calling a matzinga circle, “perverting” the official slogan of the campaign or changing partly the position of the chairs in the plenary, just to see how people would react, and inviting them to share, interact, listen and look towards different and unusual directions in unexpected positions.

## ***Diversity of our ways of communication***

It has been, therefore, interesting for me to also recreate different communication environments and models, from the flood of written information, as in a heavy advertising campaign with quick oral whistle public announcements to a minimalist approach, from elaborated and complex written speeches to simple scholarly statements, following the quality of the transfer of the information and the consequences of it on the effective participation, reaction and answers coming from the group.



Beyond the questions possibly raised by the free initiatives of the Café and its environment, above all, what was important was also to insure and secure a high level of energy and commitment so that the group could achieve and finish the editing of our final declaration.

### **Reminder of the main different events which took place within the Café:**

Rene Dubos:  
*Human diversity makes tolerance more than a virtue; it makes it a requirement for survival.*

Julia Cameron:  
*Art is not about thinking something up. It is the opposite – getting something down.*

Annie Dillard:  
*How we spend our days is, of course, how we spend our lives.*

- The multi-greeting chain
- UNESCO universal declaration on cultural diversity
- The space is ours
- Moving sculptures
- Round table about inter-religious diversity
- Theatre-sport-diversity improvisation
- Projection of Baraka
- Bomb explosion, the death of the being of diversity
- Banner atelier
- Mind your opposite

And remember that we are running a campaign... from very local to international level, and a campaign means action and visibility. So if you really want to act, just act now with what you have, with the people who are already here, ready to do it with you.

With a special thanks to those who made this Café happen!

“Think big – do at least a little – start an avalanche!”

*For further contact, any questions or deeper debates and feedback that would be useful for future cafés: [porto-raphael@cooperation.net](mailto:porto-raphael@cooperation.net)*

## **Guidelines and principles of the café**

*A responsibility shared by all of us*

An independent, free, informal, fun, social and creative spatio-temporal space, spreading its atmosphere, where you can be yourself, feel relaxed, trusted and secure, and enjoy a refreshing glass of something, ... for experimenting, debating, giving opportunities to freely share opinions about any public question, and raising challenging questions:

- **To be surprised and tackled... listening and talking from the heart!**
- *To promote mutual comprehension, respect, acceptance of differences in reciprocity and understanding in a creative way*
- *To encourage exchanges and debates between individuals, and communities on the base of shared values present in all cultural background*
- *To promote dialogue and search for common values*
- *To find ways and methods to resist and to act firstly on a day-to-day basis in our own reality, own house and neighbourhood, our own world*
- *To find solutions between extreme cultural relativism and xenophobic ethnocentrism*
- **To simply try to live fully our diversity in harmony.**

## **Let us create together the space we need**

(between 'fake neutrality' and 'living identity')

For diversity, dialogue, informal meetings, silence, prayer, meditating, eating, drinking, celebrating, performing, playing, working, solving, sharing, screaming, crying, arguing, complaining, proposing, craziness, consensus, physical expression, dangerous experiences, musical journeys, dreaming in poetry, for being surprised... taking a real bath into our joining theme!!!

Time to set up the atmosphere!

The material and the space are given to you, so now take the time to observe, group your effort and then just trust your imagination like that of your neighbour, being able to do a lot with very little... and in case you have any doubts or a question, just ask the hosting team.

Suggestion for space organisation into the café:...

- Wall of opinions
  - Suggestion corner
  - Positive provocation corner
  - Dream corner
  - Realistic thought corner
  - Intercultural bar
  - Free stage for free expression
- etc...

# Programme

## Tuesday, 24 October

Arrival of the participants

19:00 *Dinner*

20:30 Informal welcome activities

## Wednesday, 25<sup>th</sup> October

09:15 Opening session:

- Creative introduction
- Presentation of the participants
- Welcome speeches by:
  - **Mr Ralf-René Weingärtner**, Director of Youth and Sport, Council of Europe
  - **Ms Astrid Utterström**, Chairperson of the Joint Council on Youth
  - **Ms Karin Lopatta-Loibl**, European Commission, Directorate for Education and Culture, Youth Policy Unit
  - **Ms Bettina Schwarzmayr**, President, European Youth Forum

10:30 *Break*

11:00 Introduction to the symposium's programme and working methods,  
**Mr Rui Gomes**, Preparatory Group of the symposium

