

Spheres of diversities

From concept to policy

Ricard Zapata-Barrero & Anne R. van Ewijk (Eds.)



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A FRAMEWORK FOR EUROPEAN DIVERSITY STUDIES

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Contextual framing of the conceptual debate on diversity

Diversity policies are at the top of the European Agenda. The Stockholm Programme underlines that the EU motto of “United in Diversity” is not only about the richness resulting from cultural diversity between Member States but also about the cultural diversity and tolerance found within societies. It also calls to invest major political efforts in underlining diversity as a source of richness rather than as a ‘problem to be managed’. This line of thinking is also the driving forces behind the Zaragoza Summit 4th Ministerial Conference on Integration of Immigrants ‘Integration as an engine for development and social cohesion’ (April 2010). Additionally, culture-related themes outlined under the Spanish EU-presidency¹ are also portraying the importance of not only recognition, but also political intervention in the realm of diversity. As such, diversity has become the key-word for many policy-makers and social scientists. However, diversity is a broad, sometimes even vague notion. It is a concept with many different forms, often defined and approached differently in specific contexts.

This book is concerned with the diversity debate in the context of Europe. It is about diversity both as a concept and as a policy. Indeed, the epicentre of the analysis is the link between the spheres of diversity-concepts and diversity-policies. The book explores how the concept of diversity orientates policies and management, and also how public/private management facilitates new policy orientations. As such, the book enhances conceptual thinking on diversity, but also facilitates policy thinking on the concept involved in novel policy orientations towards diversity.

The specific mode of use of certain concepts often significantly shapes (by facilitating legitimisation) public policy, occasionally rendering whole inventories of policy solutions inapplicable in some contexts (witness the ‘crisis of multiculturalism’ in many countries). If only for this reason it is important to discuss how the concept of diversity is not cut in stone. The concept of diversity is not politically neutral. In the current European debate on diversity, it has been noted that theories and concepts of diversity, which origin in North America lack applicability in Europe (T. Modood,

1. <http://procura.org/web/el-comit-de-asuntos-culturales-de-la-unin-europea-en-zaragoza-temas-de-trabajo-bajo-presidencia-espaola>

A. Triandafyllidou and R. Zapata-Barrero, eds. 2006). However, more generally, there are also specific theoretical stances, and debates over diversity are very heavily dependent, also in scholarly literatures, upon real political disputes, dilemmas, structural contexts, and specific historical points. Therefore, the book is particularly interested in showing how the concept of diversity is many-fold and covers different spheres.

Conceptually, 'diversity' has no unified meaning. It is a constructed category, which takes its meaning according to context. Without a given context, there cannot be a semantic of diversity. Diversity expresses the variety of forms of collective/individual expression of difference. It is also an interpretative concept, in the sense that it helps us to interpret the new dynamics that have to be incorporated within the policy and management realm, both at the private and public organizational sector. It is thus 'constructed by societal agents by drawing demarcation lines between classifications with social meanings and sometimes defining certain classifications as the dominant ones' (Faist, 2009: 178). One of the basic premises of this book is that the first principle to clarify in a diverse context is diversity itself.

In this conceptual framework, this book is mainly concerned about immigration-related diversity. Also in immigration theory there has been a tendency to understand the category of immigration in a uniform and homogeneous way. However, linked to diversity, some authors argue that the best notion encapsulating the reality is "super-diversity" pointing to the necessity of considering multi-dimensional conditions and processes affecting immigrants (Vertovec, 2007). This way of thinking can also be applied to debates surrounding other diversities, such as religious, language and national diversity that are (re)activated by the presence of immigrants. Immigration is not a specific type of diversity separated from other types of diversity (linguistic, religious, national), but rather a vehicle for the expression of "multiple diversities", category based, rather than group-based as the immigration theory diversity-related is assuming (Zapata-Barrero, 2010: 44-45).

This also means that we are interested in the cultural and practical effects of living in an increasingly diverse context. Diversity causes a qualitative change in the relations between people and between people and institutions, at the society level, and also between workers, and between workers and their own organisation, at the private and public realms. It is at the root of a complex process of change in accommodation, where all dimensions of the basic structure of society/organisation are affected. A city and an organisation that recognizes its dynamics of diversity, the traditional ones such as gender, sexual orientation, age, and disability, but especially the new ones, related to cultural practices, religion, language or nationality, is implicitly expressing a political commitment to diversity.

We also follow the argument in another direction and show how public and private organizations adapt their practices to new dynamics of diversity immigration-related, such as ethnic, religious and language categories. We then want to analyse the migrant's relationship with organizations both from the private and from public sector. Diversity is considered as a new paradigm since it involves policies, programmes and routines (Faist, 2009), and as such organizations are adjusting their practices to old and new forms of diversity such as ethnicity, religion, gender,

sexual orientation, language, in order to 'mainstream' their structures and routine. At this level, we know that organizations display diversity as a resource, offer training programmes to increase the intercultural competence of staff, implement criteria for diversity personnel recruitment, and offer special services to clients and customers.

Having entered the theme of the role of diversity within public and private organisations, we can differentiate between understanding diversity 'as a political criterion or as a policy' (Zapata-Barrero, 2010: 56-57). Diversity as a political criterion refers to the implementation of initiatives that are reactive in nature, that is, initiatives to manage diversity as a consequence of a certain change in context that has replaced homogeneity. In order for diversity to be accommodated, the concept itself must move from being a criterion to being a form of policy. In this way, diversity becomes political culture, a way of behaving, a philosophy, an orientation, a mentality. Diversity becomes a collective good that should be guaranteed and becomes permanently widespread in all sectors. This policy assumes long-term management in order to create a context where a new space for cohesion in diversity is achieved, and which no longer understands diversity as an obstacle, but rather as a defining element of cohesion. As a policy, diversity can be understood in three ways, each with its own challenges to overcome and possible contributions for (private and public) organisations:

1. *Diversity as a context that promotes creative activity.* Social fracture, disunity and mutual distrust are not necessary results of diversity, but rather of the cultural "laissez-faire", that is, scenarios where there is no political intervention for the management of diversity. On the contrary, in a scenario that seeks to manage existing diversity, the context of diversity itself is transformed into a scenario promoting inspiration, innovation and the creative production. Thus, new cultural products can be achieved that better publicise the organisation or community as a diverse, innovative and creative environment.

2. *Diversity as a collective distributive good.* Individual goods gradually lose its value as its shared use increases. However, diversity is a collective good, and as such it does not lose value with an increase in use. How diversity is managed and distributed as a collective good by accommodation policy cannot be established and defined a priori, but depends on its different forms of expression and practices: the very diversity it implies.

3. *Diversity as a practical principle.* In this sense, diversity is not only a value, neither is it just a collective good, it is also a practical principle, which can only be defined by the practices it provokes. As we will see in the different contributions later onwards in the book, the theoretical definition of diversity loses all meaning and proves meaningless for accommodation policies, without the definition of examples and specific practices.

In sum, the fact that diversity is often subject of theoretical debates is illustrated by the multitude of academic publications on diversity in the area of political theory. For example, some theorists focus on cultural diversity (Kymlicka, 1995; Jones, 1998; Parekh, 2000; Phillips, 2008), while others discard culture as a useful concept, because it might not be specific enough to describe the dynamics of diversity (Phillips, 2007).

They believe markers such as race and religion (Thompson, 2008) or additional variables such as immigrant statuses, divergent labour market experiences, gender and age profiles, special distribution, mixed local area responses (Vertovec, 2007) might be more adequate. There are many theorists who believe there are multiple relevant forms of diversity (Verloo, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Some of them doubt they should be treated in the same way, separating for example gender diversity versus ethnic diversity (Okin, 1998; Sinclair, 2000), while others believe all of these social-collective forms of diversity should be replaced by more neutral forms of diversity such as life style, thinking types, professional experience, personality types, functional background (Point & Singh, 2003; Wise & Tschirhart, 2000). Also, the fact that diversity is subject of policy debates as well, is illustrated by the multitude of academic publications of diversity policies. Some authors focus on national or regional public policies, often linked to anti-discrimination or integration, distinguishing specific policy discourses or policy regimes with regard to diversity (Castles, 2002; Zapata-Barrero, ed. 2009). Other authors focus on policies at the organisational level (whether public institutions or private organisations), distinguishing specific policy approaches with regard to diversity (Liff, 1997; Wrench, 2007).

It is within this academic and organisational/policy context that this book proposes a research framework based on the interplay between diversity-concept and diversity-policy both in the private and the public realm. The goal of this volume is to connect the theoretical and political dimension of diversity, by presenting a variety of recent studies on diversity in specific policy-spheres. Each contribution defines diversity and studies diversity in its own specific way. As this definition of diversity will have implications for the scope and level of their conclusions, observations or results (Van Ewijk, 2011), all make their definition of diversity explicit and show how their approach contributes to the understanding of the concept of diversity, especially in the specific policy context they focus on.

To this end, we have asked to each author to orientate their particular analysis on diversity in a specific context and policy-sphere to theorise at the end on the concept of diversity used and that is the outcome of their study. All authors answer three main questions:

- a. How is diversity defined in their study, and why as such?
- b. How does the chosen approach contribute to a better understanding of the role diversity plays in the policy context the study focuses on?
- c. To which degree do the conclusions provide arguments that can be generalized to diversity in other contexts?

Acknowledgments, contributions and structure

This book is a compilation of a strict selection of proposals from academic centres all over Europe and the most outstanding contributions presented at the international seminar "Diversity and tolerance in Europe: policies in public institutions and private organisations" held on the 22nd of September, 2010. This seminar was a joint initiative by the GRITIM-UPF (Research Interdisciplinary Group on Immigration, www.upf.edu/gritim) of the Pompeu Fabra University (Barcelona, Spain) and the Migration Programme of the CIDOB Foundation (www.cidob.org). All authors have

revised and updated their original papers to fit into the main framework of the book. Consequently, these chapters have been subjected to a blind peer review. We would like to thank Bet Mañé, publisher from the CIDOB, for her help with the manuscript, and Elena Sánchez-Montijano, the CIDOB migrations programme coordinator, who has supported this project from the beginning. The book is part of "Accept", a research project funded by the European Commission (7th Framework Programme) and coordinated by Anna Triandafyllidou (Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies – European University Institute, Florence, Italy). More information can be found at the website (<http://accept.eui.eu>).

The book is structured in three main parts. **Part 1**, titled **DIVERSITY AS A POLICY**, offers two chapters that offer a deeper conceptual understanding of diversity as a public strategy and normative framework. **Chapter 1** (*Managing diversity – by transforming conflicts into assets for citizens? The case study of Limburg, a province in the Netherlands*), written by **Petra Stienen and Gerd Junne**, zooms in on the province of Limburg, in the Netherlands, where the populist Freedom Party thrives and tensions arise from differences between generations, nationalities, socio-economic backgrounds of 'new comers' and 'original inhabitants'. This chapter offers an alternative perspective of diversity as an asset, outlining how it also may be transformed by politicians into success stories. **Chapter 2** (*Between pluralism and majoritarianism: the European Court of Human Rights on religious symbols and education*), written by **Camil Ungureanu**, provides a thorough analysis of the normative perspectives underlying the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights. Representative decisions in the area of religious education and symbols show how this jurisprudence is neither motivated by 'Christophobia' nor the 'secularization of Europe', but instead oscillating between an appealing liberal-pluralist perspective or framework, and a questionable majoritarian one.

Part 2, titled **DIVERSITY IN PUBLIC POLICY CONTEXTS**, focuses on the institutional context of diversity, including relevant stakeholders, and political, legal and social settings. **Chapter 3** (*Education as a mirror of Spanish society: challenges and policies towards multiple diversity*), written by **Ricard Zapata-Barrero**, shows how the ways in which the dominant cultural majority frames the educational system, determines perceptions of its own identity and understandings of the 'other'. The main finding is that there is not one approach, but several, due to both the decentralized character of the education system and the multiplicity of diversities that are at stake (i.e. language, religion, culture etc.). **Chapter 4** (*Immigration and Housing: Rethinking the Role of Fiscal Policies to Manage Diversity*), written by **Alberto Vega, Ester Marco, Ana B. Macho and Antonia Agulló**, analyses which housing policies work best to geographically distribute (racial, economic, and cultural) diversity. The chapter offers a comparison of four European countries concerning the impact of direct government expenditure and tax incentives on the housing conditions of immigrants: France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. It shows that different policies have not prevented the concentration of immigrants, as housing benefits and tax incentives are normally 'spatially blind', while this may be recommendable. **Chapter 5** (*Transition processes of immigrants youths in the multicultural context in Catalonia: a case study*), written by **Sikunder Ali Baber**, describes how personal and cultural processes such as the negotiation of meaning, rethinking and social repositioning of the self,

and identification of significant others may contribute to successful educational transitions among immigrant children through an elaborate case study of a Pakistani girl in Barcelona. Theoretical constructs such as transition, background/foreground, and social representations are translated to informed pedagogical actions in situations where different cultures interact with each other.

Finally, **Part 3**, titled **DIVERSITY WITHIN ORGANISATIONS**, focuses on the organizational context of diversity, including the description, analysis and evaluation of policies, regulations and programmes on diversity management. **Chapter 6** (*Dynamics of diversity within the Mossos d'Esquadra*), written by **Anne van Ewijk**, aims to offer a deeper understanding of the dynamics of diversity within the Catalan police force. It does so by applying a new analytical framework on the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity within the organisation, and the facilitation of diversity within the organisation through policies. **Chapter 7** (*Beyond equality: recognizing and managing cultural diversity at the workplace*), written by **Olga Jubany**, emphasizes the importance of cultural diversity for the development of modern organisations. She proposes a theoretical and empirical review of managing cultural diversity in organizations, and underlines the need for a paradigm switch to the recognition of its great organizational and societal benefits. **Chapter 8** (*Understanding the impact of cultural competence and prejudice towards cultural diversity on cases of burnout in patient-to-provider interactions*), written by **Anna Bocchino, Manuel Garcia Ramirez** and **Caterina Arcidiacono**, studies prejudice, cultural competence and burnout syndrome in two different socio-political contexts: two public hospitals in Caserta, Italy, and Seville, Spain. It concludes that Italian nurses report higher levels of burnout and prejudice toward ethnic minorities and a lower level of cultural competence than Spanish nurses. In addition, the authors propose and define a theoretical framework based on the relationship between the three examined dimensions.

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PART 1. DIVERSITY AS A POLICY

- **CHAPTER 1**
MANAGING DIVERSITY – BY TRANSFORMING
CONFLICTS INTO ASSETS FOR CITIZENS?
THE CASE STUDY OF LIMBURG, A PROVINCE
IN THE NETHERLANDS

Petra Stienen & Gerd Junne

- **CHAPTER 2**
BETWEEN PLURALISM AND MAJORITARIANISM:
THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS
ON RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS AND EDUCATION

Camil Ungureanu

CHAPTER 1

MANAGING DIVERSITY – BY TRANSFORMING CONFLICTS INTO ASSETS FOR CITIZENS? THE CASE STUDY OF LIMBURG, A PROVINCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Introduction

Until the nineties of the last century the Netherlands lived in a blissful myth that it had a homogenous population that was tolerant towards 'others'. Another strong belief about the national identity was the notion that the Netherlands had an international outlook and a cosmopolitan vision of life. This self image has been seriously tarnished by the well known events in the last decade such as two political murders, the rise of populist politicians who rallied on the tickets of 'migrants are to be blamed for everything' or the 'Islam is not compatible with our culture, norms and values' and the growing perception among the so-called men in the street that the country became less and less safe due to the influx of foreign workers, asylum seekers, refugees and their offspring. The serious economic and financial crisis that threatened to diminish the standard of living to the level of a decade ago added to these perceptions. Tolerance is more and more perceived as an obsolete term out of the out-dated-vocabulary of the multicultural dictionary. The new terminology of polarisation is filled with 'us-versus-them' and 'prevention versus repression' phrases which allow little space for new ways of approaching conflict stemming from diversity¹.

This paper will look at one particular part of the Netherlands that in its own way became a case in point for broader questions in Europe about diversity and tolerance. The province of Limburg is a microcosm where in a short period of time the social, religious, cultural and political landscape has changed substantially. As in many other regions in Europe there is a perceived distance to the power centre of the national capital that leads to a combination of a feeling of 'being left behind' and 'being really special'. At times tensions arise from the differences between generations, nationalities, socio-economic backgrounds of new comers (very often migrants and/or people from the outside) and 'original inhabitants' (who perpetuate their homogenous culture as a way to keep outsiders outside, without really looking at the internal differences within their own group). Often these tensions are covered with a blanket of the differences in religion, especially when tensions erupt by sudden conflicts with a high profile in the media. This leads us to the main questions of this paper:

1. See www.kabinetsformatie2010.nl for the English version of the coalition agreement and the support agreement between VVD, CDA and the Freedom Party of Geert Wilders where it speaks about diversity: The government will abolish the diversity/affirmative action policy on the basis of gender and ethnic origin. Selection must be based on quality.

1. How do policy makers, politicians, civil servants, and citizens manage religious diversity in a province that until 1980s had a homogenous outlook in its religious landscape? How do they deal with the demands and needs of different groups in a polarised society? How can outsiders become insiders? What will encourage inclusion of the minority groups by the majority group, and what is the role of the 'minority' group in this process?
2. To what extent are policy makers influenced by the specific local circumstances in a village and a neighbourhood of a medium sized town?
3. In our description of the case studies we will be looking at the question where diversity is seen as a source of conflict and where diversity is a source of a renewed active citizenship. This part of our study can provide insights for other regions in Europe faced with similar challenges.

This contribution is based on a broad notion of diversity, including all aspects that can distinguish "insiders" from "outsiders". Religious diversity, though prominent in the public discourse in many European countries, is just one form of diversity. A concentration on this single dimension often conceals other aspects of diversity (be it class, gender, age, ethnicity, language) that are no less important. A closer look at these dimensions puts religious diversity into a more adequate perspective.

A case in point: a once homogenous province at the centre of the debate on diversity

Limburg is the most southern province of the Netherlands. Until a few decades ago the population of this province was a homogenous group, more than 90% was registered as Catholic², with strong influences from Rome, spoke its own dialect that is a mixture of German, French and Dutch, and had a strong collective mentality where outsiders were hardly accepted. The people of Limburg had an inborn suspicion of the establishment in 'Holland' and 'The Hague' as they felt partly ignored by them and partly different and not understood.

In the recent decades the landscape of this province has changed: younger generations have left to find good fortune in the "Randstad" (the four big cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), migrants from countries around the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe, asylum seekers, and their families have moved in.

When national elections for parliament on 9 June 2010 were held, the anti-immigration party Partij van de Vrijheid or the Freedom party (in rest of text: PVV) of the populist Geert Wilders jumped from 5.9 to 15.5 percent of all votes, making it the third largest party in the Netherlands. In some of the cities in Limburg, however, the PVV became the largest party³. In Roermond, for example, more than one quarter of all votes (26.8 percent) went to the PVV. In Peel en Maas (Helden – one of our cases (see below) - is one of the municipalities in this town) the percentage was 25.9 %. It is remarkable to see high percentages were even higher in some wealthy residential areas and villages such as Beesel, Kessel, Haelen and Roerdalen⁴ with a more homogeneous population.

2. See number 2.2 http://wapedia.mobi/nl/Godsdiesten_in_Nederland

3. Derkzen, S. and Martijn, M. 'Ze slaan ons altijd over', In *Vrij Nederland*, 3 juli 2010. On the reasons why now people in southern Limburg dare to admit that they voted for Wilders' Freedom Party

4. <http://www.nrcnext.nl/stembureau/>

Two case studies from Limburg are chosen as an example to deal with questions that are not limited to these cases, Limburg or the Netherlands. They may be representative for many other cities in Europe that are confronted as well with similar issues, as increasingly multicultural cities in Europe witness lingering conflict under the surface, which now and then erupts in manifest confrontations. Many policymakers, politicians and citizens therefore see increasing diversity as a threat to social cohesion, as an obstacle for political participation, and as a burden for the public purse. The language of policy makers has changed in recent years. Tolerance, respect, multicultural diversity and inclusiveness are hardly mentioned anymore and have given way to emphasis on “liveability” and “comprehensive security”.

This paper looks into the opposite direction. It looks for examples in which communities in the most southern province of the Netherlands succeeded not only to attenuate conflicts between different groups of inhabitants, but in which conflicts could be turned into assets. The paper will then ask under which conditions such a shift can take place, and in how far such conditions can be created by public authorities, local administrations, civil society, or private business (looking for “the other stories”).

The assets that we think of could for example be

- improved services to citizens by municipalities,
- increased interest in international developments and better integration into the world economy,
- more tolerance for different mental frames and perspective, etc.,
- new business opportunities from links to home countries of migrants,
- new architectonic showcases that result from cross-fertilization of cultures.⁵

The Netherlands are especially rich of a multitude of public and private projects to deal with different aspects of diversity, starting from projects against discrimination to dialogue projects, art projects, neighbourhood projects etc. to increase social cohesion. Worries about diversity have sometimes lead to more instead of less social cohesion, when discussion and projects triggered by diversity lead to denser communication and mutual understanding not only between, but also within different social groups, as the examples from Limburg show.

The specific challenges in Central Limburg

This paper will have a closer look at two particular locations, a village and a borough in a city in the South of the Netherlands. We take these two locations as a point of departure to discuss what policies can be developed to deal with diversity in a polarised situation. The region of Central Limburg has some specific features that make the task for policy makers even more challenging:

- a) Limburg has a shrinking population. Though the decline in the number of inhabitants in the Netherlands is expected to start later than in most other European countries (only around 2035), the structural decline started in the South of Limburg in 1997 and in central Limburg in 2006/2007. (Derks 2006, 160) This may be

5. Other possible assets (which will not be dealt with in this paper) might e.g. be
 - Higher productivity because of larger creativity in multicultural teams;
 - A richer cultural scene which improves a location's attractiveness;
 - New ecological projects which feed on community efforts;
 - New didactical methods to deal with differences in language proficiency;
 - Longer opening hours of shops because of holidays on different days in the week;
 - Increased use of mediation because of less inclination to go to court.

atypical, but it will become a reality for large parts of rural Europe in the future: Given present demographic trends, it is expected that Europe's population will "decline by 139 million between 2000 and 2050. With the levels of international migration projected, Europe's population is still expected to decline, but by only 96 million". (UN 2004, xviii.) With a shrinking population a number of questions arise on

- How to deal with different demands of generations regarding work, housing and leisure?
- What are the plans to work towards promotion of job opportunities for youngsters with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds that do not fit the 'normal' model of employee?

b) Limburg used to be an especially devout region.⁶ Catholicism became an integral part of the identity of this province. For a long time in the history of the Netherlands Catholics from the southern provinces of Brabant and Limburg were seen as a minority, and a group which could not be completely trusted to adhere and support the central government.

Even though Catholics had officially been given the right to participate in public functions in the beginning of the 19th century, it took until far into the 20th century for them to emancipate as a grouping within a predominantly Protestant country where political and military positions were long preserved for Protestants.⁷ This 'anti-papism' attitude of the protestant majority strengthened the pride in Limburg of being an exceptional province. But at the same time many Catholics felt that they were treated as 'second rate citizens' because of their religion. In a way this constituted one of the underlying causes for the 'we' versus 'them' feeling in this part of the Netherlands.⁸ The past decades there is a definite decline in the number of people in Limburg who still consider themselves devout Catholics or go to church. Many people are relieved that the Church and its priests and bishops have no longer an overriding influence in their daily lives. And exactly at that moment a group of newcomers entered into the towns and villages with the need to fulfil their religious duties. The empty churches were not suitable for this group of Muslim migrants, as they wanted prayer rooms and mosques in order to be good devout Muslims. This leads to the question for politicians and policy makers as well as normal citizens:

- How to deal with the demand for 'houses of worship' that are different to the physical and psychological landscape?

c) Limburg is a border region that exposes its citizens to the positive and more negative sides of being surrounded by two different nations and cultures, Belgium and Germany. Before the rise of commercial Dutch TV, people in Limburg had the privilege in addition to the two Dutch Channels to enjoy Belgium and German TV that definitely gave them a broader outlook on the world. It was somehow remarkable how quickly after the Second World War German language became accepted as the language of popular TV programmes or Schlager festivals. At the same time there was and still is antagonism among the general population against the influx of German tourists and shoppers over weekends and during holidays. In Venlo, for example, many shops only have signs in German. After the opening of the shopping outlet in Roermond many shop

6. Nissen, Peter, Constructie en deconstructie van het katholieke Limburg. In Knotter, Ad (ed): *Dit is Limburg. Opstellen over de Limburgse Identiteit*. 2009, Waanders Uitgevers/ Sociaal Historisch Centrum voor Limburg

7. www.parlement.com/9291000/modules/gcwbxzi0

8. In the Christian Democratic Party, for a long time the ruling party in the Netherlands with a stronghold among the Catholic South, the religious denomination of its leading politicians is still an issue.

keepers protested against the unfair competition, but some citizens were worried about the influx of Germans into the centre of town as well. These trends in Limburg coincide with the historical experience that occupation or foreign oppression can make people averse against foreigners. People in border regions might be more inclined to be against foreigners than “inland” people. If the language in the border region is similar to that “at the other side”, emphasis on national or local identity may be strengthened to avoid being “mixed up” with the other. Even though the attitude towards Germans became more relaxed over the past decades, the intrinsic ‘anti-outsider feeling’ is still present underneath the surface. It might well be that exactly that feeling became apparent in the recent election results.

- How can, in such a situation, the integration of newcomers be facilitated? What has been the experience of politicians with another (than the local) background?

d) It is a region especially hit by structural decline. The closing of the mines in the sixties and seventies was regarded to be the proof of the widely perceived myth that the rest of the country abandoned Limburg.⁹ This impression of negligence added to the feeling of inferiority, partly rooted in the fact that the general level of education was lower than in the West of the country, because of the dominance of the mines and agricultural activities. After the closing of the mines the central government had a number of high profile programmes to bring new employment and companies to this part of the country. In the meantime the chemical giant DSM has taken over the place as one of the most important employers in the southern part of Limburg. The tourism industry has provided ample opportunity for jobs in the whole of the province, and in Roermond specifically the Outlet Shopping Centre has contributed to the decline of unemployment in the region.

When negative effects of globalisation are felt (e.g. by strong international competition in coal and other sectors), everything “foreign” may be rejected – as part of a protest against globalisation in general. Globalisation does not only entail increased migration. It also leads to regional economic decline and more than two million drug tourists a year in the border city of Venlo alone. There are thus also other reasons for voting for the PVV than a critical attitude towards immigration. In addition, Geert Wilders himself comes from Limburg and is seen as one of “Us”. His opposition to national government policies in The Hague earns him support in the region, since he gives voice to long-held animosities.¹⁰

Roermond and Helden¹¹, two case studies: a town and a village in Central Limburg

De Donderberg (“the Thundermountain”), named after a nature reserve close to Roermond, is a neighbourhood in Roermond, the main city in Central Limburg. It figures prominently in the list of neighbourhoods in the Netherlands which over the past years have drawn public and media attention due to the clashes between youngsters of different ethnic backgrounds, harassment of public service providers, racist violence and arson/crime such as Oosterwei in Gouda, Slotervaart in Amsterdam, Waspik and Culemborg. The image of De Donderberg has

9. On the influence of the mining sector on economic, cultural and social life in Limburg in the 20th century: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mining_in_Limburg

10. In his presentation of his team for the Provincial Elections Geert Wilders, the leader of the Freedom Party, ended his speech with the words: we will give back Limburg to the Limburgers. See <http://www.pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article/36-geert-wilders/3777-speech-geert-wilders-presentatie-kandidatenlijst-ps-limburg.html>

11. Gegevens uit Gemeente Roermond; informatie Mensen maken de wijk, Herijking wijkgericht werken, juni 2010

deteriorated from a new neighbourhood in the sixties for the children of the babyboomers who could finally afford to live on their own in social housing to a neighbourhood which became the synonym of problematic youth and criminal Moroccans due to negative press attention after a number of incidents in the past decade.¹² In 2009 the documentary “De Onrendabelen” initiated by one of the leading figures in the Social Democrats Party, Marcel van Dam, showed three inhabitants of the neighbourhood as an example of people whose lives are wasted due to the implosion of the social security system in the Netherlands which leaves no more room for those who cannot contribute to the economy or society¹³. Or in other words: they cost the society more than they contribute to society.

Background information on the Donderberg

The Donderberg has 7150 inhabitants (Roermond: 54730, - expected to decline substantially to 47246 in 2040¹⁴). It was built in the 60-70s of the past century with a spacious layout, divided into four particular ‘quarters’: the Composer quarter, the Castle quarter, the Star mountain quarter and the Pilot quarter. The perceived quality of life in the Composer quarter and the Star mountain quarter is much lower than in the other areas. This is probably due to the spacing of social housing versus houses owned by their occupants. The quality of houses is also different, and the greenery and public spaces are less attractive as well.

One third of the population is under 25, half of the population is of non-western origin, and more than 80 nationalities live in the neighbourhood. Many low-cost social rent houses, a shopping centre, a church and a community centre are located in the centre of the area; a mosque was built at the edge of the neighbourhood. Due to recent renovation projects in other neighbourhoods in Roermond, the influx of ‘temporary’ inhabitants has been great. A number of civil servants at the municipality pointed out in interviews that it is important to see the wider picture when looking at the population of the Donderberg as there are high percentages of Polish, Yugoslav, German and British inhabitants in addition to inhabitants with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds. As one of the senior civil servants commented:

‘Sometimes I wonder whether people keep talking about ethnicity and ‘Moroccan criminals’ in order to avoid the acceptance that by now these boys from second and third generations migrants are really Dutch boys and therefore ‘our boys’.

Since 15 years the municipality has tried to increase the quality of living and the sense of security in this neighbourhood. In all interviews with representatives they stress that contrary to the impression the media gives, the challenges in the neighbourhood are much broader than the perceived religious or ethnic tensions between groups. Despite all the efforts there are still many issues which keep policy makers and politicians busy and citizens in the neighbourhood concerned such as: unemployment, poverty, lack of social cohesion, quality of housing, feelings of lack of safety due to youngsters hanging around and creating nuisances, drugs runners, intimidation, burglary and vandalism.

12. See for example the answers to questions of the PVV on so called Moroccan Street Terrorists, Antwoorden van de ministers voor Wonen, Wijken en Integratie, van Justitie en van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties op vragen van de leden Wilders, Fritsma en Brinkman (allen PVV) over Marokkaanse straatterroristen in Roermond. (Ingezonden 9 oktober 2009, 2009Z18494)

13. <http://omroep.vara.nl/De-Onrendabelen.5701.0.html>

14. Forecast in 2009 by the Central Statistical Office of the Netherlands (CBS), cited by Niels Klaassen in the article ‘Stad en platteland in balans houden’, Limburgs Dagblad, http://www.limburger.nl/article/20100831/REGIONIEUWS03/100839966/1004#‘Stad_en_platteland_in_balans_houden’

Municipal solutions

Henk van Beers, the mayor of Roermond, admitted in a recent interview in Binnenlands Bestuur (a publication for the public sector) that for a long time the municipality had followed a very stringent security policy that in a way was too much geared by incident policy.¹⁵

After years of struggling with finding answers to the increased problems in the Donderberg, in 2010 new plans have been made. The municipality is focussing in these plans on increasing the quality of living and prevention of nuisance in two areas (Castle and Pilots area) and physical restructuring, programmes to lower intimidation and heighten security perception and social programmes. The coming years these plans that are written in neutral and at times 'connecting' language are due to be implemented. In June 2010 a team has been nominated to work on the improvement of safety in the neighbourhood, they even were allocated a special building in the centre of the neighbourhood. In the months after the opening the building was vandalised several times by youngsters, for the team it is yet not possible to explain the background of this aggression.¹⁶

The team will look in their work for positive examples in the neighbourhood and other surrounding neighbourhoods where the involvement of citizens really added to the success of the projects. Three examples in the Donderberg are pointed out:

- The 'allotment gardens' (volkstuinten) between three gallery flats with on average twenty nationalities¹⁷. The three hundred households lived basically in isolation without much interaction. Due to the 'allotment gardens' between the flats this has changed. The housing associations have donated the plots between the flats to amateur gardeners who are growing their own vegetables and fruits. Twice a year a barbecue is organised, and there are plans to sell the produce. This project appealed to both senior citizens of Dutch origin as well as to people who grew up in the Mediterranean region; both met on shared enthusiasm for growing their own products. The interaction between the inhabitants of different ethnic backgrounds has really increased and people are proud of this initiative.
- The 'neighbourhood' living room: a place where citizens can meet for coffee, sewing classes and a chat.¹⁸
- The Fatih mosque: this Turkish mosque has been opened in fall 2009¹⁹; according to representatives of the municipality as well as people having worked towards the building of the mosque the process went really smoothly. It took five years to build the mosque, partly because of building and planning regulations, partly because of the collection of funds for the budget. The Turkish community pre-financed the budget of € 1.6 million in parts. During Ramadan, the municipality works together with the board of the mosque to decrease any possible tensions due to youngsters hanging around before the breaking of the fast.

Despite these positive examples, there is still a lot to do to increase the perception of safety and liveability of the population. In an adjacent neighbourhood, 't Veld, public sector officials and police struggled with similar issues as in the Donderberg; for years there was a stale-

15. Beek, S van., Heijningen, B. Van, "Donkere jongens met capuchons", in *Binnenlands Bestuur*, 2 april 2010. This article sheds an interesting light on the diversity of the background of the youth in the Donderberg; and the fact that according to some interviewees the real problem makers are not more than ten youngsters.

16. http://www.zie.nl/video/algemeen/Eerste-beelden-treinongeluk-Belgie/component_611_content_total/algemeen/Wijkteam-wordt-zelf-slachtoffer-van-vandalisme/m1azu0afd198: a short news item with images of the wijkteam building and an interview with the mayor.

17. "Volktuintjes in Roermond: Parel van integratie", in: PPM Gazet Oktober 2008

18. www.welkom.nl

19. www.nuvideo.nl/algemeen/31805/feestelijke-opening-nieuwe-moskee-roermond.html: this clip shows the festivities around the opening, the mayor of Roermond being proud of the building and the efforts; as well as to hear the spokesperson of the Mosque explain with a slight Limburg accent proudly the different functions of the mosque as a house of prayer as well as a community centre.

mate, nothing the municipality did to improve the sense of safety really worked. Until a few years ago the teams involved the young people and some of the key figures in the neighbourhood to take responsibility for the safety and cleanliness of public spaces. This approach seems straightforward, but from the literature and interviews it becomes clear that this self-evident approach sometimes gets buried by policy papers and inward-looking public organisations with little openness to the possibility to involve citizens directly.

Citizen responses

One of the authors of this paper grew up in the Donderberg and went back several times to assess the situation and to interview inhabitants who still live in the neighbourhood.²⁰ Her own family members have left the neighbourhood a couple of years ago and speak with mixed feelings about what happened to the Donderberg. On the one hand they feel that many of the negative news items in the media are exaggerated, they disagree with the impression that the place has turned into a ghetto. The same time they are hesitant to go to the shopping centre after they pay a visit to the family doctor because of the youngsters hanging out and harassing shoppers. Travelling on busses and with taxis in the city and the region around Roermond, this impression seems to be quite common, most of the people the author spoke about the Donderberg looked at her with surprise: did she really grow up there? To them, this neighbourhood had transformed into a 'no go area' which apparently to their mind had always been like that.

Ali Bayrak, a member of the Social Democrats faction in the municipality council of Roermond and an inhabitant of the Donderberg shares those mixed feelings. He believes however that all the negative attention is overlooking the positive developments and attitudes of the majority of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. He feels that there should for example be more attention for all the youngsters from the Donderberg who take the train everyday from Roermond to Eindhoven, Maastricht or Nijmegen to pursue their studies at the universities in those cities. What are their success factors? According to Ali it is very often a combination of social capital and own responsibility.²¹

Some interlocutors were wondering whether the focus on negative aspects of the diversity in this particular neighbourhood was connected to the way subsidies and projects are organised in the Netherlands: for problems there is plenty money available, for identifying other stories which might entail possible directions and solutions there are little or no project funds available.

Khalid Ramdani, a member of the municipal council for the Party of Unity in Roermond and a reintegration consultant, is critical of the attention the Donderberg gets due to the so called 'Moroccan youth problem'. In an interview with Binnenlands bestuur he says; "For years they dumped all the 'allochtonen' in Roermond in the Donderberg.²² Only now, after a few incidents, they want money to gentrify the neighbourhood'. Ramdani is concerned that the approach of the municipality is stigmatising the whole group of Morrocans by focussing on 'Moroccan problem youth'. "These boys should get schooling, please invest the money from The Hague in those youths".

20. Stienen, Petra (2010), 'Terug naar de Donderberg', In: *Eutopia: Nedertopia*.

21. Ibid

22. Beek, S van., Heijningen, B. Van, 2010.

HELDEN²³

Again, the media put this small village²⁴ of almost 6,000 inhabitants in an agglomeration of small villages which since 2010 constitute the new municipality of Peel en Maas on the national and international map. On Saturday 13th November 2004 after a number of incidents during that same year, a fire was discovered in the early morning in a prayer room, a former chickenshed/bike parking lot. This news item went all over the world, and even got into CNN news, as this fire took place only 11 days after the murder of the Dutch Filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a young Dutch Moroccan.

The fire was framed as one of the many attacks on mosques in the Netherlands implying a backlash against the Muslims in the Netherlands, but nobody ever took responsibility for it. The tensions were indeed high in that November month in 2004 in the Netherlands, the murder was a shock and many times compared to 9/11 of the Netherlands or the “end of innocence”.

In Helden the reactions of the authorities were swift and focussed on the security of the Muslim community. Within half a day, a new location in the sports room of the local community centre was provided to celebrate the end of Ramadan. The days after the fire a crisis team worked around the clock to meet with all the different communities in the village and the surrounding villages. At the same time the municipality focussed on the communication of events with the national and international media. According to several reports this went really well, mainly due to the network among the civil society and the media of the communication advisor of the municipality, the pro-active role of the mayor and the secretary of the municipality. The contacts with the Lonsdale youth, the group that was accused of involvement (which was never proven) was however more strained, they felt they were blamed for something they did not do.²⁵

Almost six years later, the situation in Helden is illustrative for how communities can transform a traumatic incident into an opening for more social connections and cohesion. Two examples are worth to look at: the building of the Assalaam mosque and the establishment of ‘the International Dining Table’.

Assalaam Mosque

The building of the Assalaam mosque to replace the destroyed prayer room was strongly supported by the local authorities. 90-100 Moroccan families actively contributed to the work. They all donated €3000 per family and volunteered most weekends and holidays at the building site. Local entrepreneurs from Helden financed most of the additional costs. A local architect, Frans Engels, designed the mosque in a way that symbolised the connection between the Netherlands and the world of Islam.²⁶ He was inspired by the architecture of mosques in Morocco. Their square minarets bear remarkable resemblances to the architecture of church towers in Limburg. Engels mixed local yellow and red stone and other materials with Moroccan details. He played with the dilemma of two separated entrances for men and women by designing a balcony for women so ‘they could look down on the men’. In addition to

23. Witte, R., Brasse, P., Schram, K. (*Moskeebrand in Helden, Evaluatie van de aanpak en lessen voor de toekomst.* Forum, 2005)

24. <http://www.peelenmaas.nl/index.php?mediumid=11&pagid=135>

25. see for description of the communication strategy in Helden crisis, pag 30-32 of master thesis: Elize Fallon (2008) *Afstudeerrapport Gemeentelijke communicatie bij maatschappelijke onrust.*

26. About the background of the architecture of the mosque: <http://www.zuiderlucht.nl/archief.html?editie=27&read=208&type=>

Engels, other local designers such as the glass artist Petra Verheers and a Baarlose tile maker were involved in the building of the mosque. In a way the mosque blends perfectly in the landscape of Limburg and is a sign that Islam can adapt to local traditions.

Since the opening in April 2008 the mosque has drawn several thousand visitors from the region from all ways of life and contributed to a better understanding for the culture and religion of the Moroccan communities. A website (www.samenzijnwehelden.nl) was created to show the local initiatives, such as the numerous visits of primary school classes, senior citizens and the Bishop of Roermond, Frans Wiertz.

In the fall of 2010 the Foundation for Islamic Interests Helden was looking into expanding the activities of the mosque beyond tours, lectures and classes for women. They feel that they should explore different ways to find out more about grievances and problems of the youth in finding a place in society. They also see opportunities to learn more about the history of the local communities as a way to reach out to the local inhabitants of Helden and the region.

This came up during a session with a group of senior citizens on the emigration of Dutch during the fifties of the last century, when tens of thousands of people left the Netherlands to find a better future in Australia and Canada. Many of the senior citizens and the Moroccan-Dutch organisers of the session realised that there were some pressing parallels between the stories and motivations of the Dutch migrants and the migrants who came to the Netherlands.

The International Dining Table²⁷

The International Dining Table has been an initiative of Khadija Janssen, a woman of Moroccan origin who started three years ago with a group of 15 friends to dine together at one of their homes every two months. It has grown into a monthly event at the local community centre Vorkmeer with about 50 women between 17 and 77 years old, 15 different nationalities, who do not only cook together, but also share and discuss other aspects of their cultural heritage. They all donate € 7.50 for the meals, drinks and use of the kitchen at the community centre. According to Khadija Janssen, the dining table has a low threshold, and is a hospitable way to welcome different people where their cultural, ethnic and social backgrounds are not relevant for participation. After the success of the women's group Khadija Janssen started a mixed group (for women and men) end of September 2010. The remarkable aspect of this initiative is that it really came from the community and the local authorities played no role at all. Therefore it is a great example of 'self guidance'. This concrete example shows that individual citizens can play an important role as catalysts of improved relations between different groups. Public policy should not try to influence or direct these initiatives but rather provide room and support when asked for.

²⁷. for an interview with the founder of the international dining table Khadija Janssen: <http://www.samenzijnwehelden.nl/internationale-eettafel-op-11tv>

Municipal reactions

The municipality of Helden under the guidance of the former secretary of the municipality, Geert Schmitz, has developed a 'source document'

that looks into the possibilities to improve the 'self guidance of the community'.²⁸

According to Geert Schmitz, modern institutions are suffering from a serious lack of legitimacy of the present forms of political and societal democracy.²⁹ He is concerned that the present system has transformed citizens into 'calculating consumers', who have lost their ability to be active citizens.

