

REMiX

REMiX:

**The university as an
advocate for responsible
education about migration
in Europe**

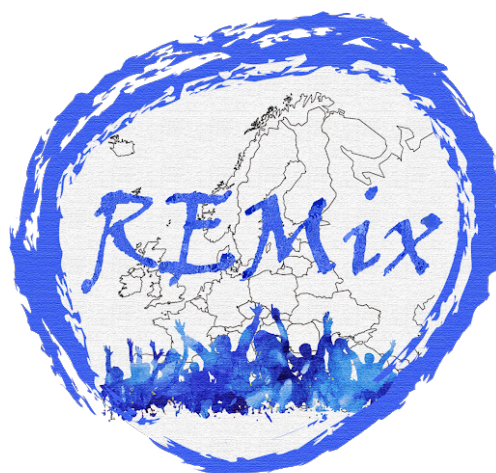
Inclusive societies.

**A textbook for interdisciplinary
migration studies.**

Evrinomy Avdi

and Markus Meckl

2020



With the support of the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union

ISBN: 978-9935-505-00-6
University of Akureyri, 2020

DISCLAIMER "This project has been funded with support
from the European Commission.

This publication reflects the views only of the author, and
the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use
which may be made of the information contained therein"

Graphic layout: Donald Tarallo
Associate Professor, Fitchburg State University (MA- US)

Contents

Notes on contributors	3
Introduction Markus Meckl	7
Structure and Aims of the Handbook Markus Meckl & Evrinomy Avdi	14
Chapter 1 History and Philosophy Lara Hoffmann & Giorgio Baruchello	15
Chapter 2 Sociology and International Migration Barbara Gornik	36
Chapter 3 Psychology and Migration Evrinomy Avdi & Kyriaki M. Chranta	59
Chapter 4 Human Mobility, Pedagogy of Migration and Cultural Intelligence Giovanna Del Gobbo, Francesco De Maria, Glenda Galeotti, & Gilda Esposito	87
Chapter 5 Cultural and Literary Studies Luísa Antunes Paolinelli	125
Chapter 6 Migration and Cultural Rights Monica Amari & Giovanni Carlo Bruno	159
APPENDIX I: EU Agenda for migration & policies regarding integration Vlasta Jalušič, Veronika Bajt, & Rachel Lebowitz	192
APPENDIX II: Access of refugees and migrants to higher education in European Universities. Current state of affairs Giovanna Del Gobbo & Gilda Esposito	204
Glossary	211

Notes on contributors

Monica Amari is an expert on cultural policy and processes; her professional life alternates academic teaching with activities in the field of cultural strategies. Monica has a degree in Political Sciences and Cultural Policies and a Post University Degree at the University of Geneva Faculté Sciences Economiques et Sociales. She has been dealing with cultural policies for over twenty years as researcher, trainer and cultural planner.

Evrinomy Avdi is associate professor in clinical psychology at the School of Psychology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. She is a clinical psychologist, psychodynamic psychotherapist and dramatherapist. Her research interests lie in applying discursive and narrative research to the study of the process of psychotherapy, as well as the experience of serious illness. She is particularly interested in exploring the links between deconstructive research and actual clinical practice.

Giorgio Baruchello, born in Genoa, Italy, is an Icelandic citizen and is Professor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Akureyri, Iceland. He read philosophy in Genoa and Reykjavík, Iceland, and holds a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Guelph, Canada. His publications encompass several different areas, especially social philosophy, theory of value, and intellectual history. His latest book is entitled, *Thinking and Talking: Collected Philosophical Essays*. Since 2005 he edits *Nordicum-Mediterraneum: The Icelandic E-Journal of Nordic and Mediterranean Studies*.

Giovanni Carlo Bruno is full-time researcher at the National Research Council of Italy (Institute for Research on Innovation and Services for Development). He holds a degree in Political Science. His scientific interests include public international law, international and European law of human rights (with a focus on vulnerable groups and migration). From 2012 to 2014, he was seconded to the European External Action Service, as legal and human rights adviser in the EU Delegation to the Council of Europe.

Kyriaki M. Chranta completed her undergraduate and postgraduate studies in Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in Psychology. She holds a master's degree in Clinical Psychology. She obtained experience in individual and group therapy and in psychometrics through her internship in several clinical services in Thessaloniki. Currently

she is an associate member of the Laboratory of Applied Psychology of the School of Psychology of the Aristotle University and is teaching psychology courses at New York College in Thessaloniki.

Gilda Esposito holds a degree in Politics (1997), a Master in Gender Studies (2002) and PhD in Education (2013). She has been working in research, design and evaluation in social and educational innovation since 1998. She served as his worker during twelve years in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Once back in Italy in 2009 she collaborates as researcher and adjoint professor with the Department of Education of the University of Firenze as well as a freelance project designer, manager and evaluator with local authorities, training agencies, NGOs and social cooperation agencies. Since March 2018 she is CEO of MoCa Future Designers, a spin-off of the University of Firenze, specialized in transformative learning and impact evaluation. Her main areas of action research are lifelong learning, non-formal and informal education, organizational change, cultural intelligence, human mobility, community development, and social entrepreneurship. Since 2014 she has also worked as a mediator and trainer in the processes of reception of applicants for humanitarian protection. She is EPAL ambassador for adult education.

Glenda Galeotti is a researcher in Adult education of University of Florence. She holds a degree in Adult education, a Master in Local development and PhD in Education. She deals with informal learning in collaboration and social innovation, with special regard to cultural dimension. She also studies heritage and environmental education for sustainable territorial development.

Giovanna Del Gobbo is professor of General and Social Pedagogy, Delegate of the Rector for Training of Primary and Secondary School Teachers, responsible at international level in Erasmus + and Development Cooperation projects. She develops her research activity, linked to the teaching and transfer activities provided for by the third university mission, in the following areas of Social Pedagogy: - adult education with a focus on non-formal and informal education; - capacity building and capacity strengthening in different work contexts, with particular reference to the third sector; - environmental sustainability and enhancement of cultural heritage; -system evaluation, training evaluation and Quality Assurance, with attention to HE and organizational contexts.

Barbara Gornik is a PhD Research Associate at the Institute for Social Studies at Science and Research Centre of Koper, Slovenia. Her research interests are migration, nationalism and human rights, which she studies using the anthropology and discourse theory as

basic theoretical framework to explain the implementation and interpretation of human rights within the knowledge/power nexus. She has published work dealing with asylum, refugees, unaccompanied minor migrants, international human rights law, Erased residents of Slovenia, governmentality and anthropology of human rights.

Lara Wilhelmine Hoffmann is a Ph.D. student at the University of Akureyri, Iceland, in the research project "Inclusive Societies? The Integration of Immigrants in Iceland". Her work concentrates around the cultural participation of immigrant's in Iceland, focusing on languages and the arts. Lara holds an MA in Art Studies from the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. She is also active in the arts and literature, e.g. since 2016 as an editorial board member of the Reykjavík-based literary publisher Ós Pressan.

Sofia Kasola (M.Ed.) holds a bachelor degree in pedagogy and two masters degrees in Management and administration of educational organizations and Adult Education. She is an independent researcher the last 20 years and she has participated in many research projects with main responsibilities in pedagogy approach. Her research interest is focus on pedagogy approaches of learning in different target groups with a focus on Adult Education.

Francesco De Maria is completing his PhD in Experimental Pedagogy at the Department of Education, Languages, Interculture, Literature and Psychology of the University of Florence with a thesis on the Migratory Potential of Ivory Coast young people. He deals with migratory phenomena, international cooperation policies and human development with research activities in Italy and abroad. He worked in Tanzania in development cooperation educational projects and in Sicily within the protection system for asylum seekers and refugees and in unaccompanied and separated children dedicate centers.

Markus Meckl holds a Ph.D. from Berlin Technical University where he studied at the Center for Research on Anti-Semitism. Since 2004, he has been working at the University of Akureyri where is a professor in media studies. In recent years, one of his research interest has focused on immigration issues in the North of Iceland from which a series of articles has been published. Drawing on a broad range of experience, he is involved and has been leading immigration and integration-related projects in the Nordic countries.

Luísa Marinho Antunes Paolinelli holds a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature with a specialization in Cultural Studies, teaches at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Madeira. Has published in the area of Literature and Culture and also in

translation. Member of CLEPUL (Center for Literature and Lusophone and European Cultures of the University of Lisbon) of the Foundation for Science and Technology, coordinates the Pole of this Unit in the University of Madeira. Presently, belongs to the Cultural Board of the University of Madeira and is the Cultural Representative of the Funchal Council for the commemoration of the "600 Years of the Discovery of Madeira". At the moment, is director of the Master Course in Literature, Culture and Diversity.

Introduction

Markus Meckl

Human history is a history of migration. Migration shaped the world as we know it today. Twenty thousand years ago the American continent was settled by Siberian hunters, who during the Ice Age migrated East and then South from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. Following Christopher Columbus' expeditions to America and for centuries to come, the continent experienced migration in various forms with conquerors, settlers, slaves, refugees and people simply seeking a better life, forming contemporary America (Livi-Bacci, 2012).