11:15 "*Reasons for campaigning for Diversity and Human Rights in Europe today*",  
**Prof. Murat Belge**, Istanbul Bilgi University

12:00 Working Groups (getting to know each other, reactions to the speech)

12:45 *Lunch*

14:30 "*Beyond Diversity: the concept and their social implications in Europe today*",  
**Prof. Gavan Titley**, National University of Ireland

15:45 *Break*

16:45 Working Groups

- Relevance of the concepts presented by the speaker
- Relation of those concepts to national campaign issues

17:45 Information update on the European Youth Campaign,  
**Mr Michael Raphael**, campaign manager

18:15 Closing of the day's formal programme

19:00 *Dinner*

21:00 *Diversity Café* – Campaign exchange

## **Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> October**

- 09:15 Opening of the day and introduction to the programme
- 09:30 “*Current Challenges to Diversity and Equality in Europe*”, by  
**Mr Nils Muiznieks**, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
- 10:45 *Break*
- 11:15 Working Groups on Diversity and Discrimination issues/threats:
1. **RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA**  
Facilitation: **Ms Manuela Tavares**;  
resource person: **Mr Nils Muiznieks**
  2. **ISLAMOPHOBIA**  
Facilitation: **M(s Pervana Mammadova)**;  
resource person: **Mr Michael Privot**
  3. **HOMOPHOBIA**  
Facilitation: **Ms Annette Schneider**;  
resource person: **Mr Bruno Selun**
  4. **ROMAPHOBIA AND ANTIGYPSYISM**  
Facilitation: **Ms Ramiza Sakip**;  
resource person: **Ms Alexandra Raykova**
  5. **SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND POVERTY**  
Facilitation: **Ms Bettina Schwarzmeier**;  
resource person: **Mr Marius Jitea**
  6. **MIGRATION**  
Facilitation: **Mr Hasan Habib**;
  7. **ANTISEMITISM**  
Facilitation: **Ms Mariam Yassin**;  
resource person: **Mr Danny Stone**
  8. **ABILISM**  
Facilitation: **Ms Iris Bawidamann**;  
resource person: **Mr Simon Stevens**
  9. **THE CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY**  
Facilitation: **Ms Zsuzsanna Szelényi**
- 12:45 *Lunch*
- 14:30 Working groups continued
- 16:00 *Break*
- 16:30 Working groups conclude
- 17:15 Feedback from the groups in plenary
- 18:00 Practical information
- 18:15 Closing of the day’s formal programme
- 19:00 *Dinner*
- 21:00 Diversity Café

## Friday, 27<sup>th</sup> October

09:15 “Promoting diversity through youth work” – examples of projects addressing issues related to Diversity and Equality of Opportunities:

**DEUTSCHE BAHN TRAINEES AGAINST HATRED AND VIOLENCE**

**Ms Semra Çelik** and **Mr Hans-Joachim Borck**,

*Deutsche Bahn AG, Germany*

**DIVERSITY YOUTH PROJECT IN FLANDERS**

**Mr Ico Mali**, *Kif-Kif, Belgium*

**FOREIGN STUDENTS’ RIGHTS DEFENSE**

**Ms Lyubov Penyugalova**, *ETHnICS organisation, Russian Federation*

**WORLD SCHOOL AND SCHOOL WITHOUT RACISM**

**Ms Marije Braakman**, *Landelijk Bureau ter bestrijding*

*van Rassendiscriminatie, The Netherlands*

10:45 *Break*

11:15 Working groups on youth work and youth policy responses, including

**1. YOUTH WORK**

Facilitation: **Mr Hasan Habib**;

resource person: **Ms Susie Green**

**2. EDUCATION CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES TO DIVERSITY**

Facilitation: **Ms Ramiza Sakip**;

resource person: **Mr Darek Gzremny**

**3. PARTICIPATION AND INTEGRATION POLICIES**

Facilitation: **Ms Iris Bawidamann**;

resource person: **Mr Khaalid Hassan**

**4. WORKPLACE, LABOUR AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY**

Facilitation: **Mr Luis Pinto**;

resource person: **Ms Svetlana Timchenko**

**5. ADVOCACY AND POLITICAL WORK**

Facilitation: **Ms Bettina Schwarzmeier**;