In this approach of 'self guidance' there needs to be a golden triangle: the 'director' (moderator), civil society and the villagers. Most important is that this approach considers the citizen as the central actor in improving the livability of his/her community.³⁰ The role of the government is limited to creating an inspiring environment and facilitating the measures citizens have suggested. In Helden they abandoned the system of social rules with a government focused on control. Instead they opened up the possibility for the communities to take decisions about their own future. In concrete terms this meant that they abolished the traditional 'village council' and opened the space for self-organising village meetings. This led for example to the creation of a community centre in Grashoek, one of the 'kernels' of Helden which has many functions such as a library, day centre for elderly with or without a 'indication for care from the government'.

During the interviews with various people working at the municipality and in the civil society it was remarkable that this vision on the importance of 'self guidance' was shared widely.

Citizens' responses

Mustafa Amhaouch, one of the leading figures in the Moroccan-Dutch community and a prominent member of the Christian Democrats faction in the municipality council, is convinced that even in the present polarised climate, the building of the Assalaam mosque would still be possible as the whole community carried the project. He underlined the importance of 'self guidance': 'when you allow people to think for themselves how to deal with conflicts and dilemmas of modern society, they will come with suggestions for improvement and will be more willing to take responsibility for the implementation of these suggestions'.³¹

Town versus village

What kind of differences could one expect between the reaction in a city and in a village with regard to their reactions to outsiders? In general, we are used to expect a more open-minded, tolerant perspective in cities, whereas in a rural environment, everything "foreign" may encounter more resentment and aversion.

But the concrete example of Helden shows that in a more closed rural environment, migrants who eventually settle there are quickly known, and the familiarity with "that" foreigner may facilitate integration: he/she becomes "our" foreigner. While general sentiments may continue to exist with regard to anonymous groups of other origin, the individual "outsider" may become more quickly an "insider" than in cities where

28. Brondocument, De ontwikkeling van een zelfsturende, vitale gemeenschap. Gemeente Helden.

29. Schmitz, G (2010).

30. For further explanation of the concept 'zelfsturing' <http://www.vng.nl/smartsite.dws?id=97145>

31. During interview with Mustafa Amhaouch, 21 July 2010.

social relations are less personal and groups can more easily maintain a separate existence without much interaction with others. This is certainly the case with many of the prominent families in the Moroccan community (around 100 families) in Helden. Their parents came to Limburg/Netherlands in the sixties of the last century, their offspring was born in Helden en grew up in the village. When interviewed they showed very clear commitment to the Helden community as a whole and not only their Moroccan family and/or acquaintances. For them the results of elections in June 2010 were quite a shock as they feel that apparently some people in Limburg see their presence and their religion as a threat or as an explanation for most of the socio-economic problems in the region.

There is another important reason why integration into a rural context in Central Limburg might be easier for migrants from Muslim countries than integration into an urban society, - because Muslim customs, values and attitudes may not differ so much, after all, from those prevailing in the region.

Most Muslim societies – and especially Muslims that come from those regions in Morocco and Turkey where most migrants to the Netherlands come from (Berbers from the Rif Mountains and Turks from Central Anatolia) – are rural societies. The values and norms in these societies do not differ fundamentally from the norms and values dominating rural societies in the Netherlands (or many other parts of Europe) – at least until the 1950s.³² This applies (or applied until recently) to religious devotion, relations between the sexes, strong social pressure to assure compliance with social norms, clothes worn in public, emphasis on hospitality and collective festivals.

A town environment has features, which – beside the larger cultural differences – make it more difficult to integrate and to increase social cohesion among inhabitants. Only towns offer relatively cheap social housing for rent. (Housing Associations usually do not build in villages.) Newcomers looking for affordable accommodation will naturally start where accommodation is cheapest (social housing for rent in towns). But the newcomers are, of course, the least integrated. Once people have more solid ground under their feet, they often move to other places (such as the surrounding villages).

This implies that there is a high degree of discontinuity in towns. With this discontinuity goes a lack of incentive to interact with (ever changing) groups and the difficulty to establish trust among different groups. The perspective to move on also contributes to a lack of engagement from the part of the migrants, who regard the place as a “station de passage”. They are not inclined to participate actively in local initiatives, and they are not easy to reach by others. The interest of others to reach out to these groups is also limited – if people assume that the chances are high that their contacts will soon leave (and their investment in social capital therefore would have been in vain).

The above differentiation between a rural and an urban environment is certainly too simple.³³ But it helps as a first step to differentiate between different geographical environments. This differentiation should be much more detailed to pin down the concrete local problems. A good example is the Donderberg in Roermond, where the four different neighbourhoods show quite different characteristics with different challenges for policy makers.

32. Not too dissimilar norms and values do not assure easy cohabitation or integration. Very often, just the small differences can be most irritating. If differences are large, people tend to regard others as obviously different, - as a group for which other norms are valid. Most bloody conflicts are not fought between people from very different cultures, but between people with a similar cultural background.

33. Most of the “rural” areas in the Netherlands might be regarded as “peri-urban”, given the relatively short distances to nearby cities. However, the perception of distances is different from larger countries (like the United States or Australia, but also like France, Germany or Spain): in a small country, even relatively small distances matter.

Concluding reflections

In this paper we have looked at the following questions:

1. How do policy makers, politicians, civil servants, citizens manage religious diversity in a province which until 1980s had a homogenous outlook in its religious landscape?
2. To what extent are policy makers influenced by the specific local circumstances in a village and a neighbourhood of a medium sized town?
3. Where is diversity seen as a source of conflict and where is diversity a source of a renewed active citizenship?

This paper presented some illustrative information on social tensions in the most Southern province of the Netherlands, and reactions of policy makers and citizens to these tensions. The description of recent developments in the region gives rise to a number of more general reflections, which may also help to see situations elsewhere from a different perspective. The following arguments can probably be generalized to dealing with diversity in other contexts (other countries, other forms of diversity than religious diversity) as well.

1. High percentages of votes for populist parties should not prevent us from looking for the story underneath on the complex reasons for such an outcome. A large number of votes for an anti-Islam party is in a paradoxical way compatible with relatively harmonious relations in a multicultural society. It is not for nothing that 75% of the electorate in Limburg has voted for other parties.³⁴
2. Europe will have more and more regions with a declining number of inhabitants. This will have an ambivalent impact on attitudes towards migrants. They will be more welcome to fill the void, but they will also encounter more animosity by people who associate them with the decline of their region.
3. The decline of a region goes hand in hand with a much faster “graying” of society than in other parts of the country. Since a large part of the “local” youth tends to move to other parts of the region, a large percentage of young people in the region is offspring of newcomers. What otherwise would just be perceived and described as a generation conflict, therefore often is framed as a conflict between “local” people and newcomers, while in reality, it is more a generation conflict.
4. Rural areas are mostly regarded as being more closed towards outsiders, compared to more open cities. However, rural communities in the Netherlands (and probably elsewhere in Europe) have many norms and values that overlap to a large extent with Muslim norms and values. Integration into such communities may therefore be easier for newcomers from Muslim countries (as long as they do not come in large numbers). Instead of a confrontation between Muslims and Non-Muslims, we may experience more tension between rural and urban dwellers (or people with a more rural and urban mind set).
5. The historical experience of a region has probably a considerable impact on its attitude towards foreigners. Relevant historical experience might be the existence as a border region (with uncertain borders), exposure to an occupying power, outward migration from the region, or continuous neglect by national governments:

34. It has to be conceded that among the other parties, the right wing “liberal” VVD has grown enormously, while the more moderate Christian Democrats (CDA), who dominated in the region, have seen a dramatic decline.

- a. Being a border region with a language that does not differ from that on the other side, can lead to an over-emphasis on the own identity to differentiate “this side” from that on the “other side”. This might also lead to a more negative attitude towards other foreigners.
 - b. In case that “the other side” also acted as an aggressor and occupying power, it becomes even more important to stress the difference and draw a line between “us” and “them”.
 - c. A history of large-scale outward migration from a region may make people more receptive of incoming migrants.³⁵ Many people would have migrants in their own family and would know the stories that lead to emigration and as a result would be more understanding towards present day migrants.
 - d. A population which has felt neglected by central authorities for a long time or historically been discriminated because of its religion (Catholics in a state dominated by Protestants) might feel more sympathy for other neglected groups. However, the opposite seems to be true as well (and unfortunately more frequent): Neglected groups tend to look down at other neglected groups (to uplift their own self-image).³⁶
6. Dialogue and a better understanding of each other has become out of fashion, but is necessary whatever else is done. It should not be organised as a (mostly fruitless) dialogue of people of “both sides”, not as a dialogue between parties, but as a dialogue of people sharing some common experience.
 7. Polarisation is less probable, the more ethnically diverse a population is. At a dinner table with 14 nationalities, conversation will probably be more fruitful and less fraught with tension than at a table with representatives of two ethnicities.
 8. In communities with a tradition of citizen initiatives and strong participation in public decision-making, polarization seems rather improbable, because many bottom-up initiatives would help to avoid it at an early stage. Polarization seems more probable in situations where everything is decided by public authorities, which invites populist attitudes by politicians and policy makers.
 9. The physical environment (mixture of social housing and privately owned residences, the layout of public space, the location of public facilities and religious buildings, and the esthetic quality of these buildings) does have an impact on the social relations unfolding in this environment.
 10. If groups with deviant behavior (youngsters making trouble) are not put into a corner, but get recognized and share responsibility, many problems can quickly be solved and more peaceful relationships can develop.
 11. Even otherwise “peaceful” regions do not totally escape the dominant framing in the media (of migrants as intolerant Muslims, criminal Eastern Europeans etc.) Opinions and attitudes cannot be exclusively deduced from local circumstances any longer. Opinions are formed in a highly mediated world, in which national (and sometimes even global) media have an overriding influence.
 12. Where governments and municipalities put a lot of money into projects focused on security and social cohesion without clear involvement of the communities, success is not guaranteed at all. But where the municipality takes a laid back attitude in order to facilitate self-organization by citizens in dealing with the effects of increased tensions, the results can be more positive. Helden provides a promising example.

35. Irial Glynn compared the tolerance of the Irish and of Italians towards foreigners at the 21st International Congress of Historical Sciences in Amsterdam in August 2010. In Ireland, about 10 % of inhabitants come from abroad, against 6 % in Italy. Both countries knew massive outward migration in the 19th century, mostly to the United States. While emigration had something heroic in Ireland where it was regarded as a protest against English colonialism, emigration had purely economic reasons in Italy. A discussant remarked, however, that a more plausible explanation of the differences might be found in geography, which makes Italy the destination of many African migrants, while Ireland is an island too far away for boat refugees. Het Parool, 24 August 2010, p. 12.

36. An example is the strong opposition of former immigrants into the United States against the next wave of immigrants; see e.g. Takaki (1993, 2008) and Rubio-Marín (2000).

In the short period of research it appeared that in the Donderberg there are other stories to be told as well, stories of successes and different approaches that could provide arguments to put more effort, time and money into using those other stories as starting points for different policies. The question is indeed, can policy makers only find funds and time for conflicts stemming from diversity, or are they willing to integrate success stories in their future policies. Of course this will require 'strategic patience' as dealing with diversity is a constantly challenging process with no guaranteed outcomes. But the Helden example shows that giving more space for a 'bottom-up' approach will enable the power and strength within the community to actually integrate diversity as a normal phenomenon of 21st century cities and villages.

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www.samenzijnwijhelden.nl

www.borderconditions.org

CHAPTER 2. BETWEEN PLURALISM AND MAJORITARIANISM: THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS AND EDUCATION

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Introduction

The return of religion into the public sphere creates a conundrum for the European Court of Human Rights¹: how is it possible to square the development of a consistent European approach to religious diversity with the recognition of the sometimes-conflictive plurality of state-religion models? The Court's support of the liberal principles of separation and neutrality as well as the outcome of the debate over the Preamble of the Constitutional Treaty have either been deplored by Christian conservatives as the result of European Christophobia, or celebrated by secularists as contributing to the formation of a Europe free of religion.² The acrimony between the Christian-conservative and secularist camps has, of late, resurfaced with the *Lautsi v Italy* decision which dealt with the issue of the crucifix in Italian public schools. The Court's initial *Lautsi* decision in 2009 to ban the crucifix has been interpreted as an attempt to impose a uniform secularist model hostile to religion or – alternatively – as the victory of Reason over religious obscurantism. As expected, the Court's final reversal of the initial decision in March 2011 elicited mirror reactions from Christian conservatives and secularists. In contrast to these opposing interpretations, the present chapter argues for a differentiated approach to European jurisprudence. In my view, the Court has been oscillating between an appealing liberal-pluralist perspective or framework, and a questionable majoritarian one. On the one hand, the Court has supported a perspective that interconnects the principles of liberal constitutionalism (freedom of religion, neutrality, separation) with the principle of pluralism. This framework is neither based on an ideology of secularism hostile to religion in general, nor has it attempted to construct a European "wall of separation" between state and religion. The state is not, from this perspective, purely neutral and separate, but has the positive obligation to protect and enhance a pluralistic culture of mutual tolerance, respect and dialogue amongst citizens. As the Court maintains with reference to education, "proclaiming or teaching religion... is also important to the proper functioning of democracy. For pluralism is also built on the genuine recognition of, and respect for, diversity and the dynamics of cultural traditions, ethnic and cultural identities, religious beliefs (...)"³.

1. Hereafter the Court or the ECtHR.
2. In this chapter I will use "secularism" to refer to a view that regards religion as a pre-modern practice at loggerheads with reason and modern democracy. "Secularists" are those who support this view (e.g. Marx, Freud or Dennett). For an useful review of the recent debate between secularists and religious conservatives with respect to Europe, see Ladrup, 2009: 45-59.
3. European Court of Human Rights (Grand Chamber). *Gorzelik and others v. Poland* (17 February 2004), paragraph 92. In this chapter my interpretation draws on Ungureanu, 2011.

The ECtHR has, on the other hand, supported at key moments a majoritarian perspective reluctant to accept and recognize the increasing diversity of European societies. In particular, the Court has been over-protective of Christian majorities, and it has advanced a one-sided approach to issues involving Islam. The 2011 reversal of the initial *Lautsi* decision is, as I shall argue, a symptomatic relapse into a majoritarian position. A similar perspective emerges also from the ECtHR's treatment of "minority" symbols such as the headscarf: whereas the Court has been over-prohibitive of the headscarf, it has been over-protective of the crucifix (Mancini, 2009).

It is beyond the goal of this chapter to make a comprehensive analysis of the principles guiding the ECtHR's jurisprudence (see, e.g., Evans, 2004) yet I will illustrate the two perspectives by focusing on representative decisions in the area of religious education and symbols. In the following, I start out by characterizing the liberal-pluralist framework as a trend of the Court's jurisprudence, and exemplify it by looking into the area of religious education (I). Second, by analyzing the issue of religious symbols, I illustrate how, at decisive moments, the Court has defended a problematic majoritarian perspective (II).

The liberal-pluralist perspective

The liberal-pluralist perspective refers to the combination of two elements. It includes, first, the secular principles of the European tradition of liberal constitutionalism as they emerged in the aftermath of the European "wars of religion" - freedom of religion, state neutrality, and separation between state and church. Classic liberal constitutionalism, with its focus on individual freedom and rights, does not demand from the state the obligation of protection and recognition of (non)religious pluralism as a positive contribution to democratic life. In contrast, the liberal-pluralist perspective presupposes not only that free religious manifestations in the public sphere are legitimate, but also that the state should grant equal recognition to the diversity of (non)religious relevant particularities. This entails that state neutrality has a negative dimension, i.e. the absence of a biased relation between the state and a religious community, in addition to a positive one founded on the principle of protection and recognition of (non)religious diversity (Shah, 2005).

The liberal-pluralist framework is also minimalist. This refers to the fact that the Court's role is not to replace the existing European state-religion models with an alternative one. The Court was set up by an inter-state institution (the Council of Europe) so as to interpret and implement the European Convention of Human Rights⁴ as an "offspring" of the Council itself. As a result, a central characteristic of the European legal governance is the recognition of the legitimacy of a variety of European models and constitutional traditions from *laïcité* (France, Turkey) to state religion systems (Norway, UK, Greece). This feature of the grammar of the European "approach" is captured by the idea that the role of the Convention machinery is, by definition, subsidiary. As it is established by its case-law, national authorities are in principle better placed than an international Court to assess national and local needs and circumstances.

The ECtHR is, however, not in the role of bystander in the name of the *principled* compatibility between the Convention and the diversity of the

4. Hereafter the "Convention".

European state-religion models. Though a margin of appreciation is left to national authorities, their decision remains subject to review by the Court in conformity with the requirements of the Convention and Protocols. The Court has, in its reviewing competence, attempted to develop a “thin” constitutional framework (or perspective) whereby it sets specific limitations to the margin of appreciation of the national authorities. With respect to religion, this trend gained momentum with *Kokkinakis v Greece* (1993).⁵ *Kokkinakis* has the merit of being the first case to be judged under article 9 of the Convention, which states the principle of freedom of religion: “[e]veryone has the right to freedom of ... religion; this right includes ... freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion ... in worship, teaching, practice and observance.”⁶ Even if the concept of pluralism is an older presence in the jurisprudence of the Court,⁷ *Kokkinakis* has the merit to have interconnected, in a decisive way, the principle of freedom of religion with that of pluralism as an essential feature of the democratic society.⁸ According to *Kokkinakis*, “[a]s enshrined in Article 9..., freedom of thought, conscience and religion is one of the foundations of a democratic society within the meaning of the Convention. It is, in its religious dimension, one of the most vital elements that go to make up the identity of believers and their conception of life, but it is also a precious asset for atheists, agnostics, skeptics and the unconcerned. The pluralism indissociable from a democratic society, which has been dearly won over the centuries, depends on it.”⁹ The corollary of the Court’s support of the liberal-pluralist perspective has been its questioning of biased aspects of the inherited bond between majority religion and nation-state.¹⁰ It is significant that *Kokkinakis v Greece* defended Mr. Kokkinakis’ freedom of speech against the manifest bias of the Greek state in favor of the majority religion (i.e. Orthodox Christianity). It is certainly disconcerting to learn that the appellant, a member of the religious minority of Jehovah’s Witnesses, had been arrested more than sixty times before his case reached the ECtHR.

Especially after *Kokkinakis*, the Court has at times questioned biased aspects of the relation between state and majority religion (Ringelheim, 2006). While it is beyond the aim of the present chapter to provide an overview of this jurisprudential trend, I want to exemplify the liberal-pluralist framework by reference to *Folgerø and others v Norway* (2007) – a decision that is representative of the field of religious education.¹¹ *Folgerø* dealt with the issue of religious education in a country where the overwhelming majority is Lutheran, and the Evangelical Lutheran Religion is, in accordance with the Norwegian Constitution, the state’s official religion. In 1998 a new Education Act implemented, as part of a broader educational reform, the compulsory subject of “Christianity, Religion, and Philosophy” (the KRL-subject). In reaction to this measure, *Folgerø* dealt with complaints lodged by non-Christian parents and their children, who at the time were primary school pupils. The legal conflict resulted from the fact that the Norwegian authorities denied the full exemption demanded by non-Christian parents from the KRL. The Court examined this conflict under Article 2 of Protocol No. 1, as the *lex specialis* in the area of education, which reads: “[n]o person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.”¹² At the level of principles, the Court interpreted this

5. European Court of Human Rights. *Kokkinakis v. Greece* (25 May 1993).

6. The Convention is available at: <http://www.hri.org/docs/ECHR50.html>

7. In the *Kjeldsen, Busk Madsen and Pedersen v. Denmark*, the Court maintained that “[t]he second sentence of Article 2 (P1-2) implies on the other hand that the State, in fulfilling the functions assumed by it in regard to education and teaching, must take care that information or knowledge included in the curriculum is conveyed in an objective, critical and pluralistic manner”, Eur. Ct. H. R. *Kjeldsen Busk Madsen and Pedersen v Denmark* (7 December 1976), paragraph 53.

8. On the conceptual innovations of the Court’s jurisprudence, see Mowbray, 2005: 57-79.

9. *Kokkinakis*, paragraph 31.

10. I borrow this phrase from Taylor, 2008: 488. See also Keller and Sweet, 2008.

11. Eur. Ct. H. R. (Grand Chamber), *Folgerø and others v. Norway* (29 June 2007). In the same line, see Eur. Ct. H. R. (Former 2d section), *Hasan and Eylem Zengin v. Turkey* (9 October 2007) and Gorzelik, *Ibid.* For a broad perspective on religion and education law, see Ahdar and Leigh, 2005; Kuyk, R. *et al*, 2007; and Jackson, *et al.*, 2007; Levison, 1999.

12. See <http://www.hri.org/docs/ECHR50.html>

article as follows: in virtue of the margin of appreciation, issues such as the planning of the curriculum fall, as a rule, within the competence of the Contracting States.¹³ However, the second sentence of Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 implied that the state “is forbidden to pursue an aim of indoctrination that might be considered as not respecting parents’ religious and philosophical conviction”.¹⁴ The state should be neutral – whereby neutrality was understood “negatively” as avoidance of religious indoctrination.

But *Folgerø* was not concerned only with the “negative” aspects of the exercise of state authority. *Folgerø* had the merit of developing, with respect to the area of education, the link between neutrality, freedom of religion, and pluralism. The Court sustained that the state must take care that “information or knowledge included in the curriculum is conveyed in an objective, critical and pluralistic manner”.¹⁵ The Court also maintained that the state had a positive obligation to recognize diversity, and foster a culture of mutual respect. As stated in *Folgerø*, “article 2 of Protocol No. 1 does not permit a distinction to be drawn between religious instruction and other subjects. It enjoins the State to respect parents’ convictions, be they religious or philosophical, throughout the entire State education program. ... That duty is broad in its extent as it applies not only to the content of education and the manner of its provision but also to the performance of all the “functions” assumed by the State. The verb respect means more than “acknowledge” or “take into account”. In addition to a primarily negative undertaking, it implies some positive obligation on the part of the State”.¹⁶

The Court examined the complaint against Norway from the standpoint of this liberal-pluralist framework. The question was whether the Norwegian state, in fulfilling its functions in education, had implemented the notion that knowledge included in the curriculum of the KRL was structured and conveyed in “an objective, critical and pluralistic manner” or whether it had pursued an aim of indoctrination paying no heed to the applicant parents’ religious and philosophical convictions. The Court admitted as legitimate the special role of the majority religion for education in Norway under the form proposed by the Education Act in virtue of the role Lutheranism played in the history and life of the Norwegians. The fact that knowledge about Christianity represented a greater part of the curriculum for primary and lower secondary schools was not, in the Court’s view, a departure from the principles of pluralism and objectivity: given the place occupied by Christianity in the national history and tradition of the respondent State, this must be regarded as falling within the respondent State’s margin of appreciation in planning and setting the curriculum. The Court further noted that article 2 of Protocol No. 1 “does not embody any right for parents that their child be kept ignorant about religion and philosophy in their education”.¹⁷

However, the Court argued the description of the contents and the aims of the KRL subject suggested that not only *quantitative* but also *qualitative* differences applied to the teaching of Christianity as compared to that of other religions and philosophies. For instance, for a number of educational activities such as prayers, the singing of hymns, church services and school plays, the national authorities proposed a partial exemption, by claiming that the proposed observation by mere attendance could suitably replace involvement through participation. In this case, the exemption regarded taking part in the religious practice

13. *Folgerø*, paragraph 84.

14. *Ibidem*.

15. *Ibidem*.

16. *Ibidem*.

17. *Ibidem*.

per se, but only passively so. Yet, as the Court convincingly argued, the distinction between observation and involvement was difficult to implement in practice, and “parents might have misapprehensions about asking teachers to take on the extra burdens of differentiated teaching”.¹⁸ Furthermore, the Court also rejected the Government’s argument that applicant parents could have sought alternative education for their children in private schools which are heavily subsidized by the state, arguing that “the existence of such a possibility could not dispense the State from its obligation to safeguard pluralism in State schools which are open to everyone”.¹⁹ The principle of pluralism required that minorities were protected in particular when majorities were so predominant.²⁰ By way of conclusion, the Court argued that the qualitative difference in teaching Lutheranism made it possible that the objectives of the 1998 Education Act itself (i.e. fostering intercultural dialogue, mutual tolerance and respect) were not fulfilled. From the Court’s perspective, since the information and knowledge included in the curriculum were not conveyed in “an objective, critical and pluralistic manner” for the purposes of Article 2, the appellants were entitled to a *full* exemption from the KRL-subject.²¹

The Court’s decision was neither based on a secularist ideology hostile to religion nor on a conservative one aimed at preserving the status quo at the cost of diversity. The Court’s minimal liberal-pluralist framework is consonant with the recognition of the special relation between state and majority religion in virtue of the latter’s contribution to the identity, tradition, and history of the Norwegian people. But a special relation between state and religion is distinct from a biased one founded on indoctrination and lack of real opt-out solutions for (non)religious minorities.

The majoritarian perspective

Historically speaking, the European states have been founded neither on the strict liberal principles of separation and neutrality, nor by that of pluralism. As a rule, the European states have developed privileged relationships between state and majority religion (or certain religious communities).²² Even militant laic states such as France have granted substantial advantages to the Catholic Church.²³ Moreover, the European states have granted privileges to religious groups over non-religious ones. As Silvio Ferrari notes, in the European practice, a “religious sub-sector is singled out within the public sector. This may be understood as a ‘playing field’ or ‘protected areas.’ Inside it the various collective religious subjects (churches, denominations, and religious communities) are free to act in conditions of substantial advantage compared to those collective subjects that are not religious. The state’s only role is to see that the players respect the rules of the game and the boundaries of the playing field”.²⁴

The majoritarian perspective aims at conserving the privileged relation between state and majority religion, and tends to go along with the majority opinion to the detriment of the diversity of (non)religious options. A case in point is the headscarf affair. The first headscarf case of the ECtHR was *Dahlab v Switzerland* (2001), which set the tone for a suite of similar headscarf cases.²⁵ In Switzerland, there is no state religion, and state schools adopt, in virtue of the secularism and neutrality of the state, a non-denominational system of education, as laid down in Article 27 § 3 of the Federal Constitution. This view is applied in all state

18. *Folgerø*, paragraph 95.

19. *Folgerø*, paragraph 101

20. As the Court argued, “[a]lthough individual interests must on occasion be subordinated to those of a group, democracy does not simply mean that the views of a majority must always prevail: a balance must be achieved which ensures the fair and proper treatment of minorities and avoids any abuse of a dominant position...”, *Folgerø*, paragraph 84.

21. I do not argue that the Court’s reasoning was devoid of problems. For instance, the Court argued that the “[t]he difference as to emphasis was also reflected in the Curriculum, where approximately half of the items listed referred to Christianity alone whereas the remainder of the items were shared between other religions and philosophies.” (*Ibid.* paragraph 92). In my view, it is difficult to see why, from the perspective of Court’s jurisprudence, a state where the overwhelming majority is made of Lutherans should not have the right to dedicate approximately 50% percent to a subject like KRL to the Christian tradition, and why doing so would automatically lead to indoctrination. Here the Court erroneously mixed quantitative and qualitative aspects.

22. See Madeley and Enyedi, 2003; see also Ladeur & Augsberg, 2007.

23. For a historical overview on the relation between state and religion in France, see Rémond, 1999; Laborde, 2008 and 2010.

24. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 2. See also Leustean and Madeley, 2009: 3-18.

25. From the mushrooming literature on the headscarf, see Evans, 2006: 52-73; Rorive, 2009: 2669-2698; McGoldrick, 2006; Laborde, 2008.

26. Eur. Ct. H. R. (Grand Chamber), *Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party) and others v. Turkey* (13 February 2003). Therein the Court held that the Refah Party's intention to introduce legal pluralism and the sharia was in contradiction with fundamental democratic principles: "Like the Constitutional Court, the Court considers that sharia, which faithfully reflects the dogmas and divine rules laid down by religion, is stable and invariable. Principles such as pluralism in the political sphere or the constant evolution of public freedoms have no place in it. The Court notes that, when read together, the offending statements, which contain explicit references to the introduction of sharia, are difficult to reconcile with the fundamental principles of democracy, as conceived in the Convention taken as a whole. It is difficult to declare one's respect for democracy and human rights while at the same time supporting a regime based on sharia, which clearly diverges from Convention values, particularly with regard to its criminal law and criminal procedure, its rules on the legal status of women and the way it intervenes in all spheres of private and public life in accordance with religious precepts. ... In the Court's view, a political party whose actions seem to be aimed at introducing sharia in a State party to the Convention can hardly be regarded as an association complying with the democratic ideal that underlies the whole of the Convention" (paragraph 44)

27. I do not want to suggest that the stand of the Court in cases involving Islam is completely problematic. For instance, in Eur. Ct. H. R. (2d section), *Ahmet Arslan and Others v. Turkey* (23 February 2010) (not final), the Court upheld the right of women to wear the headscarf in the street.

schools. The appellant, Mme Dahlab, was appointed as a primary-school teacher by the Geneva cantonal government (*Conseil d'Etat*) in September 1990, having taught at Châtelaine Primary School in the Canton of Geneva since the scholastic year 1989-90. Mme Dahlab converted to Islam in March 1991, and married an Algerian national in the same year. The applicant began wearing an Islamic headscarf in class towards the end of the 1990-91 school year so as to observe an Islamic precept. In May 1995, the schools inspector of the Vernier district informed the Canton of Geneva Directorate General for Primary Education that the applicant regularly wore an Islamic headscarf at school; the inspector also mentioned that there had not been any complaints from parents, pupils or Mme Dahlab on the subject of the headscarf. After failed attempts of negotiation with Mme Dahlab, the authorities decided to ban the headscarf: given her capacity as a teacher and "state representative" at a school in a secular and neutral state, the ban was not regarded as an interference with her freedom of religion (art. 9 of the Convention)". In its assessment as to whether art. 9 had been infringed, the Court admitted that, during Mme Dahlab's three years of teaching, no complaints whatsoever were made with respect to her activity. As the Court points out, "during the period in question there were no objections to the content or quality of the teaching provided by the applicant, who does not appear to have sought to gain any kind of advantage from the outward manifestation of her religious beliefs." The Court further acknowledged that it could not be established that Ms Dahlab's wearing the headscarf had had a negative impact on the pupils. However, the ECtHR submitted that this possibility could be ruled out, not least because wearing the headscarf was based on an imposition prescribed by the Koran. According to the Court, since the Koran is at loggerheads with gender equality, "[i]t ... appears difficult to reconcile the wearing of an Islamic headscarf with the message of tolerance, respect for others and, above all, equality and non-discrimination that all teachers in a democratic society must convey to their pupils." As a result, the ECtHR passed a decision of inadmissibility, concluding that the Swiss authorities "did not exceed their margin of appreciation aim of protecting the rights and freedoms of others, public order and public safety".

The ECtHR's inferential "logic" raises, in my view, important difficulties. First, it remains unexplained how Mme Dahlab's donning the headscarf, an issue which had not raised any complaint whatsoever, could be reasonably considered a menace to public order and public safety. The Court was completely silent as to the grounds of invoking art. 9.2 to justify an interference with the freedom of religion (art. 9.1). Second, the ECtHR not only mistakenly maintained that wearing the headscarf was a clear-cut obligation imposed on women by the Koran, but also its sweeping negative judgment concerning the Koran as being at odds with gender equality, democracy and tolerance was, at best, unfortunate. The role of a Court is not to "put on trial books like Koran – the milestone of a hugely complex and changing religious tradition of practice and interpretation. Regrettably, such generalizing verdicts with respect to Islam do not represent an exception. For instance, in influential decisions such *Refah Partisi v. Turkey* (2005), where the Court intimated that there was a principled incompatibility between democracy and sharia.²⁶ When Christian beliefs and conducts are at stake, the Court has never passed such across-the-board negative judgments on the Bible, even if one can easily find statements that are at loggerheads with the contemporary understanding of democratic and gender equality.²⁷

Third, the conjecture that wearing the veil may negatively influence the pupils could not be taken for granted. If building a society based on mutual respect and tolerance is a desideratum, it is reasonable to envisage that pupils be exposed in schools to a plurality of opinions and lifestyles. To respect differences and to be willing to learn from them are “aptitudes” that can be formed by acquaintance with differences, not by hiding them. Schools can preserve their denominational neutrality as their “official stand”, and at once hire teachers who manifest their religious difference, provided that this does not lead to indoctrination. In so doing, freedom of religion, neutrality, and pluralism can be combined so as to contribute to the formation of a culture of mutual tolerance and respect in tune with the existing diversity of contemporary democracies. Tolerance and respect for diversity are not generated by exclusion of diversity, but by hospitality towards it.

The double measure of the ECtHR’s treatment of religious symbols can be seen from its over-protective approach to the crucifix – a majority symbol in the European context (see Andreescu and Andreescu, 2010: 47-74). *Lautsi v Italy* concerned Ms Soile Lautsi, an Italian national living in Abano Terme (Italy), and her children. In 2001-2002, Ms Lautsi’s children, aged 11 and 13 respectively, attended the State school “Istituto comprensivo statale Vittorino da Feltre” in Abano Terme. All of the classrooms had a crucifix on the wall, including those in which Ms Lautsi’s children were imparted lessons. The appellant argued that the presence of the crucifix went against article 2 of Protocol No. 1 (the parent’s right to educate their children according to their convictions and beliefs) and the art. 9 (freedom of religion). In turn, the Government maintained that the crucifix had become a cultural symbol that pertained to Italian history and identity, and that it was linked to values such as solidarity, whose relevance went beyond Catholicism. Therefore, the Government maintained that the presence of the crucifix was compatible with the freedom of religion and state neutrality, and that it even supported pluralism. Finally, given the lack of consensus in Europe about the issue of religious symbols such as the crucifix, the Italian state should benefit from the margin of appreciation in this respect.

In the initial 2009 decision, the Court supported the ban of the crucifix from classrooms. The Court pointed out that pupils could very well interpret the presence of the crucifix in the classrooms as a religious sign, and not as a cultural one. This may be unsettling for pupils who practiced other religions or were non-believers or atheists. As the Court emphasized, the freedom not to believe in any religion (inherent in the freedom of religion guaranteed by the Convention) was not limited to the absence of religious services or religious education: it extended to practices and symbols that expressed a belief, a religion or atheism.²⁸ Further, respect for parents’ religious convictions and for children’s beliefs “implies the right to believe in a religion or not to believe in any religion. The freedom to believe and the freedom not to believe (negative freedom) are both protected by article 9 of the Convention”.²⁹ Therefore, the compulsory display of a symbol of a given confession in premises used by the public authorities, and especially in classrooms, restricted the right of parents to educate their children in conformity with their convictions, and the right of children to believe or not to believe. In particular, it was required to observe confessional neutrality in the context of public education, where attending classes was compulsory irrespective of religion, and where the aim should be to foster

28. *Lautsi* (2009), paragraph 55

29. *Ibid.*, paragraph 47.

critical thinking in pupils. The Court thus rejected the Government's claim that the display, in classrooms in State schools, of the crucifix could serve the educational pluralism that was essential to the preservation of a "democratic society", given that the symbol may be reasonably associated with the majority religion in Italy. As the Court maintained: "(t)he display of the religious symbols even when the majority of the population is favorable of this religion, presupposes a pressure on those who do not share it, and is not in agreement with the educational pluralism and the state neutrality."³⁰

The 2011 final decision reversed the initial ban.³¹ The Court argued that the crucifix should be considered a "religious symbol". But, maintained the ECtHR, the crucifix was merely a "passive symbol"³² present in a context (the Italian) where pluralism was respected.³³ Furthermore, given the lack of consensus over the issue of the crucifix in Europe, the Court argued for granting a wide margin of appreciation to the Italian state with respect to the crucifix.³⁴

While the initial decision failed to consider the question of the margin of appreciation and propose a more nuanced decision. I think that the final *Lautsi* represented a relapse into majoritarianism. The Court was right to distinguish between "didactic teaching" or "participation in religious activities" and symbols,³⁵ yet this did not entail that symbols were "essentially passive"; in contrast, they are images that purport to directly communicate a message in a specific context. Or it is difficult not to note that the Court's view of the pluralism of the Italian context was idealized. Basically, the Court adopted uncritically one of the arguments of the Italian government. But, as various scholars point out, in Italy state and majority religion are intermeshed at different levels – from the political to the educational and private one (e.g., Pollard, 2007). The Catholic Church plays a central role in the political public sphere, and it has campaigned and pressured for a specific legal agenda based on religious worldview. Given the dominance of the Catholic Church in the Italian context in addition to the possibility that the compulsory presence of the crucifix has a biased impact on vulnerable children who do not have an opt-out solution, a solution that grants protection to minorities would have been more persuasive. I call this alternative solution "conditional removal". The "removal" aspect takes into account the requirement of protecting minorities and their freedom of religion in the Italian context. The "conditional" aspect refers to the fact that the removal should be made dependent upon the parents' explicit demand, and not implemented overnight in all public schools.

This "moderate" solution avoids, first, the over-juridification whereby an international Court would pre-decide, fix and paternalistically impose a meaning on a symbol in a variety of dynamic local contexts. Second, this solution is potentially more democratic: while it protects minorities, it does not require the immediate exclusion of the crucifixes from classrooms, giving a margin of discussion and decision to Italian citizens as to the way they want to interpret and maintain their (religious) traditions. Third, this solution gives more substance to a balanced argument from the margin of appreciation: it is not for a subsidiary Court to pre-decide meaning and the presence/absence of the crucifix from all the Italian public schools, but for the Italian citizens themselves, provided that minorities are protected. Thus the "conditional removal" solution finds a *via media* between these two extremes, i.e. the uncritical acceptance of the status quo advocated by religious conservatives, and a priori ban preferred by secularists.³⁶

30. *Ibid.*, paragraph 47.

31. Eur. Ct. H. R. (Grand Chamber), *Lautsi v Italy* (25 March 2011).

32. *Lautsi* (2011) speaks at paragraph 72 of the crucifix on a wall as "an essentially passive symbol".

33. *Lautsi* (2011), paragraph 74.

34. The Court insists several times on the margin of appreciation. E.g. *Lautsi* (2011), paragraphs 68, 69 and 70.

35. *Lautsi*, (2011), paragraph 72.

36. For such a decision in 2009 in Spain, see: www.stecyl.es/juridica/091214_sentencia_TSJ_CyL.pdf

Conclusion

The relationship between religion, state and democracy in Europe is undergoing an open-ended process of transformation. In the last decades, the socio-religious landscape of Europe has fundamentally changed. The power of institutional religion has declined, while the interest in individualized spiritual and religious experiences has increased. Immigration and globalization have also contributed to the growth of a more diverse religious environment. For example, Islamic, Pentecostal and New Age beliefs have become more commonplace in European states.

The ECtHR has made important steps in developing an approach based on the minimal principles of freedom of religion, state neutrality, in addition to that of pluralism. This approach is consistent with the growing pluralization and individualization of the socio-religious landscape in Europe. It is also part of a broader process of revisiting the traditional compromises between state and religion in a more plural world where different religious communities seek for a place in the public sphere. The ECtHR's approach remains, however, marked by ambivalence, as it oscillates between a liberal-pluralist and a majoritarian perspective. In particular, I have exemplified the Court's over-protective stand with respect to Christian majorities, and the biased stand with respect to Islam. "The role of the authorities," maintains the ECtHR in *Sherif v Greece*, "...is not to remove the cause of tension by eliminating pluralism, but to ensure that the competing groups tolerate each other".³⁷ A more consistent reliance on this "standard" from the part of the ECtHR could be an asset in a political environment where states aim anew at assimilation, and where even sober figures like Angela Merkel take on board the populist rhetoric of the death of multiculturalism. Nonetheless, recent decisions such as *Lautsi* raise doubts as to the ECtHR's capacity to protect, in more consistent way, diversity in Europe.³⁸

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³⁷. *Serif v. Greece*, no. 38178/97, § 53, ECHR 1999-IX.

³⁸. I am grateful to Clare Sheppard for proof-reading this text. I have also benefitted from discussions with Marisa Iglesias on the issue of the crucifix.

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PART 2. DIVERSITY IN PUBLIC POLICY CONTEXTS

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EDUCATION AS A MIRROR OF SPANISH SOCIETY:
CHALLENGES AND POLICIES TOWARDS MULTIPLE
DIVERSITY

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- **CHAPTER 4.**
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- **CHAPTER 5.**
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CHAPTER 3. EDUCATION AS A MIRROR OF SPANISH SOCIETY: CHALLENGES AND POLICIES TOWARDS MULTIPLE DIVERSITY¹

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Introduction: Spain in the European debate

In the critical European dilemma between increasing diversity policies and an assimilationist policy,² education is seen as an instrument of social integration and a mean of constructing identity. Education continues to be, perhaps more than ever, the most crucial socialization institution. The ways in which the dominant cultural majority frames the educational system determines perception of its own identity and understanding of the 'other.' Thus, principles of equality of treatment and opportunity, of societal cohesion, of respecting diversity and social justice are particularly relevant in Europe's education policies that aim at increasing tolerance for diversity and awareness of the growing unity between Europeans.³ This has an important impact on practical issues, innovations and concrete actions that schools and teachers undertake in order to address the education needs of ethnic minority groups, and/or to better manage ethnic and cultural diversity resulting from current migration trends.

Spain entered the policy debate on diversity following its practical approach⁴ by adopting intercultural education views that pay attention only to individual differences and not to group realities that emphasize host country language as an instrument for integration. However, in the current global context, a pressing need arises to reconsider and pluralize national culture and identity in view of the changing composition of the country's population, faster than was required in case of older migration hosts (Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2008).