Similarly, from ancient Rome to modern times, European history is a history of population movements and Europe is still influenced by it. In 2018, 22.3 million people lived in the European Union without holding citizenship of one of the European member states and additionally, 17.6 million Europeans resided in a European country which was not their country of origin (Eurostat, 2019). Established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, "Freedom of movement and residence for persons in the EU is the cornerstone of Union citizenship" (Fact Sheets on the European Union, 2019). However, immigration – especially from outside the European Union - is a highly sensitive political issue as it challenges the identity of European nations. This became obvious in 2015 when one million people applied for asylum in Europe and pushed the continent into political turmoil, as no common reaction among the countries could be agreed upon about the so-called "European migrant crisis". Germany was heavily criticised for being too welcoming by other countries, in particular many Eastern and Central European countries, which refused to let refugees in.

While some countries have a long history and extensive experience when it comes to immigration and inclusion, others are relatively new to this phenomenon. For example, two decades ago, Iceland barely had any immigrants at all; today, they make up for 14% of the total population, and the number is constantly rising. New immigration countries, like Iceland, are often at a loss when it comes to handling diversity in sectors where individuals are increasingly in contact with groups of various backgrounds, such as the education sector and schools (Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2019). Many institutional and social organisations need to adapt to this new reality.

1 Migration and perception

It is crucial to develop the socio-cultural knowledge on migration in a world where the understanding of diversity is indispensable. Since the 19th century *belonging*, and home has been defined through the nation state. The wars of the 19th and 20th century in Europe have been fought in the name of the nation and monuments all over Europe commemorate those who have died "for their fatherland". The belief that "the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation-state" (Kohn, 1967, p.149) was developed in the 19th century as a reaction against the Universalism of the Enlightenment. In the German Romantic Movement, the nation was understood as a homogenous ethnic group. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), the man who inspired the romantic idea of the nation, wrote: "the most natural state is one people with one national character" and not "the wild mixtures of various breeds and nations under one sceptre" (Herder, cited in Wilson, 1973, p. 822). It was this romantic understanding of the nation which inspired national movements in Central and Eastern European countries. This concept of nation provided a blueprint to distinguish people between us and them. Us, who belong to a place, and them, those strangers, who do not (Baumann, 1990). This romantic idea of the nation had its revival with the end of Communism and the disappearance of the Iron Curtain, while at the same time the European Union as a post-national idea took shape in order to overcome the national antagonism in Europe. Defining identity, belonging and home for this multicultural Europe, beyond the romantic idea of the nation state, is one of the biggest European challenge of our time.

While migration is a constant in human history, the perception of the migrant has changed throughout time. The most positive perception of migration is created when the dominant narrative of a specific migration movement has been provided by the migrants themselves and their descendants. The Icelandic sagas are a beautiful example, for, written in the 13th century, they celebrate the heroic deeds of migrants from Norway who settled in Iceland in the 9th and 10th centuries and provided almost ten centuries later the founding myth for the Icelandic national movement.

Another example which creates a positive image of a specific migration movement is the US film industry. When one looks at the genre of Western movies, an iconic view of the migrant settler, who moved West in order to take up the wasteland of North America has been constructed. On the other side of the spectrum, is Nazi-Germany's portrayal of Jewish migration throughout centuries. In the movie "The eternal Jew" (1940), the migrant is the carrier of disease and a criminal threat to the society. The Nazi ideology framed the view on the migrant.

2 The German example

It is the identity of a given society which determines the perception of the migrant, and I want to illustrate this here in the introduction with the example of Germany. From the end of the 19th century until the end of the Nazi regime, migrants were called "Fremdarbeiter" (foreign worker) and integration of these workers was not foreseen or expected, as the name "foreign worker" indicates. In the 1950s the racist ideology of Nazi-Germany was discredited and with it the word "Fremdarbeiter", but also the expression "Gastarbeiter" meaning "guest worker", still underlying the non-belonging and exclusion of the migrant. Only in the late 1980s did the political debate start, challenging this exclusion of the immigrant as Jürgen Habermas popularised the concept of Constitutional patriotism (Mueller, 2006), which allowed the perception of the immigrant beyond the ethnic belonging as a German, and led to the German president Christian Wulff proclaiming in 2010: "Islam belongs to Germany".

It took Germany such a long time to find a consensus to the transformation of Germany into a multicultural society, because of its heritage of the romantic notion of nation. The French and their essentially political notion of nation were to a certain extent much better prepared to adapt to the multicultural reality of Europe. It is the legacy of the French revolution and thinkers like Ernest Renan that defined the nation not as a monocultural unity but as an idea, or as the latter proclaimed in his speech "What is a nation": "Man is a slave neither of his race nor his language, nor of his religion, nor of the course of rivers nor of the direction taken by mountain chains. A large aggregate of men, healthy in mind and warm of heart, creates the kind of moral conscience which we call a nation." (Renan, 1882). In this political notion of a nation the immigrant is, despite being different in culture or religion or ethnicity, *a priori* not excluded from belonging to the nation. In the German romantic idea of nation, which influenced most Central and Eastern European countries, whatever objective criteria determined the belonging to the nation, one of them was language. In the nation's language "lives its entire spiritual treasury of tradition, history, religion, and principles of life, all its heart and soul" (Herder, cited in Wilson, 1973, p. 827). Here, language is an objective criterion to distinguish between people and not primarily understood as a tool to communicate. With this understanding of language, an immigrant, even by learning the language, does not secure his belonging to the nation. This would be against the nature of things: "Every language has its definite national character, and therefore nature obliges us to learn only our native tongue, which is the most appropriate to our character" (Herder, cited in Wilson, 1973, p. 827).

This romanticised idea of a nation determined the attitude towards the guest worker in the 1950s in Germany. In the mid-fifties during the time of the Wirtschaftswunder – the miracle-growth of the post-war German economy – West-Germany lacked workers for its booming economy. Pressed by the industry, the government reluctantly signed recruitment agreements with Italy in 1955 and Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Yugoslavia in the following years in order to address the problem. These agreements allowed the recruitment of so-called “guest workers” for jobs that required few/little qualifications. The mostly male workers were allowed to work in Germany for a period of one or two years and should then return to be replaced by others, because the integration of these foreign workers was not at all intended. The need for foreign workers increased further in 1961 with the building of the Berlin Wall, preventing Germans from the East to enter the West. From 1955 to 1973 14 Million foreign workers came to Germany and 11 Million left again.

However, the turnover of the foreign workers did not fit the needs of the industry, because companies needed to teach the newly arrived worker new skills every time. It was economically more desirable for them that the foreign workers stayed for a longer time. Therefore, and only for economic reasons, the return and replacement of foreign workers ceased.

Only the basic needs of the arriving workers were addressed, since they were supposed to stay only for a limited amount of time, giving them the possibility to earn money and then leave the country. German language, for example, was only taught insofar as it was needed for functioning at the workplace. Housing was provided in barracks sometimes previously used to house forced labourers during the Nazi-period. It was not uncommon for eight people to share one room. Very often the barracks were close to the workplace but isolated from the German social environment. Everything looked very much like a temporary arrangement.

German and foreigners would work together but lived separate lives. Common scenes on weekends included groups of foreigners walking through the streets not knowing what to do in their free time. The most common meeting place for the foreign workers was the train stations, because people would arrive and bring news from home. In the 1960s German media started radio programs in foreign languages for these workers, not to integrate them into German society, but motivated by purely by the fear of communist infiltration, since Radio Moscow had started to broadcast from Prague to reach out to the foreign workers in Germany.

The recruitment of foreign workers stopped in 1973 due to the economic crisis caused by the rising oil prices. Unemployment in Germany soared and it was politically unwise to allow the industry to hire people from foreign countries. However, by this time, over 2 million foreigner workers lived in Germany and the industry had a strong interest to keep them in Germany, since they were used in low skilled jobs, badly paid combined with no social status, and since not enough Germans were available for these jobs. In order to keep these workers in the country the rules were changed and family reunification was facilitated. Consequently, even though the number of foreign workers dropped to under 2 million after 1973, the number of immigrants stayed the same, because the workers started to bring their families into the country.

No political discourse existed around immigration and the integration of foreign workers, because Germany did not see itself as an immigration country.

This period lasted until 1979 when for the first time, 24 years after Germany started hiring foreign workers, a leading politician came up with a concept for the integration of the foreigners living in Germany. Heinz Kühn, who was the former head of one of the German Länder, argued that politics should no longer ignore the fact that most of the foreigners living in the country were not only guest workers who would return to their home country once their work was done, but would stay in Germany as immigrants. Heinz Kühn argued that Germany should offer them the possibility to integrate, by for example giving children born in the country German passports and allowing foreigners to vote in local elections.

Kühn was not successful but his view started a debate and politicians finally realised that something had to be done. Politicians not only reacted to the memorandum from Kühn, but also because in the beginning of the 1980s there was a sharp increase in the numbers of refugees coming into the country. Meanwhile, unemployment figures kept rising.

Since the right-wing parties employed xenophobia as a very successful way of gaining votes, politicians started to take up the issue of immigration in Germany, but - and this is important -, they framed it as a "problem" which needed to be solved. The workers once invited into the country turned into a "problem" that needed a solution. At this point in the 1980s, it was no longer possible to discuss the situation of the foreign workers without using the categories of problem, danger and threat.

While the foreigner became a problem, politicians came up with different solutions, all of them still underlying the idea that these people did not belong in Germany. Money was given to foreign labourers willing to leave the country and it became more difficult for foreigners to bring their family to Germany.