resource person: **Mr Larry Olomoofe**

**6. MAINSTREAMING GENDER**

Facilitation: **Ms Mariam Yassin**;

resource person: **Ms Györgyi Tóth**

*Workshops on campaigning techniques and experiences:*

**7. CAMPAIGNING IN LARGE PUBLIC EVENTS – THE LIVING LIBRARY AN EXAMPLE**

Facilitation: **Ms Antje Rothemund**

**8. CREATING AND ACTIVATING A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

Facilitation: **Mr Michael Raphael**

- 12:45 *Lunch*
- 14:30 Continuation of workshops and working groups
- 16:00 *Break*
- 16:30 Working groups conclude
- 17:00 Presentations in plenary
- 17:45 Introduction to the Final Declaration
- 18:15 Closing of the day's formal programme
- 19:30 *Dinner and boat trip on the Danube*

## **Saturday, 28<sup>th</sup> October**

- 09:15 The agenda ahead: information about the follow-up of the theme in the campaign and beyond.
  - The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, **Mr Ulrich Bunjes**, *Council of Europe, Directorate General IV, Central Unit*
  - Activities promoting diversity in the youth field, **Ms Karin Lopatta-Loibl**, *European Commission, Directorate for Education and Culture, Youth Policy Unit*
  - The 2007 European Year for Equal Opportunities for All, **Ms Brigitte Degen**, *European Commission, Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Unit Action against Discrimination, Civil Society*
- 10:30 Working groups  
Proposals for the future agenda on Diversity with a Human Rights-based approach.
- 12:45 *Lunch*
- 14:30 Presentation of the conclusions of the working groups
- 15:00 Review and adoption of the Final Declaration
- 15:30 Conclusions by **Mr Alessio Surian**, General Rapporteur of the Forum
- 15:45 Closing session, with
  - **Ms Karin Lopatta-Loibl**, European Commission
  - **Ms Mariam Yassin**, European Steering Group of the “all different-all equal” campaign
- 16:15 End of the symposium
- 20:30 *Dinner-reception and farewell party with live music.*

## **Sunday, 29<sup>th</sup> October**

Departure of participants

## List of Participants

Country	Name	Organisation
Albania	Rifat Demalija Taulant Naço  Klodjana Malushaj	Youth in Free Initiative Association for youngsters with disabilities "Beyond Barriers" FEMYSO
Armenia	Stepan Adamyan	Federation of Youth Clubs
Austria	Nikola Ornig Silvia Dallinger	Austrian National Youth Council Asylkoordination Österreich
Azerbaijan	Azar Bayramov Emin Amrullayev	Youth Development Public Union Association des Etats Généraux des Etudiants de l'Europe
Belgium	Joao Salviano Jovana Bazerkovska Klavdija Cernilogar Eva Kyndt Maxime Cerutti Tom Monsieur Didier Van der Meeren Polat Nilufer	European Youth Forum OBESSU European Youth Forum Wel Jong Niet Hetero European Youth Forum KAJ Vlaanderen Le Monde des Possible ASBL MRAX
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Jasmin Jasarevic Zivorad Kovacevic	PRONI Center for youth development Commission for coordination of youth issues
Bulgaria	Alexandra Raykova Ilina Rumenoova Georgieva	Forum on European Roma Young People National Campaign Committee
Estonia	Jelena Parfjonova	NGO Trajectorya

Country	Name	Organisation
Finland	Annina Hirvonen Elina Lauttamäki Inka Lindroos Raya Mudie	European Confederation of Youth Clubs Youth co-operation Allianssi Youth Co-operation Allianssi Sondip - The Union of Multicultural Associations
France	Ferreira-Reis Ketty  Schneider Karine Jerome Sauvant Siham Andalouci	Committee for National and International Relations of Youth and Non formal Education Organisations Conseil National de la Jeunesse Conseil National de la Jeunesse European Muslim Network
Georgia	Nana Saginashvili Natia Tsintsadze Tsira Kakubava	International Union Ertoba The Union "Century 21" Public Organization "Alert"
Germany	Christian Scharf Dejan Panow Stephanie Nordt	Federation of Cultural Youth Associations German national campaign committee Kombi
Greece	Ismini Karydopoulou Zoe Sakelliadis	Greek-Albanian Friendship Association Greek Council for Refugees
Hungary	Andrea Veszteg Fatemeh Sohrabi  Mboh Ekale Gabor Toth Mara Arvai  Tamas Kozma Tamás Wágner Gyopár Körtesi Márk Kovács Melitta Lakatos	Hungarian National campaign committee Mahatma Gandhim Human Rights Organisation Mahatma Gandhim HR Organisation Reformed mission centre refugee ministry YOPA - Youth for Participation Public Benefit Association European Youth Parliament Association "Tér Kép" Association "Tér Kép" Association "Tér Kép" Association "Tér Kép"