My purpose is to analyze the Spanish case within this European framework. In Spain, during the last 10 years, the number of foreign pupils in compulsory education⁵ has increased rapidly, from 43.481 in the year 1996-1997 to 432.800 in the year 2006-2007 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2007). This demographic reality has brought discourses and policies that need to be analyzed in order to situate Spain within the European framework, identifying its main features.⁶ The main information-sources for these analyses consist of policy-documents, interviews with policy-makers and a focus group with non-governmental stakeholders. Table 1 gives an overview of the basic questions that we attempted to answer.⁷

1. This article summarizes the main findings of the Spanish case study of the European Project *EMILIE*-<http://emilie.eliamep.gr>. I would like to thank N.de Witte, Emilie research assistant, for his help in the writing of this article. Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain. This chapter is a reprint version of an article published in (2010) *OMNES: The Journal of Multicultural Society*, 1(2); 65-100. I would like to thank the journal editors for their permission
2. See, for instance, Zapata-Barrero (Ed. 2009), Vertovec and Wessendorf (Ed. 2010).
3. See Gaine and Gewirtz (Ed. 2008), Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2008), Faas (2010). See also reports and policy briefs on multicultural education in Europe at <http://emilie.eliamep.gr/policy-briefs-on-multicultural-education/> (the following European countries are considered: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Spain and the UK).
4. See Zapata-Barrero (2010b).
5. Education in Spain is compulsory from 6 to 16 years old and consists of Primary Education (6-12 years), divided in 3 periods of 2 years and Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO) (12-16), divided in two periods of 2 years.
6. A first general analysis has been done in Zapata-Barrero (2010b).
7. We would like to thank research assistant Jonathan Zaragoza for his help with conducting interviews in Madrid and Barcelona and organizing the focus group.

Table 1. Standards for analysis	
Standards	Basic Questions
1. Perceived challenges	What are the main challenges of migration related diversity in education identified by policy-makers?
2. Multicultural focus of education policy	How do policy-makers think that multicultural reality in schools should be managed? Is there a positive evaluation of cultural diversity? Is there compensation for language and educational disadvantages? And what about education in/for diversity?
3. Management of linguistic diversity	What linguistic model is at work? How is language teaching to immigrants managed? And is there a possibility for immigrants to learn their native languages?
4. Management of religious diversity	Is it possible to study different religions in school? Are schools segregated according to religion, or can different religions be studied in all schools?
5. Organizational and institutional adaptations	Has a multicultural reality resulted in any institutional or curricular changes? If so, what changes have been made?

The nexus between challenges and policies constitute a driving-force articulating the following sections. *Section one* outlines how multiculturalism in Spain has shaped the education system after the democratic transition, giving a historical account of how policy has developed from exclusion and segregation to finally incorporating cultural minorities. In *section two* the educational challenges related to the arrival of immigrants in schools are discussed, by pointing out the main current debates. *Section three* then turns to the policy approaches and goes into the competence of different levels of administration. Finally *section four* summarizes the main characteristics of Spanish approach and policy discourses, and what we can learn from the European perspective.

Contextualizing educational challenges in the Spanish education system

The main educational challenges brought upon by immigration have to be understood within the democratic transition context of Spain. The terms of debate were twofold: how to demonopolize education from the Catholic Church and how to manage the emergent cultural diversity related to minority nations - and to lesser extent gypsies - with their own language, history and "societal culture."⁸ The direction that took place on both issues frames today's basic educational challenges related to immigration.⁹

8. "By a societal culture, I mean a territorially-concentrated culture, centered on a shared language which is used in a wide range of societal institutions, in both public and private life (schools, media, law, economy, government, etc.). I call it *societal* culture to emphasize that it involves a common language and social institutions, rather than common religious beliefs, family customs, or personal lifestyles" (Kymlicka, 2001: 25).
9. For an overview of legal reforms in the Spanish education system see Prats, 2005: 174-184.

With regard to the first debate on secularizing education, two outcomes are relevant. First, the educative system has been divided into public, private and what are called *escuelas concertadas*, schools financed partly by the state and partly by the Catholic Church. The concertada schools are results of the political negotiation that took place in the transition phase, since the Catholic Church had practically the monopoly over education during the Franco dictatorship. According to the statistics, 80% of the foreign students are enrolled in public schools and 20% in private and concertada schools. Not only has this resulted in educational inequalities between Spanish public and private schools, because students from minority backgrounds perform at lower academic level than their peers, but it also led to the politicization of the immigrants segregation question. Second, in spite of the decrease in the influence of the Church, Catholic

religion is a compulsory course in both primary and secondary education, which means that it must be offered by educational establishments, but pupils now may take it or leave it on a voluntary basis. The arrival of immigrant students with different religious beliefs has given rise to demands for education on other religions.

The second debate is related to Spain's minority nations. Since the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution in 1978, several regions of Spain have been re/granted political and administrative competences. The Spanish education system has undergone several changes in this respect, gradually transferring services and resources from the central administration to the Autonomous Communities. The Laws of Linguistic Normalization (1983) gave Catalan, Basque and Galician an official status in their respective territories and also provided regional authorities with control over the educational system and the possibility to develop bilingual education programs and distinctive curricula. In regions like Catalonia and Basque country the authorities consequently started a process of "normalization" of Catalan and Euskara.¹⁰ In both regions linguistic departments were established to enforce laws that put the national language on an equal status with Spanish, also in compulsory education. The social reality of multi-nationality thus explains some current demands of these Autonomous Communities and the ways to manage bilingualism and now multilingualism in schools.

According to the Spanish immigration law, foreigners under 18 years old have a right and obligation to receive education under the same conditions as Spaniards, which means free and obligatory primary and secondary education.¹¹ One of its distinctive features is that Spain considers education as a universal good that has to be distributed independently of the status of persons and even independently of the administrative status of the immigrant.¹² The Spanish approach towards education is thus based on human rights beyond other legal considerations.¹³ Next to this approach of equal opportunities, the immigration law prescribes that public authorities should promote the facilitation of education needed by foreign residents, in order to improve their social integration, with respect for their cultural identity.¹⁴ The law that regulates the education system has introduced a series of measures compensating for inequalities, to be adopted by both the State and the Autonomous Communities.¹⁵ Also the Constitutional Law for the Quality of Education of 2002 prescribes equal rights of education for foreigners, as well as norms of *convivencia* (co-existence)¹⁶ in the educative centers and the need to develop language assistance. Finally the Agreements of the State with the Evangelic, Jewish and Islamic communities in Spain establish some religious rights in the educational sphere, like the right to religious education, the provision of *halal* meat in school canteens and the right to religious holidays.

Aguado and Malik point out that cultural diversity is not new in Spain (2001: 149). Before immigration became a social reality in the 90s, the factor of cultural diversity was introduced by the gypsy minority on one hand, and minority nations on the other hand.¹⁷ While the gypsies highlighted the differences in academic performance between social groups, the issue of language was an explicit challenge in specific Autonomous Communities with a second official language, especially Basc Country, Catalonia and Galicia. After a period of exclusion and segregation of gypsies within so-called "bridge" schools, they were incorporated into ordinary classrooms with the backing of compensatory programs (Fernandez Enguita,

10. While in most Autonomous Communities, the education system is monolingual, in Catalonia education is bilingual and in Basque country the principle of separation of languages has been applied. Therefore in Catalonia children are taught in both official languages and the educational system expects pupils to use both languages at the end of compulsory schooling. In Basque country, on the other hand, people can choose between three types of schools, each with a different level of attention to the teaching of Euskara; schools that provide all education in Euskara (model D), schools where almost all education is given in Castilian (model A), and schools that are situated in-between these two extremes (model B). Although two minorities have thus developed different policies for the normalization of Catalan and Euskara respectively, the decreasing knowledge of Euskara in Basque country has made the Basque government reconsider their language policy, and currently proposals seem to point towards the Catalan model.

11. See article 9 of Constitutional Law 4/2000.

12. The schooling of children of irregular immigrants is based on the UN's International Convention on Child Rights ratified by Spain.

13. Following the theory of goods applied to policies for managing immigration, Zapata-Barrero (2002: 85-87) says that the properties of education are symbolic, collective and heterogeneous. We can say that the symbolic and collective properties are respected in Spain, but that the heterogeneity of the good is still on the political and social agenda. The homogeneity/heterogeneity depends on the interpretation. Good A is homogeneous when there is no discussion on its value, and it is heterogeneous when not everyone values the primary good in the same way.

14. See article 9 of Constitutional Law 4/2000.

15. See the Constitutional Law on the General Organization of the Education System (1990).

16. There is no direct English translation for the Spanish term *convivencia*, which is not merely a descriptive term of coexistence, but also has a normative dimension, as it refers to coexistence as something positive and is sometimes translated as peaceful coexistence.

17. See Constitutional Law of 19 July 1980 regulating school statutes.

1996). These compensatory programs were directed at the students “disfavored by economic capacity, social level or place of residence”. While cultural diversity was not regarded as a factor of inequality, “the program did [...] include “cultural minorities” as a specific area of action for the enrolment of infant population, the regularization of attendance at class and the avoidance of early drop out”(Gareta Bochaca, 2006: 266). The development of these programs should be understood as the context of Spain adopting the notion of equality of opportunity much later and in a way different from other European countries.

The 1990 Constitutional Law on the General Organization of the Education System (LOGSE) was the first to mention the need to fight ethnic-cultural discrimination and, in line with the Council of Europe, introduced the idea of intercultural education programs (Terrén, 2001). First, the law states that special education¹⁸ has to be provided for: “the pupils with special educational needs, because they suffer from physical, psychic or sensory disabilities, serious behavioral disorders or are in unfavorable social or cultural situations”. Culture is therefore understood as a variable that can lead to disadvantages. It also sets out an educational system that compensates for inequalities without parallel action, meaning that all students regardless of their socio-cultural background and ability levels have the right to be educated in general classrooms (Gareta Bochaca, 2006: 266). Second, intercultural education aims to adopt curricular and structural changes that celebrate the diversity of culture, gender, religion etc. In spite of the attention to cultural diversity in the 1990 law, the implementation of intercultural education is ambiguous (Aguado and Malik, 2001).

Originally developed to integrate the gypsy minority into mainstream schools, the idea of compensatory programs has been applied to immigrants when they started to fill classrooms in the 90s. The main purpose of these programs is to solve the linguistic difficulties encountered, as well as to bridge cultural and ability gaps. Within these compensatory programs, cultural diversity is dealt with from a deficit approach. It is thus a form of positive discrimination, which includes special treatment for special students performed by specific teachers (Arnaiz and Soto, 2007: 376). While compensatory programs aim at marginalized groups in general, the ethnic groups, the so-called *aulas de acogida* (insertion classes) are created specifically for immigrants and consist of separate classes for immigrants who learn the language and forms of conduct in school. These insertion classes should be understood in the context of political orientation directed at what Spanish policy makers call *normalización* (normalization), incorporating immigrants into the mainstream society and avoiding whatever direct/indirect segregationist effect. It is also common for secondary students to be placed in a class a year below their actual age in order to learn the language and cope with school work. Many schools also have a special teacher, the so-called “cultural mediator” that helps immigrant children and their parents with social integration into the education system, by solving conflicts related to language or cultural differences. The educational investigation centre (CIDE) indicates that next to reception plans (so-called *planes de acogida*) some Autonomous Communities have also adopted special education programs, including the modification of school organization and adaptation of curricula which are in line with so-called “intercultural education” (CIDE, 2005: 65-66).

Compensatory education programs, thus, take place in a way segregated from the standard curriculum and are performed by special teachers, for

18. Special education can consist of “Educational and professional counseling”, “Social Guarantee Programs”, “Compensatory Education”, “Special Education etc. (CIDE, 2002).

the purpose of compensating for students' differences in language, culture and ability. Intercultural education, however, aims at teaching tolerance and solidarity necessary for educational equity and social justice to all students. It therefore should not be limited to immigrant students, but teach all students to coexist and cooperate within a multicultural society.¹⁹ What is understood as multicultural education by policymakers in Spain is actually segregation of homogeneous cultural groups. Intercultural education is what takes the conflicts of a multicultural reality as a starting point and aims at stimulating interaction between students from different cultural groups (Colectivo Amani, 2004: 47-50). According to Etxeberria, the historical evolution of the management of multiculturalism in Spain can be summarized by a movement from assimilation, to compensation, to multi-culture, to intercultural education. While the latter two are often used interchangeably, intercultural education is different from multicultural education, because it does not focus on cultures as separate groups, but stresses communication and dialogue between them, thus responding to the terminology of the Council of Europe (Etxeberria, 2002: 15-16). It thereby goes beyond the liberal-assimilationist world view, by demanding both a real change in curricular contents and strategies, as well as changes in the level of cultural competence (Aguado and Malik, 2001: 151). Most of the academic work on multicultural and/or intercultural education in Spain is done by scholars in education/pedagogy, anthropology or sociology.²⁰ In this article we adopt a political approach, by examining the management of cultural diversity within Spanish education policy, treating "education as the mirror of society" (Zapata-Barrero, 2002: 215).

Educational challenges as a mirror of social challenges

From an educational perspective, the academic underachievement of immigrant students²¹ is the main challenge, that includes the high number of foreign pupils failing to finish compulsory schooling and the high number of school abandonments after compulsory education (Playà Maset, 2007). These results can be explained by a combination of socio-economic, cultural and pedagogic variables.²² Another important challenge beyond the scope of this article is a relatively low number of foreign students in post-obligatory education. The share of foreign pupils is about 13.5% in primary and secondary education, while it only represents 6% and 9.7% in undergraduate university and professional education.²³ My focus here is not on academic achievements, but on challenges related to the management of cultural diversity in mandatory education. I have identified three categories of challenges in the written media²⁴ related to the presence of immigrants in Spanish primary and secondary classrooms: the concentration of immigrants in public schools, curricular challenges and institutional challenges.

Concentration of immigrants in public schools

Although by law immigrants have equal access to public financed schools -public and *concertada* schools-82.1% of the immigrant pupils are concentrated in public schools.²⁵ The concentration of immigrants is believed to negatively affect the quality of education, and there is a fear that scholarly segregation results in marginalization, social fragmentation and will create social conflicts experienced in other European

19. See Muñoz (1997). Carbonell (2005: 30-31) on the other hand argues that intercultural education should contain two basic pillars: education in (and for) equality and education in (and for) respect for diversity, thereby including compensatory education within intercultural education.
20. For education/ pedagogy see for example: F. Etxeberria, 2002, F. Carbonell, 1995, 1996, 2005; T. Aguado, et.al., 2005; E. Terrén, 2001; X. Besalú Costa, 2002; for anthropology: J. García Castaño, 1995; M. Fernandez Enguita, 1996; G. Dietz, 2003 and S. Carrasco, 2003, 2005; and for sociology: J. Garreta Bochaca, 2004, 2006 and Colectivo IOÉ, 1997, 2002.
21. From an international perspective also the underachievement of Spanish pupils in general is a challenge. In the 2003 PISA study for example Spain was ranked 25th out of a total of 40 countries in mathematics, and 26 in reading and science (OECD, 2004).
22. For example, coming from a non-Spanish speaking background and having an ethnic minority status within the society are two risk factors pointed out for such underachievement, next to poverty and special needs (Arnaiz and Soto 2003: 377). Age of incorporation, previous education, attention to immigrants and resources for intercultural education in educational centers are other factors mentioned in the literature.
23. See *La Vanguardia* (09-09-2007).
24. Five major Spanish newspapers (*El País, La Vanguardia, ABC, El Mundo and El Periódico*) have been monitored between October 2006 and October 2007.
25. See Aunión (2007) and *El Mundo* (2007b). Of the foreign students in mandatory primary and secondary education, about 1/5 fourth is matriculated in private schools, while 4/5 is matriculated in public schools. Within the category of "private", two types of schools can be distinguished: so-called *concertadas* (partly financed by the government and partly by the Catholic Church) and *non-concertadas*. The division of the Spanish education system into public, "concertada" and private schools is important for understanding segregation.

countries, like France, the UK or the Netherlands. These concerns have resulted in critiques of admission policies, and especially the lack of inclusion of immigrants in *concertada* schools. The new Education Law²⁶ approved without the consensus of the main opposition party, *Partido Popular* introduced the regulation of entrance of students with special needs, including immigrants, up to 10% per class room. In Catalonia a quota policy has been introduced to regulate immigrants' admission in general, next to specific financial measures to promote immigrant admission in *concertada* schools. The introduction of quota policy has not passed without criticism. According to the critiques, forced redistribution does not reflect social reality. The director of immigration of the Basque government, Roberto Marro, for instance, states that "immigrants need to integrate in their own neighborhood and go to school there. You cannot solve the question of segregation by educational policy of admission" (Azumendi, 2007). Also the discriminatory and racist character of the policy is highlighted, because it only aims at the redistribution of foreign pupils and not of autochthons.²⁷ On the other hand the parent association, *Federación de Asociaciones de Madres y Padres de Alumnos de Cataluña*, (FAPAC) criticizes the new admission policy of discriminating autochthons in Catalonia, because only immigrants are guaranteed free access to *concertada* schools, and they also receive the majority of *becas de comedor* (lunch grants). The association argues for an equal distribution of resources instead of the positive discrimination of immigrant students (Pérez, 2007).

Curricula challenges: confessional education, education for citizenship and language education²⁸

Immigration has also triggered debates on curriculum changes. First, there is a question of confessional education. The socialist government proposed to make religion optional, in order to follow the constitutional principle of the Spanish a-confessional state. Arguments against this proposal came from the Catholic Church and the conservative party *Partido Popular*, who presented their claim for Catholic education to remain mandatory, because according to them 90% of the Spanish families demand Catholic classes and 70% think religious education should be mandatory. After a number of clashes between the two parties, the government approved a regulation of religious education without the blessing of the bishops, but accepting a good part of their demands. Catholicism maintains its prominent place within the public education system, as it must be offered in public schools, but is freely chosen by the students. While in primary school no alternative classes are provided, in secondary school an alternative course – history of religions - should be offered, but students are also free to choose neither of these options (Rodríguez de Paz, 2006; Morán, 2006). The debate on religious education highlights the struggle of the Catholic Church to maintain power within the Spanish education system. As far as other religions are concerned, the agreements between the Spanish state and the Jewish, Evangelic and Muslim communities guarantee the right of religious education in both public and private schools, but in practice many schools do not provide this opportunity.²⁹ The Islamic Community of Spain for example states that there are only 33 Islamic teachers working in public schools in Spain, while there are some 74.000 Muslim pupils. Moreover, of the three *concertada* schools that are not Catholic, none is Islamic. Two are Evangelic and one is Jewish (Sahuquillo, 2007).

26. See Education Law (LO 2/2006, of 3 May).

27. See *Deia* (05-07-2007).

28. Under this heading we discuss those curricula challenges that have been mediatized, including religious education, citizenship education and language education. Although it did not receive much media attention there was also a debate over the way in which Spanish history is interpreted in school textbooks, especially the way the Spanish Muslim past is presented. In these history textbooks a traditional picture of Maurophobia is perpetuated that consolidates the idea of Muslims versus Christians (Zapata-Barrero 2006: 143), essentializes Western versus Eastern culture and produces a great deal of Eurocentrism and Islamophobia (see for example Navarro, 1997).

29. See Andújar (2005) and *El Periódico de Catalunya* (18-11-2004).

Second is the introduction of a new course called “Education for Citizenship and Human Rights” (*Educación para la ciudadanía y derechos humanos*) which was introduced as an obligatory course with the new education law.³⁰ The purpose of the new subject is teaching individual and social ethics and democratic values. It includes topics like climate change, human rights, immigration, multiculturalism etc. It will be introduced into the schedule of the fifth or sixth years of primary school and in one of the first three years of secondary school. The idea was initiated on recommendations of both the Council of Europe and the European Union (Council of Europe, 2002; Council of the European Union, 2004). The new course has been subject to much criticism and debate in Spain. The large amount of newspaper articles and commentaries show that the main argument for is the need to create democratic citizens and prevent inequalities between sexes, minorities etc. Arguments *against* the new course come from the Catholic Church and related parties³¹ who argue that it might lead to value indoctrination by the state and goes against the freedom of ideology and religion.³² In several occasions, comparison is drawn with Franco’s education policy of producing a national spirit. It can be argued that those who were for the maintenance of religion as mandatory course in the official curricula are now against the introduction of the new course. However, also secularists object to the new subject, but for different reasons. From their perspective, a special course is not enough and what is needed is an integral and transversal approach of *intercultural convivencia*, which includes a transformation of teaching methods and curricula of all subjects.

Another challenge for the bilingual Autonomous Communities, like Catalonia, is the question of language education. In Catalonia, the teaching of the national language, different from Castilian, is an important part of the politics for recognition. Recently, the Catalan government criticized the new state degree establishing the basic contents of the curriculum, since 55% of the curriculum is determined by the central administration, which includes an introduction of an extra hour of Castilian language every week in primary school. The Catalan government accused the central administration of interference in their competences and petitioned the Constitutional Tribunal (Beltran, 2007b). Another incident that reached the newspapers was a sentence from the Catalan Tribunal that obliged a school in Badalona to provide one of their students with a minimum of four hours of classes in Castilian, as obliged by law, after a complaint by the parents.³³

Institutional challenges: the Muslim headscarf, halal food and the celebration of religious holidays

Although a public opinion barometer illustrates that 61% of the population are against Muslim girls wearing veils at school,³⁴ the use of the Muslim headscarf in public schools has not been as controversial in Spain as in other European countries and there are no laws or policies on this issue. A debate on presence of religious symbols in the public space promoted by the Socialist Government showed that in Spain opinions are divided among those who defend religious symbols as part of religious liberty and those who wish to prohibit the use of religious signs in the public sphere in the name of liberal-republican values (Pérez-Barco and Bastante, 2007; Martí, 2007). The lack of policy has resulted in some incidents in practice, where Muslim girls were not allowed to wear veils or where the school did not know what to do. Recently a public school in Girona (Catalonia) prohibited a girl wearing the Islamic veil (*hiyab*) from attending classes,

30. The introduction of the subject comes after a long social and political debate concerning not only its contents, but also its adequacy, mainly lobbied by Catholic Church, which sees a part of its original monopoly as threatened.

31. Like the Popular Party (*Partido Popular*), Episcopal conference (*Conferencia Episcopal*), Catholic confederation of parents (*Confederación católica de padres*) and the employers organization of private schools (*la patronal de Colegios Privados*).

32. At the start of the academic year 2006-2007 some *concertada* schools even started a boycott on the assignment (see for example *El País*, 10-09-2007).

33. See *EFE* (01-02-2006).

34. See *La Razón*, (03-04-2007).

based on internal rules of the center that prohibit all elements of discrimination, a decision that was reversed after the intervention of the Catalan government, who placed the right to education above the regulations on religious symbols (Iglesias, 2007; Beltran, 2007d; Galán, 2007). The incident resulted in demands by schools for public regulations on religious symbols, which were ruled out by the President of the Catalan government who argued that “at this moment in this country this is not necessary” (Escriche, 2004). Also in Ceuta, the Education Ministry intervened to guarantee the return of two girls wearing veils to a *concertada* school. Again the argument was based on the prevalence of the right to education upon the regulations on religious symbols (*El Mundo*, 10-10-2007). The question of religious symbols in the public space was not confined to Muslim symbols. For example in the Autonomous Community Castilla y León, the parents of 4 students at school criticized the presence of crucifixes in the classroom. The council of Education of the Autonomous Community in question asked them to be “tolerant”. Their argumentation was based on the fact that a crux means different things for different people, Catholic, agnostic or others and therefore is situated within the sphere of *convivencia* (peaceful coexistence) (*Europa Press*, 21-02-2006).

The accommodation of cultural and religious demands, like the availability of halal food or cultural and religious holidays, is legally determined within the agreements between the state and Spain’s minority religions. The lack of this accommodation in reality shows that a common acceptance of cultural pluralism within schools is not yet achieved. Two examples illustrate this. First, when a school in Zaragoza in the Autonomous Community of Aragón decided to suppress the celebration of Christmas, because of the cultural and religious diversity of their students, they received a lot of criticism from parent associations (Rodríguez de Paz, 2006). Second, the decision of the Catalan government to change the name of a school in Barcelona from “CEIP Juan XXIII” (a pope) to “Rosa dels Vents” for “multicultural” reasons, was fiercely criticized by the Catalan Popular Party (Subirana, 2006).

The management of cultural diversity in education

Context and basic challenges

Foreign students are estimated to represent 8.4% of the total students in non-university education³⁵ in 2006/2007. The largest groups of these foreign students (42.9%) come from Latin America countries, followed by students from Europe (28.3%) and Africa (19.5%). The majority of foreign students go to public schools (10.4%), while only a small number is enrolled in private centers (4.6%) (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 2007). The current administration under Zapatero has given a new stimulus to immigrant students, by investing 42% of the integration budget into education in areas with large immigrant presence. Moreover a new Education Law has been approved in 2006 that introduced new norms of admission policy, changed the curricula with regard to religious education, introduced the subject “education for citizenship” and established “attention to diversity” as a basic principle of the educational system. Next to the low academic achievements of foreign pupils, the concentration of immigrants in public schools and the changes in the basic curriculum are important challenges for the central administration.

35. Next to compulsory primary and secondary school, non-university education includes also child education (4-6), and pre-university and professional education (16-18).

Within the central administration, the Education Ministry and Integration Secretary are the main institutions that develop the preconditions for education and integration policy at the Autonomous Community level. It is important to note that the Integration Secretary is within the Ministry for Employment and Social Affairs; it develops a transversal integration programs that include education. With regard to state education policy, the state's power is largely confined to a regulatory nature and addressing the fundamental elements of the system. The Autonomous Communities have regulatory powers to expand the basic standards set by the state, and to regulate non-basic elements or features of the education system, as well as to manage the system in their own territory. For example, the Autonomous Communities use the core curricula established by the central administration as point of departure to draw their own official curricula, after which educational establishments adapt and expand it.³⁶

The remainder of this section will discuss the policy of the central administration related to the management of cultural diversity in education. The next section will first inquire into the framework provided by the Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration (*Plan Estratégico de ciudadanía e integración 2007-2010*) developed by the Immigration Secretary and the third section will discuss the approach of the Ministry of Education and Culture, by analyzing their "program for the attention to diversity". Findings are complemented and contrasted to interviews with policymakers of both the Secretary of Immigration and Emigration and the Ministry of Education.³⁷

Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration 2007-2010

The *Secretaría de Estado de Inmigración y Emigración* (State Secretary of Immigration and Emigration) of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has recently developed a new integration program, the *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración*, that gives a new color to integration policy. The plan aims to stimulate a broad range of immigration policies in the fields of reception, education, employment, housing, social services, health, youth, non-discrimination, women, participation, raising awareness and development cooperation.

The challenge of immigration in the public policy of education is twofold. On one hand immigrant citizens demonstrate the quantitative and qualitative insufficiencies of the Spanish education system, which is in need of adaptation. This is made explicit in the priority actions to promote measures against scholarly segregation, reception, and to teach educational staff the cultural diversity and an intercultural approach. On the other hand, education provides the conditions for integration in the host society, in which language teaching and basic social conduct should be promoted. The fact that education is regarded a priority in both senses becomes clear in the distribution of resources. The GDI explains that 45% of the support fund for the integration of immigrants, consisting of 200 million euros, divided among the Autonomous Communities is dedicated to education.³⁸ This amount should be used for several activities, including the development of reception plans, the promotion of *convivencia intercultural*, the maintenance of students' culture of origin, the promotion of non-compulsory schooling for children before 6 years old and the promotion of adult education. The role of the Immigration Secretary is therefore confined to providing resources and a framework of priority actions for integration in education that need to be further developed on the regional level.

³⁶. The curricular model introduced by the LOGSE (1990) gives schools the possibility of making decisions on their educational approach and address the needs and contexts of each center. In this context each center produces two documents: the Education Project of the Center and the Curricular Project of the Center (Arnaiz and Soto 2003: 379).

³⁷. On the 15th of June 2007 an interview has been conducted with a representative of the General Direction of the Integration of Immigrants (GDI) and another with two representatives of the Ministry of Education (MEC)

³⁸. All Autonomous Communities, except Basque country, Navarra and Ceuta and Melilla, have to present a Plan in which they describe what they plan to do with the money. The Autonomous Communities also need to co-finance 30% of the plan.

Education policy: Attention to Diversity and Intercultural Education

The new Education Law establishes an attention to diversity as a basic principle of the educational system, which aims at responding adequately to the educational demands of the diversity of students, without any exclusion. All citizens, including immigrants and Spanish citizens, should reach the maximum possible development in education and be guaranteed equality of opportunities. One of the MEC representatives we interviewed explains that the fact the words “immigrants” or “children of immigrants” do not appear in the new Law points towards a change in discourse. Collectives, like immigrants are no longer treated separately and the focus is on integrating different collectives within the classroom, rather than separating them. One of the main purposes of the new education reform has been planning the school admissions into *concertada* and public centers, for the purpose of guaranteeing an adequate and stable division among the schools of the students with needs of educational support, a category that mainly includes immigrants. The Autonomous Communities however are free to develop policies to reach this goal, as the school education is within the educational administration of the 17 regions, except the case of the cities Ceuta and Melilla that are under direct management of the Department of Education and Science.

As far as the curricular competence of the Education ministry is concerned, it is determined by Law (the LOGSE, 1990) that the contents of the core curricula can not take up more than 55% of the timetable of Autonomous Communities with an additional official language other than Spanish -like Catalonia, Basque country and Galicia-, and no more than 65% for those that do not have another official language. The remainder of the curricula is filled in by the Autonomous Communities (CIDE, 2002: 37). The most important curricula change in the new law is the introduction of the new course “Education for Citizenship”, which, according to one of the MEC representatives, “is facing brutal opposition by the Catholic Church, while being a normal subject in all European schools”. Another change is the regulation of religious education. In accordance with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, Catholic religious education still must be offered in public schools, though students are free in choosing it, and an optional alternative is provided in secondary education.

Apart from admission policy and the partial development of the curriculum, the Ministry of Education does not have much power in defining education policy related to the management of diversity. Concrete policy programs developed by the Education Ministry include the teaching Program on the Arabic Language and Moroccan Culture, Portuguese Language and Culture Program and the Program “Attention to Immigrants”. The first two programs derive from bilateral agreements with Morocco and Portugal to promote the preservation of languages and culture of origin. Teaching immigrants in their languages of origin is not part of the basic curriculum though, but agreements have been made with the governments of Morocco and Portugal, to bring in teachers of students’ native languages during or after school hours. The program “Attention to Immigrants” seems most relevant, though it is not very extensive. In a one-page document, the Ministry communicates the idea of immigrants being citizens, by stating that free obligatory education is to be guaranteed for both *autochthon* and immigrant citizens. Equality of access though does not guarantee equality of opportunity. For this reason the instrument of so-called compensatory

programs should “decrease” differences in education levels (i.e. compensating for language and educational gaps). This compensatory education is obligatory whenever such needs arise in a school, but the way it is put into practice may differ depending on the preferences of autonomous regions. In schools under the jurisdiction of the State however -like Ceuta and Melilla Autonomous Communities in the African shore- children with special needs attend special classes in their school hours.

Finally, the education ministry stimulates the integration of immigrant pupils in the education system, by developing special materials for teachers that work with immigrants, within the context of compensatory education or intercultural education. One of the MEC representatives points out that it is important to distinguish between “attention to immigrant pupils” on one hand and “inter-cultural education” on the other hand. While the first refers to compensatory education that compensates for language and educational differences, the latter aims at all pupils and teaches them to respect and value the cultural diversity. The MEC representative explains that the role of the ministry includes providing materials and introducing best mechanisms of intercultural education. For this purpose, the ministry has created a Resource Centre for Attention to Cultural Diversity in Education (CREADE), a website and network for supporting the professionals in educational and social spheres with information related to cultural diversity.³⁹

Catalan administration: Context and basic challenges

The management of immigration in Catalonia is special, because Catalonia is a minority nation within the Spanish State. Immigration adds a second variable to the social reality of multiculturalism and affects the process of nation building (Zapata-Barrero, 2009). It therefore requires not only a discussion on rights and non-discrimination, but also on the language of identity, the use of political instruments of self-government⁴⁰ and language policy (Zapata-Barrero, 2007: 179). Immigration presents a potential danger to Catalan culture and identity, especially with regard to the future of Catalan language. With a bilingual education model, but with a majority of pupils speaking Castilian with their peers in and out of the classroom (Departament d'Educació, 2007: 6), the Catalan language is believed to be in danger. R. Zapata-Barrero (2007: 191) also points out the effects of immigration on the Castilian language, brought by the immigrants from Central and South America. As a consequence the strengthening of Catalan language is one of the main issues in *Generalitat* policy which relates to immigrants' integration.

The percentage of immigrants in Catalan classrooms has increased rapidly over the last decade. In obligatory education, immigrant students made up only 0.8% of the total number of students in the year 1991-1992, compared to 10% in 2004-2005 and 12.5% in 2007-2008. Most immigrant pupils come from Latin America countries (44%), Maghreb countries (26.5%) and non EU European countries (11%). Like in the rest of the country, most of them are concentrated in public schools (14% of immigrants in public and 4% of immigrants in private schools).⁴¹

When the policy-makers in Catalonia are asked about their main challenges, they all stress the need of the Catalan society to perceive cultural diversity as enrichment and opportunity, rather than as a problem. The main challenge, according to them, is therefore a need for a change in a public attitude to-

39. See <http://apliweb.mec.es/creade/index.do>.

40. In this context new the *Estatut* is important (voted for in a referendum by the citizens of Catalonia on 16 of June 2006 and approved by 90 percent of the Catalan Parliament) being the first legal framework talking about immigration in terms of necessities and claims for powers.

41. See Generalitat de Catalunya, 2005: 27 and Departament d'Educació (2007).

ward cultural diversity, so that cultural diversity becomes the preference and segregation becomes the basic fear. In schools teachers should be able to teach an intercultural approach; therefore the formation of teachers is one of the most important challenges. Another important challenge discussed in the focus group is the lack of participation of immigrants in after-school activities and of immigrant parents in school and parents associations, and the lack of grants for lunch and transport.

The main outcome of the National Pact on Education of 20 March 2006⁴² has been the regulation on admission of foreign students to public and private schools, which creates a maximum quota of 30% of foreign students per school, for the purpose of preventing segregation. In order to achieve this goal, the *Generalitat* will finance *concertada* schools that admit immigrant students by signing special contracts⁴³ with them, for provision of extra finance to schools with students having specific needs (mainly immigrants), and building schooling commissions that provide information on available places in schools. The limit of these anti-segregation policies is the parents' right to choose a school for their children. Other issues of the Pact include the introduction of so-called intercultural mediators to stimulate social integration, the regulation of religious education, including the possibility to study an alternative course for non-believers, the introduction of "education for citizenship" (*educación para la ciudadanía*) and the regulation of the hours dedicated to Spanish and Catalan language teaching (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006). The remainder of this section will discuss the policy of the *Generalitat* with regard to the *Language and Social Cohesion Plan* by the Catalan Education Department. Findings are complemented and contrasted to interviews with policymakers and a focus group with non-governmental stakeholders.⁴⁴

The Language and Social Cohesion Plan by the Education Department aims at promoting and consolidating social cohesion, intercultural education and the Catalan language, in a multilingual framework.⁴⁵ Similar to the focus of the Immigration Plan on all "citizens", this Plan includes "all students in Catalonia, regardless of their background, situation or origin, and its purpose is to strengthen the foundations of a democratic culture based on justice, dialogue and coexistence" (Departament d'Educació, 2007: 5). The Plan also talks about the teachers, the families and the local environment. The Sub-Director of Language and Social Cohesion (LSC) explains that the policy to manage cultural diversity developed by the Education Department can be understood through the metaphor of a highway. The *aulas de acogida* (insertion classes) are the first step of immigrant pupils towards the highway, while Catalan is the vehicle language. The second step is the education centers as a whole, where an "intercultural approach" needs to be implemented and it should affect all pupils. The third step is the adaptation of school environment to cultural diversity and intercultural approach, which results in planes *de entorno*.⁴⁶ The point of departure is to guarantee equality for all and respect for diversity. The representative of the Interculturality and Social Cohesion Service (ISCS) describes this as following: "We were mono-cultural and now we have to recognize that we have to exist together with different cultures". Both the ISCS and LSC stress that cultural diversity must be seen as enrichment of Catalan society and its schools. The Plan stresses that a school is a laboratory of the society where "pupils from different cultural backgrounds can build a new, shared and non-exclusive identity as citizens" (Departament d'Educació, 2007: 3). The LSC states that ideally all schools should have between 10 and 30% of immigrants. "Concentration of more than 30% of immigrants creates management prob-

42. In this pact, the Catalan government (*Generalitat*) and the principal agents of the public and *concertada* schools (including labor unions, parent associations, local governments etc.) have agreed on several issues.

43. In 2007-2008 27 almost 1.300 *concertada* schools have such a contract (Beltran, 2007c).

44. Two interviews have been held in the Education Department: one with a representative of the Interculturality and Social Cohesion Service (ISCS) on the 7th of June 2007 and another one with the Sub Director of Language and Social Cohesion (LSC) on the 25th of June 2007. Another interview was held with a representative of the Immigration Secretary on the 20th of June 2007 (IS). Finally on the 29th of June 2007 a focus group was organized in Barcelona with representatives of teachers, parents, immigrants and cultural associations.

45. Catalonia is a bilingual area where Spanish is the majority language sharing official status with Catalan.

46. Local education plans, consisting of creating a local educational net to achieve school success of pupils.

lems, while less than 10% give pupils a limited vision of our globalized world". According to the LSC, the segregation of cultural groups creates problems not only in the long run, but also does not accord with "the Mediterranean culture of proximity". LSC: "The idea of a multicultural neighborhood does not work here, the idea of a public sphere where intercultural – not multicultural - *convivencia* is possible" is more important.⁴⁷ The ISCS takes a similar position: "*The Catalan society does not like ghettos, and we want that everybody communicates with everybody. Therefore the idea is to prevent exclusion and to create the situation in which all people that come to Catalonia will quickly feel Catalan, without renouncing what they are. We believe in multiple identities, and think that you should never renounce your identity but integrate in new identities, which in this case is the Catalan identity we have here.*" The term "interculturality" was first referred to in 1992 when the Department of Education defined the curriculum for primary and compulsory education (Departament d'Ensenyament, 1992). According to Carrasco (1999) the guidelines and resolutions of the Council of the European Union on responses to racism and xenophobia underpinned the new focus. When in 1996 a "transversal axis on intercultural education" was proposed to be followed in schools, the concept developed more in terms of intentions to respect cultural diversity through openness, respect and dialogue in order to prepare pupils for living in a culturally diverse society (Departament d'Ensenyament, 1996). Intercultural education is giving all pupils "cultural competence", consisting of positive intercultural attitudes, improvement of personal cultural self-conception, strengthening co-existence and improving equality of opportunity for all pupils (see Garreta Bochaca, 2006: 268). The analyzed policy documents and interviews with policy makers reveal that this conception of "interculturality", as an attitude rather than policy doctrine remains at work today. It basically means a positive evaluation of cultural diversity and a need to create bonds of solidarity between "different" citizens (Departament d'Educació, 2007: 12). The ISCS describes it as a tool to fight xenophobia and racism and to give immigrant pupils a feeling of recognition, by teaching pupils to respect difference, know and value other cultures. The LSC describes it as space of *convivència* (coexistence), in which all pupils know the limits and norms. What becomes clear from these data is that "intercultural" is an attitude and practice of dialogue and interaction that need to be taught to pupils and therefore need to be embraced by teachers. Although cultural diversity is understood as enrichment of the Catalan society, and the Plan is full of recognition, respect, intercultural education etc., there are certain limits to diversity in the public sphere. Social cohesion is the precondition for celebration of cultural diversity and the main tool to create social cohesion is learning Catalan language. In the words of the LSC: "We don't want anybody to feel like a second rate Catalan". One of the main aims of the Plan is therefore to consolidate Catalan as the mainstay of the multilingual scheme. Both policy-makers and participants in the focus group underline the importance of Catalan as a vehicle language.⁴⁸ In order to promote learning Catalan language, the following intervention spheres are defined: language immersion programs,⁴⁹ encouraging the use of Catalan as language of instruction and communication in schools as well as in families and the entire school environment, and the creation, adaptation and sharing of materials for better language learning. The so-called *aulas de acogida* are classrooms in educational centers that aim to teach immigrant students the basics of Catalan language. They have substituted the so-called "workshops of school adaptation" that were realized outside education centers. Immigrant pupils spent max. 50% of their time (15 hours a week) in these classes for maximal 2 years approximately, depending on their

47. The LSC affirms this by pointing out that the vision of Catalan government is to manage questions of cultural diversity from a bottom-up approach of contextual proximity. Nevertheless, in May next year a congress is planned to discuss the limits of *convivencia*, especially in relation to questions of religious symbols, alimentation etc.
48. Only one participant in the focus group made a critical note, by stating that "some immigrants do not plan to stay for a long time, and they might profit more from learning Castilian".
49. In the year 2007-2008 there are 1.155 insertion classes (*aulas de acogida*) out of the total 3.000 educational centers. This means that one of every three education centers has an insertion classroom. It is also important to note that while the policy tool of *aulas de acogida* is a resource provided by the *Generalitat*, including the appointment of a tutor, materials, time tables etc., the education centers are responsible for constructing a Reception Plan (*Plan de Acogida*) (CIDE, 2005: 136-137).

mother tongue and level of education. The ISCS makes clear that the Education Department is not in favor of separate classrooms for immigrants and stresses the integration into the school. Learning the language and culture of the country of origin is not part of the official school curriculum, but in schools with demand, it is offered as an extra-school activity (CIDE, 2005: 139). Due to an agreement of the Generalitat with the Moroccan government, there are 15 professors teaching Arabic after school hours in Catalan schools. Most parents however send their children to learn Arabic language and culture in cultural associations or in the mosque. While language is a political tool for integration, other areas of cultural diversity are neither politicized nor celebrated within the context of the intercultural approach. Religious education is one example. Unlike the language, religious diversity is not mentioned in the Plan. When asked about religious diversity, the ISCS explains that education centers are non-religious,⁵⁰ but that there are covenants with “other” religions, i.e. Jewish and Muslim community, thereby revealing the salient importance of the Catholic Church (Catholicism courses are offered in all public schools). Parents who wish for religious education of “another” type can ask for it, but in practice this is not often the case. According to the ISCS this is so due to the lack of teachers for which religious communities are responsible and the lack of pupils in schools demanding it. Also the LSC argues that “there is almost no demand for religious education from immigrant parents, nor do autochthons worry about this”. The debates on religion in the new Education Law, according to the respondent, were more “salon debates” than questions relevant to daily practice. According to the LSC, “Catholicism is a normal religion in schools, Evangelism is punctual, Judaism is a small minority and Islam lacks accreditation”. The IS gives another reason for the lack of Islamic classes: “In practice Islamic education is not offered, because Islamic teachers lack respect for Catalan methods of teaching” and do not hide prejudices: “it cannot be accepted, for example, that they hit pupils”. A representative of Moroccan immigrants in the focus group argues though that the problem of a lack of teachers is due to the malfunctioning of bilateral agreements with countries of origin. The lack of possibility for formation of Islamic teachers in Catalonia or Spain for that matter shows that impartiality is not embraced when it comes to the management of religious diversity (Andújar, 2005). Another example of a lack of impartiality is institutional challenges caused by migration related diversity. When asked about how Catalonia manages the question of veils, for example, the ISCS states: “We do not start a war on veils” and explains that these issues are managed and negotiated at the local level in a practical manner. Although there is no policy on religious symbols, the respondent explains that “there are demands that are negotiable and those that are not”. While wearing a veil (but not a burkha) is negotiable, not participating in gymnasium is not. When asked about the management of religious holidays, the salience of the Catholic Church is confirmed again. “The festivals (mainly Catholic) are what we have here, and we cannot permit more or less festivals”. The ISCS explains that students who want to have a day off because of religious festivities can ask for it and will get permission if the school has an intercultural approach. Cultural and religious demands are to be resolved “through dialogue and with common sense” at a school level. Only if schools encounter problems, the Education Department is contacted. These examples highlight the limits of respect and celebration of cultural diversity in Catalonia. It can be argued that although cultural diversity is evaluated as an enrichment, it is limited by the Catalan public space and in practice depends on decisions made at a school level. The boundaries of cultural diversity are justified by the need for social cohesion in the public sphere. The ISCS stress that a school is part of

50. Although outside of their competence, the Catalan Education Department is in favor of implementing the principle of secularism (*laïcité*) in schools. Also most participants in the focus group argue that religion classes should not be given in schools, except for teaching respect for religions in general.

a public space and therefore important for the production and practice in a community: "Everybody needs to know what they have to do and what to respect" [...] the public sphere consists of principles that cannot be waived, like language, human rights, child rights, women rights". The LSC states that public sphere of the Catalan is very limited, in comparison with the French: "Although there are important principles and rights in our public sphere, there is still a lot of liberty to organize into communities". Social cohesion and local citizenship are to be created by the idea of *socialization*, mainly learning Catalan language and basic "European" values, rather than on *cultural assimilation*. Catalonia's interpretation of integration therefore comes closest to the French civic assimilation model, with Catalan as the main tool for fostering a civic identity among the resident citizens. But there are also important differences, for example with regard to the management of religious diversity. According to the ISCS the Catalan education model should not be compared to other models in Europe, because "Catalonia has learned from its mistakes and is experimenting with its own models." The ISCS: "We know that the policies followed by other European countries have not brought hopeful results. This is true for the British, and the French and the German. They were implementing policies that did not function and which they had to change. Therefore, as none of the models convinced us, we created a model between the French one and the English one, [...] with a focus both on attention to immigrant pupils and on what binds them together". In sum, although a policy discourse on intercultural education is developing in Catalonia, the respondents admit that in practice intercultural education is not fully implemented and is mainly focused on reception of newcomers, support for school enrolment and language classes. These results are confirmed by the work of Garreta Bochaca (2004, 2006) who argues that although policy discourses point into the direction of intercultural education, evaluation studies are critical for the practical interventions and guidelines. Reasons for this lack of practice are problems of admission of immigrant pupils, the difficulty to change the official curriculum and the limited pedagogical practice of teachers (Garreta Bochaca, 2006: 270).