Ironically, it was the very romantic notion of the nation that forced Germany to rethink its own understanding of a nation. With the end of the Soviet Union and the disintegration that followed, many descendants of German migrants, who came to Russia in the 17th century, decided to reclaim their German citizenship and move to Germany. These people were called "Aussiedler" (resettlers). In 1990 only, nearly 400 000 resettlers claimed their German passport and moved to Germany. There were third-generation Turkish migrants, fluent in German and fully integrated, but without the German citizenship, and people hardly speaking a word of German but holding German citizenship, since their great-great-great-grandfather was of German descent.

Following the Historikerstreit of 1986-1989, in which all leading West-German Intellectuals took part in a discussion about the best or the correct way on how to remember German Nazi's past, the concept of constitutional patriotism was introduced and promoted a republican understanding of the nation, offering a path out of the romantic understanding of the nation. Constitutional patriotism meant the norms and values of a democratic constitution should form the basis of a political attachment to the state and not the belonging to an ethnic group.

This changing understanding of the nation is reflected in the laws of the country as in the year 2000 Germany's birth laws changed and now grants German-born children citizenship if one of their parents has resided lawfully in Germany for at least eight years. Furthermore in 2005, Germany introduced a law on immigration of which one of the requirements is to take German lessons, currently 600 hours in total. The concept of constitutional patriotism was needed for a German president to state that "Islam belongs to Germany", as it would never have been possible as long as Germany was entangled in the romantic grip of Herder and his idea of the nation state. Germany is a good case study illustrating the change in attitude and perception of migration. Our perception of migration is not fixed, it develops, with this course on migration we want to contribute to strengthen the role played by the university in advocating for constructive, responsible and inclusive education about migration in Europe and to encourage European universities to provide a rational vehicle for contributions to the knowledge and the informed debate around migration.

References

Baumann, Z. (1990). *Thinking sociologically. An introduction for everyone*. Basil Blackwell.

Eurostat (2019, July 26). *Migrant population: 22.3 million non-EU citizens living in the EU on 1 January 2018*. Eurostat Statistics Explained.

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics#Migrant_population:_22.3_million_non-EU_citizens_living_in_the_EU_%E2%80%A8on_1_January_2018

Marzocchi, O. (2020, February). Free movement of persons. Fact Sheets on the European Union. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/147/free-movement-of-persons>.
Gunnþórsdóttir, H., Barillé, S., & Meckl, M. (2018). The education of students with immigrant background in Iceland: Parents' and teachers' voices. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 63(4), 605-616. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313831.2017.1415966>

Kohn, H. (2019, July 26). Nationalism. *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/nationalism>

Livi-Bacci, M. (2012). *A Short history of migration*. Polity Press.

Mueller J. M. (2006). On the origins of constitutional patriotism. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 5(3), 278-296.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300235>

Renan, E. (1992). *What is a nation? Conference delivered at the Sorbonne on March 11th, 1882* (E. Rundell, Trans.). Presses-Pocket. (Original work published ca. 1882)

Wilson, W. (1973). Herder, Folklore and romantic nationalism. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 6(4), 819-835.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3840.1973.00819.x>

Structure and Aims of the Handbook

Markus Meckl • Evrinomy Avdi

This Handbook has been created with a view to accompany a course on Migration Studies from a multidisciplinary perspective. With this course we want to address the topic of migration from different academic fields and perspectives. You can take a 6-ECTS course by combining any three 2 ECTS units. Each 2-credit unit will last two weeks. For each of the units you will receive a grade and your final grade will be the average of all three grades.

In the first two weeks, we will be looking at a philosophical reflection on the question of prejudice towards the other and discuss the changing perception of the debate on immigration from assimilation to transnationalism.

Weeks 3 and 4 will be dedicated to sociological theories with regards to migration. Students will be introduced to the main sociological theories concerning the causes and processes of migration, as well as key theories about migrant integration. Also, selected sociological studies concerning the rights of economic migrants, refugees, irregular migrants, and undocumented migrants, and the challenges related to nationalism and xenophobia will be discussed.

Weeks 5 and 6 will focus on psychological theories with regards to migration. More specifically, students will be introduced to key social psychological theories concerning group relations, acquire a theoretical background for understanding the main psychological processes involved in the experience of migration and recognize some clinical implications of migration on mental health.

Weeks 7 and 8 will be dedicated to studying pedagogy in the context of human mobility. More specifically, students will become familiar with contemporary challenges of pedagogy of migrations, the capability approach and the concept of cultural intelligence. They will also learn about the opportunities offered by art-based education in expressing own cultural awareness and become aware of the necessary competences needed by professionals in education.

Weeks 9 and 10 will examine Cultural and Literary Studies in the context of migration

Finally, weeks 11 and 12 will focus on the concept of cultural rights, as human rights in international law, their role for enhancing the integration of migrant communities, their links to the right to cultural identity.

1 Chapter 1

History and Philosophy

History and Philosophy of Migration

Lara Hoffmann • Giorgio Baruchello

Learning objectives

Upon completion of this module students will be able to:

- 1) Understand the role of migration in forming modern societies
- 2) Distinguish between assimilation theories and theories of transnationalism as concepts of migrant integration.
- 3) Discuss possible implications of the concepts assimilation and transnationalism for migration policies.
- 4) Discuss the meaning of prejudice as a concept in philosophy based on its intellectual history.

1.1 History and philosophy of migration: conceptualizing migrant integration from assimilation to transnationalism

Lara Hoffmann

Focusing on *assimilation* and *transnationalism*, this chapter addresses the history of two theoretical approaches to immigrant integration in the 20th century. We will start by investigating assimilation theories. Then, we will introduce the concept of transnationalism. Lastly, we will discuss the links and differences between these theories and further discuss potential implications of these theories on states and policy makers.

In times of increasing economic and technological globalization, we are likely to encounter someone who maintains friendships and family connections in several countries, votes in two countries, buys property in their country of origin and is a vivid fan of the local sports team in their place of residence. According to *classic assimilation theory* (Castles, 2003), the prevailing perspective on immigrant integration in the first half of the 20th century, this individual would not be a successfully integrated immigrant. It was generally agreed upon *classic assimilation theorists* that ties to immigrants' countries of origin pose a challenge to society. Integration was understood as assimilation and the disappearance of all differences between groups of immigrants and the receiving culture.

Classic assimilation theories dominated until the 1960s. Since that time, scholars adapted and refined assimilation theory, for example by developing *segmented assimilation theory* (Zhou, 1997), which takes into account the differences between immigrant groups. *Segmented assimilation theory* emphasizes the different conditions provided by the society in which immigrants are immigrating. All assimilation theories have in common that they claim that successful integration means that immigrants adopt the culture of the country in which they live.

Since the mid-1990s, there has been a shift in the social sciences towards investigating the lives of migrants who maintain connections to two or more countries. The theory of *transnationalism* (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992), which was developed in the 1990s, focuses on migrants who maintain ties to their countries of origin as well as their countries of residence. Transnationalism provides a significantly different approach to immigrant integration than classic assimilation theories. The perspective of transnationalism takes into account that immigrants can maintain elements of their culture of origin and at the same time take part in the society in which they live. According to the theory of transnationalism, the migrant described above could be seen as integrated, as connections to several countries are not seen as a problem to the integration of immigrants.

The first theories that we will examine in this chapter are assimilation theories. Assimilation theories were first developed at the beginning of the 20th century in the United States of America at a time when immigration to the USA increased rapidly.

Assimilation theory views integration as adapting to the culture of the receiving society and leaving the culture of one's country of origin behind. As will be discussed in more detail below, *classic assimilation theories* imply that groups of immigrants inevitably become more similar to the culture of the receiving country over time. In general, assimilation theories focus on the challenges that immigrants are going through and the sometimes painful process of leaving aspects of their countries of origin behind in order to assimilate successfully into a new culture.

The earliest *classic assimilation theories* are theories of the 'melting pot'. The term 'melting-pot' is derived from a theatre play with the same title, which was produced by Israel Zangwill in 1908. The development of assimilation theory is associated with the Chicago School of Sociology, most notably the work of Robert E. Park (Park, 1914). When assimilation theories were developed, over one-third of Chicago's population was foreign-born and assimilation theories

were an attempt to research the societal change following the increasing number of immigrants (Park, 1950). There was a strong link between the earliest assimilation theories and notions of Americanization. Fairchild, who developed one of the first assimilation theories in his work *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*, published in 1913, writes that “true or complete assimilation of the foreign elements in the United States involves such as complete transformation of the new constituents that all sense of difference between the new and the old completely disappears” (Fairchild, 1913, p. 417).

Classic assimilation theory was developed further in the works of sociologists such as Milton Gordon. Gordon developed a model with several stages of assimilation in his work *Assimilation in American Life. The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, published in 1964. These stages represent the assimilation of groups of immigrants into a receiving society and represent the steps that groups of immigrants have to take on their way towards full assimilation. According to Milton Gordon’s model, the first step of assimilation is cultural or behavioral assimilation, meaning the change of cultural patterns to those of the host society. This stage of assimilation is also called acculturation. The second step is structural assimilation, which refers to the large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of society. The third step is marital assimilation, which concerns large-scale marriage of the immigrant group into another group. The fourth stage of assimilation is what Gordon calls identificational assimilation, which he describes as the development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society. The sixth step is attitude receptional assimilation, which refers to the absence of prejudice. The seventh stage of assimilation is behaviour receptional assimilation, that is the absence of discrimination. The last stage of assimilation is what Gordon calls civic assimilation, which concerns the absence of value and power conflict (Gordon, 1964, p. 71).