Country	Name	Organisation
Hungary	András Vincze	Association "Tér Kép"
	Tibor Osztie	Association "Tér Kép"
	Henrik Kállai	Regional children centre of Erzsébetváros, Youth Club "Csomó-pont"
	Réka Halasi	Regional children centre of Erzsébetváros, Youth Club "Csomó-pont"
	Ádám Botta	Motiváció Alapítvány
	Henriett Híz	Mobilitás
	Éva Járosi	Mobilitás
	Judit Salamon	Mobilitás
	Szilárd Strenner	Mobilitás
	Csilla Szabó	Mobilitás
	Marianna Szebenyi	Mobilitás
	Ágota Ruzsa	Mobilitás
	Ági Berecz	Zöld Híd" Foundation
	Judit Balogh	Multikutúra Associate
	Beáta Gál	Van Megoldás Bántalmazott Nőket és gyermekeket Segítő Egyesület
Ottília Kristófné Czinke	Van Megoldás Bántalmazott Nőket és gyermekeket Segítő Egyesület	
Valéria Duenas-Berdár	Betegjogi, Éllátójogi és Gyermejjogi Közalapítvány	
Pappné Dr. Kiss Irén	Arrabona Győr Lions Klub	
Flóra Oroszné Pataki	Szeretve Tanulni Egyesület	
Blanka Kozma	Közéleti Roma Nők Egyesülete	
Ireland	Benedicta Attoh	National Consultative Commission on Racism
Italy	Andrea Pietrini	International Federation of Hard of Hearing Young People
	Matteo Fornaca	Forum Nazionale Giovani
	Salvatore Marra	Nuovidiritti, Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro
Kyrgyzstan	Dildora Hamidova	Centre for Multicultural and Multilingual Education

Country	Name	Organisation
Latvia	Aleksandrs Milovs	Youth Information and Mobility Centre "JUMC"
	Irina Vasiljeva	Youth National Minority Program "Golden Ball"
	Natalja Gudakovska	Minorities of Europe
Lithuania	Aina Damkute	Human Rights Monitoring Institute
	Gaja Bartuseviciute	Lithuanian Youth Council
	Gediminas Andriukaitis	Lithuanian Centre for Human Rights
Luxembourg	Pagnot Caroline	Action solidarite Tiers Monde (ASTM-jeunes)
	Muller Gary	Service National de la Jeunesse
Malta	Cyprian Dalli	Grupp Zghazagh Gudja
Moldova	Ala Marciuc	Youth Employment Center STAR
	Gupuleac Emilia	Association of International Volunteering
	Polina Panainte	Youth Media Centre Moldova
	Tatiana Danilescu	Youth Alliance for Human Rights
Montenegro	Tijana Djurovic	Indecon Consulting GmbH
The Netherlands	Marije Braakman	LBR
	Tom Brouwers	Empowerment Lifestyle Services
Norway	Othilie Solhaug	National Campaign Committee
	Simi Ann Solaas	Red Cross (the Youth Group)
Poland	Adrian Chrobot	Horyzonty YEU Poland
	Dorota Molodynska	Angelus Silesius House
Portugal	Ana Cristina Botelho de Azevedo	High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities
	Madalena Lemos	Portuguese Youth Council
	Nzinga dos Santos	Association "Kabo Jovem"
	Neves e Silva	