Final Remarks: Different policy approaches and multiple diversities

This article has analyzed Spanish challenges and policy approaches towards the management of migration related diversity in education. The first finding is that there is not one, but several approaches, both due to the decentralized character of the education system and the multiplicity of diversity that is at stake, i.e. language, religion, culture etc. First, the decentralization of state power after Spain's transition to democracy has resulted in a *decentralized education system* and therefore a variation in approaches towards the management of cultural diversity among different Autonomous Communities. These differences are most explicit with regard to language education. Especially in those Autonomous Communities where a second official language is promoted -like Catalonia, Basque country and Galicia-, immigration represents a challenge to identity politics and has resulted in specific challenges of how to manage bilingualism and now multilingualism in schools. The decentralized education system moreover has resulted in a situation of cultural diversity being mainly dealt with at the individual school level, usually following a compensatory approach, when immigrant students are given special attention to learn the official language(s) and bridge educational and cultural gaps. While education in, and for, equality of opportunity has been developed within

compensatory policy programs, education in, and for, difference is a new policy discourse in Spain and in practice it largely depends on the efforts of educational centers. The lack of knowledge of policy-makers on the implementation of state and regional policies indicate that a research at a school level will provide important insights into the actual management of cultural diversity in Spanish schools. Second, the historical, though diminished, influence of the Catholic Church on education has resulted in a situation of *cultural hegemony*. First of all, Catholic classes are to be offered in all public schools, while classes on minority religions are almost absent, in spite of the bilateral agreements signed with the Jews, Muslims and Protestants. Second, the fact that the policy documents analyzed in this study do not talk about management of religious diversity at all, confirms the importance of the Catholic Church in Spain. Third, the Catholic Church and affiliated parties tried to prevent changes in religious education and the implementation of a new course "education for citizenship" recommended by the Council of Europe. After heated debates the Socialist government managed to implement a new Education Law which has made religious education optional and introduced the new course "education for citizenship". Finally, while there are many so-called *concertada* schools -schools half in the hands of the state and half in the hands of the Catholic Church-, there are only three schools controlled by other religious minorities -and none of them is Islamic. Moreover, the Catholic *concertada* schools have failed to incorporate immigrant students, thereby creating situations of concentration in public schools, which is one of the main challenges for Spain. The management of religious diversity therefore can be understood within the context of an integration model based on cultural hegemony, where decision-making power remains in the hands of the dominant culture and where the right of the majority, and therefore of the individual, is regarded more important than that of cultural minority groups. Third, because immigration is relatively new in Spain, the authorities are struggling to manage this migration diversity and look at different approaches followed in Europe. Policy-makers are aware of different models of integration existing in older European host countries, but seem not to be convinced by any of them. They mostly look down at the multicultural model of integration that is negatively associated with segregation and social marginalization. In order to avoid the separation of immigrants, the idea of citizenship has been presented within the policy discourse as a new category for integration that includes both immigrants and Spanish natives. The wish for mixing cultures within schools is so strong, that quota policies for admission have been introduced in Catalonia and are considered in other regions. Next to these quota policies, the strong focus on language immersion, which in Catalonia is part of the process of "normalization", and the lack of teaching in languages and cultures of origin all point towards an integration model based on the idea of *civic assimilation*, according to which the main goal is to assimilate immigrants into the national language and conduct. However policy-makers do not want to be associated with the French doctrine and rather see themselves as the harbingers of a new model of integration, which is based on "interculturality", and draws on European concepts of integration and European values. Fourth, *intercultural education* has gained a lot of popularity in the policy arena, as well as in academic circles. Policy-makers have different views on the meaning of this new approach and it often remains unclear what exactly is meant by this intercultural approach which is somewhere in-between assimilation and multicultural models of integration. Broadly speaking, intercultural education is conceptualized as an approach that aims at teaching all students values such as tolerance and respect, in order

to live in *convivencia* (to coexist peacefully). It aims at the interaction of different cultural groups, and is therefore separated from both multicultural and compensatory education. An intercultural approach rather expresses the need to change societal attitudes and modify the public structure of the society in favor of cultural diversity. Though for some it is only about the positive evaluation of migration diversity and the need to solve multicultural conflicts by ways of intercultural dialogue, others point out the need for substantial organizational and curriculum changes. For the central administration, the implementation of an intercultural approach has been limited to the introduction of the course "Education for Citizenship" in the basic curricula and the development of intercultural education materials. In Catalonia, intercultural education is mainly understood as an attitudinal change that teachers must promote among their students, next to being a guiding principle for multicultural problem solving by ways of peaceful negotiation and dialogue, rather than through legislating the limits of cultural diversity in the public sphere. As a result, the formation of existing and new teachers is one of the main challenges. Therefore the scope of intercultural education at this moment seems to be limited to efforts to teach educational staff values like recognition and mutual respect and some marginal changes in the curriculum, while implementation is largely dependent on the willingness and interpretations of individual schools.

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CHAPTER 4. IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING: RETHINKING THE ROLE OF FISCAL POLICIES TO MANAGE DIVERSITY *

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Introduction

One of the factors that characterises European contemporary societies is that a significant percentage of the population has a migrant background. Indeed, the arrival of immigrants has been one of the catalysts affecting the diversity of our societies. This is because immigration can be associated with multiple types of diversity: racial, linguistic, religious, economic, cultural, etc., something which some authors prefer to refer to as “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2007). We consider the economic aspects of immigration as particularly relevant.

At the same time, in many countries such as Spain, access to housing is a social problem not only for immigrants but for the whole population. Public intervention is therefore needed to protect what is, after all, a right recognised by several constitutional texts. However, not all States have followed the same policies: in some cases, they have relied principally on public spending (to build social housing or use subsidies to facilitate access to houses on the private market), while in others, tax incentives have played a pivotal role.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the two key social issues of immigration and housing in light of each other, and to analyse which policies work best not only in order to secure adequate housing for immigrants but, especially, to distribute diversity (the coexistence of people of different racial, cultural and economic backgrounds) equally across our cities and towns. Thus, this study clearly defines diversity as a policy, that is, as a defining element of cohesion, rather than an obstacle. In particular, we understand diversity as a context that promotes creative activity and which requires political intervention for its management (see introduction to this book by Zapata-Barrero and van Ewijk). When investigating the issue of immigration and housing, we believe that it is not feasible to conceive diversity as a political criterion by which reactive initiatives are used to restore homogeneity. This is because immigration, with the multiple spheres of diversity it brings, is a structural characteristic of contemporary European society. Thus, diversity cannot but become a part of political culture.

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It is well known that it is common to find populations of migrant descent concentrated in certain districts of many cities. In the most extreme cases, this may even give rise to the formation of ghettos, which leads to the emergence of “parallel societies”. In our opinion, conceiving diversity as a policy is the most reasonable way to deal with the social problems associated with immigration and housing. Although authors such as Prêteceille (2004) note that homogenous neighbourhoods may have certain advantages, such as higher levels of solidarity among their inhabitants, such neighbourhoods are generally perceived as disadvantageous. Not surprisingly, some areas with a large unintegrated immigrant population have been the scene of social conflicts in several European countries.

In particular, defining diversity as a policy helps us to better understand the connection between the housing and immigration policies. Here, public intervention is necessary to create neighbourhoods with reasonable levels of diversity (where people of different origins, income levels and social status coexist), and thereby promote a creative, constructive and multidimensional environment, safe from social fracture. In this sense, it is important to remember that a dense population of immigrants in certain areas directly impacts the provision of basic public services, such as education and health care. Thus, when choosing among different housing policies, those fostering diversity should be favoured.

General framework

Immigration and housing

Access to adequate housing is a basic need and public authorities in most European countries are required to facilitate this. Indeed, Article 34(3) of the European Union’s Charter of Fundamental Rights states: “In order to combat social exclusion and poverty, the Union recognises and respects the right to social and housing assistance so as to ensure a decent existence for all those who lack sufficient resources, in accordance with the rules laid down by Union law and national laws and practices”. In fact, even Article 25(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 11(1) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights refer to the right of the individual to an adequate standard of housing.

Housing standards for immigrants differ to those of the rest of the population regardless of the immigrants’ income level. This is a general phenomenon which can be observed not only in Europe but also in other areas such as the United States. For instance, Borjas (2002) maintains that one of the reasons for the particularly low home-ownership rates of immigrants in the US is that such immigrants tend to be concentrated in certain metropolitan areas. Moreover, on arrival in their new country of residence, immigrants may face particular difficulties such as lack of information about the property market and may even be subject to racial discrimination when they endeavour to rent or purchase a property. It can furthermore be observed that the proportion of low-income households living in social housing is increasing in many European countries (Priemus and Dieleman, 2002: 194-195). The fact that many people with an immigrant background belong to the lower economic classes further contributes to their spatial segregation.

Public policy instruments: direct government expenditure and tax incentives

It is possible to observe two main types of public policies which aim to provide housing: direct government expenditure and tax incentives. Public spending may be used to build social housing. However, it is important to note that a general definition of what constitutes social housing does not exist. In some countries, social housing is said to be owned by non-profit organisations or by public administrations; in others, its main characteristic is that it is priced below market levels. Nonetheless, the defining characteristic of social housing is that it is aimed at those unable to afford to be on the private market (Scanlon and Whitehead, 2007: 8).

One of the crucial questions linked to social housing is its financing. For instance, it is necessary to determine whether newly built housing will be funded by the government or by private sector loans which will have to be repaid later through the rents received from the tenants. In fact, Whitehead (2008: 93) notes that currently the trend is to shift progressively away from direct government subsidies towards greater involvement on the part of private actors.¹

Moreover, while large sectors of the population in many European countries benefited from social housing in the three first decades following the Second World War, nowadays such housing tends to be reserved for the very poor. Desjardins (2008) believes that this change does not really reflect a crisis in social housing, but rather an evolution of its social function which may be justified by some political views.

Access to housing can also be facilitated by providing certain groups with public grants and subsidies to enable them to afford housing under market conditions. A similar alternative would be the use of vouchers, which are earmarked allowances usable only for a particular purpose, such as housing, schooling or health services (Priemus and Dieleman, 2002: 196). This system, which originated in the United States, has the advantage that it gives freedom of choice to the recipient of the vouchers and thus fosters competition among public services providers.

Moreover, tax incentives seem to play a major role in the housing policies of many countries. Direct government expenditure and tax incentives do, however, share many common points. Although tax incentives may not appear in some States' budgets, authors such as Surrey (1970) still refer to them as "tax expenditures". For this author, "A dollar is a dollar — both for the person who receives it and the government that pays it, whether the dollar comes with a tax credit label or a direct expenditure label" (Surrey, 1970: 717).

However, whether public expenditure or tax incentives are used leads to important differences in practice. For instance, tax incentives may be simpler and easier to administer than public subsidies (Wood, 1990: 823). However, in the opinion of Surrey (1970: 717), tax incentives are frequently more difficult to apply than they appear and expenditure programmes are not necessarily more bureaucratic, even though they could often be simplified.

Furthermore, tax incentives are more inequitable, since they do not benefit people cut-off from the tax system by their low level of income.

1. This involvement has taken place, for instance, through Public Private Partnerships (PPP), which are an alternative financial option for the construction and long-term maintenance of social housing when the traditional methods are not convenient or available.

Thus, in the case of tax incentives which promote home ownership or access to the rental market, only those with sufficient income to qualify as taxpayers will benefit, while those with fewer resources will be excluded. Moreover, since income tax is generally progressive, tax incentives are likely to be greater the higher the income of the taxpayer. Consequently, according to Surrey (1970), direct government expenditure should be preferred in general. Other authors consider that rather than disregard tax incentives, it is preferable to introduce reforms to reduce their regressivity (Wood, 1990).

Another disadvantage of tax incentives for housing is that they are “spatially blind”. In other words, incentives to aid people rent or purchase are almost always provided independently of the dwelling’s location. Consequently, this type of public policy does not make any headway towards creating mixed neighbourhoods (in terms of income groups and other forms of diversity).

In the following sections, we will present the main characteristics of the immigrant housing situation in four European countries: France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, we will summarise the main policies that have been adopted in each country to promote access to adequate housing, both through public spending (such as building social housing or providing housing benefits) and taxation (such as offering housing-related tax credits). Finally, the conclusion will analyse which policies would work best in cultivating diversity.

Immigration and housing policies: a comparative approach

In this section we will briefly introduce the main characteristics of immigration in France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom, with a particular focus on the housing situation. We will then summarise the main policies each country has adopted to provide housing assistance. Based on this information, in the final section we will observe which policies are more advisable in order to foster diversity.

France

Immigration and housing in France

France has traditionally received immigrant workers because of its industrial development. Its greatest immigration waves, which took place after the Second World War, first attracted immigrants from European countries, such as Italy, Spain and Portugal; later, former colonies such as Algeria and Morocco became the main sources of immigration.²

According to the INSEE (French Statistical Office) online database, in 2007 5.8% of the population were foreigners, 89.9% were French-born citizens and 4.3% were French citizens who had later obtained French nationality. The percentage of foreigners present in France was higher in the past (6% in 1926; 6.6% in 1931; 6.5% in 1975; 6.8% in 1983 and 6.3% in 1990). Nevertheless, the percentage of French citizens who were not born French nationals is higher than ever before (0.7% in

2. A more detailed analysis of the recent evolution of immigration in France can be found in Thierry (2005).

1921; 1.3% in 1936; 2.1% in 1946; 2.5% in 1954; 2.8% in 1962; 2.7% in 1968; 2.6% in 1975; 2.6% in 1982; 3.1% in 1990 and 4% in 1999), demonstrating that over time many foreigners have acquired French nationality. According to the INSEE, in 2007 the largest groups of foreigners living in France were from Portugal (13.3% of the total number of foreigners), Algeria (12.9%), Morocco (13.3%) and Turkey (6.4%).

INSEE data provided for 2007 show that the immigrant populations in France tend to be concentrated in specific regions. For instance, foreigners represent 12.4% of the total population of the Île-de France, compared to 8% in Corsica, 7.6% in Alsace, and only 1.7% in Bretagne, 1.8% in Basse-Normandie and 1.8% in Pays de la Loire. Within the Île-de-France region, the *département* of Seine-Saint-Denis has the highest percentage of immigrants of all (21.2% of the total population).

In general, immigrants are more present in municipalities with a higher proportion of rented housing and, in particular, in those areas where social housing is more common. In fact, the *département* of Seine-Saint-Denis has the greatest abundance of social housing in the region of Île-de-France (INSEE; 2004: 11).

Moreover, immigrants from certain countries tend to be concentrated in particular areas. For instance, Algerian and Moroccan immigrants often live in historically industrial towns where there is abundance of social housing. Immigrants from Portugal, on the other hand, are widely dispersed (INSEE, 2004: 12-13). This spatial segregation of immigrants has been commented on by other studies. For instance, Gobillon and Selod (2006) also find that in the region of Paris, African immigrants tend to live in Seine-Saint-Denis and south of the Val d'Oise. In these areas, unemployment rates are particularly high, resulting among other things from inhabitants' low level of education, employers' reluctance to hire workers from such conflictive areas and deficient public transport networks connecting these neighbourhoods to the areas where most jobs are located.

However, Gobillon and Selod (2006) also illustrate that managers are the most segregated social group, being concentrated in certain areas of Paris and the West of Île-de-France. This fact is also emphasised by Prêteceille (2004), who maintains that during the period 1990-1999 there was a trend towards bipolarisation, although this affected very few public spaces.

Home ownership rates of the Île-de-France's immigrant population are far below average. The reason is that house prices in this region are too high for most immigrants, who tend to have less skilled jobs. Another fact worth noting is that immigrant housing standards tend to be lower and overcrowding much more widespread especially in the case of African immigrants (INSEE, 2004: 25).

Furthermore, it is particularly common for African immigrants to live in social housing, whereas European and South East Asian immigrants are only slightly more likely to live in such housing than French nationals (INSEE, 2004: 23-24). Indeed, while social housing being concentrated in certain peripheral areas, such as Seine-Saint-Denis, has probably increased immigrant segregation, social housing in good locations, such as the centre of Paris, has helped create more mixed households with inhabitants from different social classes (Prêteceille, 2004).

More precisely, data provided by Lévy-Vroelant (2007: 75-77) show that immigrants occupy 29% of rented social housing, despite only representing 9.5% of the overall population. Moreover, 44% of Turkish and 48% of Maghreb immigrants rent in the social sector, compared to only 14% of the non-immigrant population. Another significant difference is that it is more common for immigrants to live in the most dilapidated houses built before 1974. One possible explanation for this is that people with an immigrant background may have more difficulty finding housing on the private market.

Public policies to promote access to housing in France

Social housing has been important in France since the end of the Second World War and wide sectors of society have benefited from it. According to Lévy-Vroelant (2007), in 2004 rented social housing constituted 17% of France's housing stock. However, it is important to distinguish between the two types of accommodation on offer: flats located in the city centres and dwellings in the peripheral areas of big cities such as Paris or Lyon, many of which have now been declared "sensitive urban zones".

Another aspect to highlight is the heterogeneous distribution of social housing in large urban areas. For instance, in the metropolitan area of Paris there is a high density of social housing in the *département* of Seine-Saint-Denis, while in well-off municipalities such as Neuilly, social housing is almost non-existent (Lévy-Vroelant, 2007). Moreover, as Schaefer (2008: 100) notes, the presence of social housing is very limited in the South-Eastern and Western parts of France.

In France, social housing is financed principally through public funds from central or local authorities. In particular, new builds are funded by off-market loans from the *Caisse des Dépôts* and from the employers' fund (a 1% tax is applied to the wages of employees in companies with 20 or more workers) (Schaefer, 2008: 97).

With regard to fiscal benefits, France has three main types of tax credits to promote access to housing. First of all, *Loi n° 2007-1223 du 21 août 2007 en faveur du travail, de l'emploi et du pouvoir d'achat* created a new tax credit in the income tax for the interest paid when purchasing or building the main residence of the taxpayer. In particular, this tax credit can only be applied during the first five years of occupation and it amounts, in the case of acquisition of second-hand housing, to 40% of the interest paid during the first year and 20% in the next four (these percentages are reduced to 30% and 15% respectively in the case of new housing). Moreover, the law limits the maximum deduction, depending on the number of children of the taxpayer, whether the taxpayer is disabled, if the house is new or used and whether the deduction is applied in the first year or the subsequent four. For instance, in the case of a couple with one child, the maximum tax credit when purchasing a new property amounts to 7.200 € spread over five years.

The other two types of tax credits for housing expenses have more specific purposes. One is applicable when installing special equipment for the disabled and the other, for the costs of improving the energy efficiency of the property.

Finally, another French governmental policy to promote home ownership consists in offering loans at a 0% interest rate in order to facilitate the acquisition of the first main residence. However, these loans are subject to certain quantitative restrictions, which depend on several factors such as the income level of the borrower.

Germany

Immigration and housing in Germany

Immigration has been a key issue in German society since the Second World War. Around 14 million Germans from land lost during the war were moved (voluntarily or forcibly) to the current territory of the Federal Republic of Germany (Bade and Oltmer, 2005), causing integration problems, especially in light of the difficult economic conditions of the years in the immediate aftermath of the war. In the subsequent decades, the economic expansion of the Federal Republic of Germany attracted a large number of workers from other countries. Aside from those who tried to escape from the German Democratic Republic, most immigrants came from Turkey, Italy, Greece and Spain. In principle, these people, generally known as "*Gastarbeiter*" ("guest workers"), were expected to stay only for a limited period of time, but many of them never returned to their country of origin.

Moreover, owing to the Federal Republic of Germany's generous asylum regulations, the country saw an influx of politically persecuted immigrants (440,000 in 1992 alone), which led to a tightening of these rules in 1993 (Bade and Oltmer, 2005). The late 1980s and early 1990s also gave rise to large migration movements. For instance, apart from the migration flows from East to West Germany, around 180,000 Jews from the former USSR moved to Germany with special immigration status (Bade and Oltmer, 2005).

It is interesting to compare the housing situation of the foreign population with that of the rest of the population. According to Friedrich (2008), immigrants have fewer m² per person available to them, especially if they are of Turkish origin. Furthermore, the immigrant home ownership rate is also lower. It is also noteworthy that in 2006 9.5% of households with a migrant background lived in social housing, compared to only 2.9% of non-migrant households (Friedrich, 2008).

The analysis carried out by Janßen and Schroedter (2007) shows that levels of spatial segregation of immigrants increased between 1976 and 1982, but since 1996 have been decreasing. The degree of segregation does not change depending on the immigrant's generation; indeed, other variables such as educational and income levels, have a greater impact on segregation.

Similarly, Friedrich (2007) finds that segregation is particularly common among immigrants of Turkish origin. This situation can be observed in cities such as Berlin, Cologne and Hamburg. Immigrants from the former USSR and from the former Yugoslavia have an intermediate level of segregation, while the most integrated are immigrants from Italy.

Public policies to promote access to housing in Germany

Two different approaches can be distinguished in the evolution of social housing in Germany (Droste and Knorr-Siedow, 2007). In the former German Democratic Republic, the public administration played a pivotal role in managing social housing. Despite the quality of the public housing stock being relatively good initially, since the 1970s large residential areas of prefabricated buildings were developed in city suburbs, which became unattractive to most citizens when better housing alternatives came about after the reunification of Germany.

On the other hand in West Germany, private actors, subsidised by public funds, have traditionally played an important role in the provision of social housing. Moreover, many public housing companies, which used to represent only a small fraction of total housing, have now been privatised. Some new homeowners adopted a policy of renovating properties before reselling them at a much higher price. As a result, socio-spatial segregation has tended to increase (Stephens, Elsinga and Knorr-Siedow, 2007: 123). Furthermore, although social housing was initially aimed at broad social groups, several changes have been introduced to gradually redirect this type of dwelling towards people with particular needs, such as the elderly, large families or low-income families (Droste and Knorr-Siedow, 2007).

A crucial part of the German system are housing benefits, which are a legal right for all those who fulfil certain income requirements. These subsidies are part of the German welfare system and allow those with fewer resources to gain a foothold in the private market. As Droste and Knorr-Siedow (2007) note, the 2005 social benefit reform (generally known as "Hartz IV") reduced allowances and consequently led to a greater concentration of low-income families in certain underprivileged areas.

To sum up, the current German policy to promote housing assistance seems to consist in replacing broad supply policies with direct subsidies aimed at the most needy. Given that these subsidies are "spatially blind", they will probably lead to a higher degree of segregation in the future (Droste and Knorr-Siedow, 2007: 101). Indeed, only some municipalities still require a certain proportion of social housing in new residential areas. The city of Munich, for instance, has promoted the inclusion of social housing in new urban projects, contributing to a greater mix of different types of housing within the same neighbourhood and even within the same building (Knorr-Siedow, 2008: 140).

Further, there are very limited fiscal benefits for housing. In the past, a home ownership grant (*Eigenheimzulage*) was used to promote owner-occupied property, but since the beginning of 2006 this measure has no longer been applicable. Nowadays, fiscal benefits are available only for the renovation of certain buildings of historic or cultural significance (Bärmann and Seuß, 2010). In these cases, some of the renovation costs are considered as deductible expenses, whether the dwelling is used by the owner (§10 of the Income Tax Act) or rented (§7 of the Income Tax Act).

Spain

Immigration and housing in Spain

Immigration in Spain has increased dramatically in recent years. In 2000 there were 923,000 foreigners living in Spain; however, in 2010 there were 5.7 million (Onrubia Fernández, 2010). Such an increase has of course had a significant impact on many sectors, not least housing. According to data collated by Reher *et al.* (2008), in 1998 almost one half of foreigners living in Spain came from developed countries, such as people from the North of Europe who decided to retire in Spain. At that time, Moroccan immigrants were the second largest group. However, during the first decade of this century, the number of immigrants from South America and Eastern Europe increased drastically.

The following characteristics of the immigrant housing situation in Spain were highlighted by the National Survey of Immigrants carried out by the INE (Spanish Statistical Office), on which Reher *et al.* (2008) have commented. To begin with, it is more common for immigrants to live in flats rather than houses, which is logical considering that immigrants tend to be concentrated in urban areas. Moreover, around 40% of immigrants live in rented accommodation. However, this rate changes depending on the origin of the immigrants. Only 20% of foreigners from developed countries rent their home, while this rate increases to more than 60% for immigrants from other areas, such as Asia. Furthermore, a study led by the Colectivo IOÉ (2005: 95) also illustrates that it is more common for immigrants from developing countries to rent a room in a shared flat than to rent a whole dwelling.

According to the National Survey of Immigrants, the number of people per home tends to be higher for immigrants, although there are not many cases of overcrowding. The survey also shows that immigrants from Asia have the fewest m² per person available to them.

Spatial segregation of immigrants is also palpable in Spain. The situation in the metropolitan area of Madrid was analysed by Echazarra de Gregorio (2009), who found that during the period 2000-2007 segregation among the foreign population of Madrid generally increased. Most segregated of all were immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Andean countries. Similar data provided by Bayona i Carrasco (2007) for Barcelona show that the extent to which certain groups of foreigners are concentrated in certain areas is closely related to their level of income. Thus, immigrants from the United States and Germany are more commonly found in wealthier neighbourhoods, while large proportions of immigrants from Pakistan and Morocco live in the old town or in the impoverished suburbs.

Public policies to promote access to housing in Spain

The duty of the Spanish public authorities to facilitate adequate housing derives from Article 47 of the Spanish Constitution, which states: "All Spaniards have the right to enjoy decent and adequate housing. The public authorities shall promote the necessary conditions and establish appropriate standards in order to make this right effective, regulating

land use in accordance with the general interest in order to prevent speculation. The community shall have a share in the benefits accruing from the town-planning policies of public bodies". However, this right is contained in Chapter III of Part I of the Constitution (principles governing economic and social policy) and, consequently, is only enforceable when accompanied by specific legislation.

The situation in Spain is similar to that of other Mediterranean countries such as Greece and Portugal. In general, the rented social market has a marginal role in these States and owner-occupation is much more common than in other European countries (Priemus and Dieleman, 2002: 191). Consequently, one of the Spanish government's priorities is to promote the rented market. This is in direct contrast to most European countries, however, whose objective is to facilitate home ownership, generally considered an element of social stability (Desjardins, 2008: 34).

Reviewing the immigrant housing plans of all Spanish autonomous regions, Onrubia Fernández (2010) found that such plans are in general very superficial and usually only reiterate the need to ensure the immigrant population is not discriminated against in the property market. This author also discovered that the implementation levels of these regional housing plans are not reviewed, making them very ineffective. Furthermore, Onrubia Fernández (2010) argues that the central government should play a major role in coordinating regional housing policies given that this is a nationwide problem.

Public spending in the form of direct subsidies can also be used to facilitate access to adequate housing. In Spain, this type of policy is very recent and the most relevant example is the "emancipation grant", a direct payment for young people living in rented accommodation whose income falls below a certain level.

Tax incentives to promote home ownership, as Pérez Barrasa *et al.* (2011) note, have always existed over the past few decades and sometimes have even encouraged the purchase of a holiday house. Indeed, the main tax benefit promoting home ownership has been the tax credit contained in Article 68(1) of the Income Tax Act (*Ley 35/2006, de 28 de noviembre, del Impuesto sobre la Renta de las Personas Físicas*). In 2010 tax credits amounted to 15% of the quantities paid for the acquisition or rehabilitation of a dwelling to be the first residence of the taxpayer (a 7.5% tax credit is applied to both the income tax owed to the central State and to that owed to most regional governments). Thus, if taxpayers repay their mortgage over several years, they will be able to apply the tax credit on the sum paid each year (return of the loan and interest payments). However, as 9,015 € is the maximum expense which can be considered per year for each of the two parts of the income tax (for the central State and for the regions), the maximum tax credit amounts to 1,352.25 € (twice 7.5% of 9,015 €).

From 2011 on, only taxpayers with a tax base equal or inferior to 17,707.20 € will be able to credit up to 1,356 € (15% of 9,040 €) per year. In the case of taxpayers with a tax base between 17,707.20 and 24,107.20 €, the maximum tax credit base will amount to 9,040 € minus 1.4125 times the difference between the tax base and 17,707.20 €. Consequently, this change will significantly reduce the number of taxpayers able to apply for this tax credit.

Tax benefits to promote the rented market, Pérez Barrasa *et al.* (2011) conclude, have generally been less generous. For instance, in the 2011 fiscal year taxpayers can apply a tax credit of 10.05% of their renting costs, with the same limits as those applicable to the tax credit for expenses incurred through home ownership (Article 68(7) of the Income Tax Act). Moreover, certain Autonomous Communities have established additional tax credits to facilitate access to housing on the rented market.

Between 2005 and 2010, housing-related tax benefits on the income tax amount to a total of 3,000 to 4,500 million € per year (Pérez Barrasa *et al.*, 2011: 20). In the view of authors such as Onrubia Fernández (2010: 286), the existence of broad fiscal incentives contributed to the pricing boom in the housing sector, since it increased the purchasing power of both nationals and immigrants. Moreover, income tax incentives to promote home ownership are regressive, since households with higher income levels benefit more from these incentives (Pérez Barrasa *et al.*, 2011: 20-21). Furthermore, these authors consider that incentives included in income tax were only maintained over the past few years for political reasons, even though it was generally acknowledged that such incentives had a perverse effect.

United Kingdom

Immigration and housing in the United Kingdom

Immigration is not a new phenomenon in the United Kingdom. As Vertovec (2007: 1026-1028) explains, ever since the time of the Roman Empire, London has attracted foreigners from the most diverse regions. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain also received many Irish immigrants along with Jews from Eastern Europe. However, these immigrant inflows did not compare with the number of foreigners who arrived on British shores after the Second World War.

In the second part of the twentieth century, the United Kingdom attracted many immigrants from its former colonies, such as Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Indeed, since the last decade of the twentieth century there has been a further diversification in the country of origin of immigrants to Britain.

The housing situation of immigrants in the UK depends on their legal status as well as on their economic resources. As Diaz (2008) argues, the majority of immigrants are not eligible for social housing and consequently, many of them depend on the private rented market. This is particularly the case during immigrants' initial years in the United Kingdom, and overcrowding and sublet dwellings are frequent during this time.

Moreover, contrary to the population's general perception, immigrant access to social housing in the first five years after their arrival is very limited. In the long run, some may be eligible for social housing, but this will depend on their legal status. Immigrants from member states of the European Union, for instance, have the same rights as British citizens provided they are working. However, foreigners from third states will in general not be eligible for social housing. Asylum seekers, despite not

having the right to social housing, are nonetheless dispersed throughout the country by the UK Border Agency, making use of the private rented market (Diaz, 2008).

Stillwell and Duke-Williams's analysis of the spatial distribution of immigrants (2005), using data from the census of 2001, found that ethnic minorities tend to be more concentrated in certain areas. Indians are particularly present in London and in towns and cities in the Midlands, while Pakistanis and other South Asians tend to be located more in the conurbations of the North West and Yorkshire and the Humber. The black population is the most segregated and is found in certain London boroughs.

Although the arrival of new immigrants does seem to increase segregation in the largest cities (Stillwell and Duke-Williams, 2005), according to Simpson (2004), public opinion tends to perceive higher levels of segregation than is actually the case. For instance, Simpson's analysis of the city of Bradford shows that, contrary to popular opinion, South Asians are generally quite widely dispersed.

Public policies to promote access to housing in the United Kingdom

This section will give a brief description of the policies adopted in England to facilitate access to housing. We will begin with a review of the main expenditure policies (such as social housing and housing benefits) and will then look at the issue of housing taxation.

In England, social housing has a long tradition which dates back to the nineteenth century. However, it was not until after the Second World War that it started to form a significant proportion of the housing market, peaking in 1979, when the market for social rented housing in England made up 31% of English housing (Whitehead, 2007: 54). Since then, the importance of the social housing sector has declined in particular since the "Right to Buy" policy introduced by the first Thatcher government in 1980 which allowed many tenants to purchase the property in which they were living. In the opinion of Stephens, Elsinga and Knorr-Siedow (2008), this privatisation policy was "progressive", as public resources were transferred to those generally in a weaker economic situation. Moreover, this policy may have also favoured mixed-income communities, bringing together wealthier households already able to afford their house with people who previously could only have afforded to rent. However, as these authors point out, this issue is controversial and may vary depending on the residential area analysed.

Over the past few decades, funding for social housing has had two main sources. Some funds were borrowed from the markets and were expected to be repaid through rents received back from tenants. The rest comes from central government capital subsidies which in short are a loan repayable only when the property is to be sold (Whitehead, 2007).

Data collated by Whitehead (2007) for 2004/05 show that people living in the social sector are disproportionately young or old. Moreover, the percentage of economically inactive people is also substantially higher, implying that tenants of social housing are significantly poorer. This situ-

ation is basically the result of the “Right to Buy” policy, which allowed many economically active households to become the owners of the homes in which they were already living. Another aspect emphasised by Whitehead (2007) is the under-representation of black and minority ethnic group home-owners even after taking into account poverty, employment status and household structure, with Indian and Chinese home-owners being particularly scarce.

Furthermore, a key expenditure policy to promote affordable housing is housing benefit, which partially subsidises rented accommodation. This benefit is based on the Social Security Contributions and Benefits Act 1992 and is usually administered by local authorities. In order to be eligible for this benefit, a person must have an income below a certain threshold and savings of less than £16,000. The rent to be paid must also be reasonable in comparison to the price levels in the vicinity.

There are no particular tax incentives for housing expenses, such as tax credits, on income tax. However, the following can be observed of housing taxation. First of all, council tax is a local tax based on property values. This tax has been criticised for being highly regressive and for offering discounts for second homes and long-term empty homes (Crawshaw, 2009: 14). Second, while stamp duty land tax must be paid when purchasing property, first-time buyers benefit from a lower rate. Moreover, tax pressure depends on whether a property is located in an area designated as “disadvantaged” by the Government. Third, capital gains tax exempts from tax the main residence of the taxpayer. However, this tax regulation does give taxpayers who own more than one home considerable freedom to determine which property is their “principal private residence” and a weekend retreat may for instance also qualify, an aspect which authors such as Crawshaw (2009: 16) have criticised. Finally, it should be noted that since 1992, if a person rents out a room in his or her main residence, this rental income will be exempt from income tax, a measure introduced to promote the supply of private rented accommodation.

Conclusions

France, Germany and the United Kingdom have a longer tradition of immigration than Spain. However, the housing situation of immigrants is not dissimilar in these four countries. It is, for instance, more common for those with a migrant background to live in rented or social housing. Moreover, the spatial segregation of certain groups of immigrants is common to all four countries.

This shows that the policies adopted in these States to promote affordable housing have failed to distribute immigrants equally. In France, for instance, the concentration of social housing in certain suburbs appears to be the main cause of segregation. In Germany and the United Kingdom, housing benefits have not succeeded in preventing immigrants from being concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, because although such benefits help recipients to find accommodation on the private market, they usually only have access to areas where rents are lower. In the case of Spain, fiscal incentives have been the main instrument to promote access to housing, especially home ownership, but their use has been widely criticised for being regressive and contributing to the pricing boom in the property market.

Consequently, it should be ensured that future housing policies take greater care to distribute immigrants more evenly across different areas, as this is the best way of promoting a sustainable level of diversity (in its racial, cultural and also economic forms), avoiding the social fracture and distrust that segregation tends to produce. However, we do not believe this should give rise to positive discrimination. Indeed, if the fact of being an immigrant is directly used as a criterion for the distribution of social housing or the allocation of housing benefits or tax incentives, such a policy may be perceived as unjust discrimination by the rest of the population.

Thus, the most reasonable policy would appear to be to distribute different types of social housing evenly across all neighbourhoods. In this way, people with fewer resources, including immigrants, would not be concentrated in certain areas and reasonable levels of diversity would be achieved. Furthermore, housing benefits and tax incentives are not advisable since too often they are “spatially blind”.

Social housing may be developed by public or private actors. As Maclennan and More (1997) explain, we cannot say whether it is better from an economic perspective for the market or the public sector to provide housing. Creating an efficient system would depend on the circumstances of each case, such as the governance or incentive structures of non-for-profit providers. Thus, as the German experience shows, private actors may play a relevant role in the provision of both rented and owner-occupied social housing.

Finally, if governments were to consider immigration indirectly in their housing policies, this would have implications in other areas. For instance, the spatial segregation of immigrants may have a negative impact on the provision of public services such as health assistance and schooling. However, establishing strict, more direct, quotas regulating the maximum number of children with a migrant background who can attend a certain school could be very problematic, for example. Thus, housing policies should place a greater emphasis on evenly distributing immigrants throughout society, since the equilibrated spatial distribution of diversity in its multiple dimensions is essential for the success of many other public policies.

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CHAPTER 5. TRANSITION PROCESSES OF IMMIGRANTS YOUTHS IN THE MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT IN CATALUNYA: A CASE STUDY¹

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Introduction and structure of the paper

The chapter has been organized in the following way. The first section provides some discussion around the theme of diversity and its management within the context of Spain. The second section presents notions such as transitions among youths, symbolic resources and social representations and foreground/background as part of the theoretical frame. This frame provides a lens to analyse the strategies that a successful Pakistani student Hina is using to make her way into multicultural society of Barcelona. The third section presents the data and the analysis of the data. Here, I bring forth methodological themes that have emerged through the data analysis. The presentation of the pieces of the narratives of Hina shows how Hina is engaged in the process of making her future in Barcelona especially through her engagement in the educational processes of schooling and outside of the schooling context. In the final section, it is argued that theoretical constructs such as transition, background/foreground, and social representations help us in understanding immigrant students' perspectives, and provide insights that can serve as the basis for informed pedagogical actions in situations where different cultures interact. Here, some specific sets of implications for the educational scenario are articulated.

Educational landscape under frame of globalization and transnationality

Cultural diversity is a dynamic construction constituted in relation to society. That is, a person or a group of people can at the same time belong to different cultures in relation to individual or collective identity. In certain practices in a particular context, people may adhere to the values, traditions, relationships and world views that are defined by the field of practice within which the activity they are engaged in is located. This implies that individuals and groups may identify themselves with more than one culture at one given moment, that they may share one or more of these cultures, and that such an identification with cultures is changing not only with time but also according to activity and situation (Alrø, Skovsmose and Valero, 2009: 14).

1. This research is based on work with Pakistani immigrant youths in Barcelona conducted during a Post doc Research Fellow at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) (2009-2011). I acknowledge the support of Professor Nùria Gororio (Research Group Leader) and the other colleagues at the EMiCS at the Department of Mathematics Education and Science Education, Faculty of Educational Sciences of La Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Catalunya) who have been extremely helpful in offering critical feedback to bring this paper to the current shape. The EMiCS group – Educació Matemàtica i Context Sociocultural (Mathematics Education and its Sociocultural Context) – is recognized by the Direcció General de Recerca of the Generalitat de Catalunya (the research office of the Catalan autonomous government) as a Consolidated Research Group (2005SGR-00211 and 2009SGR-00590). Its aim is to develop and explore the explanatory potential of theories that enable a better understanding of the experience of immigrant school children in the mathematics classroom.