According to Gordon’s model, assimilation of groups of immigrants is a gradual process, which inevitably leads to immigrants adopting the culture of the receiving country. This means that immigrants who combine elements from different cultures do not count as fully integrated. This state is merely seen as one step in the gradual development towards assimilation, which is inevitable. Gordon’s model further implies that only after immigrants have fully started to identify with the receiving society there will be an absence of prejudice and discrimination.

The conclusion that can be derived from *classic assimilation theory* is that immigrants’ cultures of origin are seen as an obstacle to the

society of the receiving culture. As Stephen Castles phrases it: In classic assimilation theories, the migrant is characterized as someone “whose pre-migration culture is useless and even harmful in the new setting” (Castles, 2003, p. 23). In Gordon’s model, it is only a matter of time until a group of immigrants fully assimilates into the receiving country.

In the 1960s, *classic assimilation theories* became contested in context of the civil rights movement (Alba & Nee, 2003). The civil rights movement had the goal to enforce constitutional and legal rights for African Americans. In this context, it was criticized that assimilation theories imply that integration meant assimilation and successful integration means neglecting immigrants’ cultures of origin. Critics stated that assimilation theorists imply that immigrants wish and should “shed their own cultures, as if these were old skins no longer possessing any vital force, and wrap themselves in the mantle of Anglo-American culture” (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 3)

Following this criticism, assimilation theorists such as Nathan Glazer started to rethink assimilation theories. In his work *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* published in 1963, Glazer emphasizes that ethnic diversity can provide a resource for society and is not merely a burden for society and an obstacle to integration. Since then, assimilation theories, such as the ones developed by Richard Alba and Victor Nee (Alba, 1990; Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003) have refined the concept of *classic assimilation theories* developed by scholars such as Fairchild and Gordon. Alba and Nee emphasize the role of the receiving society in guaranteeing successful integration of immigrant groups and that the contexts in which assimilation takes place differ depending on aspects such as race or the economic situation of immigrant groups (Alba & Nee, 2003).

Another type of assimilation theories, called *segmented assimilation theories*, emerged as an alternative to classic assimilation theories in the 1990s. These theories seek to expand the perspective on assimilation and take into account the impact of the different contexts in which immigrants are integrating (Portes et al., 2005; Zhou, 1997). Herbert J. Gans emphasizes this change in his article *Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach* from 1992, in which he discusses that linear theory, which presents assimilation as a gradual process, does not take into account individual differences and does not focus sufficiently on the specific conditions of the receiving country.

Segmented assimilation theory states that there are unequal opportunities for immigrants that can pose obstacles to the integration of

immigrants into mainstream society. Alejandro Portes and his collaborators conclude that there are three possible outcomes for the assimilation of immigrants: upward assimilation, downward assimilation, and upward mobility combined with persistent biculturalism (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The outcome of immigrant integration depends on several factors that lead to unequal access of immigrants into the labour market. Possible determinants for immigrant integration are for example education, language ability, place of birth and age upon arrival (Zhou, 1997).

Even though assimilation theorists have worked on developing the theory further, it is generally agreed upon today that the term assimilation has negative associations (Alba & Nee, 2003; Kivisto, 2003). The decline of the positive attitude towards assimilation is discussed by Nathan Glazer in his article *Is Assimilation dead?*, published in 1993, in which he concludes that, even though the general public has negative associations with the term assimilation, it remains useful as a concept. According to Glazer, prejudices and discrimination towards migrants in the receiving country pose obstacles to migrants who want to assimilate. Glazer states that “properly understood, assimilation is still the most powerful force affecting ethnic groups” (Glazer, 1993, p. 122). Nevertheless, we have pointed out in this section that the concept of assimilation became contested in the second half of the 20th century and today often evokes negative associations. As a result, new theories on immigrant integration were developed.

Even though the number of international migrants has not increased significantly on a global scale (Czaika & de Haas, 2014), migrant identities have become increasingly complex since the beginning of the 20th century. Today, economic and technological globalization provides many opportunities for migrants to maintain ties to several countries (Czaika & de Haas, 2014). Recent migration theories suggest that contemporary migrants differ from previous generations, as “modern technology has intensified the rate and extent of circulation between homeland and migratory destination” (Kivisto, 2003, p. 15). However, these changes are relative. Scholars such as Nancy Foner have pointed out that immigrants have always been in some way emotionally attached to their countries of origin and maintained ties to several countries, even though the form and extent of these connections is now fundamentally different (Foner, 2007).

With the increase in opportunities for migrants, who combine elements from different cultures, scholars have shifted their attention towards this aspect of immigrant lives. The second theory that we will discuss in this chapter is the *theory of transnationalism*. In the

1990s, Glick-Schiller and colleagues (1992) developed the theory of transnationalism, which was, written as reaction to the fact that the prevailing ideas on immigration were informed by assimilation theories (Schiller, 2018). The founders of the theory of transnationalism were of the opinion that these older ideas of assimilation did no longer suffice (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992). The book *Nations Unbound* (1994), written by Glick-Schiller and colleagues is the first study on transnationalism. Recently, Glick-Schiller has published an adapted version of the theory of transnationalism, emphasizing the aspect of time and the context on transnational behaviour of migrants (Glick-Schiller, 2018). Transnationalism refers to “processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992, p.1). Glick-Schiller and colleagues (1992) developed in their theory how migrants combine elements of different cultures in so-called transnational fields between their countries of residence and their countries of origin. In their study of Haitian migrants in the United States of America, the researchers reflect on how transnational migrants often have different, almost contradictory, identities. One of the examples they mention is that “the same individual may attend a meeting of U.S. citizens of the same ‘ethnic group’, be called as a New Yorker to speak to the mayor of New York about the development of “our city” and the next week go ‘back home’ to Haiti, St. Vincent, or the Philippines and speak as a committed nationalist about the development of “our nation” (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992, p.12).

The development of the theory of transnationalism meant that there was a term describing the lives of immigrants who live across national borders, such as for example the individual who takes part in meetings in New York and Haiti. Scholars have since refined the theory of transnationalism. Portes, et al. (1999) have categorized transnationalism into three types: economic transnational activities, political transnational activities and socio-cultural transnational activities. They have further distinguished between transnationalism ‘from above’, which is initiated by powerful institutional actors, such as multinational corporations and states, and transnational activities ‘from below’, which are based on grass-roots initiatives.

According to Portes and colleagues (1999), *economic transnationalism* with low level of institutionalization are informal cross-country traders, small businesses created by returned migrants in the home country and long distance labour migration. *Economic transnationalism* with high levels of institutionalization are for example multinational investments in Third World countries, development for tourist market of locations abroad or agencies of home country

banks in immigrants centres. *Political transnationalism* with low level of institutionalization are home-town civic committees created by immigrants, alliances of immigrant committee with political associations in the home country and fundraisers for home country electoral candidates. *Political transnationalism* with high levels of institutionalization are consular officials and representatives of national political parties abroad, dual nationality granted by home country governments and immigrants elected to home country legislatures. *Socio-cultural transnationalism* with low institutional involvement are for example amateur cross-country sport matches, folk music groups making presentations in immigrant centres and priests from home town visits and organize their parishioners abroad. *Socio-cultural transnationalism* with high institutional involvement are international expositions of national arts, home country major artists performing abroad and regular cultural events organized by foreign embassies (Portes et al., 1999, p. 222).

This model shows the diversity of transnational activities and how transnationalism has an impact on many different aspects of society. Several scholars have since further refined the theory of transnationalism further and looked at transnational migrants on a global scale. In her book *The Transnational Villagers*, published in 2001, Peggy Levitt has illustrated that an increasing number of migrants continue to participate politically, socially, and economically in their countries of origin. She further shows that in times of heightened globalization, more and more migrants maintain strong ties with their countries of and immigrants are more likely to have links to different countries (Levitt, 2001).

There are a number of possible explanations of the reasons of immigrants' transnational activities. Itzigsohn and Saucedo identify three possible explanations: linear, resource-based, and reactive (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002, p. 789). 'Linear transnationalism' explains transnationalism as a continuation of ties from the country of origin, 'resource-based' transnationalism sees transnationalism as based on financial resources, implying that newly arrived immigrants don't have the financial means to maintain ties to their countries of origin. 'Reactive transnationalism' sees transnational behaviour as reaction to bad experiences in the host society.

Criticism on transnationalism has pointed out that there has been too much focus on the differences between groups of immigrants and that this is presented as an answer to assimilation and as the only perspective on migration. Nancy Foner poses the question "What's new about transnationalism?" in 1997 and 2007, emphasizing that

“transnational ties were alive and well among many of the millions of European immigrants [...] who came in the last great wave of immigration between approximately 1880 and 1920” (Foner, 2007). Portes and colleagues (1999) emphasize that the term transnationalism should only be used if this term contains something unique that no other term can cover. The authors state that what is significant about transnationalism is the element of regularity, routine involvement, and critical mass that characterizes transnational migrants (Portes et al., 1999). They therefore point out that short-time involvement in another country is not transnationalism.