Country	Name	Organisation
Romania	Nistor Camelia Soare Cristina Ruxandra	UNITED for Intercultural Action Romani CRISS
Russian Federation	Anna Dobrovolskaya Fransua Tulikunkiko Kochofa Aniset Gabriel Rad'kov Vladislav Kirill Babichenko	Youth Human Rights Movement Humanitarian organisation of Pskov's Region "Happy Childhood" Foreign Students Association of Russia Committee of youth affairs Human Rights Centre "Memorial"
Serbia	Ivana Stevanovic Sever Dzigurski	Student Union of Serbia (SUS) Forum Syd Balkans Programme
Slovenia	Barbara Zupan Petra Mikulan	Ministry of Education and Sport, Office of Youth European Network Against Racism
Spain	Dariusz Grzemny	Human Rights Education Youth Network
Sweden	Alex Fridunger Simon Alexander Nummela	RFSL Ungdom Save The Children Youth Sweden
Switzerland	Simone Stirnimann	Swiss National Youth Council SNYC
Syria	Ola Saif	Follow the Women
"the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia"	Elez Bislim Ninoslav Mladenovik	Association of Citizens of Sumnal Center for Civil and Human Rights
Turkey	Gulesin Nemutlu Hande Diker Ufuk Sabri Atalay	National Campaign Committee Youth Association for Habitat YEN- Youth Express Network

Country	Name	Organisation
Ukraine	Leonid Savin	"Eurasia" youth non-governmental organization
	Nataliya Nikolayenko	Youth Org for National Economic Development of Ukraine
	Tetiana Tarasenko	Kharkiv Center for Gender Studies
United Kingdom	Bruno Selun	IGLYO
	Ozgun Heval Cinar	Human Rights Watch
	Wei Shen	Charnwood Racial Equality Council
	Sanil Modessa	Minorities of Europe

## Preparatory group

Name	Organisation
Bettina Schwarzmayr	European Youth Forum
Luis Manuel Pinto	European Peer Training Organisation
Michael Privot	European Network Against Racism
Hasan Habib	National Campaign Committee
Mariam Yassin	European Steering Group of the Campaign; Advisory Council on Youth
Manuela Tavares	Young Women from Minorities
Ramiza Sakip	Forum of European Roma Young People

## Speakers and resource persons

Name	Organisation / Function
Murat Belge	Professor, Istanbul Bilgi University
Gavan Titley	Professor, National University of Ireland
Astrid Utterström	Chairperson, Joint Council on Youth
Nils Muiznieks	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
Danny Stone	Coexistence Trust
Györgyi Tóth	NaNE Women's Rights Organisation, Hungary
Ico Maly	Youth Projects addressing Diversity - KIF-KIF, Belgium
Khaalid Hassan	Working Group on Participation and Integration Policies
Larry Olomoofe	European Roma Rights Centre
Lyubov Penyugalova	NGO "ETHnICS", Russian Federation
Marius Jitea	Moynihan European Research Center
Teresa Cunha	Action for Justice and Peace College of Education of Coimbra
Simon Stevens	European Human Bridges
Suzie Green	SALTO Diversity Resource Centre
Svitlana Timchenko	Ukrainian Union of Youth Organisation
Daria Storia	International Organisation for Migration
Alin Chindea	International Organisation for Migration

## Consultants

Name	Organisation / Function
Alessio Surian	General Rapporteur
Frédéric Duret-Nauche	Diversity Café facilitator

## European Commission

Name	Organisation / Function
Karin Lopatta-Loibl	Directorate for Education and Culture, Youth Policy Unit
Brigitte Degen	Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, Unit Action against Discrimination, Civil Society

## Council of Europe

Name	Function
Ralf-René Weingärtner	Director of Youth and Sport
Antje Rothemund	Executive Director, European Youth Centre Budapest
Zsuzsanna Szelényi	Deputy Director, European Youth Centre Budapest
Rui Gomes	Head of Unit Education and Training, Directorate of Youth and Sport
Michael Raphael	Manager of the "all different - all equal" Youth campaign on Diversity, Human Rights and Participation, Directorate of Youth and Sport
Annette Schneider	Educational Advisor, Directorate of Youth and Sport

Name	Function
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**The Diversity Youth Forum was organised at the European Youth Centre in Budapest from 24 to 29 October 2006, within the framework of the 'All Different - All Equal' European youth Campaign for Diversity, Human Rights and Participation.**

**It was decided by the European Steering Group of the campaign, with the purpose "to bring together, motivate and galvanise young people representing the diversity of minorities and majorities across Europe". The forum identified key issues and objectives related to diversity, human rights and participation from the point of view of young people.**

**The forum participants issued a Final Declaration with the conclusions and recommendations of the participants. This report documents the presentations and results of the debates during the four days of the activity.**



**The Council of Europe has forty-seven member states, covering virtually the entire continent of Europe. It seeks to develop common democratic and legal principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals.**

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