Multiculturalism has brought challenges for both societies as well as for educational systems to get ready to understand and meet the change that is taking place when people are assuming transnational characteristics due to their mobility around the globe. That is the societies are getting transformed due to their inter-connectivity generated through the regime of information and communication in the space/time framework. Within this framework reaching out to ideas and people around the globe is taking place with increased shortening of time. That is one can communicate instantly and effectively within no time as an effect of advanced development of technology and science and transformation of varied social, cultural and economic and political processes. In this vein it is important for us to participate in the processes of charting out a set of innovative and relevant educational strategies or tools that can help us to meet the demands of this inter-connectivity among people within this fast paced flow of information, ideas and people. Within this scenario interactions between different cultures bound to occur. Now question is how to create better means of communications that can allow us to operate within spaces for intercultural communications and at the same time to reduce frictions or conflicts among cultures that are part and parcel of intercultural scenario. This investigation of designing strategies to cope with the challenges of multiculturalism and diversity within it also presupposes an intention to understand the multicultural processes through different angles and perspectives so that tools or strategies can be based on sound understanding and in this way negative consequence of intercultural communications or lack of such communications could be avoided or at least minimized. Further to this how people coming from different cultures such as immigrants take on the challenges of organizing their own and their children's living pattern to meet the demands of modern society especially when they are out of their social and cultural locations rooted into their home countries.

Migration and media are two important processes of globalization that are defining the material and living conditions of modern societies. Migration (in the domain of social, economic, and political spheres) and media (instant communication of information and ideas around the globe) have created a globalized world and in turn many transnational practices have come into being. For example, possibility of movement of people, resources, information and ideas has created a world with tremendous new opportunities and at the same time has also restricted the mobility of many people who cannot afford to move or who may not have the dispositions and knowledge that could enable them to move and reap the benefits of this globalized world. Normally these immobilized people are locked into the black holes of ghettos of the globalization processes. Within this background, it becomes important to know how immigrants deal with the challenges of mobility and how do they make the decisions that can create or inhabit their future possibilities. At the same time migration and media within the globalized world have also brought many challenges to host societies to define their attitude towards strangers and justify their policies that are consistent to democratic traditions of their polities. That is one can see growing importance of considering immigration as a research field due to processes of globalization and transnationalization. Here people are on move and at the same time, the different cultural practices are also on move (Appadurai, 1996 ; Levitt & Schiller, 2004).

Spain as a country is also affected by the growing influence of immigration due to globalization and transnationality. One can notice that the growing cultural and economic power of immigrants is building a new type of metropolis, unknown in Spanish cities. Perez and Medina (2004) has suggested that 'immigration process is a key element in the analysis of the latest socio-cultural changes and their relation to the transformation of urban areas in the more dynamic Spanish cities (p.158)'. Immigration has also brought different cultures, languages, and customs which natives of Spain have to interact. That is people are on move and at the same time, the different cultural practices are also on move due to processes of globalization and transnationalization. This transformation of urban cities has brought varied changes in major cities like Barcelona.

First, this heterogeneity of population due to processes of immigration and globalizations, on the one hand, has created conditions where people from different cultures are bound to interact with each other and these interactions among different cultures could create fears, both imagined and actual, among local population of others. For example, many residents in Spain fear that they are losing their identifications with the neighbourhood and this in turn could lead to the feeling of insecurity among them. On the other hand, the immigrants consider it extremely important to secure their economic independence or security in order to gain their acceptance among the native population. Here one could recognize the fact that the natives, through legal instruments and political system, have always got power differential in their favour as they are in the position to define the status of minorities according to their privilege position as being in majority.

Second, the Spanish society not only faces challenge of diversity due to arrival of immigrants but it has within itself issue of minority nations within the nation-state of Spain. This makes the issue of understanding the positioning of immigrants within the Spanish societies more complicated. Here it is important to consider the languages the minorities use in asserting their identity within the Spanish society. For example, the Catalan in the Catalunya has played a vital role in consolidating Catalan identity. Zapata-Barrero & Zaragoza (2009) bring out this dynamic interplay of language and identity in the context of immigration in Spain as:

[I]mmigration presents a potential danger to the Catalan culture and identity, especially with regard to the future of the Catalan language. As a consequence, Catalan language immersion is one of the main policies of the Catalan Government (*Generalitat*) with regard to immigrants' integration. This is particularly visible in the bilingual education system (P.8)

Schools in multicultural contexts

In countries such as Spain, Ireland, and Italy, the percentage of students born in other countries has increased threefold since the year 2000 (De Heus & Dronkers, 2009; European Commission, 2008). Schools in multicultural cities like Barcelona are also getting affected by changes in political, socio-economic, and cultural contexts in Spain. Furthermore, one can notice that schools in urban cities are increasingly changing due to the presence of students from different countries, and changing politics of education.

Within this context of change, the influence takes place in both directions: cultures influence schools and schools influence cultures. The changing composition of schools has generated a need to understand how teaching and learning are organized within the schools and how students from different cultures are affected during the processes of teaching and learning. In addition, this recognition of complexity of the schools within multicultural contexts also creates a need to conduct studies that can specifically document the conditions under which immigrant students learn to cope not only with educational demands but also the demands of life in general. Here, knowing the perceptions of learners, with their agency, about the processes of learning is important in order to understand how they are handling the demands of learning in multicultural contexts. Other actors, such as teachers and parents, also face varied challenges to cope with the new educational demands due to changing realities of the school under the influences of transnationality and globalization. Within this scenario of education in the contexts of globalization and the changing conditions of immigrants, I next elaborate the notion of transitions in order to capture the complexity of the lives of immigrant children (in this case, Pakistani) and then situate their learning in that context.

Negotiating transitions: Young immigrants in multicultural settings

Young people often experience ruptures as they have to go through deep changes in their lives. These ruptures can be result of changes in their cultural milieu, in particular when moving from one country to other country. Such a change can bring different types of demands on a person. It could encourage the young person to reflect on his or her current positioning and develop some strategies to make sense of the new location or new country. It could also mean establishing new relations with others and new friendships, learning new communication tools such as the languages of the new country, becoming aware of general norms and practices in schooling in the new environment. At the same time she or he is meeting the challenge of organizing life in such a way as to have some sense of stability and hope about how to create a future in the face of uncertainty.

Uncertainty can designate a person's experience of blurred personal reality, *relatively* to a previous state of apprehension of things. Experiencing uncertainty might be paralyzing or stimulating, but in most of the cases, it questions previous understanding, and might call for exploring possibilities and elaborating new conduct. These processes, which aim at reducing uncertainty, can be called *processes of transition* (Zittoun, 2007, p. 196).

Accordingly, I use transition processes among young people as important constructs in elaborating their engagement within educational processes. Here I draw on the work of Tania Zittoun (Zittoun, 2007; Zittoun, Duveen, Gillespie, Ivinson, & Psaltis, 2003). She and her colleagues have developed a theory of symbolic resources among young people, especially when they are in the processes of going through various transitions. She has shown how symbolic resources such as cognitive resources, knowledge construction, and meaning-making processes support learners to take on the challenge of transitions under the rapidly changing

conditions of modern cities, in which immigrants are often located in the intersection of different social conditions. It is essential to take modernity as a background that influences the choices and perceptions of the immigrant young people (Mørch, 2003). Zittoun describes the transitions processes in these terms:

In terms of dynamics, transitions in the lifetime can be said to involve *three interdependent streams of processes*. First, transitions involve changes in the social, material or symbolic spheres of experience of the person. ... Second, people's relocation might need social, cognitive and expert *forms of knowledge and skills*. Third, through these relocations, encounters with others and learning, the person might be brought to engage in *meaning-making*, that is, to confer sense to what happens to him/her.... These three processes are necessarily linked; in youth, learning difficulties are often linked to the fact that the person feels his/her identity put at stake or cannot find a personal sense in the learning situation (Zittoun, 2007, pp.195-196)

Transition processes are influenced by social representations. Here I use the notion of social representations proposed by Serge Moscovici (1973) who focuses on: self in the context, self in relation to others, and how the self handles the challenge of social representations in the context. In this way, we consider social representations as "ways of world making". Moscovici (1973) elaborated the notion of social representations as:

Systems of values, ideas and practices with twofold functions; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code of social exchange and code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii).

Moreover, social representations are responsible for the creation of intersubjective reality, which implies both human agency and social influence.

On the one hand, social representations are created by human beings in order to conventionalize objects, persons, and events by placing them in a familiar social context... On the other hand, once established, these representations influence human behavior and social interaction by often subtly imposing themselves upon us and so limiting our socio-cognitive activities. Social representations are therefore not only the product of human agents acting upon their society but are equally prescriptive and coercive in nature. They become part of the collective consciousness, especially once they are 'fossilized' in tradition and taken for granted in social practice (Moscovici, 1984, p. 13).

Social representations are inseparable from the dynamics of everyday life, where the mobile interactions of present can potentially challenge the taken-for-granted, imposing pockets of novelty on tradition coming from the past (Jovechelovitch, 1996, p. 124 & 2007)

In addition to taking into consideration the elements of transition processes and the social representations that shape these processes, I also take into account the perceptions of learners of the processes of learning

as important in understanding how learners are handling the demands of learning in modern societies. Here, I use the theory of foregrounds and background in order to shed light on the future aspirations of the young immigrant so that one can see how learners are interpreting their future possibilities and in what ways these possibilities are shaping their present living conditions (Baber, 2006; Skovsmose, 2005). Ole Skovsmose (2005) describes “foreground” in terms of:

... the opportunities that the social, political and cultural situation provides for this person. However, not the opportunities as they might exist in any socially well-defined or ‘objective’ form, but the opportunities as perceived by a person. Nor does the background of a person exist in any ‘objective’ way. Although the background refers to what a person has done and experienced (such as the situations the person has been involved in, the cultural context, the socio-political context and the family traditions), then background is still interpreted by the person. (Skovsmose, 2005, pp. 6-7).

Here I recognize the fact that the opportunities as perceived by a person are shaped or limited or reinforced by social representations. In consequence, special attention will be paid to the processes that open up possibilities for actions for the immigrants. I also pay particular attention to the points where immigrant children face the tensions and ruptures in the course of their transition phases. Thus, my specific questions are: *How do immigrants in general, and young Pakistani immigrant in particular, negotiate transition processes within the multicultural context of Barcelona? How do they perceive their learning opportunities through engagement in their educational processes within the educational landscape of Barcelona?*

I examine these questions through the case study of Hina, a successful Pakistani immigrant girl.

Hina’s immigration story

I now present the background and the context that were responsible for the relocation of the family of Hina, a Pakistani immigrant girl living in Barcelona and studying at the high school there. Hina’s family experienced living in various countries and cultures before they came to Barcelona, thus they have moved and continue to move through different types of transition in order to shape their present and future.

Hina has four sisters and a brother. Her brother is the oldest and she is the second oldest child in the family. She was born in 1987 in Gujrat, a city in Pakistan from which many people come to settle in Europe. Her father married from a family in the province of Sindh and brought his wife to Gujrat, where he joined the Engineering Corps of the Pakistan Navy. He got an opportunity to work in Saudi Arabia with a German factory producing heavy machinery. After several years of work, he brought his family there, including Hina. Some of her siblings were born in Saudi Arabia. She attended Kindergarten and primary school there. Hina’s father now owns two grocery stores in Barcelona which he runs with his son. He works extremely hard, typically from 8.00 am till midnight, often not having time to spend with his children. But through this hard work, he earns enough to support his children very well.

Travelling to Saudi Arabia, then back to Pakistan at the age of 11, exposed Hina to different types of transition, including getting engaged in educational processes in the two countries, participating in cultural practices, and also working out her positioning in response to the resulting changes. At the same time, Hina was, and is, developing awareness of the symbolic tools that she needs to choose in order to successfully navigate through such transitions.

In Pakistani society, it is normal practice that parents with sufficient means try to send their children to schools where their children have possibilities to learn English, schools that are usually private and expensive, and create different types of social inequality. Hina instead chose to go an Urdu-medium school. The main reason for her was to improve her Urdu as well as having the possibility of speaking Punjabi as there was social pressure within her family to speak Punjabi to ensure acceptance and recognition within the extended family. Such social exclusion based on language can get further reinforced, especially for girls, who normally have to stay within the family most of the time, getting no opportunity to interact with wider sections of society. Thus she and her brother had unequal resources at their disposal to develop their competence in Punjabi. Her brother could easily go out with Punjabi-speaking friends but Hina did not have this possibility. In this way, Hina already knew the importance of knowing languages that could give her access to competence in communicating effectively with others. Besides this, she experienced different educational contexts within the country as well. For example, her father is from the province of Punjab and her mother from Sindh where the language of instruction is Sindhi and the schooling is organized around this language. On the other hand, in the Punjab, the language of school instruction is Urdu and the daily life in school is organized around the Punjabi language.

Hina has also experienced diversity in the ways in which teachers interact with students. For example, when she went to school in Punjab she had to memorise things properly otherwise she would be punished, including beatings, whereas in Saudi Arabia, the children did not get any such punishment in school. Although such treatment could have had a negative impact, she reacted to it positively, as a reflection of, and encouragement for, taking studies seriously.

Hina's engagement with the educational landscape in Barcelona

In Spain, primary (age 6-12) and secondary (12-16) education is compulsory and free. Students who complete their secondary education successfully receive a graduation diploma and may continue their secondary education for another two years. Those whose grades are insufficient to obtain the diploma receive a school-leaving certificate, and may go on to the first level of vocational training. Post-compulsory secondary education consists of two tracks: mid-level vocational and technical training, and the baccalaureate, which prepares students for university or for high-level technical training. The legal age for starting work in Spain is 16 years, but the chances of getting a job, or a good one, are strongly connected with your school certificates.

Here I present how Hina is interacting with the educational landscape in Barcelona, describing her school, the situatedness of the school within

the policy framework of Catalonia, the challenge of diversity and the way the school deals with it. I also describe Hina's response to constraints that schooling imposes on her, her engagement in the schooling processes, her assertive agency in shaping her learning conditions and her role, and how she draws on her teachers as role models for success in the educational context.

Hina came to Barcelona when she was in grade 10. In accordance with school policy, she was placed in an "open classroom" (La Aula de Oberta) designed specifically for the children of immigrants. The main priority in such classes is to teach immigrant children the Catalan language. Even in these classes there are two categories of children, one comprising those children who come from countries where Romance languages are prevalent and the other those from a non-Romance linguistic background. According to Hina's teacher, the students in the latter group face lots of difficulties in adjusting to the Catalan educational system. However, there are always exceptions to the rule. Hina has been a very motivated student to succeed in the system. Here she describes her entry into the Catalan educational system:

I was in tenth grade in Pakistan. When I came here (to Spain), I had to study according to age. Initially, we faced problem in getting admission. With great efforts of my father I got admission to this school. There was a teacher in this school who also helped The first year I spent in learning the language. I also got good results. With this progress, teachers decided to place me in the B section, the best section in the school.

Every school has a particular culture in organizing learning and teaching practices. These cultural practices also create several mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion for learners in the school. For example, the placement of learners in different sections can open possibilities for the future for some and at the same time close possibilities for others to move to the next stages. In Hina's school, access to sections D and B means enhanced possibility to go to high school and then having a possibility to sit for the university entrance examination (*Batxillerat*)². Here one can also identify two trends salient in the school, namely the discourse of academic competence and the importance of mastering the language of instruction, i.e. gaining an access to language that supports learning and subsequent competent performance.

The placing of students into different sections points to the fact that school divides students according to performance. Such a system in the school reflects the competitive trends that are prevalent in society. Specifically, it reinforces the legitimacy of unequal access to resources – that is, it legitimises the idea that those who follow the norms and do well within the norms are granted access to resources such as the higher educational possibilities that society can make available. Within this competency-oriented discourse, it is not easy for immigrants to live up to these expectations. Those who are in possession of good social resources like parents who are educated have more possibilities to be successful in the school system. Further, if a sibling is educated or well aware of the processes of education then he or she can provide guidance, a circumstance very visible in the case of Hina. For example, she is well aware about the sections where one should be in order to be successful. Because of this awareness, she advised her siblings how to work hard to get to the "right" section in the

2. *Batxillerat*: This is the Catalan word. This indicates the students who are in high school and preparing to sit for the university entrance examination.

school. Conversation with Hina also points to the fact that mastery of the language of schooling is very important to be successful. For example, Hina's sister was facing difficulties when she had to learn many languages at the same time – Catalan, Spanish, and English. The focus of the school on learning these languages made Hina's sister very confused, and she could not get a grip on a language needed to communicate her learning for evaluation. Hina's school provided an opportunity to pay greater attention to the learning of Catalan, and subsequently Hina's sister was able to transfer to the desirable section where she has more possibilities for realizing her goal of getting higher education.

How Hina's school meets the challenges of diversity

Hina's school is located in El Raval and gets children from families who have migrated to Barcelona from many different countries. It has gone through a big transformation due to this major influx, which brings lots of challenges. One of the challenges is how to craft pedagogies that can support teachers to relate with this new body of immigrant students. According to an interview with one of the teachers at the school, he has learned how to treat students with respect. In this way, he has an opportunity to learn about particular needs of his students as well as helping them to develop competencies and motivation for study. Also, he has been involved in the process of teaching students from different nationalities for several years, so he knows what can support students to stay motivated. According to Hina, this teacher helped her a lot in supporting her to learn mathematics while, at the same time, he always encouraged her to continue to pursue studies more seriously. Whenever she had any difficulties in learning certain topics in mathematics, he was always available to clarify her confusion.

Hina shares with us her ways of looking at the school. Here she compares her schooling experience in Barcelona with her previous schooling experience in other countries. She has experienced different roles of teachers in Catalonia and Pakistan. She found that teachers in Catalonia could be friendly, so that a teacher could assume a position of a significant other for her, whose advice she would take seriously. Asked about her experience in the school, Hina explained that in the first month she had some difficulties, due to having to cope with the language, and with a different way of scheduling classes.

Hina: When one goes to a new class, it takes time to make friendship with teachers. Normally people take longer time to make friendship. In my case, I make friendship very quickly. ... [After the first month] I developed a friendship with a teacher. Later on I realized that she was the principal of this school. This was a surprise for me!! I became friends with this teacher. We often met with her. She often asked me about my studies ... You know that, being the principal, she had access to the report of each child. In this way she knew my results and performance at the school. She also knew about my behavior. I developed a good friendship with her. She often asked me questions as what would I do in my future and what subject would I choose etc. And her discussions with me were very frank and friendly. ... When I came to the first year of the *Batxillerat* she advised me that if I would like to take law for my future then I should study Latin and Greek. I took this advice very seriously and I thought that she must have thought through this before she gave me

her advice. Therefore, I decided to opt for Greek and Latin.

Hina reports that her teachers in the school take the learning of students very seriously. Teachers are always there to help students to clarify their concepts if they have difficulties in understanding. Students can approach teachers in the classroom settings or outside the classroom. According to her, teachers also use different kinds of resources to make their learning meaningful. This engagement of teachers in her learning is from what she experienced in Pakistan.

Sikunder: So one thing that you like about the school is that principal is friendly with you. What else do you like about the school?

Hina: Teachers are also very good at the school. They explain things very well to students. For example, if a student has not understood a thing well then teachers will explain this thing to you again. Even if you have not understood it then they would try to explain you this thing again. And every time they explain you in such a way that they are explaining this thing to you the first time; they will try their best to explain things in different way so that student can fully understand this thing. Even to the extent that if you are on the staircase and if you ask a question to the teacher that you had not understood, then she/he will try to explain you this thing on the staircase. I really like this behavior of the teachers at this school. This is really different here. In Pakistan it was not the case. There, if you had asked teacher more than two times they could become annoyed and could punish you.

Moreover, Hina is also active in creative activities at the school:

Sikunder: What are your favorite activities in the school?

Hina: The activities in which I have participated up till now: to participate in the Saint Jordi Day. On this day, we write in English, Catalan, Spanish and French. One can write poems or stories in any one of these languages. I wrote a poem in English and a story in Catalan, and won prizes in these activities.

Hina is appreciative of what is being offered at the school, but she is also aware that her school is not doing well in comparison to other schools. In this regard, she considers others in the school as responsible for the overall positioning of her school. She termed them lazy and said that they are not taking their studies seriously. That is, she is aware that laziness in study could prevent success in life.

Hina gives particular importance to the process of education in general, and schooling in particular. For example, she considers schooling as a part of the processes of knowing and opening up the mind. She is of the opinion that education supports one to live a successful life and it facilitates progress in the work that one chooses to do. Here, she also recognizes the importance of pursuing education beyond finishing secondary school. That is, her thinking about education goes far beyond "instruction" and is much more than about getting useful practical knowledge that you get at school, or knowledge to get jobs:

Sikunder: In your opinion, why is it important to go to school?

Hina: The way the world in which we live is, it has become increasingly important for us to be educated in any subject. Because, until you get educated your mind would not get opened and it is difficult for you to understand things around you. Without having clear understanding you cannot make progress in any type of work. In my opinion, when you study you come to know the reasons of anything that you do. Also, education can help us to differentiate between right or wrong. Here I do not say that uneducated people are not intelligent. They are also intelligent.

Here, Hina gives the example of her grandfather as someone who did not get the opportunity to go to school but is still an intelligent man. Despite not going to school, he was very good in mathematics. If you give him information about the business, about expenditure and income, then he could quickly tell you how much profit you have earned. He is very fast in doing these calculations, which he does in his head. Even though her grandfather is intelligent despite being uneducated, she feels that education through schooling is also very important and it offers comparative advantage.

Hina: I feel that education is extremely important. In my opinion, if you finished grade 10 then it does not count at all in today's world. In particular, grade 10 is nothing in Pakistan. In Pakistan, people would think that you had not studied at all. So the grade does not count at all in Pakistan. Here in Barcelona, finishing grade 10 has significance. For example, if you pass the grade 10 exam, then you can easily join the police force.

For her, just passing the secondary school exam is not enough. Instead she aspires to be well educated and wants to pursue higher education. Here she is more influenced by the image of being educated in the context of Pakistan as compared with the importance of finishing secondary school in the context of Barcelona. Besides attaching value to higher education, which is rooted in the cultural context of Pakistan, she is also critical about the quality of the provision of education in Pakistan. On one question about her expectations from the school, she made the following comments:

Hina: In my opinion, yes, school is matching my expectations. ... If someone asks me the question whether I would prefer to study here or in Pakistan, I would say that I prefer studying here. The reasons are that the teachers here are very good and they teach us very well. They explain to you in such a way that you would hardly forget what you have learned. ... By comparison, in Pakistan it is difficult to understand even if the teacher explains several times.

Hina is actively involved in shaping her foreground. As one can see, her engagement in educational processes came about in the course of her relocation in different cultural contexts and consequent re-positionings. She is aware of the advantage of learning Catalan as compared with Spanish, and that her success at school depends on mastery of Catalan. This awareness shows that her access to educational opportunities is very much shaped by the political policies of the Catalan government – consolidation of Catalan identity through the promotion of Catalan language is perceived to be essential within the socio-political landscape of Spain. These influences of larger discourses are reflected clearly in the

schools, which are not located in vacuum but very much an integral part of the socio-political landscape of Catalan society.

Hina's future expectations

Hina wishes to become a lawyer. This aspiration is something she has been thinking about since she entered school. In order to enter law school, Hina has to score a certain average in her school grades. For public universities in Barcelona, one has to have an average of 5 in order to be accepted as a law student. Getting this average at the school is not easy. She has to maintain good grades in all the subjects she is studying at the school and besides this she has to sit the entrance examination for the public universities in Barcelona.

Her parents' expectations also play an important part in the shaping of her aspirations. Her father and mother are worried that law is a professional field that is full of danger. For example, as a lawyer one has to resolve many conflicts and parties who are affected by the results can bring harm to lawyers. This is how Hina's parents perceive the field of law and those practicing in it. Perhaps this perception is based on their experiences of seeing lawyers practicing in the context of Pakistan where lawyers could even be killed by the affected parties in the conflict, as had happened close to their home. Despite this opposition of her parents, she is persistent in her aim to become a lawyer and, given her determination, her father now supports her.

Hina is aware of the fact that it is not easy to become a successful lawyer. She has to work hard in order to achieve this professional goal. Besides this, she is aware that she has to do well in both Catalan and Spanish in order to enter into the University. She is also aware of the options for higher education available in Barcelona. One is going to university where the focus of study is more on theoretical knowledge, while the focus at the *Graus* is more on practice-oriented knowledge.

Discussions and Conclusions

Hina's success story demonstrates many elements that are responsible for her successful transitions in different cultural contexts. For example, Hina is in a constant dialogues with her different selves and also she is active in confirming her views with the views of significant others. When she experiences conflict in her different selves, she tries to use her memories of success as symbolic resources in the context where she was successful. For example, she used her success in Mathematics in Pakistani school as a tool to be successful in the Barcelonean context. Here she uses the advice of her teacher Sir Zulfiqar (her mathematics teacher in the Pakistani school) as an imaginary voice inside her who guides her to be persistent in mathematical classroom in the Barcelonian context. Often this persistence in the Barcelonian school context allows her to continue to tackle the challenge that schooling processes in Barcelona bring to her. This is very much consistent with the idea of dialogical selves developed by Hubert Hermans (2001). Hermans conceptualizes dialogical self as:

in terms of dynamic multiplicity of relatively autonomous *I*-positions. In this position, *I* has the possibility to move from one spatial posi-

tion to another in accordance with changes in situation and time. The *I* fluctuates among different and opposed positions, and has the capacity to imaginatively to endow each position with a voice so that the dialogical relations between the positions can be established (p.248).

At the same time Hina is well cognizant that it is not easy to become successful in new cultural settings. For example, she has been moving in three different national settings and each setting offered her different opportunities and resources to use in order to succeed in respective settings. For example, when she was in Saudi Arabia, she has to pay an attention to become proficient in English and in Urdu as these were the cultural tools that have given her access to educational resources in the schooling context of Saudi Arabia. But when she comes to Pakistan, these two languages became barrier for her as these two languages created some kinds of superior position for her within the society of Punjab province where the dominant language was Punjabi. Her cousins who were well conversant in Punjabi language were not ready to accept her positioning due to having access to English and Urdu as part of the Punjabi society. According to them, it was important for her to be conversant within Punjabi to be included as part of their circle. So understanding this importance of the Punjabi language and relative importance of Urdu Hina took admission in a school that teaches subjects in Urdu. For Hina, this was a strategic decision for her as this way she could become in a position where she could be part of the circle of her cousins as well as she could also negotiate her positioning with them as well. This way she could also become assertive in influencing the social circle around her.

Hina always looks for the possibilities wherefrom she can get an opportunity to sharpen both her knowledge and skills but also get interpretation of the reality that can promote her educational success in different cultural settings she has been in. For example, she likes teaching methods of her teachers in her school in Barcelona. These methods allow her to do things more practically and she also gets an opportunity to get deeper into the subjects she is studying.

If one can look at the agency of Hina, one can see that she is very confident person and she knows very well what she is doing and how she can get to the stage where she can emerge as a successful professional. Here one can see that, Hina is also constantly negotiating her positioning with other actors who are influential in the development of Hina. For example, she is actively engaged with her teachers, if she gets any confusion in any topic she always goes to a teacher and seeks clarity about that particular topic. She is also actively involved in the process of shaping up the future possibilities of her siblings. For example, she was very well aware with the fact that school has classified structure of the classrooms. If her sister is not in a right section of the classroom then her chances of success would be diminished considerably. In this regard, she proactively worked with her sister and also she convinced teachers of the school that her sister should go to the section where she gets more quality teaching but also an opportunity to become successful in passing through the Baitxillerat in order to reach to the university level.

Here it is very important to recognize the fact that Hina has got very supportive parents who are keen that Hina should get possibilities to become successful in her educational possibilities. At the same time,

Hina's parents are open for the negotiation as well. One can see that this space of dialogue between Hina and her parents have opened considerable possibilities for them to negotiate the demands of their changing needs. Hina's story can demonstrate that immigrant student's successful engagement in educational processes is very complex process as this process is wedded into several socio-cultural threads which go not only in the school but also go to the orientation of the family members especially the parents of the students. Besides this, the success of immigrant student also depends how actively this particular student is involved in shaping up his or her future possibilities. Here I have seen that assertive individual agency could create possibilities of success despite of facing the challenging educational situation that politics of education creates within the situation where the student is located. One of the advantages that successful student use in succeeding against the odds of the politics of education could be his or her facility of moving through different cultures and using the cognitive or symbolic tools that this movement of cultures could offer to that successful student.

Implications for educational policy

The case of Hina demonstrates complexity of life world of immigrant youths under the conditions of globalization and transnationality. The landscape of education in multicultural societies like Barcelona is changing very fast. These changes could bring effects on schools, teachers, students and parents. Of course the educational policy makers are engaged in the processes of not only understanding the change of educational landscape but finding out ways how to initiate processes of changes that can enable all actors within the educational scenario to better cope with the changes. Within this context, this research study could offer some insights for informing educational policy of multicultural cities like Barcelona. Here are some specific policy recommendations:

First, the educational policy should recognize the fact that learners and the other actors associated with the schooling processes are engaged in the processes of education are experiencing and making sense of changes in their own ways. It is important that policy makers should give enough freedom to schools and teachers to understand the intentions of learners. This focus on intention of learners would allow teachers to make learning more meaningful for learners. This would also help schools to find out ways how to provide both symbolic resources and material resources to cope up with the specific demands of the learners in relation to their future goals. The notion of foreground allows us to see how learners especially youth go through the processes of making up of their future. Often this future making process is very complicated and this could create lots of tensions and stress on learners' mind. Here youths with immigrant background could experience many challenges as they have to grow through several transitions at the same time to make sense of their living in a new society. In other words, these youths are at the cross sections of different cultures and they might not necessary have tools to deal with the demands of new society and get ready to face the challenges of the future. Therefore, it is an important consideration to bring focus on learners' engagement in a context where different cultures meet.

Second, the schools are not immune from socio-political conditions under which the schools are located. The schools are heavily affected with the general discourse on education. Furthermore, there are different social representations around immigrants in the society. The schools often look at immigrants through these general social representations. These social representations of immigrants could constraint or open the possibilities of dealing with the challenge of handling diversity within the schooling context where children from different cultures meet with each other. For example, the common political tendency in political discourse is to look at immigrants from deficits perspective. That is immigrants can be viewed as burdens. Or immigrant youths are perceived as trouble makers or perceived as not interested in their studies. These general perspectives can close possibilities for future making of immigrant youths. In this context, it is important that the teachers and educational authorities should be aware with the fact that the immigrant youths are passing through not only different cultural planes but they are located at the intersection of their positioning in different dimensions such as social and economics. Here the cultural or religious influences of immigrant families could also bring influence on the meaning creation for the youths. Here teachers or schools make partnership with the learners and families of these learners in order to provide more meaningful educational experiences to these youths. This way education processes could closely aligned with the future making processes of these youths. In other words, interpretations of social representations about the immigrant youth can bring implication for educational practice at the school levels.

Third, during this study I discover that the schools are not aware of the challenges of education in multicultural settings. The schools do not have clear strategy how to cope with the challenge of handling the students from different cultures. This brings huge challenge for teachers to meet with the needs of immigrant youths in an appropriate many. This lack of understanding on the parts of both, schools and teachers, could create situations where immigrant youths might find schooling as boring place instead of considering it as a place which can prepare them for the future.

Finally, the case of Hina demonstrates that the collaboration between schools and families in creating educational learning possibilities of immigrant is absolutely important. Here it is also important to recognize the fact that understanding diversity in a multicultural society is very complex process. This requires tools or resources (both the symbolic and the material) and the continuous engagement of all the actors to make schooling experience of the youths a successful and meaningful experience.

One can see that the theoretical constructs such as transition, background/foreground, and social representations may help us in understanding immigrant students' perspectives, and provide us insights for informed pedagogical actions in situations where different cultures interact with each other.

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PART 3. DIVERSITY WITHIN ORGANISATIONS

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CHAPTER 6. **DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY WITHIN THE MOSSOS** **D'ESQUADRA**

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Introduction

Differences in the practical definition of diversity can have substantial consequences for the validity and scope of results from diversity studies (Van Ewijk, 2011a). Also, the way in which diversity issues are framed is critical to policies and/or organizational approaches to the topic (Smith, 1995), determining, for example, how public budgets are designated to schools, or which development practices receive company funding. It might affect a person's social status, financial situation, juridical rights, and so forth. In sum, the definition of diversity and diversity policy is an interesting research topic by and of itself (Van Ewijk, 2011a). However, academic research on the definition of diversity is scarce and shows some important gaps.

First, many studies employ only quantitative methods that rely on the face validity of key terms such as 'ethnic' or 'black' or 'age' (Carrell & Mann, 1995; Point & Singh, 2003). Second, most studies on diversity and diversity policy have been undertaken in the United States, Canada, or Australia; countries with a very specific experience of diversity because of their cultural, social, and historical context (Mor Barak, 2005), while when contexts are different, it is important to refrain from universalizing ideas and knowledge and focus on the context at hand instead to gain more insight into the matter (Carens, 2000; Modood, Triandafyllidou & Zapata, 2006). Third, studies on the definition of diversity and diversity policy in the European context are almost exclusively based on analyses of private organisations (Point & Singh, 2003; Liff, 1997, 1999; Wrench, 2007), while public organisations are especially interesting, because of their broad scope: their potential 'customers' are all citizens. In sum, this calls for more qualitative studies of public organisations in the European context, that do not define diversity beforehand, but effectively study the definition of diversity itself.

Studying the police might be particularly revealing when it comes to the internal dynamics of diversity, because of an intriguing contradiction: despite of the potentially large positive impact of diversity within the organisation on police functioning in society and although in theory every officer can become police chief with the right internal training,

empirical data on police forces in Europe show that the level of diversity (at least in terms of gender, migrant background, and sexual orientation) is low among new recruits, and diminishes as police officers' rank rises (Van Ewijk, 2011b). The *Mossos d'Esquadra*, the police force of the autonomous region of Catalonia in Spain, are especially interesting to study: they form one of the youngest police forces in the South of Europe, they are one of the few generic police forces that is regionally directed, and they have an area of jurisdiction in which immigration has grown exponentially in the last two decades (to a point where 13.7% of the residents has been born outside of Spain – website INE).

However, the field of studies on diversity within the police also shows an important gap: there are no comprehensive policy analyses. None consider policies in all organisational areas related to diversity - recruitment, promotion and retention – while these are interrelated (Van Ewijk, 2011b). Therefore, this chapter consists of a comprehensive description of the case, including statistics on the inflow, outflow and through-flow of police officers with a diverse profile, which is analyzed with a new analytical framework that identifies fundamental choices in the definition of diversity (the 'what'), in arguments for diversity within organisations (the 'why'), and in diversity policy approaches (the 'how'). This analytical framework has been recently formulated by Van Ewijk (2011a), but has not been applied in empirical research so far.

As such, the goal of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to offer a deeper understanding of the role that diversity plays in the particular context of this police force. Second, at the same time, it hopes to demonstrate the potential of the analytical framework by applying it in empirical research for the first time.

The chapter contains four sections. The first section introduces the case and outlines the methods that were used for the data collection and analysis. The second section analyzes what definition of diversity is used, while the third section focuses on why diversity within the organisation is deemed important, and the fourth section on how diversity within the organisation is facilitated. As such, this paper identifies fundamental choices with respect to diversity policy in three dimensions: ontological, deontological, and instrumental. The chapter closes with some concluding remarks.

Research set-up

A case study was chosen because this technique allows for conceptual refinements (Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 2003) and provides the possibility of the heuristic identification of new variables and hypotheses in the course of field work (George & Bennet, 2005). This section introduces the case, and the main strategies that were used in the data collection and data analysis.

Case introduction

Currently, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are the police of the Catalan autonomous community in Spain. Since 1719, the term '*Mossos d'Esquadra*' has appeared in Catalan history to indicate groups with various man-

dates, until they were founded as a modern democratic police force in 1983. In the beginning their tasks were limited and it was not until 1994 that their expansion over the whole of Catalonia as an integral police force started. This expansion was completed by November 2008. By that time, the number of police officers had grown rapidly, from 5.000 officers in 1999 to 14.143 officers in 2008 (Departament d'Interior, Relacions Institucionals i Participació, 2009).

The *Mossos d'Esquadra* are directed by the Secretary of Security, part of the Department of Interior Affairs. This public organ arranges the selection and recruitment of new police officers, together with public administrators of the Catalan police academy: the Institut de Seguretat Pública de Catalunya (ISPC), and involving police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. The same public organ also formulates, supervises and controls financial planning and staff management. The *Mossos d'Esquadra* only have operative management responsibilities. As such, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are exclusively composed of executive personnel, not administrative staff.

Both basic education and specialization and promotion courses are coordinated, and in many cases also provided, by the ISPC, which is also responsible for the education of local police forces, firemen and public administrators operative in detention. There is only one initial training course for new recruits, starting once a year, which consists of nine months of continuous education, after which an internship of twelve months follows.

Methodology

It is important to distinguish well between the units of data collection and the units of analysis (Neuendorf, 2002). In this chapter, the units of data collection are persons and documents, while the units of analysis are the three parts of the analytical framework on the definition of diversity (the 'what'), the motivation for diversity within organisations (the 'why'), and policy approaches related to diversity (the 'how'). To provide as much transparency as possible in the methodology of this case-study, this section outlines the methods used to collect and analyze the data.

Data collection

The chapter draws its data from documents and persons. Two data collection methods were employed. First, a desk-research identified relevant documents and persons to interview; through the websites of the police forces and related organisations, and through internet search engines. Second, semi-structured interviews created information in the form of interview reports, and provided access to other relevant documents, mostly those for internal use and not available for the general public.

When applying Prior's (2003) distinction between the content, the production, and the consumption of documents to these particular case-studies, several observations can be made. First, with respect to the content, this chapter focuses mainly on text, exceptionally including some figures and photos. Second, as documents are essentially situated or social products, constructed in accordance with the rules of the col-

lective they originate from, documents from four different backgrounds were included to multiply perspectives and diminish this bias: the police organization itself, the police academy, NGO's and associations of/for police officers, and the Department of Interior Affairs. Third, the audience the author had in mind when producing the document may affect its content. Therefore, both public documents, for a broad audience mostly outside the organisation (such as newspaper papers, books, annual reports, websites), and internal documents, for a limited audience mostly inside the organisation (such as strategic policy papers, and HRM statistics) were included, to reach conclusions that are more representative of the organisation as a whole.

16 persons were interviewed between October 2008 and January 2010. The interviews were based on a semi-structured questionnaire, lasting between 60 and 90 minutes. In general, these interviews were executed individually and face to face, with some exceptions (there was one double-interviews, and one interview took place by phone). Also the respondents were selected from four different backgrounds: the police organization itself, the police academy, NGO's and associations of/for police officers, and the Department of Interior Affairs. These respondents were initially found through the websites of these organisations, and afterwards through references that resulted from the first round of interviews. Respondents were selected for interview when they occupied a position that allowed them to play an influential role in the process of policy-making and/or the implementation of the policies related to diversity in the areas of recruitment, retention and promotion.

In accordance with the comprehensive view (Van Ewijk, 2011b), both documents and interviews were used to collect information on the inflow, outflow and through-flow of police officers with a diverse profile, and on policies related to diversity in the areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion. Afterwards, a detailed case study write-up was made, to help cope with the deluge of collected data, and to provide a sound basis for the content analysis.

The complete questionnaire (which was personalized for each respondent according to their position and functional expertise) and an overview of the interviews (dates and positions of the respondents) can be found in the appendix. When references are made to specific documents, they are included in the list of reports and other sources of empirical data below the academic references.

Content analysis

A qualitative content analysis was used to make valid inferences, from both the documents and the interview reports, with respect to the units of analysis, i.e. the three parts of the analytical framework that Van Ewijk (2011a) formulated to study diversity within organisations: first, the definition of diversity, second, the motivation for diversity within organisations, and third, approaches in policies related to diversity. As categories are established from theory prior to the interpretation of the underlying context, this research could be defined as a 'directed approach of content analysis' (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), utilizing 'a priori coding' (Weber, 1990). See Van Ewijk (2011a) for an elaborate description of this analytical framework.

Table 1. Operationalizing the categories of the analytical framework

Unit of analysis (dimension)	Fundamental choice to be identified	Operationalisation at the level of the documents and interview reports
1. Definition of diversity (ontological dimension: the 'what')	<p>A. Selection of modes of differentiation</p> <p>B. Interpretation of modes of differentiation</p> <p>C. Categorization of modes of differentiation: hard or soft, old or new, collective or individual</p>	<p>Existence and frequency of references to specific 'forms of diversity', such as gender, religion, thinking types, migrant background, age, and so forth</p> <p>Practical meaning of key terms related to these forms of diversity in specific context, such as 'immigrants', 'old', 'extrovert', and so forth</p> <p>Hard – soft: practically unchangeable and permanent versus changeable and less permanent</p> <p>Old – new: historical references to this form of diversity in the context versus no historical references</p> <p>Collective – individual: form of diversity is linked to specific groups of which all members have some characteristics related to this form of diversity in common, or form of diversity is not necessarily linked to a group but seen as important for some individuals</p>
2. Motivation for diversity within the organisation (deontological dimension: the 'why')	<p>A. Type of arguments: moral or practical</p> <p>B. Desired base of difference: individual or collective</p>	<p>Key concepts related to moral arguments: justice, social (in)equality, (in)equity, rights, (anti)discrimination, human agency, representativeness, symbolic (dis)advantages, responsibility.</p> <p>Key concepts related to practical arguments: effectiveness, efficiency, results, practical (dis)advantages related to goal achievement, such as productivity, creativity / innovation, absenteeism, staff turnover, and so forth</p> <p>Individual – collective: end goal is to support individuals (ensuring equal opportunities) versus end goal is to support groups (ensuring collective characteristics are valued)</p>
3. Approach in policies related to diversity within the organisation (instrumental dimension: the 'how')	<p>A. Perceived relevance of collective differences for policy-making is low (individual-based) or high (collective-based)</p> <p>B. Scope: approach intensity is low or high</p>	<p>Individual-based: all policies that promote equal opportunities of individuals</p> <p>Collective-based: all policies that are adapted to social group differences</p> <p>Low: only some processes or policy areas are adapted to the approach</p> <p>High: the approach is visible in the entire organisation</p>

Source: Own elaboration.




Conclusions were drawn at the level of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in an iterative and holistic way. Earlier interpretations were revised in the light of later readings and the results were interpreted for the whole body of literature and interview reports (Krippendorf, 2004), instead of evaluating each source of information individually.