After introducing transnationalism and assimilation, we will now look at the connections between these two theories. In this chapter, we have pointed out significant differences between assimilation and transnationalism. Clearly, theories of transnationalism “represent a phenomenon at variance with conventional expectations of immigrant assimilation” (Portes et al., 1999, p. 227). The theory of transnationalism has demonstrated that immigrants can maintain connections to more than one country over a longer period of time.

Transnationalism therefore poses an alternative to the ideas presented in assimilation theories as both *classic assimilation theory* and *segmented assimilation theory* imply that migrants inevitable undergo processes of assimilation. The perspective of transnationalism sheds a significantly different light on immigrant integration than the perspective provided by assimilation theories and contains fundamentally different expectation towards immigrants.

As Portes and colleagues (1999, p. 229) write: “For immigrants involved in transnational activities and their home country counterparts, success does not so much depend on abandoning their culture and language to embrace those of another society as on preserving their original cultural endowment, while adapting instrumentally to a second”.

The differences in expectations towards immigrants presented in the theories of assimilation and transnationalism have implications for nation states and policymakers. Levitt and de la Dehesa have investigated how national policies respond to these developments and are “creating economic, political, and social mechanisms that enable migrants to participate in the national developments process over the long term and from afar” (Levitt & de la Dehesa, 2003). Examples for these developments are double citizenship and education in heritage languages, which, following the idea of classic assimilation theory, could be seen as counterproductive to immigrant integration.

So far, we have discussed assimilation and transnationalism as theories that provide opposing perspectives on migrant integration. There are theories that seek to combine assimilation and transnationalism. Peter Kivisto suggests to understand assimilation and transnationalism as interconnected rather than opposed views on migration. According to Kivisto, social policies that supports ethnic diversity should be seen as assimilation strategies, as the goal of such policies is integration of immigrants into the receiving country. Such policies aim to support the incorporation of immigrants into the receiving society, while at the same time ascribing value to ethnic diversity (Kivisto, 2003, p. 22).

According to Kivisto, the implications of such policies would be an increase in transnational communities and new concepts of citizenship. Kivisto suggests that these communities would be "cosmopolitan communities, reflecting the movement [...] of immigrants in and out of the community, indicative of a general openness to the influence of both homeland and receiving nations' cultures and social institutions" (Kivisto, 2003, p. 23).

Assimilation policies that do not ascribe value to ethnic diversity would, according to Kivisto, lead to segregation and therefore lead to the exact opposite of assimilation of immigrants. Following this perspective, assimilation and transnationalism are closely intertwined.

This example demonstrates that the connection between assimilation and transnationalism is more complex and goes beyond diametrically opposed views on migration. It is still much discussed amongst researchers today which theory, or combination of theories, suits best to describe migrant integration in today's increasing economically and technologically globalized world.

We encounter people who live lives across different national borders in our everyday lives. In the media, there are frequent examples of discussions about migrant integration. Being aware of the history of the ideas of assimilation and transnationalism, which have been discussed in this chapter, can help us understand which ideas inform the views on migrant integration as they are for example presented in public discourse today. Having acquired knowledge on how migrant integration was conceptualized in the course of the 20th century can therefore further our understanding of how we think and talk about migrants and migration today.

References

- Alba, R. D. (1990). *Ethnic identity: The transformation of white America*. Yale University Press.
- Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 826-874. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791839703100403>
- Alba, R. D., & Nee, V. (2003). *Remaking the American mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration*. Harvard University Press.
- Castles, S. (2003). Towards a sociology of forced migration and social transformation. *Sociology*, 37(1), 13-34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038503037001384>
- Chin, R. (2017). *The crisis of multiculturalism in Europe: A history*. Princeton University Press.
- Czaika, M., & de Haas, H. D. (2014). The globalization of migration: Has the world become more migratory? *International Migration Review*, 48(2), 283-323. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12095>
- Fairchild, H. P. (1913). *Immigration: A world movement and its American significance*. The Macmillan Company.
- Foner, N. (2007). Engagements across national borders, then and now. *Fordham Law Review*, 75(5), 2483-2492. Retrieved from <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/flr/vol75/iss5/8>
- Gans, H. (1992). Comment: Ethnic invention and acculturation, a bumpy-line approach. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12(1), 42-52. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27501012>
- Glazer, N. (1993). Is assimilation dead? *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530(1), 122-136. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716293530001009>
- Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life. The role of race, religion, and national origins*. Oxford University Press.
- Itzigsohn, J., & Saucedo, S. G. (2002). Immigrant incorporation and sociocultural transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 36(3), 766-798. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2002.tb00104.x>
- Kivisto, P. (2003). Social spaces, transnational immigrant communities, and the politics of incorporation. *Ethnicities*, 3(1), 5-28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796803003001786>
- Levitt, P., & Dehesa, R. D. L. (2003). Transnational migration and the redefinition of the state: Variations and explanations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26(4), 587-611. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987032000087325>
- Park, R. E. (1914). Racial assimilation in secondary groups with particular reference to the Negro. *American Journal of Sociology*, 19(5), 606-623. <https://doi.org/10.1086/212297>
- Park, R. E. (1950). *Race and culture*. The Free Press.
- Portes, A., Fernández-Kelly, P., & Haller, W. (2005). Segmented assimilation on the ground: The new second generation in early adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(6), 1000-1040. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870500224117>
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 217-237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468>
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. University of California Press.
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x>
- Schiller, N. G. (2018). Theorising transnational migration in our times: A multiscale temporal perspective. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 8(4), 201-212. <https://doi.org/10.2478/njmr-2018-0032>
- Zhou, M. (1997). Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 975-1008. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791839703100408>
- Zincone, G., Borkert, M., & Penninx, R. (2011). *Migration policymaking in Europe: The dynamics of actors and contexts in past and present*. Amsterdam University Press

1.2 Prejudice in the History of Philosophy

Giorgio Baruchello

In the face of increased transnational and transcontinental migration, we are all likely to have encountered in our daily life utterances that we interpret as either stating explicitly or presupposing implicitly the claim that "All x are P", whereby "x" refers to the members of a certain human group (e.g. Mexican or Italian migrants) and the predicate "P" to a certain attribute of theirs (e.g. being prone to crime). Negative universal formulations like "No x is R" or "All x are not Q" are variations on the same theme (e.g. "No Gipsy is trustworthy" or "All Southerners are incapable of hard work"). The predicate "P" (as well as "R" and "Q", depending on the circumstances), being typically a negative attribute, can legitimise negative attitudes toward "x" by the persons who, whether explicitly or implicitly, make the claim at issue and whom we call, in accordance with today's parlance, "prejudiced" (Billig, 1988; Newman, 1979).

"Prejudiced" persons can be found in nearly all paths of life and there can be right-wing versions ("Jews are vermin") and left-wing versions ("there are no good capitalists"), as well as sexist ones ("women are irrational") and feminist ones ("men are privileged") (Baroncelli, 2009). Positive prejudice is infrequent but not unheard of, e.g. "Italians are all great lovers". Frequent is, instead, the fallacious but persuasive phenomenon whereby exceptions are permitted to the same universal claims, such that the prejudiced persons claiming that "All x are P" et similia can then accommodate any contrary evidence and never revise the original claim (Baroncelli, 1996). In fact, it is commonplace to assert that exceptions prove the rule (Dorschel, 2000). As Flaubert (1966, p. 53; translation ours) quipped in his Dictionary of Received Ideas: "English women. To express surprise at those among them who have pretty babies."

As routine, offensive and, sometimes, as ridiculous as the claims at issue may be, they present relevant implications for logic (i.e. the study of correct and fallacious argumentation), rhetoric (i.e. the study of persuasive communication), axiology (i.e. the study of value), ethics (i.e. the study of right and wrong), hermeneutics (i.e. the study of interpretation), linguistic exchanges at large (i.e. the province of philosophy of language) and, as the following few and inevitably selective pages exemplify, intellectual history (i.e. a component of the history of philosophy), namely seven well-established sub-fields of philosophy as an academic discipline.

Literally meaning "the love of wisdom", philosophy is to date the longest-living form of organised, rational and reflective inquiry, as

well as the mother of nearly all other academic disciplines. Emblematically, until the late 19th century, the natural sciences were often called “natural philosophy”, while today’s doctoral graduates still receive in many countries a formal title qua “doctor of philosophy” (i.e. Ph.D., “philosophiae doctor”), even if they may have never read any books by, or even heard of, Plato, Aquinas, Kant or Wittgenstein. It is therefore unsurprising that philosophers, both today and in the past, may have tackled the phenomenon and/or the notion of prejudice (for brevity’s and clarity’s sakes, in this text, only explicit discussions of “prejudice” are referred to, with one exception, i.e. Michael Polanyi’s philosophy).

In the Latin original—*praejudicium*—the usage of this notion was specific to the field of law and meant, in classical times, “a preceding judgment, sentence, or decision, a precedent” (Lewis & Short, 1879). In post-classical Latin, cognate meanings started to appear, including “[a] judicial examination previous to a trial... [a] damage, disadvantage... [and a] decision made beforehand or before the proper time” (Lewis & Short, 1879). The aspects of harmfulness and erroneousness began to emerge in conjunction with “*praejudicium*”. Over the centuries, they submerged the initial, neutral, technical meaning, up to the point that, today, the Oxford Dictionary defines “prejudice” as “[p]reconceived opinion that is not based on reason or actual experience... Dislike, hostility, or unjust behaviour deriving from preconceived and unfounded opinions” and, with reference to the field of law, “[h]arm or injury that results or may result from some action or judgement.”