To make valid inferences, it is important that the classification procedure is reliable in the sense that it is consistent (Weber, 1990). By making the so-called qualitative areas in the research process recognizable, possibilities of objectifying individual case-studies are opened up (Bos & Tarnai, 1999). Mathes (1988), for example, attempted to achieve an objectification of his category formation by examining the text through discursive dialogue with experts, which contributes to a certain degree to the objectification of qualitative studies (Bos & Tarnai, 1999). This lesson was also applied here: two experts were asked to give their opinion about the complete questionnaire and the analytical framework, which led to some modifications. These persons were: the director of the Catalan police Academy (the ISPC), and the Head of the Technical Office of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* for the area of Barcelona.

Also, as the content of the sources cannot be deduced independently of the interpretation of the reader (Krippendorf, 2004), triangulation took place during the data collection, by sharing preliminary conclusions with fellow researchers, and after analyzing the empirical material and displaying the results in this paper, by asking an expert (the research coordinator of the ISPC) whether the interpretation of the texts was recognisable.

What is the definition of diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra*?

Diversity is about meaningful differences: principles by which people, from context to context, situation to situation, mark themselves and each other as different (Vertovec, 2007) in a way that influences their identity and way of life (Young, 1990). Three fundamental choices underlie the definition of diversity: a selection of modes of differentiation, the practical interpretation thereof, and a possible categorization into hard or soft, old or new, and individual or collective (for a more elaborate description of these choices, see Van Ewijk, 2011a). Table 2 offers a visual summary of the definitions of diversity in the contexts of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. This section elaborates the analyses that led to this conclusion.

Table 2. The definition of diversity within the <i>Mossos d'Esquadra</i>		
Selection	Interpretation	Categorization
		
Gender	Physical differences: male and female.	Hard, old/new, collective
Migrant background	(one of the parents) born outside of the EU	Soft, new, collective

Source: Van Ewijk (2011a) and own elaboration.

Selection of modes of differentiation

The modes of differentiation that are most dominant within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are gender and migrant background, despite of the fact that other modes of differentiation (such as age, religion, colour, physical validity, sexual orientation, educational background) also come to the fore in several interviews¹. This observation is illustrated with examples from the areas of recruitment, retention, and promotion.

1. It was not the objective of this study to identify the motives for this focus. Even so, a few respondents commented that some modes of differentiation were either too sensitive to focus on in the police context, such as sexual orientation, or not relevant because of a lack of critical mass within the police force, such as religion.
2. Interview with the Head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes (General Subdirection HRM of the Department of Interior Affairs): 3 October 2009, Barcelona.
3. www.gaylespol.org.

No target groups have been officially defined to be recruited for the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, although photos of female police officers are usually included in the general folders that the Catalan government produces and distributes² and in 2008 and 2009 the Gender Equity Program of the Department of Interior Affairs launched campaigns in 2008 and 2009 specifically aimed at women. Efforts to connect with gay community, such as participating in the Gay Parade for the first time on the 28th of June in 2009, are exclusively initiated by the gay police officer association *Gaylespol*.³ Finally, there has been a separate publicity campaign to recruit candidates with a migrant background for the Social Diversification Programme, designed to help these candidates prepare for the official selection procedure in 2007 and 2008. Some visual illustrations of these conclusions are:

Figure 1. Publicity for the *Mossos d'Esquadra*: general call for candidates (basic education, 1997 and 2009), call for female candidates (basic education, 2008) and call for candidates with a migrant background for the Social Diversification Programme (2007)



Source: Unitat de Promoció & Gender Equity Programme (Programa per a l'equitat de gènere) of the Department of Interior Affairs of the Generalitat of Catalonia

Basic and advanced education on diversity at the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC) focuses mostly on diversity in migrant background in Catalan society⁴, although there are some short courses on gender diversity⁵ and diversity in sexual orientation⁶ within and outside of the organisation. Furthermore, UNESCOCAT offers sessions on request at police stations on diversity in migrant background, also mostly outside of the organisation⁷. There is some juridical attention⁸ for the requests of AIL-MED⁹, an association that strives to improve the position of police officers that have become handicapped in the line of duty. Gaylespol is an association for gay, lesbian and transsexual police officers in Catalonia, also including members of other (local and national) police forces in Catalonia. Its activities have no formal place within the organisation of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, in contrast with the Comisió de les Dones Polícies (Female Police Officers Commission) that was founded in 1999 on the request of the police commissioner of Girona¹⁰ and has been reinstated as commission in 2010¹¹. Finally, some female police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* had had contact with the European Network for Policewomen, the ENP¹².

Finally, in the area of promotion, statistics concerning the recruits and members of the police force could only be found on the inflow, outflow, and through-flow of female police officers and (although scarcely) officers with a migrant background (see section 4.1 for an overview of these statistics).

4. ISPC (2008) Programa d'activitats formatives (curriculum basic education), Mollet del Vallès: ISPC, Department d'Interior. Additional course information (basic + advanced levels): internal documents of the ISPC.
5. Voluntary seminar on gender within the police force (6h, place for 30): internal document of the ISPC.
6. Voluntary seminar on sexual diversity and human rights (6h, place for 15): internal document of the ISPC.
7. Interview with the coordinator of the diversity courses for the police (UNESCOCAT): 5 November 2008, Barcelona. Presentation at the conference of UNESCOCAT on police and diversity on the 17th of December 2009 by the research and international cooperation coordinator of the ISPC.
8. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya Núm. 5282 – 19.12.2008 - DECRET 246/2008, de 16 de desembre, de regulació de la situació administrativa especial de segona activitat en el cos de *Mossos d'Esquadra*.
9. Website AIL-MED: <http://ailmed.wordpress.com>.
10. Gubianes, R.M. (2000) La Comisió de la Dona Policia – el treball desenvolupat i les propostes, Mossos, 10, 26-28..
11. Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission, author of the proposal for a new commission, and Head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell.
12. Website ENP: www.enp.nl.

Interpretation and categorization of modes of differentiation

Gender

'Gender' refers to the biological distinction between male and female. Gender is considered as a relatively hard mode of differentiation: a human difference that is inborn and/or exerts an important impact on early socialisation and has an ongoing impact throughout life (Griggs, 1995). For example, the message of the Program for Gender Equity of the Department of Interior Affairs in Catalonia is that 'women are equal, but not the same'.¹³ Gender is seen as a hard mode of differentiation as a consequence of an influential mix of physical difference (women as child bearers) in combination with socio-cultural convictions on the difference in gender roles, especially for families with young children (women as caretakers), resulting in gendered preferences and ambitions and gendered evaluations of capacities¹⁴.

It is difficult to characterize gender as either an old or a new mode of differentiation. On the one hand, respondents tend to consider it as old, for gender has almost always constituted an important difference in human societies. On the other hand, attention for gender in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* only resulted in institutional action in 1999 when the Female Police Officer Commission was founded, regaining attention in 2007 with the coming of the Program for Gender Equity, not until 2009 leading to a request by a few female *Mossos d'Esquadra* for an independent internal team, which was approved in 2010¹⁵.

Finally, gender is perceived as a mode of differentiation that is essentially collective. It is linked to a collective whose members are generally considered to have some specific characteristics (that imply meaningful difference) in common because of their gender (Van Ewijk, 2011a). In this study, sources refer to the physical capacity to bear children, preferences or ambitions with respect to work, and 'feminine' capabilities.

Migrant background

'Migrant background' is defined in practice as 'born abroad', usually referring to 'born outside of the European Union'¹⁶. The most dominant term in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is 'immigrants', used by both journalists and representatives of the Catalan Police Academy¹⁷. The ISPC registers only which students are born abroad, or have parents that are born abroad¹⁸. Curiously, no reference to diversity in migrant background within the police force is made in documents, for example HRM statistics, of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*.

Migrant background, on the other hand, is seen as a soft mode of differentiation: a human difference that helps to distinguish the self from the other but is seen as less permanent and hence adaptable (Litvin, 1997). In this sense, migrant background is only seen as a relevant difference temporarily, until some administrative differences (when migrants achieve of Spanish nationality) and practical differences (when migrants learn Catalan) associated with this mode of differentiation nowadays disappear. For example, the representative of UNESCOCAT¹⁹ stated that the entrance of minorities with a migrant background in the *Mossos d'Esquadra* was just a matter of time; within one generation candidates

13. Interview with work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona. Gender Equity Programme (unpublished) Estudi per al Pla de polítiques de dones del Govern de la Generalitat de Catalunya 2008-2011: Department of Interior Affairs.

14. Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona.

15. Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission, author of the proposal for a new commission, and Head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell.

16. Various interviews: 2009, Catalonia.

17. <http://www.publico.es/199379/los-mossos-no-despiertan-interes-entre-los-inmigrantes>: www.adn.es/ciudadanos/20071003/NWS-2653-Mossos-reclutan-inmigrantes.html Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona.

18. ISPC internal documents on inflow, outflow and through-flow of recruits.

19. Interview with the coordinator of the diversity courses for the police (UNESCOCAT): 5 November 2008, Barcelona.

from these groups would have the Spanish nationality and proper preparation to compete in the public selection process. While the director of the ISPC²⁰ stated that it was a matter of time and critical mass; entrance has to be stimulated until a critical mass of minorities is present within the police force, afterwards the promotion of migrant minorities will follow automatically.

Migrant background in the Catalan context is considered as new in the sense that the presence of minorities with a migrant background from outside of Europe is relatively new in Catalonia²¹, but it is considered as old in the sense that Catalonia is presented as a nation of immigration throughout its history (Zapata, 2007), and new immigrants are expected to integrate with the existing society, just as, for example, the national immigration flows from the south of Spain have done.

Finally, migrant background is also perceived as a collective mode of differentiation in both contexts. Being born abroad or having parents that are born abroad is linked to the observation that candidates of this collective often lack specific requisites (for example, excellent domination of the Catalan language²², or the Spanish nationality) or experience in specific capacities. Also, it is linked to a specific value that members of this collective can offer the police organisation: inside knowledge of the habits, religions, languages and other forms of diversity that come with their migrant background, as we will see in the next section.

Why is diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* deemed important?

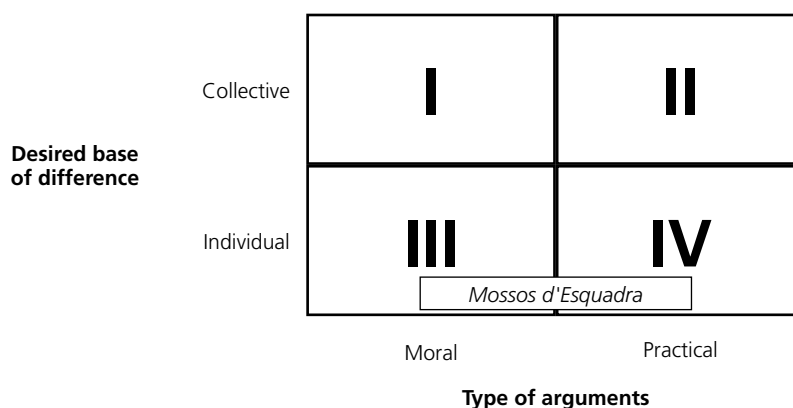
Independent of whether diversity is seen as an individual or collective concept in nature (which is part of the ontological dimension), the first fundamental choice when arguing for diversity within the organisation is whether the end goal is to support individuals (i.e. ensuring equal opportunities) or to support collectives (i.e. ensuring collective differences are valued). This is part of the deontological dimension. The second fundamental choice in this dimension is between moral or practical arguments. Together, these categories identify fundamental differences in the motivation for diversity within the organisation. Figure 4 offers a visual summary of these motivations in the contexts of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*. This section elaborates the analyses that led to this conclusion.

20. Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

21. Ajenjo (2008).

22. Curriculum Programa de Diversificaci3n Social (300h), internal document of the ISPC: September 2008.

Figure 2. Motivation for diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra*



Source: Van Ewijk (2011a) + own elaboration

Desired base of difference

In general, the end goal in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is more often related to supporting individuals and ensuring equal opportunities despite of collective differences, than to supporting collectives and recognizing the value of collectives. In terms of the analytical framework, the desired base of difference is individual. For example, the end goal of the Social Diversification Programme is not to promote the interests of the collective with a migrant background, but to level the playing field: to ensure that individuals from that collective have the same chances in the selection process by educating them in areas they dominate less because of their migrant background, such as the Catalan language²³. Also, the Gender Equity Programme confirms that the Department of Interior Affairs wants to utilize its human capital to the maximum, and can only do that when all persons work under equal conditions and their differences, such as gender, do not create inequalities²⁴. Finally, Gaylespol strives for a working environment without discrimination, in which persons can be open about their sexual orientation and are treated with respect despite of this²⁵.

Type of arguments

Both moral and practical arguments are employed in favour of diversity in the police organization. On the one hand, diversity within the police force is linked to representing the society it serves, combating stereotypes among police officers and ensuring they value colleagues with a diverse profile, and ensuring respectful behaviour towards the population²⁶. Gaylespol adds that a more visible representation of gay police officers helps the gay population feel that the police force is also there for them and helps to combat (indirect) discrimination among police officers. For example, representatives of the association feel that it is unjust that any reference to gender is formally disapproved of, while there is no such rule on jokes related to sexual orientation²⁷. On the other hand, the same sources refer to the added practical value of increasing the quality of the police service by responding more adequately in diverse situations to prevent and solve problems. Diversity within the police force is said to facilitate this because it creates a more

23. Miró, D. (2007) Europa recomienda reclutar inmigrantes para la policía, newspaper paper on the 5th of October 2007 in El Publico: www.elpublico.es – last accessed in January 2011.

Interview with the responsible for the Social Diversification Programme and Area Coordinator of the Department of Education, Selection and Evaluation (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 15 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès.

24. Gender Equity Programme (2010) Pla d'igualtat 2010-2014, Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Interior. Interview with the work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona.

25. Speech of Jan Sneijder, the president de l'Associació Europea de Polícies Homosexuals, at the first conference of Gaylespol in Sitges on the 28th of April, 2006 – found on www.gaylespol.org – last accessed in January 2011. Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.

26. Presentation at the conference of UNESCAT on police and diversity on the 17th of December 2009 by the research and international cooperation coordinator of the ISPC.

Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès.

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

27. Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.

diverse repertoire of reactions, it implies more knowledge of and sensitivity towards the cultures at hand (whether related to gender, class, migrant background, sexual orientation, and so forth), and it increases the willingness of the population to cooperate by increasing their trust and sense of proximity towards the police. For example, Gaylespol argues that having gay police officers has practical advantages: they are more inclined than their colleagues to patrol places where the gay community meets, and they can explain colleagues how to provide a better service to this community, for example in the case of domestic violence between couples of the same sex²⁸.

Even so, it is curious that moral arguments are more dominant with respect to gender diversity. Terms that are often repeated are (in)equality, (social) justice, and non-discrimination²⁹. This, while diversity in migrant background is almost exclusively pleaded for with practical arguments: to be more effective against gangs with foreign origins³⁰, to teach colleagues how new communities think and act³¹, because they dominate foreign languages, and to solve conflicts, prevent riots and solve crimes³².

How is diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* facilitated with policies?

To introduce the context in which policies related to diversity within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are formulated, section 4.1 outlines the main characteristics of their selection and evaluation procedures, and offers an overview of diversity statistics with respect to the inflow, the outflow and through-flow of police officers. Afterwards, section 4.2 analyzes what approach underlies policies related to diversity and what the scope of this approach is.

The policy context: procedures and numbers

Procedural characteristics

Publicity on openings is always in the dominant language, which is Catalan (fluency in this language is also a requisite for selection). The police force employs common communication channels such as television, radio, posters, job fairs, and newspapers, while channels such as Internet (Facebook, websites of target groups) or SMS are sporadically mentioned.

The force requires applicants to have the Spanish nationality, have a high school diploma, be without a criminal record, be physically and mentally healthy, and have a driver's license (at least within one or two years after starting basic education). In addition, applicants have to have a minimum length of 1.70m (men) or 1.60 (women), paid the admission fee, and handed in a sworn declaration to wear arms. Finally, the age limit to become member of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is between 18 and 35 years old³³.

The selection process lasts several weeks and tests are conducted once a year. The content of the tests focuses on language, history of Catalonia, personality, physical condition, and intelligence. An interview and a practical exercise form part of the selection process³⁴.

28. UXXS (2008) Interview with Victor Argelaguet, president of Gaylespol, pp. 22-25, December 2008.

29. Gubianes, R.M. (2000) La Comissió de la Dona Policia – el treball desenvolupat i les propostes, *Mossos*, 10, 26-28.

Interview with the work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona Gender Equity Programme (2010) Pla d'igualtat 2010-2014, Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Interior.

30. Albarrán Bugié, J. (2007) Los Mossos reclutan inmigrantes, newspaper paper on the 4th of October 2007 in the ADN: www.adn.es.

31. García, J. (2007) A la búsqueda del 'mosso' inmigrante, newspaper paper on the 11th of November 2007 in El País: www.elpais.es.

32. Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona.

33. Call for candidates, category Mossos: DOGC 5259 – 17.11.2008 (Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya).

34. Call for candidates, category Mossos: DOGC 5259 – 17.11.2008 (Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya).

New recruits for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* have to complete nine months of lectures at the ISPC (in general, 10 percent drop out or fails) and afterwards an internship of approximately one year within the police force (very few drop out or fail)³⁵. During the course at the ISPC, the progress of students is supervised by the professors and a department of psychologists. The tutors, police officers that guide and observe a group of new recruits during their education, finally decide where new recruits will be appointed: 95 percent will be patrol officers, 5% will go to special units³⁶. Once they are sworn police officers, the *Mossos d'Esquadra* take into account officer's preferences for certain zones and make exceptions in shifts for patrol officers who are over a certain age, or who have with medical problems, or who have recently become mothers.

The yearly evaluation of police officers is conducted by their direct supervisors. They follow a standard evaluation manual on competences³⁷. The selection of candidates for promotion within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is based partly on formal requisites such as antiquity (minimum of two years in the lower rank), a university title and the highest level in Catalan, partly on the results of questionnaires on law and strategy, and partly on practical exercises and an interview to determine skills and motivation³⁸.

Finally, openings at higher management levels for external candidates for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* are only published in the DOCG (the official-judicial newspaper of the Generalitat of Catalonia). The police force allows for absence during basic education and leadership courses in the case of exceptional circumstances (pregnancy / child birth, marriage, care for family members, and so forth) until a certain limit: students are usually not allowed to miss more than 20 percent of their training program and make up for their absence with assignments. There are standard arrangements for travel and study costs. Geographical distance between home and education or home and the new function might be problematic for some officers, as the area of Catalonia is quite vast and leadership training is only offered at the ISPC near Barcelona³⁹.

35. Internal documents ISPC.

Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 14 May 2009, Barcelona.

36. Interview with the Coordinator of the instructors at the ISPC (police officers who guide the practical exercises of the basic education), *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 13 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.

37. Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*: 14 May 2009, Barcelona.

38. Call for candidates for the rank of inspector and the rank of intendent: DOGC 5377 – 12.5.2009 (Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya).

39. Albertín, Cubells & Dorado (2007).

40. Internal document of the Gender Equity Programme of the Catalan Department of Interior Affairs.

41. Internal data of the ISPC.

Internal diversity statistics: inflow, outflow and through-flow

In line with the definition of diversity that is identified in section 2, only statistics on the gender and migrant background of police officers were found.

Inflow – Between 1995 and 2008, the number and percentage of female recruits for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* has risen (from 16.1 to 26.8 percent). There was an exceptional rise and peak in 2003 (from 17.5 in 2002 to 31.7 percent in 2003), after the height requisite for women was lowered from 1.65m to 1.60m. Afterwards, this stabilized to 25-27 percent⁴⁰. Since 1995, the percentage of women that passes the first selection phase (the tests) is relatively higher than that of men. However, at least in the academic year 2007-2008 (when 25.7 percent was female), female recruits were more likely to quit the basic education (18 out 66: 27.3 percent), or to be found unfit at the end of the course (23 out of 76: 30.3 percent)⁴¹.

Since 2007, the ISPC records data on the inflow of recruits with a migrant background. These indicate that in the academic year 2008-

2009, 39 new recruits for the basic education of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* had at least one parent born abroad (3.7%). 27 of those had at least one parent born outside of the European Union, and 12 were born themselves outside of the European Union⁴².

Outflow – As all *Mossos d'Esquadra* have the status of public official, almost none decide to leave the force (about 0.8%). Of those that do leave, the majority requests unpaid leave, while very few are forced to enter special regulations because of physical impediments. This outflow is internally registered according to gender and rank, also indicating the reason for leaving, summarized in the following categories: unpaid leave (other public work, private interests, to care for a child, or because of incompatibility with other functions), physical impediments (temporary physical recovery, invalidity over 18 months, permanent absolute invalidity or permanent total invalidity) or other (resignation, or special services). For the year 2008, there were no significant differences between female and male police officers, and no data on migrant background⁴³.

Through-flow – On the 24th of April 2008, the number and percentage of female police officers with the *Mossos d'Esquadra* per rank was as follows:

Rank	Female	Male	Total generic	% Female	% Male	% of total females per rank	% of total males per rank
Mosso	2,429	8,206	10,635	22.84	77.16	86.17	72.66
Caporal/a	275	1,973	2,248	12.23	87.77	9.76	17.47
Sergent/a	80	653	733	10.91	89.09	2.84	5.78
Sotinspector/a	22	309	331	6.65	93.35	0.78	2.74
Inspector/a	9	110	119	7.56	92.44	0.32	0.97
Intendent/a	4	34	38	10.53	89.47	0.14	0.30
Comissari/a		9	9	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.08
Total	2,819	11,294	14,113	19.97	80.03	100.00	100.00

Source: Catalan Department of Interior Affairs (internal document)

As can be observed, gender diversity decreases as rank rises. However, this does not necessarily imply that being female has a negative impact on promotion: the historical development of female participation in the *Mossos d'Esquadra* has to be taken into account. This requires analyzing how long it takes on average to reach a certain rank, studying what percentage of Mossos were female that amount of years ago, and comparing that percentage with the current percentage.

For example, the average age of the Mossos in 2008 is 33 years, and that of the caporales 37 years. After that, every step in the organizational hierarchy coincides almost exactly with a two or three year difference (i.e. the average age of sergeants is 39 years, of sotsinspectors 41 years, of inspectors 43 years, of intendentes 45 years, and of comisarios 48 years). In theory, caporales would have entered the force as Mossos four years ago. Four years ago, in 2004, the percentage of female Mossos was 15.4. Repeating this exercise results in the following table:

⁴². Internal data of the ISPC.

⁴³. Internal data of the HRM department of the Catalan Department of Interior Affairs

Table 4. Percentage of female representation within all ranks of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in 2008 versus the percentage of female representation in the estimated year of entrance of the officers

Rank	% female in 2008	% female Mossos (estimated year of entrance)
Caporal/a	12.23	15.4 (2004)
Sergent/a	10.91	13.3 (2002)
Sotsinspector/a	6.65	11.9 (2000)
Inspector/a	7.56	11.1 (1998)
Intendent/a	10.53	9.4 (1996)
Comissari/a	0	no data

Source: Own elaboration

Unfortunately, the exercise does not allow estimating an expected percentage for female commissioners, as the available data do not go back that far: they start in 1994, while 1993 would be the year of comparison. Even so, it is clear that in general the percentage of female police officers in higher ranks is lower than expected. The percentage of female officers with the rank of intendent is the only exception to this rule. This coincides with another observation: the average age of female police officers tends to be somewhat lower (differences between two months and four years) than the average age of their male counterparts in the same rank. Both observations might be related to the average level of education of police officers, which is higher among female police officers than among male police officers⁴⁴.

Policy approaches

After the ontological choice between diversity as an individual concept and diversity as a collective concept (the 'what') and the deontological choice between striving to promote individuals or collectives (the 'why'), there is also the instrumental choice whether to formulate policies that ensure that everyone is treated the same or policies that adapt processes to collective differences (the 'how'). In other words, sometimes also a collective approach can be chosen to promote the equal opportunities of individuals, or an individual approach can be chosen to promote collectives (Van Ewijk, 2011a). The second fundamental choice is the scope of the policy approach: is it incorporated in the entire organisation (high intensity) or does it have a limited role (low intensity).

As outlined in more detail below, the dominant approach within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is an individual-based approach with low intensity. Figure 5 visualizes this conclusion:

The dominant approach within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is individual-based (almost all policies and processes strive to treat everyone the same) with low intensity (the scope of this approach is limited in the sense that it does not touch all parts of the organisation).

For example, in general, publicity for openings is more informative than proactive, not aimed at creation the motivation to join or to rise in rank, but aimed at providing all individuals that are already interested with the necessary information. There is no formal policy to identify and stimulate talent (within certain social groups, for example)⁴⁵. This idea of equal treatment of individuals also underlies all policies to ensure that the selection processes for basic education and promotions

44. Internal data of the Cabinet of Selection Processes.

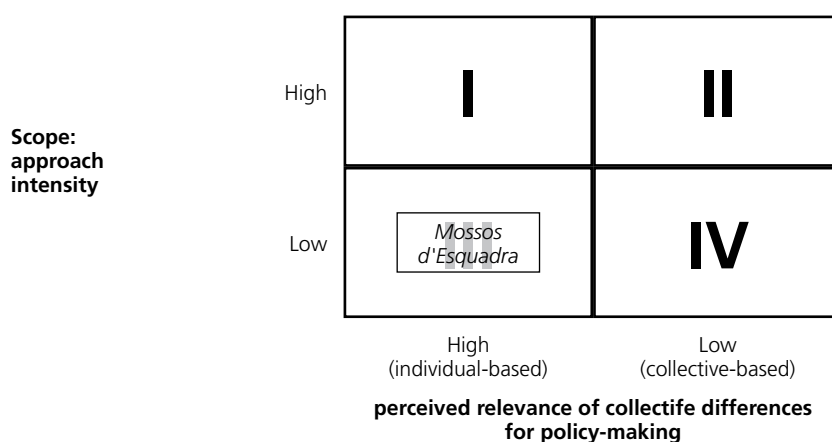
45. Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona.

Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*): 14 May 2009, Barcelona.

Interview with the Head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes (General Subdirection HRM, Department of Interior Affairs): 3 October 2009, Barcelona.

and the supervision at the ISPC are as unbiased as possible. Police officers involved in the selection process (for example to conduct the interviews) and tutors at the ISPC always receive a preparatory course (of respectively 40 hours and 180 hours) in which they are trained to evaluate the competences of candidates or recruits⁴⁶, and, in the case of the tutors⁴⁷, to practice their capacities of observation, to manage a team, to teach, to analyze and direct group processes, and so forth. Furthermore, this internal supervision is always combined with external supervision (in the form of external psychologists, who have a critical role in the selection and evaluation processes)⁴⁸. Finally, diversity is kept outside of the police force in various ways. For example, the physical environment of the police stations is neutral, adapting only the most basic aspects to gender diversity, such as the uniform, lockers and toilets. Diversity is facilitated externally, for example by offering reduced working hours and by relocating female police officers near their homes so that they can breastfeed their babies⁴⁹. Also, Gaylespol is not routinely included in organisational deliberations nor given a place on the website of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, although its members can apply for time off during work hours to conduct activities for the association⁵⁰. While the AIL-MED, founded in 2007 to guarantee administrative work for *Mossos d'Esquadra* diagnosed with a total handicap, opposes the Department of Interior Affairs entirely from the outside⁵¹. Furthermore, the idea that diversity is something external is reinforced by the courses for basic education and promotion: the majority of the hours dedicated to diversity, provided by mostly external actors⁵² (for example UNESCOCAT) focus on diversity in society. For example, specialization courses for *Mossos d'Esquadra* are 30 hour courses on the characteristics of different cultures (Arab, Latin-American, East-European, Chinese, Hindustan), and obligatory basic education includes: a seminar on interculturality (8 hours), a lecture on human rights and pluriculturality (4 hours), a lecture on the demographics of migration in Catalunya (4 hours) and a practical exercise / simulation involving diversity (2 hours). There are but few exceptions: every year in the basic education there is an optional one-day seminar on gender diversity within the police, and Gaylespol dedicates part of its optional one-day seminar to diversity in sexual orientation within the police force⁵³.

Figure 3. Diversity policy approaches



Source: Van Ewijk (2011a) + own elaboration

- 46. Interview with the Head of the Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.
- 47. Curriculum 'police instructor at the ISPC' (170h, place for 17 in 2009): internal document ISPC.
- 48. Interview with the Head of the Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up (Catalan Police Academy, ISPC): 19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.
- 49. Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*): 14 May 2009, Barcelona.
- 50. Double interview with the president and vice-president of Gaylespol: 12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès.
- 51. Website AIL-MED: <http://ailmed.wordpress.com>.
- 52. Overview of agreements with NGOs to provide courses: internal document ISPC.
- 53. Internal documents of the ISPC

There are some exceptions to this individual-based approach, although not frequent enough to identify a collective-based approach. The general idea is that specific policies on diversity are sometimes necessary to facilitate diversity within the organisation, but as little as possible and only to provide equal opportunities, because the imbalance will correct itself naturally⁵⁴. What is curious, though, is that almost all exceptions are related to gender diversity.

For example, visible attention for the recruitment of women is dedicated by the *Mossos d'Esquadra* since 2008, when the Program for Gender Equity launched the first publicity campaign directed at women only⁵⁵. Also, the results of physical tests in the selection process for the basic education and for promotions are statistically categorised by gender (and age: 18-24 years, 25-29 years, and 30-34 years). Pregnant women can be exempted from these tests, but their admission will be temporal until the physical exercises are completed.⁵⁶ Some respondents⁵⁷ confirmed that female police officers are always coupled with male police officers for patrol shifts, although this is not a formal policy. Furthermore, although promotion opportunities are not announced in any special way for specific groups, an exception was made with an informative letter sent by the Gender Equity Program in 2008 to all female police officers of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* that might apply for the openings for the rank of *sotsinspector* and *intendent*⁵⁸. This initiative has not been repeated at the time of writing this paper (January 2011). Finally, the 'Comisió de les Dones Policies' (Female Police Officers Commission) was founded in 1999 on the request of the police commissioner of Girona to study the situation of women within the force and the reasons why women rise in rank less often and hardly access specific specializations. Even so, activities of the Comisió (such as writing reports of studies in 2000 and 2003, and organizing conferences on the results with the ISPC) depended mostly on personal efforts, and members could occasionally (not structurally) apply for time off and funding. In 2007, the Commission was abolished and the remaining members joined forces with the Gender Equity Program of the Department of Interior Affairs. However, in the end they wrote a proposal to start an internal, independent team again, the "Equip per a l'Equitat de Gènere", which was approved by the direction of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in 2010 and included one fulltime co-worker for the coordination of the team and flexible arrangements for twelve volunteers⁵⁹.

The only exception not related to gender diversity is the Social Diversification Programme, which was launched in 2007 to help persons with a migrant background prepare for the selection. It consisted of 2,5 months of evening lectures on all topics in the police manual, including Catalan language and history, offering a scholarship of 285 Euros a month for participants, who should be between 17 and 26 years old. It was run in 2007 (53 applicants for 110 openings, of which 19 were selected) and in 2008 (52 applicants for 110 openings, of which 23 were selected), but not in 2009, because of apparent lack of interest⁶⁰. In 2010, the program was included in the curriculum of the ISPC, but no call for applicants has been made at the time of writing this chapter (December 2010).

Finally, the intensity of the individual-based approach on diversity is low. First, the idea of ensuring that everyone is treated the same is not supported by policies in the entire organisation. For example, when recruits enter the final selection phase, which is the internship, the role of psychol-

54. Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona.

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona

55. Material of the Unitat de Promoció & Gender Equity Programme (*Programa per a l'equitat de gènere*) of the Department of Interior Affairs.

56. Call for candidates, category Mossos: DOGC 5259 – 17.11.2008 (*Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya*).

57. Double interview with the head of the area of Barcelona & a member of the promotion section (Technical Office, *Mossos d'Esquadra*): 14 May 2009, Barcelona.

Interview with the Chief of the general subdirection of Planning (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 8 January 2010, Barcelona.

58. Interview with work group representative of the Gender Equity Programme (Department of Interior Affairs): 21 April 2009, Barcelona.

59. Interview with the representative of the Female Police Officers Commission and head of the Section for Missing Persons (*Mossos d'Esquadra*): 9 July 2009, Sabadell.

60. Internal data of the ISPC.

Interview with the director of the Catalan Police Academy (ISPC): 19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès.

Interview with the Secretary of Security (Department of Interior Affairs): 13 January 2010, Barcelona.

ogists is minimized, annulling the possibility of external control. This also goes for the yearly evaluations of police officers and complaints, which are formulated and transmitted solely by the direct supervisor. There is no institutional check on their judgement, in the form of an ethical committee or confidential counsellors. Second, diversity is not linked to the mission of the police force, and its core tasks, and therefore not incorporated in the organisational structure. There is no direct reference to diversity within the force in the vision of the *Mossos d'Esquadra*, which is: to be the reference in security and the protection of people in Catalunya, offering quality service, through proximity and professionalism⁶¹. Diversity is not mentioned in any way in the General Security Plan of the Department of Interior Affairs⁶². It is not linked to the three ways that are presented to improve the quality of the service: proximity, professionalism, and efficiency. As such, there is no external or internal diversity expert or department, nor persons responsible for the development of policies that increase the level of diversity among police officers, with the exception of the Program for Gender Equity of the Department of Interior Affairs (established by public decree in 2008). There is no internal communication plan or a specific budget for diversity policies. As outlined above, efforts to promote diversity within the police force depend on voluntary individual motivations that receive some support in the sense of exemptions to be present elsewhere. Symbolic events related to diversity for all police officers are scarce: one series of seminars on ethics and police and a symposium on gender diversity in the security sector in 2009. Third, there is no attention for diversity among those who select, teach and evaluate new recruits and candidates for promotion, except that the ISPC actively calls for professors from outside of the police organisation to create more openness. For example, in 2009, 44 percent of the professors at the ISPC was not part of the police force and 21 percent of the professors were female. Also, two out of sixty tutors were female, and the department of psychologists consisted of almost exclusively female professionals⁶³.

Concluding remarks

The first goal of this chapter was to offer a deeper understanding of the role that diversity plays in the particular context of this police force. As outlined in section two, diversity is mostly defined as gender diversity and diversity in migrant background. Gender refers to the physical differences between male and female, and is seen as a hard and collective category of diversity, although it is difficult to determine whether it is perceived as old or new. Migrant background refers to a birthplace outside of Spain or having a parent with a birthplace outside of Spain, and is seen as a soft, new, and collective category of diversity. As outlined in section three, the end goal in the context of the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is more often related to supporting individuals and ensuring equal opportunities despite of collective differences, than to supporting collectives and recognizing the value of collectives. Both moral and practical arguments are employed in favour of diversity in the police organization, although it is curious that moral arguments are more dominant with respect to gender diversity, and diversity in migrant background is almost exclusively pleaded for with practical arguments. Finally, section four shows that the dominant approach within the *Mossos d'Esquadra* is individual-based (almost all policies and processes strive to treat everyone the same), but that it has a low intensity (the scope of this approach is limited in the sense that it does not touch all parts of the organisation).

61. Website *Mossos d'Esquadra*: www.gencat.cat/mossos.

62. Secretary of Security (2008) Pla general de seguretat de Catalunya, 2008-2011: internal document of the Department of Interior Affairs.

63. Internal documents of the ISPC.

This leads to several new questions. For example, what determines whether approach intensity is low or high? Is this perhaps related to institutional pressure (in the form of targets linked to budgets, or attention from labour unions) which was also low? Or to the interpretation of diversity statistics by the main actors, which also did not raise a sense of urgency? For example, gender diversity was not seen as a challenge for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* in the area of recruitment, because the percentage of female recruits (around 25%) was usually compared with lower numbers for other police forces in Spain or in the Mediterranean area⁶⁴. Also, diversity in migrant background was only considered as a temporary challenge for the *Mossos d'Esquadra* as immigration is recent and many new residents are still in the process of nationalization and learning Catalan⁶⁵. Or maybe the consistency and the scope of the arguments has an influence, as respondents were not uniform in their reasoning and diversity was not explicitly linked to any strategic themes for the police force? This calls for more studies of diversity in the police context. These could contribute not only to academic theory building, but also to policy suggestions that could improve society. After all, the potential 'customers' of police organisations are all citizens.

The second goal of this chapter has been to demonstrate the potential of the analytical framework. Applying the framework in these two practical cases has confirmed that diversity policy is a multilayered concept in theory and practice: the distinction between the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity within the organisation, and the diversity policy approach is not merely a theoretical distinction, but one that can also be observed empirically. Also, using a comprehensive view (that is, including all policy areas related to diversity within the organisation: recruitment, retention, and promotion) to fill the categories of the analytical framework proved to be an effective way to collect information on all possibly relevant variables. Finally, the application of the analytical framework did not only lead to a deeper understanding of the role diversity plays in the internal dynamics of this police force by drawing clear conclusions out of a multitude of raw empirical data, but also generated possibilities for academic theory building. As such, this case study can inspire other studies of diversity to use the same analytical framework, and comparing their conclusions may lead to new theories on the contextual conditions that shape the definition of diversity.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Asides from a general introduction (which included getting to know one another and explaining the goal of the research) and closure (in which the respondents could add whatever they found relevant, and they were informed about the use of the information), the body of the questionnaire was personalized for each respondent according to his or her position and functional expertise. Questions could be selected from part 1, part 2, or both.

Part 1. General questions on diversity within the police organisation

1. Is the ... a diverse police force?
 - a. ¿Why so / why not?
2. Is it important that the police force is diverse?
 - a. ¿Why so / why not?
 - b. If so, ¿which forms of diversity are important, and why?
3. How is diversity within the ... be facilitated and/or increased?
4. How should diversity within the ... be facilitated and/or increased?

Part 2. Policies related to diversity within the police organisation

Policy area	Policy type	Questions
Recruitment	A. Publicity	What channels are used to find candidates? What language is used in publicity? What groups are targeted? Are job descriptions adapted to target groups?
	B. Preparation	What programmes prepare for the selection process? What groups are targeted with these programmes?
	C. Selection process	What are the selection criteria? Are selection criteria adapted to target groups? What role does diversity play in the selection criteria? How is the selection procedure? What is the content of the tests? What is the profile of evaluators?
	D. Profile new recruits (all levels)	What information on new recruits is registered? What is the average profile of new recruits? Are there recruitment targets? What is the status of those recruitment targets? (juridical obligation, financial consequences, etc.)
Retention	A. Structure of the organisation	What is the role of diversity in the vision and strategy of the police force? How is diversity embedded in the organisational structure? What budget is there for diversity? What complaint procedures / anti-discrimination institutions are there?
	B. Internal communication	Are there internal awareness campaigns or symbolic events to promote diversity? Are there guides on behaviour or language with respect to diversity?
	C. Working environment	What role does diversity play in the physical working environment? How are shifts determined? (hours, composition of teams, neighbourhoods) Is there any form of mentoring programmes or coaching available? How much flexibility is there to move around in the organisation or adapt working hours?
	D. Minority police officer associations	What associations of/for police officers with a diverse profile are there? What are their goals? In what way are they supported by the police organisation?
	E. Content of courses	What role does diversity play in the curriculum? (basic education and promotion courses)
	F. Profile unnatural outflow	What information on police officers that leave the organisation before retirement is registered? What is the average profile of these police officers? What are their motivations for leaving? Does the police force organize exit interviews? Does the police force monitor the motivation to stay/leave among current police officers?
Promotion	A. Publicity	What channels are used to find candidates? What groups are targeted? Are job descriptions adapted to target groups? Is there a talent programme? If so, what role does diversity play?
	B. Job performance evaluation	What are the evaluation criteria? What role does diversity play in the evaluation criteria? What is the evaluation procedure? What is the profile of evaluators?
	C. Selection process	What are the selection criteria? Are selection criteria adapted to target groups? What role does diversity play in the selection criteria? How is the selection procedure? What is the content of the tests? What is the profile of evaluators?
	D. Practical access to courses / positions	How compatible are study hours or working hours with private obligations? How compatible are new responsibilities with private obligations?
	E. Profile per level	What information on candidates is registered? What is the average profile of candidates? Are there specific targets? What is the status of those targets? (juridical obligation, financial consequences, etc.)

Appendix 2. List of respondents

UNESCOCAT

Coordinator of the diversity courses for the police
5 November 2008, Barcelona

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Area Coordinator, Department of Education, Selection and Evaluation
Responsible for the Social Diversification Programme
15 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Basic Education
Head of the department
28 October 2008, Mollet del Vallès

Department of Interior Affairs

Gender Equity Programme
Work group representative
21 April 2009, Barcelona

Gay and Lesbian Police Association (Gaylespol)

President and vice-president
12 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra

Coordinator of the instructors at the ISPC (police officers who guide the practical exercises of the basic education)
13 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra

Technical Office
Head of the area of Barcelona & member of the promotion section
14 May 2009, Barcelona (double interview of 90 minutes)

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Selection, Evaluation, and Follow-up
Head of the department
19 May 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)

Department of Basic Education
Programme responsible
5 June 2009, by telephone

Mossos d'Esquadra

Female Police Officers Commission
Representative of the commission, author of the proposal for a new commission, Head of the Section for Missing Persons
9 July 2009, Sabadell

Department of Interior Affairs

General Subdirection HRM
Head of the Cabinet of Selection Processes
3 October 2009, Barcelona

Mossos d'Esquadra
Area of Professional Organisation
Head of the area (includes publicity, selection and evaluation, training)
10 October 2009, Barcelona

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)
Department of Advanced Education
Head of the department (specialist and promotion courses)
28 October 2009, Mollet del Vallès

Mossos d'Esquadra
General Subdirection of Planning
Chief of the general subdirection
8 January 2010, Barcelona

Department of Interior Affairs
Secretary of Security
13 January 2010, Barcelona

Catalan Police Academy (ISPC)
Director
19 January 2010, Mollet del Vallès

CHAPTER 7. **BEYOND EQUALITY: RECOGNISING AND MANAGING CULTURAL DIVERSITY AT THE WORKPLACE**

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Introduction

Addressing diversity is evidently a difficult task, as the concept of diversity encompasses virtually everything. We are all different from each other as is everything we do. To analyse and discuss culture is yet another challenging task, as culture is a term that is often applied to refer to all that concerns human beings living in society – particularly from a social anthropological perspective. With these complex concepts as a base, this chapter focuses on the specific sphere of society where cultural diversity has taken centre stage that is the employment and work sphere. The paper debates the diversity and culture conceptual paradigms, with the purpose of understanding the construction of cultural diversity as a theoretical and pragmatic concept, in the context of the workplace. This is indeed a complex analysis but one that we need to draw on, in order to comprehend our societies and, particularly, the dynamics of contemporary organisations in our globalised world.

The analysis of cultural diversity at the workplace refers to the study of all cultural differences brought by people working within an organisation, and the exploration of the distinctions between the various groups at the organisation. However, this would be too ambitious and abstract a task, and one which is not the purpose of this paper. The intention is to go beyond the analysis of the varied nature of cultural differences, to concentrate on the investigation and deliberation about the way these differences are recognized, categorized and conceptualized against the dominant culture within modern organisations. This implies a deep exploration of how cultural differences, made up of by the variety of the groups constituting modern organisations, are affecting and shaping the way that people organise and work, as well as how these differences are handled by the organisations. To this end the analysis of cultural diversity at the workplace must transcend the exploration of the nature of the cultural differences, and focus instead on the way conceptual structures within organisations' are constructed to understand how aspects such as recruitment, appraisal or informal interaction are influenced by cultural differences, and the influence these have on the potential performance of the workforce. We must therefore look at the capacity for recognis-

ing and also managing diversity in the organisations or, in other words, engage in the study of the management of cultural diversity.

Exploring and debating this cultural diversity at the workplace informs us not only about the employment sphere and the functioning of organisations, but also about the conditions of society as a whole, to provide the theoretical paradigms to understand it. Current times are perhaps the moment in human history when diversity is most visibly manifested at the workplace. This is culture embracing all differences, without any judicial values attached, rich and diverse; a diversity that must be understood not only as a reproduction of the many individual differences and similarities amongst people, but also of the sharing of their cultural characteristics. Cultural diversity is arguably identified as the dynamic engine of all societal fields and organisations. However, as Europe becomes ever more diverse, there is an increasing need for full recognition of cultural differences and better representation of cultural minorities in the workplace, and cultural diversity becomes a crucial aspect to consider both from a theoretical and from a policy approach in order to understand society. This broadens our analysis of the workplace beyond equity frameworks, such as equal opportunity and affirmative action, to also review active inclusion in employment.

Differences between individuals in a specific group and context, such as an organisation, become magnified in importance and just as the weight of cultural differences in our society are more evident so they are at the workplace. Hence it is vital for these differences to be recognised and respected both for the individuals, the organisations and for society as a whole. The most important factor is that the recognition of such diversity does not lead us to classifications and group alienation, classifying people in some forced level of equality. People are different, have different identities that express themselves differently, and the attempt to study and recognise cultural diversity at the workplace is not in an effort to portray all workers in large organisation, as equal, but rather to recognise that they all have equal rights and opportunities, regardless of the many cultural differences and diversities that exist between them.

The concept of managing cultural diversity therefore embodies quite a paradox of our times, as it embraces the wide conceptual construction of cultural diversity whilst introducing the unreservedly functional and even systemic concept of management. However, this rather more pragmatic than theoretical concept is fundamental in promoting the perception and recognition of cultural diversity in organisations with particular focus on migrant workers. This entails more than just equality at the employment sphere, as it also refers to the recognition and management of the needs of diversity of workers within organisations. This is essential to the advantage of all workers but also clearly linked to organisational success, business advantage and even social cohesion, as most integration strategies are. Hence, besides the academic debate, diversity management also represents a means to move beyond the recognition of differences to achieve the full understanding and inclusion of diversity. This analysis requires not only a conceptual revision but also an empirical approach to the field, as is presented here though the illustration of the results of several studies, including a recent investigation in a Spanish study that focussed on the social and labour integration of the migrant population in Catalonia, and the impact of collective negotiations¹.

1. Refer to Pajares, Jubany, et al. (2010). Part of this investigation is used as an illustration in the section: From concepts to subjects: Policy on Managing Cultural Diversity, where further methodological details are also provided.

As the analysis of the results of this investigation is contrasted with the conceptual debate, it will become clearer how cultural diversity entails both risks and opportunities, and how beyond the need for specific management, there is also a need for policy and intervention that addresses these risks and opportunities appropriately. This last part of the chapter allows for a brief deliberation on the policy and strategic approaches, within the specific framework of the United States and Europe. It furthermore proposes the exploration of specific aims and objectives of such policies – beyond rhetorical discussions, focussing on the analysis of main practices and strategies.

This chapter undertakes the challenging task of approaching a particularly contentious and crucial issue in current times from both a conceptual and subjective perspective. It proposes the exploration of paradigms on culture and diversity in the complex framework of modern organisations, to help understand the complexity of cultural diversity concepts and assumptions. This is whilst proposing a reflection on the specific policy articulation and trends within management of cultural diversity at the workplace.

Concepts and paradigms on cultural diversity and management

Rationalising culture from a diversity approach

To conceptualise cultural diversity, or attempt to account for such a theoretical construction might seem etymologically redundant. Diversity *is* culture, and culture is often used to refer to all that concerns human beings living in society – particularly from a cultural anthropological angle². Culture is inherent to transformation, in the same way transformations are indeed intrinsically a process of diversification and of change.

The argument outlined here is not proposed to simplify something that cannot be, but rather to argue for the opposite. The term culture is indeed extremely difficult to conceptualise in a way that all disciplines would agree with, having endless definitions given to it in history, often pulling in opposite directions and a concept in itself to which we could easily devote all our time and efforts to explore and debate, as many have done. Culture is a *total*, as once said by someone considered the pioneer of cultural theory, Edward Tylor (1871), it involves the law, beliefs, from arts to morals, from habits to skills, a concept that could – or should, refer to all that has to do with human behaviour in society. This frames our understanding of culture within the anthropological reading of the concept, as will be applied for the purpose of this paper.

This takes an understanding of culture as intrinsically diverse as life itself, an interpretation that - as even a structuralist as Claude Levi-Strauss would put it: [...] culture is neither simply juxtaposed nor simply superimposed over life. In a way, culture substitutes itself to life, in another way culture uses and transforms life [...] (Levi-Strauss, 1949: 4). However, it is not the purpose of this paper to enter such deep and dense debate, for which we should refer to scholars focused on it – in particular at the beginning of the nineteenth century, from Edward Tylor (1871); Franz

2. See Clifford Gertz (1966) or Marvin Harris (1990), among other authors for further interpretations.

Boas (1911) and Margaret Mead (1934); to Antonio Gramsci (1971); Clifford Geertz (1966); Michel Foucault (1971) and Marvin Harris (1990) - to mention a few authors that have led such vigorous discussion for generations. Instead, our point of departure is from the relatively consensual theoretical approach that culture can indeed be used to refer to all that surrounds our life within a social group, and from this awareness of complexity, to admit the need for narrowing this paradigm for the purpose of its own study, the study of culture.

Most of the work of social scientists and humanities revolves around the study of culture, and for some time there has been a need to articulate and frame such ideas, at least to have a common understanding to achieving and exchanging our common reflections –not to result in a narrowing of the concept but quite the opposite. To this end, in an attempt to articulate a comprehensive whilst theoretically confined definition we could refer to culture as all that has been created by human beings and does not proceed exclusively from its biological heritage, such as habits, patterns, ways of relating, emotional expressions, styles of life, including both material and immaterial aspects. It is what has been inherited and transmitted from generation to generation by a particular group of people, and that as such indicates a particular way of life. From this large scale definition we can identify a fundamental trait for the conceptualisation of culture in our debate, in the reference to a *particular group*. This provides us with the distinction between culture of a group and culture on the whole, between *the culture* and *a culture* that we will use in our analysis and exploration. This clarification of a specific approach leads us to understand culture as *the culture of a group* or, as Ruth Benedict said almost one hundred years ago, *What really binds men together is their culture - the ideas and the standards they have in common* (Benedict, 1934: p.16). Hence we have culture also reduced to defining the commonality of a specific group of people, or what is referred to as a society.

The understanding of how to consider a group with its *own* culture has also been the focus of much theorisation. It is here we can refer to more contemporary scholars, as we try to define the more recent social groups around us and use, for instance, the useful classification provided by William Havilland (Havilland, 1994)³ to describe “a” culture, as something always learned and not given that simply appears. Therefore, a culture of a group exists due to the transition from generation to generation, and does not exist independently of the individuals. A culture is shared; it is not an attribute of isolated individuals but one of individuals forming the group, individuals in society – which makes it difficult to distinguish between culture and society as these are both forms of life of human beings. Also we must note that a culture is symbolic, a form of communication and union between individuals, which could call a network of vital senses that makes personal relations possible within the group. In the same way we understand that “a” culture is integral, it embraces all the individuals within the group, and nothing is outside culture; not even the criticisms of culture. Finally, going beyond Havilland’s proposal, we should add that culture is submitted to nature and not the other way around. We do not live our biological needs directly, but these are interpreted by culture, like the way we eat or reproduce, and each culture interprets these in a specific way.

3. For an extensive classification of the conceptualisation of culture, see William Havilland (1994).

It is through these definitions and debates and limiting the concept of culture to the traits of a particular society or groups of people, that diversity acquires a new meaning. We no longer refer to diversity as a feature inherent within culture, which it is, but to the most marginal or the largest differences we find in comparing social groups and their culture: in the diverse way to organise and produce by the individuals in a group, or what Peter L Berger refers to as *the beliefs, values, and lifestyles of ordinary people in their everyday existence* (Berger and Huntington, 2002: 2). Hence, as much as the diversity exists between groups, diversity also exists between cultures.

Thus, for the purposes of the debate presented, we understand cultural diversity as the divergences in comparing traits between what has been defined as a culture from the minor marginal difference to a major divergence. Cultural diversity embraces all these differences, without any judicial values attached, without any critical approach, and understands such divergences as the core of human cultural richness. Therefore, there is no range of significance or substance; difference in itself does not involve any scaling but just the utilization of a contrast. There are no better or worse dimensions nor better cultures, simply different and diverse ways of life. Cultural diversity does not increase or decrease but becomes more visible when cultures are gathered and contrast becomes visible, particularly in situations of co-existence in place and time.

It is when contrasting cultures closer that differences become more perceptible, as they are increasingly in our global - and closer-knit world. But to try and summarise the impact of globalisation in culturally enriching society and the transformation to multicultural societies in the scope of this discussion would be an oversimplification – besides, as noted in the introduction this is not the objective here. For this, we may better refer to what Peter L. Berger presents as *the cultural dynamics of globalisation* (Berger and Huntington, 2002). What we must bear in mind is that cultural diversity is a natural process, is one of the greatest enrichments of global times made evident in every aspect of social life. But it is an enrichment that carries the great challenge of multiculturalism in the coexistence of different cultural groups and the spontaneous effects of such coexistence, as much as the complex interaction between these cultures and groups. It exposes the need to interrelate the diverse groups and people, providing an articulation of elements towards the understanding of the cultures in harmony, whilst respecting and legitimating each culture.

This is an interaction reflected in all spheres of life including, or rather especially, the labour and employment sphere. Cultural diversity means cultural interconnection, the enrichment of cultures by the contact with other cultures, the transformation of new identities, in other words, it reflects the growth of any society. This is in the understanding that the great value of cultural diversity lies in the fact that it expresses a profound respect for what persons and communities really are. Cultural diversity in our global world embodies both our most positive features and the greatest challenge we face; the challenge of pluralism.

Focus on the employment sphere

Diversity at the workplace

One of the main realms of life in society is no doubt the labour and employment sphere, and when we discuss this sphere in relation to current times we are primarily talking about work within modern organisations. This does not just relate to employment in specific production centres or large multinationals, or even to small organisations, but to any group of people associated with the purpose of developing a specific objective that will have some effect on society. Therefore, all work happening in organisations is fundamental not only to the lives of those directly involved but, furthermore, everything they do and plays a central role in our lives and in our societies; whether the setting is a business corporation, hospital, school, or government offices, college, prison, etc. Whatever the organisation, all of them are a central aspect and characterisation of our society and of our culture.

In focusing this debate on cultural diversity in the work sphere within organisations, the issue of study here focuses on the way cultural differences are recognised, categorised and conceptualised within each organisation. This explores the way the cultural diversity of the groups making up modern organisations are affecting and shaping the way people organise and work, and furthermore how these are recognised and handled by the actual organisations.

In the frame of the presented conceptual paradigms of culture and diversity, the first issue we encounter is the need to re-conceptualise further the different types of diversity and the dimensions these entail at the workplace, according to the specific context of work and not just the whole of society". In this specific field, it is no longer diversity as a whole that we conceptualise, as the focus is not society as a whole, but the diversity of a specific group of people in a determined context and environment with a common purpose, all defined by their organisation. Still, as many authors have recognised, diversity at the workplace could to a certain extent, be well thought-out as a reflection or a mirror of diversity in society as a whole. A replica of society on a "condensed" and rather restricted scale, where we can also appreciate a duplication of diversity within the broader society, and where some of the main dimensions and differences tend to get magnified. As Triavis (2003) puts it "diversity at work is the marrow of the demographic variables, cultural behaviours, attitudes, behaviours, norms and values existing in a society". Thus the analysis of cultural diversity at the workplace informs us not only about the employment sphere, and the functioning of the organisations, but also about the conditions of society as a whole.

It is both in organisations and in society that diversity is increasingly visible, and the current period is perhaps the moment in human history when diversity has been most clearly manifested at the workplace. This is not seen by social developments in a conjectural way only, but also made empirically evident by many studies in the field – as will be shown later on, so both conceptual and subjective debates confirm we can no longer talk about workplaces without referring to this diversity, which entirely characterises our current society and work environments.

The increase in the variety of groups of people working in organisations has had a direct impact on the characterisation of the working population, making the features and dimensions of the organisation increasingly diverse. To revise some of these dimensions of diversity we should firstly refer to gender, as this is a dimension that affects just about half the total population. In terms of both academic debate and active social struggles gender diversity at work has for long been a core focus. The battle for the recognition of the differences and the accomplishment of many goals towards equal treatment of gender diversity has long been a priority in the law, policy and specific organisational measures and has acted as a pioneer in this field. The many achievements that gender equality has reached in the last century have opened the way for many other debates and struggles on diversity at the workplace. The proportion of women in the workplace has grown dramatically in recent decades, not only in Europe but throughout the world. Gender diversity at work has always existed, to one extent or another, although not in all companies. In the past we found working groups made up of men or women only, which were directly reproducing clichés in which specific tasks, responsibilities or roles were assigned to men and others to women. Still, whilst many organisations incorporated such diversity for years, the participation of women in both small and large organisations has radically increased, particularly in the last 40 years⁴.

We should also look at age as an important focus of diversity, particularly in Western societies. The increasing age of the population in the recent decades, has evidenced such diversity amongst workers more than ever before, as the curve of working people's age is clearly affected by an increased aging trend – particularly in Europe. This is illustrated by the total working population in Europe, where workers aged between 45 and 54 years old represented 16.5% of the total working population in 1989, and today they represent 22%. The aging process is evident, and this is even taking into account that such percentages include the total working population, whether foreign born or not, which means that if we looked at only the autochthonous population we would see an even more dramatic aging trend amongst workers.

Disability as a ground for diversity amongst the workforce is yet another aspect that although it has not increased in society, it has been given greater prominence in working organisations, due to the many calls for access to work and rights of inclusion and actual achievements in recent decades that were not even questioned before. A similar case is that of sexual orientation, much more visible nowadays as homosexuals and lesbian people make their sexual orientations clear and manifest, and the rights that have been acquired in this regard across Europe.

However, aside from these grounds, we could also debate about diversity at the work place focusing on a ground not exclusive of a collective. Diversity is much wider and encompasses all those differences that form the identity of each individual; education, training, life style, physical aspects, etc. In this sense it is interesting to refer to the school that approaches diversity from the labour perspective, establishing dimensions of diversity at work by different classification of categories, or sets of attributes. In this regard some authors (see Miliken and Martins, 1996) argue for a distinction that considers diversity according to the most observable and visible features – such as origin, age or gender, and those traits that are less visible, such as education, functional background, occupation in the organisation,

4. In Spain, for instance, the current employment rate is 51% for women and 68% for men, when just twenty years ago the rate for women was 33% only.

economic status, personal characteristics or values. Other scholars (such as Cummings, 1993; Jackson, 1992; and Tsui, 1992), also follow this particular understanding of diversity at work. One of the reasons put forward for distinguishing between observable and non observable differences, is that people tend to be more susceptible to those visible ones and end up creating prejudices or stereotypes around them. To this we should add that cultural identities are associated in the larger society with certain power positions, to the extent that some cultural identity groups have greater power, prestige, and status than others⁵.

However, Milken and Martins (1996) argue that although we tend to associate diversity with the most visible attributes, the differences that are often more difficult to coexist within organisational groups are of a complex nature, and tend to be related to different perspectives, assumptions or beliefs, correlated with other more visible aspects of diversity. This distinction is also used by Sánchez Gardey (2006) who argues that diversity applied to the work sphere is “a characteristic of the working group that measures the heterogeneity of its components in relation to its personal characteristics” (own translation). This author distinguishes between demographic and human capital diversity. The first one adopts visible aspects of diversity referring to those elements considered irreversible, but adding aspects that describe the background of the individuals such as the level of education, training, etc. The second dimension refers to not so visible elements, such as work experience, skills and human relations, with very intense effects, which shape the value of people for to company.

A further interesting “typology” to define diversity at work is presented by John Wrench distinction between primary and secondary dimensions of diversity (Wrench, 2007). Wrench understands the primary dimension as those characteristics of the individual that are defined by birth and that have a great impact during the period of socialisation, having a lasting impact in life. These include age, gender, abilities, fiscal qualities and sexual orientation. These dimensions are difficult to change and are the base to form a personal image and a way to engage in the world with others. On the other hand secondary dimensions are those that can change, such as the level of training, economic means, marital status or religious beliefs. Other authors refer to the first dimensions as “biological” and the second as “experiential” (Wise and Tschirhart, 2000), arguing that whilst many work managers tend to think only about primary dimensions, academic debate places great relevance in diversity on those traits of secondary dimension. Also the “depth” of diversity is an aspect taken as an indicator of diversity at work. Celia de Anca (2005) argues for a structure of diversity according to three inner circles corresponding to the different levels of execution at work - and their objectives, results and benefits. This approach to diversity within organisations is much more “functional” and links each level of difference with the direct benefits or prejudices attached due to the diversity within the company. This is perhaps more useful when analysing specific measures but appears rather strict within a conceptual sphere.

These different approaches to classifying diversity at work highlight different grounds we could recognize to gather different groups of people: from gender to level of education, from country of origin to age. The essential here is that such classifications are not to separate or classify people towards some level of equality. People are different, have differ-

5. See, for instance, Ridgeway and Berger (1986); Nkomo (1992).

ent identities, express themselves differently and have the right to be so, it is not an attempt to make people equal but to ensure equal rights and opportunities, regardless of their differences. Any imposed differentiation, prejudice or discrimination due to any personal or collective trait is just not acceptable. Every aspect of diversity, both in society and particularly at the workplace, is as important as each other from the single identity trait to the largest collective feature.

Cultural diversity at work

Focussing on cultural diversity at work we appreciate once more how most grounds for differences at the workplace are those reproduced by the cultural differences of people in society – enhanced by globalisation processes, through a mirror effect that, due to the closed context and specific interest, tends to magnify all dimensions. Actions and interactions between people are essential in this specific context and also individual attributes of all kinds are grouped in a specific way, following the organisational culture as a further element of cultural diversity. In modern societies, cultural diversity at the workplace refers mainly to the diversity of origins of the individuals in the organisations – as these individuals tend to convey their culture – not in the general understanding of culture but in the implication of “a” culture, as discussed earlier.

In current times in Europe cultural diversity arises mainly from the globalisation transformations, based on the new capacity of the labour and interactions and the new migration flows across cultures that have taken place in the last two decades. This refers to people culturally diverse arriving from outside Europe, that interact and convey their cultural values, patterns, habits, beliefs etc, including further visual and non-visual dimensions⁶. This is a growing diversity that becomes increasingly evident in contemporary society, related to the increase of migration flows in all societies, with a direct impact in most organisations. Cultural diversity can be identified as the dynamic engine of all societal fields and organisations, but at the same time due to cultural diversity organisations are challenged to integrate people with different languages, within different norms and values and adhering to different religions, which leads to new encounters and exchanges.

Cultural diversity at the workplace, in this sense, has acquired an enormous importance in recent years at both social and political levels, reflecting what has taken place in society as a whole. What is more, trends show that cultural diversity related to immigration will continue to increase as migrant workers settle down over the coming decades. Also, due to demographic curves in Europe, amongst many other complex reasons, immigration will keep forming a fundamental part of the labour market to one degree or another. It is precisely by framing the specific context in time, that we see how regardless of the slowing down of new migration flows in Europe due to the current recession, all indications are of a return to a regular flow once the worst of this period is overcome.

The cultural richness of immigration is reflected by cultural differences in society, and particularly by the difference of workers in organisations, which embodies cultural diversity. This results in obvious benefits for companies and organisations and, as mentioned, also in some potential cohesion and communication risks. Such benefits can be highlighted in

6. We could find such understanding of diversity in other studies referred to as “ethnic origins” that will be avoided here but, on the whole, we refer to the same contextualisation. A debate about ethnicity related to cultural diversity can be found in the work of authors such as the recent work of John Solomos and Patricia Hill Collins (2010) amongst others. In both cases, cultural diversity in the workplace is clearly linked to origin of the person and often to their migration patterns, but in no case pretends to be inclusive of all aspects of migration in society.

terms of clear effects on culture transformation and enrichment but also in terms of organisational capital enhancement, as many scholars, such as José Navas López (Navas-López, 2005) have pointed out. To illustrate this, it is worth noting that cultural diversity at work actively contributes to strengthening cultural values within the company, to increasing the attractiveness of the organisation in a context which is directly linked to the increase in motivation and attractiveness of the organisation to foreign talent. Another aspect is the greater capacity to resolve problems from different points of view and increased creativity arising from different cultural approaches. The easier and more successful introduction into multinational markets, is yet another advantage that would certainly come with a culturally diverse workforce, with broader reach to different cultural audiences and clients just to mention a few.

However, in addition to these, and many more advantages and benefits that will be highlighted throughout this paper, some authors like Miguel Pajares (2003) have also pointed out that cultural diversity creates a challenge for the organisation. The lack of recognition - or misconception, of such diversity in the workforce may lead to further problems and conflicts in the organisation. These could be raised by issues such as the fact that workers tend to gather amongst themselves by country of origin, due to existing cultural commonalities that serve as natural vehicles for cohesion. This may develop into distancing between these groups, or even some segmentation of the workforce. Also cultural diversity at work may involve some difficulties of communication, not only because mother tongues could be different, but also because of the tendency to relate in such language with those that form part of a specific group, creating a sense of exclusion from another group, or to the majority. This may mean that exchange of information in the organisations can encounter obstacles due to language difficulties. A further challenge is the potential development of stereotypes, understood as the common convictions that certain people associate to a specific group sharing similar behaviours, beliefs, values, etc, without any empirical foundation. This may lead to certain skills, abilities or values of each individual being overlooked and prejudices developing into conflicts or xenophobic attitudes that could emerge within the group of workers.

At this point it is important to introduce the idea of discrimination at work, and application of non discrimination measures, particularly those addressing cultural differences. These types of discrimination at the workplace constitute a key concern within any organisation, and a multitude of policies and measures are developed to ensure they are prevented and stopped. It is from the fight against discrimination at work that most approaches to diversity management at the workplace arise. In other words, it would not be possible to talk about the positive impact of cultural diversity at work without having dealt with, prevented and stopped situations of discrimination amongst the different groups. Anti-discrimination measures constitute a core element when talking about cultural diversity – and particularly policies addressed in this direction. If this is not put forward in this way, we would be just disguising some lax positions in the battle against discrimination, under a discourse on the celebration of diversity. This is in fact one of the major critiques that theories and policies on cultural diversity often have to confront, and also one of the main preoccupations when foreseeing developments in cultural diversity at work.

To explore this fundamental idea further, we should point out that non-discrimination consists of valuing people for their capacities (knowledge, skills, etc) and treating them with justice and fairness, responding to the criteria of equal opportunities and treatment. However, what we are talking about here when referring to adopting measures to deal with cultural diversity in a positive way is somewhat different, as it proposes to go further. It is a step beyond achieving equality, towards maximising everyone's capacities in all senses, both for workers and for the organisations. It implies, fundamentally, to look for a benefit for the workers so they see their aspirations realised without departing from injustice or discrimination, but also represents a profit to the companies as they maximise their workforce capacity, creativity, talent, experiences or even languages. The organisation can actually take advantage of cultural contrasts within a group formed by people with very different backgrounds and experiences. The proposal to manage cultural diversity implies not only equal treatment but also preventive and positive actions directed to creating conditions of non-discrimination and maximisation of the capacities of the workforce.

Therefore, the need to adopt certain strategies related to cultural diversity at work is not only one that arises from the need to avoid and solve potentially conflictive groups, but one that comes mainly from the need to recognise and maximise everyone's potential. It is true that as many scholars in the field note if issues of cultural diversity at work are not taken into account in understanding the workforce and the organisation of work, the effects can be very negative for the organisation and the people involved. This situation can be damaging and develop into problems of communication, conflicts or cohesion issues, or even, as Williams and O'Reilly (1998) point out, develop into high levels of rotation and absenteeism. However, the general debate in this regard shows that management of cultural diversity must move beyond this. It is essential in the current multicultural context, to ensure equality of opportunities and treatment, to prevent conflicts and solve collisions or communication issues, but above all it is a clear added value in the improvement of labour relations, increased productivity and greater competitiveness of the organisations, as much as an added value to the self-realisation of the workers involved. Managing diversity successfully means creating an environment that values and utilises the contributions of people with different backgrounds, experiences and perspectives.

Management of cultural diversity at the workplace

As pointed out at the very introduction of this chapter, it is easy to perceive managing cultural diversity as a paradox of our times, as it embraces the complex theoretical construction of cultural diversity whilst introducing the functional and even systemic concept of management. It relates to the most conceptual debate, and to the most substantive of all discussions. To understand the connections between these dual conceptualisations we must explore the most unaffected construction of the notion of management, to perceive it as a highly analytical exercise, going back to the symbolic interpretation of the concept and re-constructed from a critical, reflexive (and self-reflexive) approach. This is not an attempt to enter a debate on management theories – for which we should refer to the work of leading authors such as Stephen Linstead (2005), Peter Drucker (1998) or Alan Thomas (1993), but to argue that in the context of management of diversity the idea of management is not an imposition but a call

for reflection and understanding of the complexity that diversity entails. Management becomes openly linked to diversity, as it is to the most specific term of cultural diversity, where the concepts of critical thinking, recognition, as well as the reflexive exercises become central.

In our globalised – and turbulent world, the exercise to reflect and criticise ourselves is fundamental, particularly for understanding the multicultural world of differences. It is the recognition of our own subjectivity that will allow the recognition and understanding of different cultural expressions. Diversity management should be perceived as a means to go beyond recognition of differences, to the full understanding and inclusion of difference. Management is a fundamental element of cultural diversity at the workplace, as this entails increasingly greater benefits but also greater risks of exclusion. Evidently in those contexts where such differences are more visible, management of diversity becomes even more prominent, hence more necessary. We must, therefore, explore the complexity of cultural diversity, and the cohabitation of different cultures, in every sphere of society. To this end, we must also narrow our focus towards a subject of study and understand the meaning of diversity in the world around us, to examine how all these theoretical and conceptual debates translate.

As key scholars such as John Wrench (2007) argue, management of cultural diversity embodies the last step towards the development of several strategies aimed at enhancing representation of cultural minorities socially excluded in the workplace. This understanding of “last stage” implies an evolutionary relation linked to theories of equal opportunity and affirmative action, already developed and much debated in the 1960s, particularly in the United States. Other scholars have claim that management of cultural diversity should rather be seen as complementing those paradigms (Kelly and Dobbin, 1998). Whilst equal employment opportunity at work is understood as a compromise to non-discrimination and affirmative action is aimed at retention and mentoring, management of cultural diversity involves a change in the organisational culture in order to eliminate institutional barriers towards fairer representation of all minorities at the workplace. In any case, management of cultural diversity clearly does not emphasise just the need for inclusion of non-represented minorities, but also the benefits that managing a diverse group involves for the organisation and for the good of the group itself.

In a metaphoric sense we would go from having a melting pot with a mixture of cultures where many minorities get assimilated by the working patterns of the majority, to having a mosaic where each piece is accepted and has its place in the global work structure (Wrench, 2007). Management of cultural diversity transgresses antidiscrimination traditional frameworks, concentrating not only on the inclusive perspective, but on the actual policy development that concerns and favours the entire workforce.

Origins, developments and trends

The origins of policies regarding management of cultural diversity are no doubt to be found in the United States. This is directly linked to the need to design and apply policies that went beyond anti-discrimination policies, related to cultural diversity. The cultural heterogeneity that composed the United States from the geopolitical and consequent socio-demographic

changes experienced in the XIX and XX centuries meant that this country was where diversity in large organisations was evidenced earliest. Initially, the debate focussed on the need to develop policies with the aim of regulating tensions and conflicts, and it wasn't until later that this developed into the necessity to maximise the value of diversity. Hence, the first measures adopted a non-discrimination approach focussing on assuring equal rights and opportunities, as expressed under the Act for Civil Rights in 1964. Later on, with the involvement of organisations, institutions and unions, specific programs towards equal opportunity at work and affirmative actions were incorporated. The objective was to ensure that everyone had equal opportunities according to their qualifications and skills, and to elaborate programs to contract groups in need of more projection, such as cultural minorities, through special recruitment, selection, promotion and compensation programmes. It was precisely the development of accommodation of diversity that made the United States the first economic world power, with its companies and organisations in the front line of global development.

By the 60s and 70s as equal rights and non-discrimination policies were developed and their implementation normalised throughout programmes of affirmative actions were going to lead to actual changes in social relations at work in the long run. At the same time the private sector in the United States became increasingly aware of the need to move beyond equality and began to set up programmes, strategies and legal measures that focussed on the value of diversity as an asset, ahead of the need to combat prejudices against minority groups at work. This new approach to organisational culture meant understanding diversity as a benefit – and not as an issue that needs to be controlled, although for this a change in workers attitudes was needed to eliminate behaviours reflecting any subtle form of discrimination and exclusion. This was not proposed with a social or moral objective, rather with the aim to improve the life of workers by making organisational cultures more attractive for individuals with different characteristics and origins (Navas López, 2005).

In addition, during the 90s a series of remarkable geopolitical events would accentuate and accelerate the need to continue with this rationale. These had direct effects on the composition of the workforce, the increasing presence of men and women at work, and the intensification of workers diversity of origins, age and life styles. This increased presence of minorities was also noticed in more diverse and demanding customers, making markets adapt to new needs and demands. Organisations were increasingly aware that their workforce had to reflect the increasingly heterogeneous and multicultural society in order to achieve better and higher productivity (Wentling and Palma-Rivas, 1998). This was correlated to the growth of the service sector worldwide, switching from a manufacturing to a service based industry. With this, workers' skills became more important and influential in the organisation results, as these directly affected the quality of service and interactions with clients. Organisational changes also had an impact and the shift from the monolithic organisation model with a single culture centred on homogeneity was increasingly unable to adjust to the new global situations. Organisations, whether small or large, introduced changes into their systems for selection, promotion, evaluation, and particularly towards increasing creativity and flexibility in them. All these elements made diversity within the organisations much more visible, and the need to address such diversity much more evident.

Noticeably, most of these changes were directly related to the effects of globalisation and internationalisation of markets and the corresponding changes in the way of work, and by enlarging the whole of society⁷. So changes were not only seen from within the organisations, but also from outside as they included the commercial treaties at international level, the consolidation of the EU as a common market, the ending of the Cold War, the crisis of the nation state, etc. These were all changes that affected all areas of social life with a direct impact on the labour sphere. Globalisation brought to both markets, production centres and organisations a real and urgent need to change their attitude towards diversity – and particularly cultural diversity, recognising the importance of the value of all cultures, including those with whom commercial relations were established. Internationalisation as a movement of managers and directors often coincided with the contracting of local personnel, developing into the present situation with heterogeneous workforces and dispersed local teams. In this context of global changes, policies for managing cultural diversity arrived in Europe – almost a generation later than in the United States, although these did not crystallise with any significance until the turn of the century.

European socio-demographic factors that enhance the development of cultural diversity at work, took a slower pace but were very similar in nature to those of the United States. The ageing of the population, the massive incorporation of women into the labour market, the vast migration flows and the geopolitical and economic transformations at the end of the XX century, moved many organisations to introduce new measures to absolve and manage such transformations, most of which were also translated to the production level and the organisational culture. Although initially most measures and policies were centred towards mitigating the potentially negative effects of the mentioned transformations – particularly towards managing working migration and gender equality at work, soon these would also focus on adapting the working climate towards better cohesion and greater benefits, mirroring the same process in the United States. However most of the policy and legal developments in this regard in Europe were, and still are, almost entirely identified with the non-discrimination framework, and not by the specific management of a cultural diversity strategy. These included the Declaration on the prevention of racial discrimination and xenophobia and the promotion of the equal treatment at work adopted by the Joint Declaration on the Prevention of Racial Discrimination and Xenophobia and Promotion of Equal Treatment at the Workplace⁸. Whilst the management of cultural diversity is in fact not mentioned in these documents, they were a compromise to eliminate all forms of discrimination to the compromise to promote equal opportunities. As Wrench notes, this can be considered the earliest move towards management of cultural diversity, although there was still no real consciousness of this.

On later developments it is also worth mentioning the antidiscrimination project advanced by the International Labour Organisation “Combating discrimination against immigrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work⁹, which investigated the effectiveness of different anti discrimination programmes applied to the labour market as gatekeepers. It is also important how in 1997 – the European Year Against Racism, the European Commission developed the “European Compendium of Good Practice for the Prevention of Racism at the Workplace”¹⁰ by which 15 signatory states agreed to gather good practices from private and public

7. For further debate on the impacts of globalisation refer to the work of Saskia Sassen (1998).
8. “Joint Declaration on the Prevention of Racial Discrimination and Xenophobia and Promotion of Equal Treatment at the Workplace” (Florence, 1995).
9. International Labour Organisation. “Combating discrimination against (im)migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the world of work” (1997-98).
10. “European Compendium of Good Practice for the Prevention of Racism at the Workplace” (EC Report launched in Lisbon at the end of 1997).

organisations in regard to prevention of racism and discrimination at work.

As previously stated, there has been a policy trend to approach cultural diversity at work in Europe, but most of the actual strategies were developed within the antidiscrimination framework and not in an explicit frame for the management of cultural diversity. This is a trend that could however be currently changing, towards adopting a more specific focus as more recent efforts arising from the European Commission to develop policies that go beyond the anti-discrimination approach have shown. These include the 2003 special report that the EC elaborated on “The costs and benefits of diversity”¹¹ which analyses methods and indicators to measure the effectiveness and efficiency of policies regarding cultural diversity at work. Later, in 2005, the Commission ordered a further report on “The Business Case: Good Practices in the Workplace”¹², that gathers examples of good practices in the management of cultural diversity in several companies across Europe. Both reports commissioned by the EC, aim to generate awareness of management of cultural diversity in Europe, and promote national policies in this direction, highlighting the benefits and providing specific examples that illustrate the benefits of implementing such policies.

The intention and trend are clearly more manifest in the United States than in Europe where there has been a more recent attempt to promote policies regarding managing cultural diversity beyond equality. There is more awareness on the issue, and we can also find important measures and actions taken in both contexts. However, in regard to main policies on management of cultural diversity there is still a long way to go until we can talk about its value in all spheres and most measures that are applied in this regard are today still contained within and by antidiscrimination policies, as we will see in exploring the content of such policies.

From concepts to subjects: Policy on Managing Cultural Diversity

The need to manage cultural diversity, arising from both theoretical as well as empirical origins is clear. We have seen how cultural diversity entails both risks and opportunities. It creates potential issues of miscommunication, conflict and exclusion amongst the people working in the organisation, whilst it can also bring great benefits of innovative ideas, creativity and renewal of production and service delivery at higher standards. Hence, the organisation’s situation and context are in need for specific management, but also policy and intervention are required to address these risks and opportunities appropriately. So the cultural diversity debate does not just address the recognition and awareness of such diversity but also the implementation and application of specific strategies, actions, and measures and – to a large extent, the policies that develop them. Thus our approach to the topic cannot overlook the fundamental questions of What does management of cultural diversity imply? and How is this translated into the practices of the organisations?

To answer this, we must start by exploring the policies and the strategies regarding management of: cultural diversity, but this is not such an easy task. As we have seen the content of strategies regarding management of cultural diversity is often very closely linked to antidiscrimination policy, since it takes this as its core base. In order to distinguish policy content

11. “The Costs and Benefits of Diversity” (2003) Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equality, European Commission: <http://www.stop-discrimination.info/fileadmin/pdfs/CostsBenefExSumEN.pdf>.
12. “The Business Case: Good Practices in the Workplace” (2005). European Business Test Panel, European Commission, Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equality: <http://www.businessinsociety.eu/resources/3010>.

– and strategies, in this regard it is particularly useful the typology of policies that John Wrench proposes. This establishes different levels or groups of policy approaches and strategies to manage cultural diversity towards combating discrimination and enhance integration of culturally diverse workforces. This categorization is based on actual cases of small and large companies in Europe (Wrench, 2007). Wrench proposes a chronology by which strategies in organisations can be considered to a greater or lesser degree part of management of cultural diversity. We should note that in addition to the analytical value of this classification, this is also a useful tool for specific comparison between different national contexts, where such policies of cultural diversity at the workplace are more or less developed.

Within the basic policies related to cultural diversity we would find first of all those compromises and related strategies towards developing specific *Training for immigrants and culturally diverse minorities*. These aim to enhance integration of immigration into society through training courses and activities at the work place, including all those strategies that would have a positive impact for the person's integration into society in general, such as language courses, or courses on the main habits of the host society, amongst others. The next level refers to what Wrench introduces as *Cultural Concessions*. These so called concessions imply that a part of the personnel within the organisation receives some specific cultural training, in order to identify the needs and peculiarities of each cultural minority within the company, and to establish certain allowances for their specific needs. These can be from strategies to ensure the inclusion of diets in the catering service at work, to the establishment of different labour timetables, according to different religious practices. It should be noted that this training is considered of particular relevance when addressed to civil servants and main service providers within the public administration, in order for them to become more sensitive to the traits and needs of each cultural minority group with whom they work.

Another policy aim and approach to cultural diversity concerns those strategies related to *Challenging all racist attitudes*. Whilst previous levels do not take into account racism and discrimination, this level is based on awareness campaigns and informative sessions, particularly focussed on mixed cultural workforces by addressing the de-construction of social prejudices at work¹³. Linked to this we uncover a deeper level of commitment to managing cultural diversity that is the *Fight against discrimination*, aimed not only at informing and campaigning against racism and discrimination, but also at changing attitudes and behaviours in this respect. Some of the key strategies would include training courses about fair screening, selecting and contracting processes at work, as well as all policies aimed at ensuring existing antidiscrimination legislation is applied, including those policies against harassment or bullying due to cultural differences.

Policies of equal opportunities and positive action are obviously another important stage in this chronology. In this case it should be explicit, however, the need to use the existing antidiscrimination policy framework – such as some of the strategies mentioned above, towards an equity framework more defined and consolidated. This would include the production of information to distribute amongst workers where the express policy of the company regarding racism and discrimination was clearly explained and articulated, with the final aim to ensure the maximum representation of all cultural minorities in society, at work. Positive actions

13. For debate on construction and de-construction of prejudice, with particular focus on cultural differences refer to Olga Jubany (2011).

go in fact further as these imply further action than facilitating access of cultural minorities to the labour market. The strategies include special initiatives in the selection process, such as the translation of employment positions into different languages, or the publishing of these in specific minority publications, or creating a mentoring system to detect and assist specific needs of people unfamiliar with the main culture of the host society. However, it is also important to consider that these positive actions do not imply a positive discrimination as the objective is not to reduce the standards to make easier conditions for a certain group or to provide a treatment of favour in the access of this group into the labour market, but rather create equal conditions for all.

At the top of the scale to typify different policies and strategies related to cultural diversity at work Wrench places the explicit Management of cultural diversity. Whilst this is obviously part of all previous levels, the priorities of strategies and policy content should demonstrate that these are explicitly designed towards valuing diversity at work with the aim to unravel and promote the benefits of working with people with different cultures in the same organisation. Also, these should aim at developing a heterogeneous organisational culture, in other words, to promote and maximise the potential of multicultural organisations.

As we have just seen, policies and strategies designed to deal with management of cultural diversity can be framed within different levels, depending on the organisation's commitment to this policy priority. Some of the organisations that Wrench focussed on for the previous classification were selected from the Compendium of Good Practice for the Prevention of Racism at the Workplace, compiled by the EC¹⁴. Interestingly, Wrench selected 30 companies from this Compendium and found amongst them organisations that related to each different level. These ranged from organisations fully implicated and compromised towards management cultural diversity at work, such as the Swedish company Volvo, to other companies that merely adopted some policy lines in this direction.

Regardless of the clear trends that we have highlighted in previous sections that show a tendency towards the inclusion of policies towards the management of cultural diversity internationally, and specifically in Europe, it is not surprising that in such a pragmatic approach we find that the great majority of companies in Europe are still some way off adopting a specific approach. This is considering the useful classification that Wrench presents, as explained, and only including those organisations that actually adopt some policies in some of the levels above. This clarification is needed because a separate issue is those companies that use the designation of management of cultural diversity to enjoy advantages that this may bring to their image, but without any real policy action behind.

Specific Actions and Measures

Wrench's arguments are particularly useful to conceptualise the use of management of cultural diversity into specific articulation of actions and measures. In order to analyse the way policies on management of cultural diversity translate into specific measures and actions we have to first acknowledge two primary requirements that these need to build upon.

14. "European Compendium of Good Practice for the Prevention of Racism at the Workplace", mentioned earlier (EC, 1997).