It is difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint the exact time when the pejoration of “prejudice” occurred. Nor can “prejudice” be understood once and for all as being exclusively a poorly formed opinion, an unreasonable belief, a false judgment, a sentiment, an assumption dictated or corrupted by sentiment, a bad behaviour, or an admixture of them. Speakers, erudite ones included, have been using “prejudice” in many ways, the variety of which the Oxford Dictionary and researchers at large cannot but acknowledge and report (e.g. Duckitt, 1992). Unlike artificial technical terms - e.g. the classical legal interpretation of “*praejudicium*” - and like all important concepts of our natural languages - e.g. love, justice, beauty, education - “prejudice” too is polysemic, ambiguous, living, contestable and contested.

Within philosophy, however, the negative connotation of “prejudice” as poorly formed opinion or unexamined belief came to the forefront in the writings of one of the most influential thinkers of the 17th century, i.e. the French polymath Descartes. A child of the Renaissance, Descartes was eager to develop further the novel paths in geometry,

optics, mechanics and medicine initiated by himself as well as by Galileo, Torricelli, Gassendi and others, whom we celebrate today as the fathers of the "Scientific Revolution" (Koyré, 1968). Echoing earlier seminal works by Bacon (1902), Descartes (1968, p. 78) dreamt of "the invention of an infinity of devices by which we might enjoy, without any effort, the fruits of the earth and all its commodities" as well as "the preservation of health, which is undoubtedly the first good, and the foundation of all the other goods of life".

Finding the official late-Aristotelian scholarship of his day inadequate to accommodate the new emerging sciences and therefore detrimental to the novel technological possibilities to be explored, Descartes (1968, p. 95) argued that it was necessary for the few eminent minds capable of philosophical thinking to abandon the Latin-speaking and bookish late-Aristotelianism of Europe's universities and start "afresh", in their own vulgar tongues. A battle had begun for the power to determine what counted as knowledge, who were the true experts and how to express the contents of science (Segre, 2015). It pitted secular intellectuals close to national princes against clergymen loyal to supranational churches, especially the Catholic one (Segre, 2015). Plausibly, this battle for power lasted until 1966, when the Church of Rome abolished its index of prohibited books (Halsall, 1998).

Descartes (1968, p. 95-99) advocated the "general destruction of all... former opinions" by way of sceptical or "hyperbolic doubt" about everything, including the very "existence" of any "God"; then, the mind should follow only "strongly and deeply considered reasons" that could lead to "entirely certain and indubitable" conclusions, e.g. those reached in mathematics (it should be noted that Descartes, eventually, recovered the existence of God as certain and indubitable as well). Properly conducted, human reason should make *tabula rasa* of all preceding constructs and then build anew.

Descartes's use of the French term "préjugé", i.e. "prejudice", occurred within this particular context, i.e. a battle for epistemic power. Indeed, the "hindrance" of prejudices to correct thinking was said by him to be proportional to how much one had "studied the false sciences" of Europe's late-Aristotelian universities (Descartes, 1968, p. 182). In the same context, Descartes introduced a distinction between two forms of prejudice that has become canonical in philosophy. Specifically, Descartes (1968, p. 38) distinguished between: "[T]hose who, thinking themselves to be cleverer than they are, cannot help judging prematurely and do not have the patience to conduct their thought in an orderly way" (i.e. prejudice of "precipitation"); and "those who, having enough sense or modesty to know

that they are less able to distinguish the true from the false than some from whom they can learn, ought rather to content themselves with following the opinions of these others instead of seeking better opinions themselves" (i.e. prejudice of "prevention"; Ipperciel, 1997, p. 45; translation ours).

Descartes' successors pushed the rejection of "prejudice" into a wider and wider set of domains, making this notion more and more prominent in their works, more and more obviously negative in its undertones, and more and more semantically assorted, for they applied it qua mark of contempt to all those institutions that they wished to see reformed, overhauled or abolished (Dorschel, 2000). Regularly, modern philosophical critiques started displaying an unflinching faith in the ability of intellectual expertise, scientific thought and technological development to resolve all problems rationally, combined with scepticism vis-à-vis older faiths, received authorities or cherished traditions as resting upon irrational prejudices (Polanyi, 1969). This process was especially manifest during and around the 18th century, when leading philosophers further entrenched the negative connotation of "prejudice" persisting today, both in our common parlance and in the countless studies churned out by descriptive scientists (e.g. Allport, 1954 and van Dijk, 1984). As Gadamer (1985, p. 240) remarked, the Enlightenment had "a prejudice against prejudice itself".

Echoing Descartes, for example, Glanvill (2011, p. 74) claimed back in 1661 that "the almost insuperable prejudice of custom and education" explains why "we miscarry of science" so often and why "most [people] are held in fatal ignorance." Glanvill's contemporary John Locke (2000, p. 175) called "prejudices... [a] great cause of ignorance and error" and a "great hindrance" to human knowledge that, in true Cartesian spirit, we can overcome by teaching "every one impartially to examine him self" [sic] (i.e., by turning unreasoned opinions into pondered judgments). An engaged social reformer and a self-declared follower of Descartes, Poullain de la Barre (2010; translation ours and emphasis added) entitled his 1679 feminist treatise *On the Equality of the Sexes* and added as a subtitle: "Showing the importance of getting rid of prejudices", such as those concerning the alleged inferiority of women. Descartes' aversion to seeking erudition in dead languages was recovered and duly condemned as "prejudice" in d'Alembert's (1893, p. 88 & 95; translation ours) "Preliminary Discourse" to the celebrated *Encyclopédie* of Diderot, which proclaims all forms of "prejudice" to be "false judgments... following the insufficient exercise of the intellectual faculties" in an entry devoted specifically to this notion, whilst also recovering therein two of its older legal meanings (d'Argis & de Jaucourt, 2019). D'Holbach

(2009, p. 11; translation ours) published in 1770 an *Essay on Prejudices* defining these objectionable entities as “judgments accepted before examination”—hence echoing and expanding upon Descartes’ call for critical re-examination of commonly accepted beliefs—and prejudiced persons as “the unfortunate plaything of their own inexperience or of the whim of the blind guiding them” (the quoted work is sometimes attributed to DuMarsais). Equally scornful of all “prejudices”, Condorcet (2005, p. 58, 65, 68, 90, 135; ; translation ours) warned about them as a pervasive threat to “the good that the enlightenment must generate”, a tool of tyrannical power or “despotism”, a devious ally of “religious ideas” and “superstitions” opposing progress in the sciences; once again, “rational examination” alone was said to be able to free us from them. Advocating freedom from “despotism” and the advent of the “enlightenment”, Kant (2019) did also attack “prejudices” as “pernicious” and called for the “duty to think for [one]self” in lieu of relying upon “external guidance”, hence recalling Descartes’ prejudice of prevention, though in connection with political power rather than epistemic pre-eminence. Equating “prejudices” and “errors”, Helvétius (2009, p. 342 & 434; translation ours) expressed poignantly the connection between them and political power: “The prejudices of the great are the laws of the small.”

Upon the background of the revolt of the small against the great, i.e. the French Revolution, de Sade (2018, p. 72 & 234; translation ours) explored with lucid detachment some of the perplexing and even sinister implications of what it meant to apply free sceptical doubt and novel scientific concepts to “all the prejudices” that the Europeans of his day were inculcated since “infancy: threats, exhortations, duties, virtues, religion, advices”. Unsentimental, unbiased reason was thus proved to be able to lead to puzzling conclusions, ranging from the destruction of sexual taboos and family institutions to the justification of murder qua sheer “transformation” of matter into other matter (de Sade, 2018, p. 300; translation ours). Seemingly extreme, de Sade’s conclusions were not entirely removed from reality: in 1752, the first president of the Prussian Academy of Science, Maupertius, had requested the use of prison inmates for the sake of medical experiments.

Sensing the morally and socially paradoxical outcomes of too extreme a rejection of prejudice in all its forms, Voltaire (1901) had already distinguished “different kinds of prejudices”, which he defined as “opinion without judgment.” Some of these unreasoned opinions were said to be more or less dangerously mistaken (e.g. “that crabs are good for the blood, because when boiled they are of the same color”), while others could be “universal and necessary... and... even constitute virtue.” For example, “throughout the world, children are

inspired with opinions before they can judge... In all countries, children are taught to acknowledge a rewarding and punishing God; to respect and love their fathers and mothers; to regard theft as a crime, and interested lying as a vice, before they can tell what is a virtue or a vice." Under such social, moral and pedagogical conditions, "[p]rejudice may... be very useful, and such as judgment will ratify when we reason."

In his essay "On Prejudice", Hazlitt (1903) reached a similar conclusion, but also added that human reason may be rarely able to ratify any such judgment, and that we may have to rely on prejudice instead, insofar as:

We can only judge for ourselves in what concerns ourselves, and in things about us: and even there we must trust continually to established opinion and current report; in higher and more abstruse points we must pin our faith still more on others... I walk along the streets without fearing that the houses will fall on my head, though I have not examined their foundation; and I believe firmly in the Newtonian system, though I have never read the Principia. In the former case, I argue that if the houses were included to fall they would not wait for me; and in the latter, I acquiesce in what all who have studied the subject, and are capable of understanding it, agree in, having no reason to suspect the contrary. That the earth turns round is agreeable to my understanding, though it shocks my sense, which is however too weak to grapple with so vast a question.

Voltaire's case suggests that, pace very many fellow Enlightenment thinkers and today's parlance, prejudices may not always be bad and worthy of elimination, lest we let our children fail to acquire basic moral and social principles of conduct (Billig, 1988). Hazlitt's reflections add that they are quite simply necessary for us to function at any level. Without holding some prejudices qua tacit presuppositions of our voluntary actions, including our thinking and talking, no common person or no eminent scientist could attain anything whatsoever. (Descartes, for instance, when engaging in radical doubt, did never stop assuming that the meaning of his own words and concepts would persist unchanged through time.) In the modern age, Pascal (1993), Vico (2013), Schlegel (1975) and Amiel (1981) concurred on this point.

In the 20th century, the great Hungarian chemist and philosopher Polanyi (1969) reached the same conclusion too. Indeed, Polanyi (1962) reflected on how young persons, were they not prejudicially convinced of the value of a discipline that they do not yet know, would never endeavour to learn it, and that scientists themselves, without prejudicial faith in the actual presence of a valuable bit of unknown knowledge, would never strive to discover it, sometimes at great peril for themselves, their career, or even their wellbeing.

What is more, both students and scientists may fail miserably, thus confirming the prejudicial character of their presuppositions. Had they not held them, though, then they would have not even tried. Had they held them lightly, then they would have been less likely to succeed. As sportsmen, soldiers and artists know well, a crucial step in achieving anything great is to believe that you can do it, even if you have never done anything like that before and would have good reasons to conclude that you are unlikely to be able to (Dorschel, 2000; it should be noted that Polanyi did not use the term “prejudice” as such).

Moreover, in spite of all the novel sciences and great technologies that Bacon and Descartes could only begin to fathom, or the revolutionary political freedoms and personal emancipations conquered since their times, Polanyi (1969) noted also how the power and propensity of humankind for cruelty and oppression did not seem to have waned. If anything, the greatest slaughters and the very imperilment of human survival as a species have characterised the most recent generations, not the distant ages that the Enlightenment thinkers would have described as filled with prejudice and superstition (Hobsbawm, 1994).

Back in 1721, Swift’s popular Modest Proposal had already reached, in a satirical tone, the murderous conclusions that his day’s allegedly enlightened and scientific rationality could lead to: the most effective economic solution to the famine in Ireland, as he had sarcastically argued, was to breed poor people’s children for public consumption. Indeed, Swift had noted in his earlier Thoughts on Various Subjects: “Some men, under the notions of weeding out prejudices, eradicate virtue, honesty, and religion.” Boswell’s Life of Johnson (1923, p. 467) reports the famous moralist to have said: “To be prejudiced is always to be weak; yet there are prejudices so near to laudable that they have been often praised, and are always pardoned.” Before them both, Fontenelle (1803, p. 92–96; translation ours) had reflected on the expediency of those “prejudices” that “philosophers” seem eager to “destroy”: “common opinions” can be “handy” and “useful”, whenever we may have too little knowledge, time or opportunity to reason fully about things—which is far from being an uncommon experience, since “reason offers us a very small number of sure maxims”. In the same pages, Fontenelle observed also how “prejudices” are part of the heritage or “costume” of “our Country”: they are constitutive elements of people’s identity, the source of their sense of belonging, that is, important threads in the fabric of society itself.

The importance of prejudice for identity, belonging and social cohesion is a specific theme that other defenders of prejudice discussed

at length. Duclos (2004, p. 7; translation ours), for one, defined “prejudice... a judgment held or admitted without examination, which can be true or mistaken”. Although it may be wise to try to eradicate erroneous and nefarious prejudices, he thought it unwise, “for the good of society”, to carry the Enlightenment’s battle against prejudices much farther: why “demonstrating accepted truths”, if “recommending their practice” can be enough? (Duclos, 2004, p. 7; translation ours) Why trying to make people reach by “reasoning” what they do already by “sentiment”, or “an honest prejudice?” (Duclos, 2004, p. 8; translation ours) Hume (1964) and Chesterfield (1779) made similar points, but Duclos added: “Prejudice is the common law of men” and as such it should be respected; whereas “by wanting to enlighten people too eagerly, we teach them a dangerous presumption” that can lead to dreadful moral and social chaos (Duclos, 2004, p. 7; translation ours). Moral and social chaos is precisely what Burke (2008, p. 42 & 63) observed in France at the time of the Revolution, which he believed to have been inspired by “sophisters, economists; and calculators” who thought that they were “combating prejudice, but [were] at war with nature.” Preferring, as a general rule, the present time-tested institutions to the future ones pandered by revolutionary thinkers, Burke (2008, p. 72) famously stated:

You see, Sir, that in this enlightened age I am bold enough to confess that we are generally men of untaught feelings, that, instead of casting away all our old prejudices, we cherish them to a very considerable degree, and, to take more shame to ourselves, we cherish them because they are prejudices; and the longer they have lasted and the more generally they have prevailed, the more we cherish them. We are afraid to put men to live and trade each on his own private stock of reason, because we suspect that this stock in each man is small, and that the individuals would do better to avail themselves of the general bank and capital of nations and of ages.

Currently, it is rare to hear any philosopher speaking well of “prejudice”, whether in the epistemic context or in others, e.g. politics, morals, education. Somehow, the pejoration of this notion has reached a point at which the usages made of it by Johnson or Fontenelle sound odd to our ears. Different words should be used, e.g. “preconception, presupposition, hypothesis, presumption, presentiment, presage, premonition, foreboding, predilection, prepossession, outlook, expectation or anticipation in general...intuition.” (Dorschel, 2000, p. 58 & 136; emphasis removed) Yet, as Dorschel argues (2000, p. 136), “such choice of terms is a matter of rhetoric.” Whether we use “prejudice” or not, the fact remains that “if some of our beliefs are based on reasons, there has to be something which is not based on reasons. We are able to reason in support of certain things and to

prove certain things only if and because there are other things for which we do not have reasons or proof.” (Dorschel, 2000, p. 135).

Recognising the existence and the value of this “something” or of these “things”, whether we call them “prejudices” or “intuitions” or else, is the contribution of Voltaire, Fontenelle, Burke and the other eccentric defenders of “prejudice”. They did not succeed in stopping the pejoration of “prejudice” as such, but they succeeded in preserving important insights concerning the tacit assumptions of human agency at large, the educational limits of thoroughly rational approaches, the complex sources of morality, the roots of political power, and the needs for cultural identity and social belonging.

Cast as we are between the self-declared destroyers of all prejudices and their few defenders, there should remain to select between good and bad prejudices (or preconceptions, presuppositions, etc.), which is the purview of substantive theories of value (e.g. McMurtry, 2009-2010). However, such a determination would exceed the aims and scope of the present text.

References

- Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.
- Amiel, H.F. (1981/1860-1863). *Journal intime* (Vol. 4). Editions l'Age d'Homme.
- Bacon, F. (1902/1620). *Novum organon*. Collier & Son.
- Baroncelli, F. (1996). *Il razzismo è una gaffe. Eccessi e virtù del "politically correct"*. Donzelli.
- Baroncelli, F. (2009). *Mi manda Platone*. Il Melangolo.
- Billig, M. (1988). The notion of 'prejudice': Some rhetorical and ideological aspects. *Text - Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse*, 8(1-2), 91-110. <https://doi.org/10.1515/text.1.1988.8.1-2.91>
- Boswell, J. (1923/1791). *Boswell's life of Johnson*. Scott, Foresman & Co.
- Burke, E. (2008/1790). *Reflections on the revolution in France*. Cosimo, Inc. Hamilton, ON: Archive for the History of Economic Thought. Retrieved from <https://socialsciences.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/burke/revfrance.pdf>
- Condorcet, J.A.N. de Caritat Marquis de (2005/1793-1794). *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*. Chicoutimi: Université du Québec. www.anthropomada.com/bibliotheque/CONDORCET-Marquis-de-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas-de-Caritat.pdf.
- D'Alembert, J. le Rond (1893/1751). *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie*. Librairie Ch. Delagrave.
- D'Argis, A-G. Boucher & de Jaucourt, L. (2017/1765). Préjugé. In *Édition numérique collaborative et critique de l'encyclopédie*. Académie des Sciences. <http://enccre.academie-sciences.fr/encyclopedia/article/v13-642-0/>.
- D'Holbach, P.H.D. baron (2009/1770). *Essai sur les préjugés ou De l'Influence des opinions sur les mœurs et sur le bonheur des Hommes*. Chicoutimi: Université du Québec. http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/holbach_baron_d/essai_sur_les_prejuges/dholbach_essai_prejuges.pdf.
- Descartes, R. (1968/1637). *Discourse on method and other writings*. Penguin.
- Dorschel, A. (2000). *Rethinking Prejudice*. Ashgate.
- Duckitt, J. (1992). *The social psychology of prejudice*. Praeger.