Interestingly, these arguments are also reflected in the analysis of an empirical study conducted in Spain, that look closely at this transfer from theory and policy aims, into the specific actions (Pajares, Jubany et al; 2010). This investigation focussed on the social and labour integration of the working immigrant population in Catalonia, and the impact of collective negotiations, applying both qualitative and quantitative methodology to the in-depth analysis of 30 case studies of local and multinational companies. On the lines of Wrench's arguments, the results of this study show that the first condition for an organisation to adapt and manage cultural diversity relates to the need for a generally favourable context towards the understanding and recognition of diversity management, which has to be clear in all spheres of society. This includes the legal sphere, which must be inclusive of all antidiscrimination jurisdiction and policies, as well as the institutional sphere, which must backup the importance of the benefits of management of cultural diversity. One of the main issues with the institutional framework is that whilst the awareness and intention to promote management of cultural diversity seems to be there, these tend to get relegated in the scale of priorities, particularly in adverse economic periods. However, without these it would be very difficult that any significant measures concerning cultural diversity take place beyond isolated actions. Further than the legal and institutional spheres, the need for a favourable context also implies the organisational framework where such measures should develop. This is the need to achieve consensus from all organisations, so they do not perceive their decision to implement such measures and strategies as going against the flow. This favourable context can in part be achieved by actively promoting and disseminating the benefits that such policies and approach would bring to all: society, individuals and organisations.

The results of the mentioned study also highlight how in addition to the positive context for the development of strategies and measures towards the management of cultural diversity there is yet another important requirement needed for these to develop, which concerns the actual approach to management. This requires the need to adopt a new approach to the organisational culture, ensuring that the value of diversity is understood as a positive asset, and therefore involves a voluntary effort from the organisation, rather than an imposition. This effort, could – and would, have clear benefits not only in a social sense, but also economic and legal benefits for the organisation.

These elements and arguments imply, in turn, that management of cultural diversity should not be understood nor conceptualised as an end to only achieve increased justice and equal rights – like previous approaches would have done, but rather as a means to design more effective working policies (Wrench, 2007). There is a need to elaborate a series of specific techniques to manage in an active way a group of workers and achieve better efficiency and competitiveness, by making the most of their diverse cultural heritage.

These conditions, both concerning the context and the change in approach on management from the organisations, has taken place in the United States and in Europe where, as discussed in previous sections, cultural diversity has had a relatively rapid absorption from conceptual framework to practice, and there has been an incorporation of specific policy and programs during recent decades. In specific

terms, it is particularly useful to look at the results of a research conducted by the European Commission about three years ago¹⁵: This research shows the specific strategies and actions undertaken by over one thousand organisations across Europe, summarising their content and compiling a set of common standard steps that should be undertaken towards the incorporation of management of cultural diversity, from which it is worth outlining the key ones: *Establishment of a Diversity Steering Committee; Recognise and design Scenarios for the Future; Ensuring a vision and strategy; Conducting Diversity Audits; Re-Addressing Company Goals; and Develop Diversity Management Implementation*. These are all very specific strategies and steps based on real cases, most of which refer to the importance of developing positive measures that highlight the advantage that management of cultural diversity represents for the organisations. However, some of these measures also involve some cost that specific actions may incur. These are costs related to several aspects such as the training of management and the workforce; the human resources related to the trainers and inclusion of specialised personnel; and the development of mechanisms to detect and combat discrimination and prejudices or racist actions. Also these can incur expenses in the modification of contracting and promotion practices and the alteration of working and expenses related to the development of measures concerning communication, such as publishing of documents in several languages, etc.

Clearly, to a greater or lesser extent, almost all actions and strategies would imply a level of investment. In turn, unless the advantage of such measures is clearly defined and the benefits well spelled out, these measures will simply not be enacted. This is something already detected by early studies in the United States, such as that of Wentling and Palma-Riva (1998), which argue that in order for the management of cultural diversity to be successful we must be aware of its complexity in terms of cost-benefits (1998). If we are able to specify the effort, time and resources that may be necessary in order to develop and implement measures related to the management of cultural diversity, we can also see how this will only be possible if all parts involved are committed to it and convinced of the benefits and importance that management of cultural diversity embodies in our current society.

Conclusion: changing the paradigm

The different arguments and debates presented in this paper reveal how increasing cultural diversity at the workplace compels us to re-examine and question the current models and parameters that provide the basis for understanding our work relations, particularly in the United States and in Europe. This leads us to question our own frameworks in exploring and debating cultural diversity at the workplace, at the academic as well as the policy level in the elaboration of actions and measures.

Focussing on cultural diversity we are able to identify the benefits that the increase of such diversity involves, as well as the challenges that come with it. We have seen how this has been a key concern in the United States, for many decades now, and one that has also been prominent in Europe in more recent times although still at a more premature stage when concerning specific policies.

15. Training Manual for Diversity Management, prepared under the Council Directive 2000/43/EC. <http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=1474&langId=en>

The development of policies towards the management of cultural diversity at the workplace has grown to be increasingly relevant and a real need today for almost any small or large organisation. A need that has risen on the one hand from having to deal with complex situations coupled with inadequate management, as well as solving potential problems that diversity may lead to, and on the other hand from developing the great advantages that management of cultural diversity entails for the organisations, the workers and society as a whole.

This paper has presented both debates and has ultimately shown how management of cultural diversity results in benefits not only for the workers involved, for the migrant workers as is often presented, but clearly for the organisations too. With the globalisation and the growth of service economies over the last decades, customers are as diverse, if not more so, than the workforces and organisations which serve them. By counting on culturally diverse workforces, with management of such diversity focussed on overcoming issues of discrimination and exclusion, these organisations will be in the most powerful positions in the future global market. Management of these organisations will intervene to counteract the risks whilst taking advantage of the opportunities stemming from cultural diversity. This has to be, however, on the understanding that management of cultural diversity is a fundamental tool for social justice at work, and that antidiscrimination policies will have a direct influence on the integration processes of certain individuals or collectives, enhancing the social cohesion process.

The recognition of the risks and benefits that management of cultural diversity entail must be based on the premise that these benefits are for all actors involved: workers, organisations and society. This involves a switch in the paradigm of how we understand cultural diversity, from perceiving it as a burden that needs control to defending the rights and options of those implicated, to going a step beyond recognising the great benefits of cultural diversity at all levels. Furthermore this change of paradigm should help us shake our theoretical epistemologies to provoke academic debate that will lead us to understand this diversity and rich merging of identities at the workplace, at the same complex level as we recognise the diversity of identities in our globalised society as a whole. It is by promoting the view of value in diversity in all spheres, including the workplace, that we can close the gap between the pragmatic experiences and the conceptual approaches. Analysing cultural diversity, both at the workplace and in society, is not just about the study of diverse habits, beliefs or languages but also, and more importantly, about the exchange of different ideas.

This is the fundamental principle of all arguments put forward in this paper: there is no understanding of management of cultural diversity without appreciating that this goes beyond equality, without recognising its true benefit for all, as there is no understanding of cultural diversity without recognising the incredible richness that such diversity embodies in our society as a whole.

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CHAPTER 8. **UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL COMPETENCE AND PREJUDICE TOWARDS CULTURAL DIVERSITY ON CASES OF BURNOUT IN PATIENT-TO-PROVIDER INTERACTIONS**

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Introduction

In the latest years an increase of the phenomenon of immigration at an international level has been observed, which severely affects the South European countries, including Italy and Spain.

According to the most recent estimates of the ISTAT¹ (2009), after an increase of approximately half a million respect to 2007, immigrants regularly residing in Italy, totaled almost 3,9 million, including citizens from other EU member states. Data on January 1st, 2009 refer that foreign residents coming from EU countries represent the 53, 6% (predominance of Rumanians with 20, 5% and Albanians with 11, 5%). At the same time, as demonstrated by INE² data (2009) 12% of the Spanish population is foreign. In Spain the number of immigrants has increased from 1,3 million in 2001 to 5, 7 million in 2009. Thus, during the last years Italy and Spain, were considered countries of emigration until the beginning of the 1970s-80s, are increasingly becoming a multiethnic society. The diversity of these populations regarding provenance and immigration characteristics has become an increasingly visible aspect of the Spanish and Italian society over the recent years, bringing the potential challenges in terms of adaptation, attitudes and behaviors on the part of the native population causing different issues related to acceptance, security and peaceful cohabitation. In this context, the integration of migrants into existing health system has become a fundamental issue for western democracies. If one takes into consideration the process through which immigrants are included in the health setting of their host countries, it can be noted how, in the majority of cases, there are significant differences between foreign and native pop-

1. The National Institute for Statistics, www.istat.it
2. The National Institute for Statistics, www.ine.es

ulation regarding the real access and equal enjoyment in a public system. Here one can identify what is defined in the literature as the implementation deficit that refers to a situation in which a fundamental right exists and is recognized, but its effective application becomes difficult to realize in concrete terms. The field of cultural competence has recently emerged as a key requirement that can be useful to overcome the barriers in access and to promote the integration and transformation of knowledge about individuals and groups of people into specific standards, policies, practices and attitudes used in appropriate cultural settings to increase the quality of services, thereby producing better outcomes (Davis & Donald, 1997).

A step beyond cultural competence training required also involves reducing or eliminating racial and ethnic health disparities that have been well documented in the scientific literature (Smedley *et al.*, 2003; Adler & Rehkopf, 2008). Although universal access to healthcare is a main factor in the elimination of racial and ethnic disparities in health care, an equal access to healthcare does not ensure equal care to different segments of the population. In this paper, when we mention racial and ethnic disparities in health care, we refer to the differences in quality of care (IOM³, 2003).

The causes of disparities are broad and complex. They range from societal and personal issues like racism, prejudice (IOM, 2003; Williams, 2005) and burnout to health system factors like the lack of cultural competence (Cooper *et al.*, 2002) of health care professionals. Given the important role that interpersonal processes, including manifestations of prejudice, cultural competence (Taylor, 2003; Kagawa-Singer & Kassim-Lakha, 2003; van Ryn; 2003) and burnout (Leiter *et al.*, 1998) may play in the disparities of health care, measures of these phenomena might be important indicators to address strategies to achieve good and quality provider-patient interactions.

The research explores the individual and combined effects of prejudice, cultural competence and burnout in two different contexts: Italy and Spain. Reason-based choice is that, despite similar geographical location and their modern migration history with large numbers of migrants from quite diverse cultures, in Italy and Spain there are obvious differences concerning the actual political approach and debates on immigration. Given the prevalence of stereotypic and racist public discourses among members of Italian government, which mainly targeted non EU-migrants and minority groups and which compromised the difficult process of peaceful integration and coexistence, we retained that Italian nurses' perception on immigration could have an impact on three dimensions explored. Public discourses, as political debates or speeches, could be, in fact, the privileged place of expression of a public opinion, encouraging dialogue, integration and participation. On the contrary, such as in the Italian case, in pose of favoring a national identity, politicians do not hesitate to resort a stereotyped language that encourages discriminatory and hostile manifestations towards minority group members (Douglas *et al.* 2008; Douglas and Sutton, 2003; Maass *et al.*, 1996; Maass *et al.* 1989).

The goals of this paper were, in the first place, to examine the prejudice, cultural competence and burnout of health providers within two different hospital settings: the San Sebastian Hospital of Caserta and the Virgen Macarena Hospital of Seville. Participants in the study were 200 Italian and Spanish nurses, who daily face health challenges posed by the massive influx of immigrant patients.

3. Institute of Medicine, Committee on the National Quality Report on Health Care Delivery.

Taking these factors into account, the second purpose of this paper was to provide a perspective on the literature regarding the relationship between these dimensions and to generate an equation structural model which predicted a causal link where we assumed that the prejudice affect burnout through the mediator role of cultural competence.

The final section summarized our analyses research and some questions about the diversity in heath care systems. It also contains the limitations of our study and recommendations on how to examine other measures to better assist the research community in answering these questions.

Blatant and subtle prejudice, cultural competence and burnout: a starting point for a theoretical framework

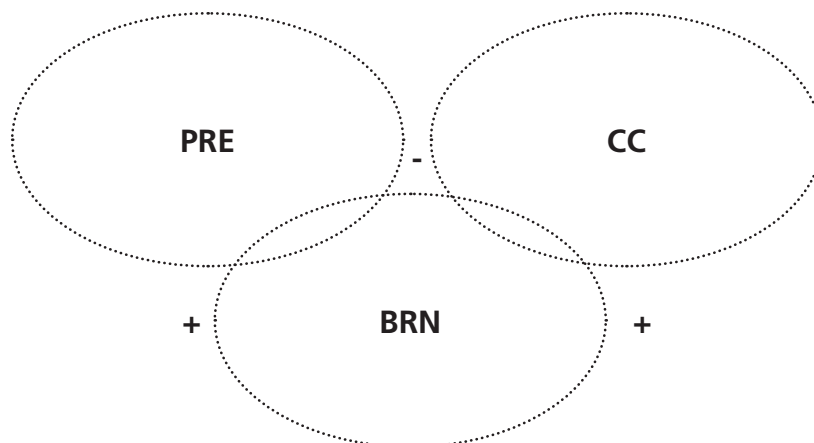
Based on the foregoing, we suggested a conceptual framework informed largely by a social psychological perspective and health literature which connected ethnic prejudice, cultural competence and burnout.

Figure 1 details a conceptual framework that includes the domains of:

- Prejudice
- Cultural competence
- Burnout

Each domain is related to another in a way that the presence or absence of an earlier domain can affect the subsequent ones. In other words, a high level of prejudice may be an indicator of high levels of burnout. This relationship is not direct but mediated by a negative attitude towards immigrants.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of Prejudice, cultural competence and burnout



These three circles depict the link between prejudice, cultural competence and burnout. The figure illustrates as prejudice is negatively related to cultural competence while positively related to burnout, whereas the cultural competence is negatively related to burnout. Finally, these dimensions lead to quality and effectiveness improvement oriented to the achievement of equity in health care services. In the following sections we have described the implication of three dimensions in providers-patient's interaction.

An important implication of this framework is that the relationship between prejudice and burnout, mediated by cultural competence, fundamentally influence the ways professionals interact with immigrant patients. Starting from this conceptual framework, we reviewed the literature referring these three domains related to quality care.

a) Could prejudice affect the quality of care for immigrant patients?

In this paragraph, we attempted to connect research on the social effects of ethnic prejudice with the literature on racial disparities in health care, with a particular focus of attention on studies published since the Institute of Medicine Report (2003).

The Institute of Medicine Panel (2003) identified race-based prejudice as a major cause of health disparities.

It has been well documented that stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination⁴ exist in nursing and health care (Abrums&Leppa, 2001; Barbee& Gibson, 2001; Bolton, Giger, & Georges, 2004; Huff & Kline, 1999; Porter & Barbee, 2004).

The IOM (International organization for migration) in the *Unequal Treatment* report (2003) expressed that "(al)though myriad of sources contribute to disparities in health care, some evidence suggests that bias, prejudice, and stereotyping on the part of healthcare providers may contribute to differences in care."

Balsa & McGuire (2001) assumed that one view of the origin of causes of disparities in health care is that providers are simply prejudiced against members of minority groups and treat these patients with lower regard than majority groups.

Other studies [Healy (1991), Schulman *et al.* (1999), van Ryn and Fu (2003), Fincher *et al.* (2004) and Green *et al.* (2007)] shared that disparities and inefficiency of treatment are often ascribed to prejudicial providers.

Many times the vast majority of healthcare providers do not recognize manifestations of prejudice in their work (Lurie, 2005) and they find them morally and politically incorrect and in contrast with their professional values. The reason of this is that explicit expressions of prejudice is being replaced by subtle forms of prejudice (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995), a contemporary form of prejudice that is less conscious and more indirect. In our study, we assumed that prejudice not only systematically affect the provider-patient interactions with a negative consequence on quality of care for minorities (IOM, 2003), but is also related with cultural competence and burnout of health professionals. In particular, we expect that subtle prejudice, considered as a result between negative implicit attitudes and egalitarian explicit attitudes can significantly impact on burnout syndrome through the mediation role of cultural competence.

b) Cultural competence as a prerequisite for a good provider-patient interaction

There is significant evidence that highlights the impact of providers' cultural competence on health and health care. Cultural competence has gained attention as a potential strategy to improve the quality and

4. The literature often uses the terms prejudice, bias, stereotyping and discrimination interchangeably. We use the term prejudice to refer to provider behaviors that result in allocative inefficiency.

eliminate racial/ethnic disparities in health care (Betancourt *et al.*, 2005). "Cultural competence refers to an ability to interact effectively with people of different cultures. Cultural competence comprises four components: (a) Awareness of one's own cultural worldview, (b) Attitude towards cultural differences, (c) Knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews, and (d) Cross-cultural skills. Developing cultural competence results in an ability to understand, communicate with, and effectively interact with people across cultures" (Martin and Vaughn, 2007). It encompasses a set of values, behaviors, attitudes, knowledge and skills which enable the health care providers to offer patients the kind of care that is respectful and inclusive of their cultural backgrounds (Shakeri Shemariani, 2004). Numerous researches have indicated that, in order to work effectively with the immigrant population, professionals need to develop the knowledge, understandings and skills (Sonn, 2004; Sutton, 2000; Tyler, 2002; Westerman, 2004).

"The goal of cultural competence is to create a health care system and workforce that are capable of delivering the highest-quality care to every patient regardless of race, ethnicity, culture, or language proficiency" (Betancourt *et al.*, 2005). Although cultural competence was not seen as one only strategy to increase access to quality care for all patient populations, there is many evidence of a link between cultural competence and eliminating racial/ethnic disparities in health care (Betancourt *et al.*, 2003).

c) Burnout and job performance of health providers.

Finally, we have considered the burnout syndrome as another personal factor that may affect a cross cultural interaction between health providers and immigrant users. Burnout is "a process in which the professional's attitudes and behavior change in negative ways in response to job strain" (Cherniss, 1980). According to Maslach's multidimensional model (Maslach *et al.*, 1996) consists of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment. It is highly prevalent among nursing professionals because of their jobs, stressful and emotionally demanding, and repeatedly confronted with people's needs, problems and suffering. When professionals experience burnout and feel unable to continue their work in an adequate way, they are more likely to consider quitting (Jackson *et al.*, 1986). This dissatisfaction with one's job may be reflected in the quality of care that patients receive and in patient ratings of satisfaction with care (Leiter, 1999). Despite the interest and relevance of the topic, the effects of burnout on quality care are not well defined by evidence. In fact, the link between burnout and patient satisfaction, considered as an indicator of quality, has been explored in few investigations (Vahey *et al.*, 2004; Leiter *et al.*, 1998). The connection between nurse burnout and concerns about quality of care was supported by the work of Aiken and colleagues (2004, 2002). They found that patients in units where nurses reported significantly lower burnout were more likely to report higher satisfaction with their care than other patients.

In line with a research conducted among a sample of teachers (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002), we assumed that the stressors derived by new challenges for part of providers to respond to the needs of immigrant patients may negatively affect their personal and professional well-being and nurses' behavior such as turnover and work stress impacting on quality of care.

Overview of the study and hypothesis

The overall intention of this work is to investigate the way in which nursing professionals perceive immigrants and how they relate to them at work.

The approach underlying the research is psycho-political: the starting point is the assumption that the relationship of health care - which covers an area of primary importance in health - reflects the state of relationships present in a society between natives and immigrants. If healthcare providers are more open towards other cultures and willing to accept and exchange, working with foreign users should be less problematic. As suggested, state and governmental policies and political discourses may affect the construction of the social representation towards immigrants, their culture and lifestyle, as well as the overall idea of their nation as an entity mono-or multi-cultural. Hence, this research was carried out in two countries - Spain and Italy - with a high degree of similarity in terms of geo-cultural countries but that are currently pursuing opposing government policies with respect to immigration: the Spanish is marked by the tension towards acceptance and the integration of immigrants, while the Italian is marked by diffidence and the closure of identity. We compared two relatively small inland cities in the South of both countries, with a high number of immigrants - Seville and Caserta - and two hospitals with similar characteristics (two public hospitals with similar hierarchical and administrative organization): Hospital Virgen Macarena of Seville and San Sebastian hospital of Caserta. We considered the cultural competence and ethnic prejudice as indicators of multicultural behavior towards immigrants and the level of burnout as indicators of the perception of their work and the difficulties associated with it. In addition, we have evaluated a possible relationship between three dimensions. Based on the literature about factors which may affect the quality of interactions between nurses and immigrant patients, we assumed that ethnic prejudice, cultural competence and burnout in nurses are interrelated and vary depending on the socio-political context. Specifically, we hypothesize that a high degree of prejudice and a low level of cultural competence are directly proportional to burnout. From these considerations, and using structural equation modeling, we tested a theoretical model of relationships between the variables considered in which prejudice affects burnout through the mediation role of cultural competence.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The target population consisted of full-time or part-time registered hospital professionals, who worked as nurses in different wards (Emergency Room, Oncology, Traumatic room, Obstetrics and Pediatrics). Respondents were 200 Italian and Spanish female nurses of two public hospitals (San Sebastian of Caserta and Virgin Macarena of Seville). The average age was 36.28 and 43.86 years old for Spanish and Italian nurses, respectively. The average professional experience was 14.22 and 19.43 years for Spanish and Italian nurses, respectively. Only women were included in this study because both samples showed a female predominance. After the authorization by the supervisor of wards, participants were asked to return the completed questionnaires in the envelope provided to a collection box located in the hospital research unit.

Data collection instruments

Respondents were asked to complete a self-report questionnaire consisting of four sections:

Socio-demographic information. Participants provided personal information regarding age, knowledge of languages, years of experience.

Blatant and Subtle Prejudice Scale (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995): Each scale – subtle and blatant - consists of 10 Likert-type items which options range from 1 («strongly disagree») to 4 («strongly agree»). Four of the 10 items in the subtle prejudice scale correspond to the «traditional values» dimension; four correspond to the «cultural differences» dimension; and two to the «denial of positive emotions» dimension. In the case of the blatant prejudice scale, six items were included in the «threat and rejection» dimension and four in the «anti-intimacy» dimension.

Cronbach alpha coefficients were 0.88 for the blatant scale and 0.63 for the subtle one and were used to assess the reliability levels of the measuring instruments.

Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach and Jackson, 1986): It is designed to assess the three components of the burnout syndrome: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment.

It was evaluated using the Spanish (Seisdedos, 1997) and Italian (Sirigatti e Stefanile, 1988) versions. It consists of 22 items, which are divided into three subscales: nine items for Emotional Exhaustion (EE); five items for Depersonalisation (DP); and eight items for Personal Accomplishment (PA).

The items are answered in terms of the frequency with which the respondent experiences these feelings, on a 7-point, fully anchored scale (ranging from 0, “never” to 6, “every day”). Higher scores of EE, DP and a lower score of PA indicate a higher level of burnout.

The internal consistencies (Cronbach’s α) of scales were good: 0.77 for emotional Exhaustion, and alpha coefficient was 0.62 for depersonalization and 0.76 for Personal Accomplishment (PA).

Questionnaire of cultural competence: We developed a self-administered questionnaire consisting of 57 Likert-type items with responses ranging from one to six. The response sets included: 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) to evaluate the multicultural attitudes of health professionals. The items formulations were designed to investigate the problems concerning the relationship between the health professional and immigrant users considering not only the difficulties associated to operator-user relationship but also the *cultural awareness* of the professional. The questionnaire was pre-tested with a sample of 400 people related to different services - schools, social services, health services and centers employment - to ensure the relevance and comprehensibility of the questions. Component Factor analyses (with varimax rotation) were conducted. An extraction procedure was used for main components; however, the best explanation for the existence of predicted factors occurred with a rotate model. The two-factor model produced the following factor labels: Cultural awareness and discomfort and inadequacy.

Items were retained if they maintained an adequate factor loading and fit conceptually with the other items that were identified as part of a factor. Items with low communalities (below .30) were not retained.

The measure of internal consistency assessed by Cronbach's alpha was 0.85 for the first subscale and 0.66 for the second.

Results

Statistical analysis was carried using the SPSS 15 and LISREL 8.71. The primary analysis involved descriptive summary statistics for evaluating differences among Spanish and Italian nurses using t-tests (age, work experience) and chi square tests (language and working area).

Table 1 shows means and Table 2 shows frequency distributions of the variables considered.

	City	N	Means	F	d.f	p
Age	Seville	100	36,28	8,217	198	0,005
	Caserta	100	43,86			
Work experience	Seville	100	14,22	8,303	198	0,004
	Caserta	100	19,43			

		City		Total
		Seville	Caserta	
Languages	.00	49	75	124
	Portuguese	11	1	12
	English/ French	40	22	62
	Other	0	2	2
Working Area	Hospitalization	85	90	175
	Emergency	15	10	25

The t-test showed that among the Italian nurses age ($t = 6081$, $df = 198$, $p < .001$) and work experience ($t = 4056$, $df = 198$, $p < .001$) were higher than in Spanish nurses. Chi square analyses indicated that Spanish nurses with at least one foreign language were more numerous than Italian nurses ($\chi^2 = 16.82$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).

The two t-tests for cultural competence factor scores (see table 3) for the comparison of Italian and Spanish nurses means showed a significant difference for the "disease and inadequacy" factor: the Italian sample reports higher scores than the Spanish one ($t = 5.75$, $df = 198$, $p < .001$).

	City	N	Means	F	d.f	p
Cultural awareness	Seville	100	-0,0268418	3,251	198	.705
	Caserta	100	0,0268418			
Discomfort and inadequacy	Seville	100	-0,3770901	1,902	198	.000
	Caserta	100	0,3770901			

The t-test on blatant and subtle scale and burnout scale (see table 4) indicated that Italian nurses scores are significantly higher than Spanish scores in the blatant prejudice scale ($t = 4.54$, $df = 198$, $p < .001$), in the subtle prejudice scale ($t = 4.43$; $df = 198$, $p < .001$) and in emotional exhaustion ($t = 1.99$, $df = 198$, $p < .05$).

Table 4. t-test results on blatant and subtle prejudice and burnout dimensions.

	City	N	Means	F	p
Blatant prejudice	Seville	100	18,83	2,004	0,000
	Caserta	100	22,70		
Subtle prejudice	Seville	100	25,89	0,001	0,000
	Caserta	100	29,07		
Personal Accomplishment	Seville	100	35,34	0,428	0,732
	Caserta	100	34,92		
Depersonalization	Seville	100	6,24	5,921	0,575
	Caserta	100	6,69		
Emotional Exhaustation	Seville	100	18,32	4,921	0,047
	Caserta	100	20,99		

Correlation between blatant and subtle prejudice, cultural competence and burnout dimensions.

The Pearson correlation coefficient was applied to determine if any relationship existed between prejudice, cultural competence and burnout. The correlations between results were measured on the dimensions' factor points derived from the factorial solutions of each instrument.

Cultural awareness was significantly negatively correlated with the blatant prejudice ($r = -.209$, $p = .003$), the subtle prejudice ($r = -.229$, $p = .001$), depersonalization ($r = -.293$, $p = .000$), emotional exhaustion ($r = -.228$, $p = .001$) and inadequacy ($r = -.317$, $p = .000$), while positively correlated with personal accomplishment ($r = .433$, $p = .000$).

In addition, discomfort and inadequacy was positively correlated with the blatant prejudice ($r = -.209$, $p = .003$), the subtle prejudice ($r = .215$, $p = .002$) and the emotional exhaustion ($r = .177$, $p = .012$), and showed a negative correlation with the nationality ($r = -.378$, $p = .000$). The results showed a positive correlation between the blatant prejudice and depersonalization ($r = .194$, $p = .006$), emotional exhaustion ($r = .145$, $p = .000$) and inadequacy ($r = .161$, $p = .023$) while it showed a negative correlation between the blatant prejudice and the realization ($r = -.160$, $p = .024$), and nationality ($r = -.307$, $p = .000$). Similarly, the subtle prejudice showed a positive correlation with depersonalization ($r = .359$, $p = .000$) and the emotional exhaustion ($r = .300$, $p = .000$), while it was negatively correlated with the personal accomplishment ($r = -.192$, $p = .007$), and nationality ($r = -.300$, $p = .000$). Concerning burnout dimensions, the emotional exhaustion was negatively correlated with nationality ($r = -.140$, $p = .047$).

Mediation analyses (SEM)

The structural equation modeling techniques were used to assess the relationships across the factors: blatant and subtle prejudice; cultural competence subscales and dimensions of burnout. LISREL 8.71 (Joreskog and Sorbom, 2004) was used to construct this model.

First, we tested a fully mediated model in which we hypothesized that ethnic prejudice (blatant and subtle) affects burnout indexes through a mediation role of cultural competence dimensions. Results indicate that this model demonstrates reasonable fit to the sample data (RMSEA: 0.070 Chi-Square: 9377.14; d.f: 4743; p-value: .00). The structural effects are shown in Fig 2.

Figure 2. Structural equation model. Coefficient are standardized. Only significant paths are reported

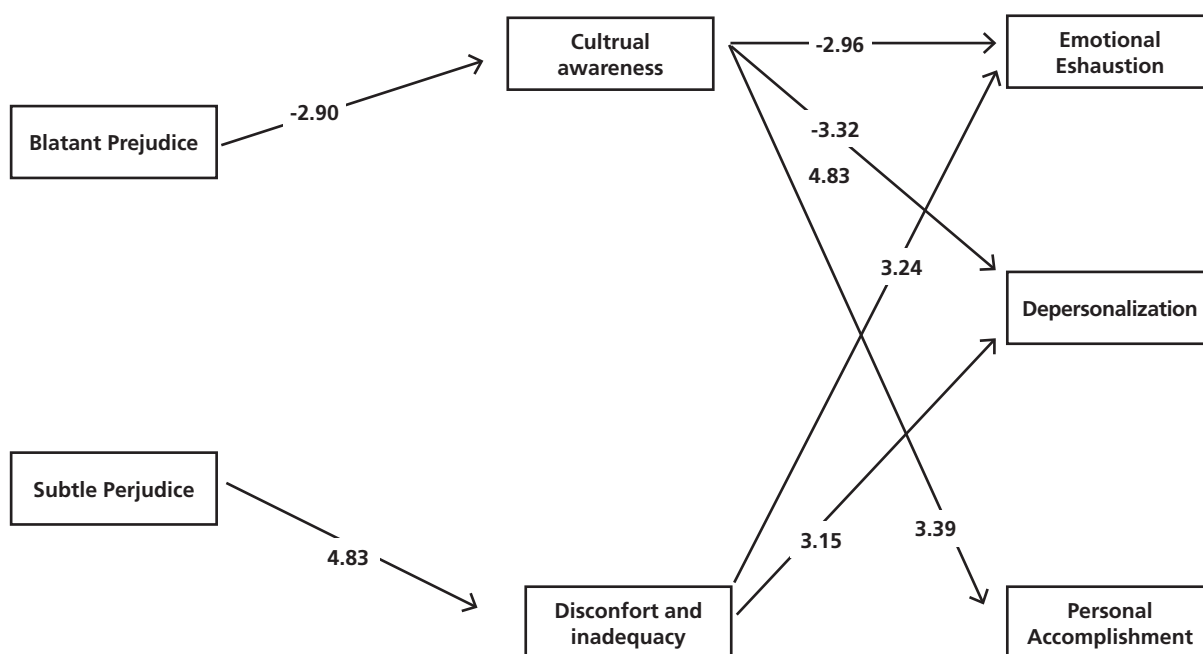


Figure 2 showed a significant initial direct effect of blatant prejudice on cultural awareness (standardized effect= -2.90) and a significant initial direct effect of subtle prejudice on inadequacy (standardized effect= 4.83). This suggests that a lower or a higher level of ethnic prejudice could determine a lower or higher level of multicultural ideology. The association between blatant and subtle prejudice and three dimension of burnout was mediated by multicultural ideology dimensions.

The indirect effects model for the blatant prejudice showed that it was positively related to personal accomplishment through cultural awareness (standardized effect= 3.39) and it was negatively related to emotional exhaustion (standardized effect= -2.96) and to depersonalization (standardized effect= -3.32) through cultural awareness. The indirect effects model for the subtle prejudice showed that it was positively related to emotional exhaustion (standardized effect= 3.24) and to depersonalization (standardized effect= 3.15) through discomfort and inadequacy.

Discussion

The first aim of this study was to explore the prejudice, the cultural competence and the burnout among a sample of 100 Italian nurses and 100 Spanish nurses. To measure ethnic prejudice the *Subtle and Blatant*

Prejudice Scale was used; for Burnout measurement we used the *Maslach Burnout Inventory* and to examine cultural competence, we have developed a *57-items questionnaire* after adapting it and validating it in two different countries: Italy and Spain. The high alpha coefficients obtained in every sub-scale demonstrated the strong internal consistency. We have compared two different socio-political contexts concerning the prejudice, cultural competence and burnout of nurses working in two public hospitals. The two samples of nurses differ regarding three dimensions that we have retained as important factors to influence the quality of care. The analyses showed significant differences between the Italian and the Spanish sample: Italian nurses have greater difficulties and feelings of inadequacy in their work with immigrant users, higher prejudice against immigrants and higher emotional exhaustion than Spanish nurses.

These results may support our suggestion that political speeches and debates of the Italian government may have encouraged discriminatory and hostile manifestations in certain groups of health providers with a repercussion on their work. We should, however, be cautious in our interpretation because we have not used a tool which has operationalized and measured the relationship between the socio-political context and public political debates, on the one hand, and the variables examined, on the other.

The second aim of the study was to test a theoretical model where prejudice affects burnout through the mediation role of cultural competence. The structural equation model shows that there is a link between three dimensions. More specifically, we tested a theoretical model in which subtle and blatant prejudice affect burnout through the mediation of the components of cultural competence.

Future directions and questions

It is evident that the increase of diversity in private and public organizations has raised challenges for health providers. Italy and Spain, as relatively recent immigration countries, need a workforce that is adequately trained and equipped to respond adequately and effectively to the needs of their multiethnic society. Our role in reducing disparities in health care is crucial. First, as social psychologists, our role is to integrate topics of social psychology as prejudice and burnout with topics related to health and healthcare as cultural competence. Traditionally, the two approaches have been studied separately and the practical consequences derived by interaction perspectives have generally been secondary.

Although these two areas are different, they have the common focus in the "diversity".

- 1) Diversity in healthcare is considered with the equitable provision of healthcare and services for members of diverse social groups. In our study, we assumed that prejudice, the lack of cultural competence and burnout syndrome may affect this equitable provision and may differ according to the socio-political context. Thus, measurement of community and environmental indicators will be important for evaluating differences in two contexts. We suggested an integration of these two perspectives that is likely to produce a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the problem, which may ultimately yield viable solutions to the problem.

- 2) In addition, we have a critical need to develop ecological strategies that integrated individual, collective and political factors. Ecological approaches (Bronfenbrenner, 1989) in health promotion view health care as a product of the interdependence between the micro-meso and macro systems (e.g., family, community, culture, and the social and political environment). To promote “diversity” in health, a macro-system must offer economic and social conditions leading to an equity access and care for the minority groups. In turn, meso system must also provide organizations culturally competent and health providers (micro) that engage in healthful behaviors. In an ecological context, such elements are viewed as determinants of health. They also provide support in helping individuals to modify their behaviors and reduce their exposure to risk factors.
- 3) Starting from these considerations, we suggest the need for interventions directed at several levels and with possible extensions to multiple sectors of a social system (e.g., health, education, welfare, commerce, and transportation).

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CHAPTER 1. MANAGING DIVERSITY – BY TRANSFORMING CONFLICTS INTO ASSETS FOR CITIZENS? THE CASE STUDY OF LIMBURG, A PROVINCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

Petra Stienen and Gerd Junne

This paper looks at one particular part of the Netherlands that became a microcosm for questions about diversity and tolerance in the wider Europe. The province of Limburg, the power base of Geert Wilders of the populist Freedom Party, experienced over the past decades a (perceived) distance to the power centre of the national capital that leads to a combination of a feeling of ‘being left behind’ and ‘being really special’. In addition the province has witnessed tensions stemming from the differences between generations, nationalities, socio-economic backgrounds of ‘new comers’ and ‘original inhabitants’. This paper concludes that there are other stories to be told. Stories of successes and different approaches that could provide arguments to put more effort, time and money into using those other stories as starting points for different policies. The question is indeed, can policy makers only find funds and time for conflicts stemming from diversity, or are they willing to base their future policies also on the many success stories. Of course this will require ‘strategic patience’ as dealing with diversity is a constantly challenging process with no guaranteed outcomes.

Key words: *Diversity, Limburg, Other Stories, Strategic Patience*

CHAPTER 2. BETWEEN PLURALISM AND MAJORITARIANISM: THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS AND EDUCATION

Camil Ungureanu

How is it possible to square the development of a consistent European approach to religious diversity with the recognition of the sometimes-conflictive plurality of state-religion models? The Court’s support of the liberal principles of separation and neutrality have either been deplored by Christian conservatives as the result of European Christophobia, or celebrated by secularists as contributing to the formation of a Europe free of religion. In contrast, the present chapter argues for a differentiated approach to European jurisprudence, outlining how the Court has been oscillating between an appealing liberal-pluralist perspective or framework, and a questionable majoritarian one. Both perspectives are illustrated by focusing on representative decisions in the area of religious education and symbols.

Key words: *European Court of Human Rights, Religion, Pluralism, Religious Symbols, Education, Europe*

CHAPTER 3. EDUCATION AS A MIRROR OF SPANISH SOCIETY: CHALLENGES AND POLICIES TOWARDS MULTIPLE DIVERSITY

Ricard Zapata-Barrero

The ways in which the dominant cultural majority frames the educational system determine perceptions of its own identity and understandings of the 'other.' In this article I take a political approach, by examining the management of cultural diversity within Spanish education policies, treating "education as the mirror of society". This article analyzes Spanish challenges and policies approaches towards the management of immigration related diversity in education. The main finding is that there is not one approach, but several, due to both the decentralized character of the education system and the multiplicity of diversity that is at stake (i.e. language, religion, culture etc.).

Key words: *Education, Diversity, Immigration, Spain, Europe*

CHAPTER 4. IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING: RETHINKING THE ROLE OF FISCAL POLICIES TO MANAGE DIVERSITY

Alberto Vega, Ester Marco, Ana B. Macho and Antònia Agulló

We study the two key social issues of immigration and housing in light of each other and analyse which housing policies work best to distribute diversity (racial, economic, cultural) equally across our cities and towns. In particular, we compare the impact of direct government expenditure and tax incentives on the housing conditions of immigrants in four European countries: France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. The analysis shows that the different policies which have been adopted in these countries have not succeeded in preventing immigrants from being concentrated in certain neighbourhoods. The reason is that housing benefits and tax incentives are normally "spatially blind". In our opinion, governments should consider immigration indirectly in their housing policies and, for instance, distribute social housing more evenly across different areas to promote sustainable levels of diversity.

Key words: *Immigration, Housing, Diversity, Fiscal Benefits, Segregation*

CHAPTER 5. TRANSITION PROCESSES OF IMMIGRANTS YOUTHS IN THE MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT IN CATALUNYA: A CASE STUDY

Sikunder Ali Baber

A case study, that of a Pakistani girl I will call Hina who lives in Barcelona (Catalonia), allows us to examine transitions on several levels – between cultures in the broadest sense, and between school and classroom cultures in particular – and their relationship with successful learning trajectories. Through Hina’s story, I will show how personal and cultural processes such as the negotiation of meaning, rethinking and social repositioning of the self, and identification of significant others may contribute to successful educational transitions among immigrant children. Moreover, theoretical constructs such as transition, background/foreground, and social representations can help us in understanding immigrant students’ perspectives, and provide insights that can serve basis for informed pedagogical actions in situations where different cultures interact with each other. Some implications for educational authorities in Catalonia would be offered in relation how to be ready to meet with the challenge of multicultural education in multicultural cities like Barcelona.

Key words: *Immigrant Youths, Transition Processes, Educational Success, Challenge of Diversity*

CHAPTER 6. DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY WITHIN THE MOSSOS D’ESQUADRA

Anne R. Van Ewijk

This chapter offers a case-study of diversity and diversity policies within the Mossos d’Esquadra, the police force of the Catalan autonomous community in Spain. The case is described in a comprehensive way (including policies in all relevant policy areas: recruitment, retention, and promotion) and at the same time analyzed with a new analytical framework (including the definition of diversity, the motivation for diversity within the organisation, and the facilitation of diversity within the organisation with policies). The goal of the chapter is twofold. First, offer a deeper understanding of the dynamics of diversity within this police force. Second, demonstrate the academic potential of this new analytical framework.

Key words: *Police, Diversity, Diversity Policy, Catalonia*

CHAPTER 7. BEYOND EQUALITY: RECOGNISING AND MANAGING CULTURAL DIVERSITY AT THE WORKPLACE

Olga Jubany

Cultural diversity is arguably the dynamic engine of society and as such increasingly important to the development of modern organisations. As Europe grows ever more diverse, there is a greater need for full recognition of differences and better representation of cultural minorities and pluralism in the workplace. Diversity in organisations becomes crucial both from a theoretical and policy approach and broadens our analysis beyond equity frameworks to review active inclusion in employment, compelling us to question the current parameters for understanding work relations. The paper proposes a theoretical and empirical review of managing cultural diversity in organisations, by analysing the conceptual framework as well as exploring the diversity management and policy context. This underlines the need for a switch in the paradigm of how we understand cultural diversity, from perceiving it as a burden to recognising its great benefits, not only for workers but also for the organisations, and for society as a whole.

Key words: *Cultural Diversity, Diversity Management, Organisations, Labour, Social Cohesion, Pluralism*

CHAPTER 8. UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF PREJUDICE, CULTURAL COMPETENCE AND BURNOUT ON THE PROVIDER-PATIENT INTERACTIONS IN A MULTICULTURAL SETTING

Anna Bocchino, Manuel Garcia Ramirez and Caterina Arcidiacono

The present study examined prejudice, cultural competence and burnout syndrome in two different socio-political contexts: Italy and Spain. Three validated questionnaires in Italian and Spanish versions were used to measure the ethnic prejudice (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995), the burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1986) and Cultural competence. Results based on the responses of two hundred Italian and Spanish daytime registered nurses, working at two public hospitals in Caserta and Seville, revealed that Italian nurses reported higher levels of burnout and prejudice toward ethnic minorities and a lower level of cultural competence than Spanish nurses. In addition, we proposed and defined a theoretical framework based on the relationship between the three dimensions examined.

Key words: *Quality of Care, Prejudice, Cultural Competence and Burnout*