- Duclos, C.P. (2004/1751). *Considérations sur es mœurs de ce siècle*. NPA: F.D. Fournier. http://www.mediterraneeantique.fr/Fichiers_Pdf/PQRS/Pinot_Duclos/Consid%C3%A9rations.pdf
- Flaubert, G. (1966/1850–1880), *Dictionnaire des idées reçues, Édition diplomatique des trois manuscrits de Rouen par Lea Caminiti*. Nizet.
- Fontenelle, M. de (1683/1803), *Nouveaux dialogues des morts*. J. Dulont.
- Gadamer, H.G. (1985/1960), *Truth and method*. Crossroad.
- Glanvill, J. (2011/1661). *Scepsis scientifica, or the vanity of dogmatizing*. NPA: Ex-classics. <https://www.exclassics.com/glanvil/glanvil.pdf>.
- Halsall, P. (1998). *Modern history sourcebook: Index librorum prohibitorum, 1557–1966*. New York: Fordham University. Retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/indexlibrorum.asp>.
- Hazlitt, W. (1903/1830). *Sketches and Essays*. London: Richards
- Helvétius, C. A. (2009/1759). *De l'Esprit*. Chicoutimi: Université du Québec. http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/helvetius_claude_adrien/de_l_esprit/helvetius_de_l_esprit.pdf.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1994). *The age of extremes: The short twentieth century*. Michael Joseph.
- Hume, D. (1964/1742). Of moral prejudices. In *The Philosophical Works* (pp. 371–375). Scientia.
- Ipperciel, D. (1997). Théorie des préjugés selon Descartes et Gadamer. *Horizons Philosophiques*, 7(2), 43-57. <https://doi.org/10.7202/801043ar>
- Kant, I. (2019/1784). *What is Enlightenment?* New York: Columbia University. <http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/CCREAD/etscc/kant.html>.
- Koyré, A. (1968). *Metaphysics and measurement: Essays in scientific revolution*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Lewis, C.T, & Short, C. (1879). Praejudicium. In *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. In <https://lsj.gr/wiki/praeiudicium>.
- Locke, J. (2000/1706). *Of the conduct of understanding*. Newcastle-under-Lyme: University of Keele. https://repub.eur.nl/pub/11839/Locke_-_Of_the_Conduct_of_the_Understanding.pdf.
- Maupertius, P.L.M. de (1752). *Lettre sur progrès desc sciences*. <https://archive.org/details/lettresurleprogr00maup/page/124>.
- McMurtry, J. (ed.) (2009-2010). *Philosophy and world problems*. Eolss.
- Newman, J. (1979). Prejudice as prejudgment. *Ethics*, 90(1), 47-57. <https://doi.org/10.1086/292132>
- Oxford Dictionary. (2019). NPA: Lexico.com, Retrieved from <https://www.lexico.com/en>.
- Polanyi, M. (1962/1958). *Personal knowledge: Towards a post-critical philosophy*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Polanyi, M. (1969). *Knowing and being*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Poullain de la Barre, F. (2010/1679). *De l'égalité des deux sexes, discours physique et moral, où l'on voit l'importance de se défaire des Préjugés*. NPA: Michel Fingerhut. Retrieved from <http://blog.le-miklos.eu/wp-content/Poullain-EgaliteDesDeuxSexes.pdf>.
- De Sade, A-D. marquis (2018/1795). *La philosophie dans le boudoir ou les Instituteurs immoraux*. NPA: La Bibliothèque électronique du Québec. Retrieved from beq.ebooksgratuits.com/libertinage/Sade_La_philosophie_dans_le_boudoir.pdf.
- Schlegel, F. (1975/1796-1806), *Philosophische lehrjahre*. Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh.
- Segre, M. (2015). *Higher education and the growth of knowledge*. Routledge.
- Swift, J. (1730/1721). *A modest proposal for preventing the children of poor people from being a burthen to their parents or the country, and for making them beneficial to the publick*. London: W. Bickerton. Retrieved from https://books.google.is/books?id=t1MJAAAAQAA-J&printsec=frontcover&hl=is&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Swift, J. (2014/1706). *Thoughts on various subjects, moral and diverting*. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Library. Retrieved from <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/s/swift/jonathan/s97th/>.

Van Dijk, T. (1984). *Prejudice in discourse*. John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Vico, G.B. (2013/1710). *De antiquissima italorum sapientia ex linguae latinae originibus eruenda*. Napoli: ISPF. Retrieved from www.giambattistavico.it/opere/deantiquissima.

Voltaire (1901/1764). Prejudice, philosophical dictionary. In *The works of Voltaire: a contemporary version*. New York: E.R. DuMont. Retrieved from <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/v/voltaire/dictionary/complete.html#chapter379>.

2 Chapter 2

Sociology

Sociology & International Migration

Barbara Gornik

Learning objectives

Upon completion of this module students will:

- 1) Become familiar with the main sociological approaches to the study of migration
- 2) Learn about the main sociological theories concerning the causes and processes of migration, as well as key theories about migrant integration.
- 3) Become acquainted with selected sociological studies concerning the rights of economic migrants, refugees, irregular migrants, and undocumented migrants
- 4) Become familiar with the challenges related to nationalism and xenophobia.

2.1 Introduction

If prior to the 1990s immigrants were largely concentrated in a few states, today this is no longer the case. Migration processes are being increasingly globalized and affect more and more countries around the world. Most countries are not dominated by one type of migration, e.g. economic migration, family reunification, resettlement and relocation, refugee movement or irregular migration, but experience a range of types of migration. Migration has become increasingly highly politicized, which is reflected in the incorporation of migration issues into political agendas, domestic politics and policymaking, bilateral, regional and international relations, global governance regimes and national security policies. This has brought the topic of voluntary and forced migration at the top of national and international agendas.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general overview of sociological theories on migration, as well as the main themes that are examined in sociology concerning migration and migrants. Such topics include the causes, governance, the socio-legal context of migration, issues around integration and identity of migrants, nationalism, and xenophobia. Limited in scope, the chapter does not aim to provide a thorough review of existing literature in the field of migration, but rather attempts to present key authors, theories, and topics that are essential for understanding the complexity of migration issues from a sociological perspective.

It aims to develop students' awareness of the complexity of contemporary migration processes, recognize problematic issues related to xenophobia and nationalism, and develop a critical understanding of the regulation of migration and the impact of nationalism on migration policies. Students shall develop an ability of critical judgment and, to some extent, an interdisciplinary (legal, political, sociological) understanding of migration processes. They shall obtain a fundamental knowledge needed to identify key themes relevant for the study of migration.

In the first part of the chapter, the basic elements of a sociological approach to the study of migration are explained, and the diversity of analytical approaches to migration in sociology is underscored, distinguishing between top-down "macro" approaches, which typically focus on immigration policy or market forces, and bottom-up "micro" approaches, which emphasize the experiences of the individual migrant or the immigrant family. Thereafter, the chapter provides an overview of the main sociological theories concerning the causes and processes of migration, and moves on to key theories about migrant integration. It demonstrates how migration, cross-border relationships, and transnational networks have changed contemporary conceptions of citizenship, a situation that inspired some authors to deliberate on the emergence of 'post-national belonging'. Additionally, this chapter mentions key sociological studies concerning the rights of economic migrants, refugees, irregular migrants and undocumented migrants, with a focus on their political and legal status, citizenship, present membership models and incorporation patterns, and tackles the concept of post-national membership. However, while it is true that universalistic human rights have become formally institutionalized through international law and that migrants enjoy many rights that were once reserved for citizens only, it seems overly oversimplistic to claim that nationalist ideologies have lost their power under the forces of globalisation and the development of an international human rights regime. To the contrary, this chapter argues that nationalist parties and right-wing movements have been on the rise in Europe. Moreover, precisely the occurrence of migration and globalisation processes, among other factors, have fuelled this backlash.

2.2 Framing the relationship between sociology and migration

Sociological theories about migration are a fairly new phenomenon, despite the fact that migration itself has been a constant throughout human history. It wasn't until the mid-twentieth century before the first attempts to explain migration processes were made in so-

ciology. Before that, many scientific articles, published for example in the *American Journal of Sociology*, were influenced by eugenics and racist theory (e.g. Reinhardt, 1927; Woolston, 1916), viewed migration and migrants as a threatening element to their nations, linked migrant to criminality and racial contamination (Galton, 1904; Grant, 1925) and examined migration processes through economic activities and everyday life (Gamio, 1969; Hunt, 1919)¹. Nearly a century later, we can say that eugenics and scientific racism, once so typical of sociological thought, have been superseded by sociology at large. The sociology of international migration has moved beyond economic and demographic problems, which dominated migration scholarship until the 1980s² (Kasinitz, 2012) and began to address fundamentally sociological issues, and borrowing from other disciplinary perspectives especially anthropology and political science to explain migration as a multidimensional social phenomenon.

Throughout the late twentieth century, sociologists had turned their focus to individuals not as merely *economic* but predominantly as social beings, paying attention to migration processes, networks, and attachments, social interaction and belonging, cultural beliefs and political values, family and religious life, legal consciousness and migrants' rights (Kasinitz, 2012). Concerning these societal aspects, sociology of migration has focused on questions such as why does migration occur, what social dynamics are involved in migration processes, how does migration affect receiving societies and migrant communities, what are political, social and cultural effects of migration, how migrants associate within their communities and how they interact with local population, what influences integration processes, how people experience migration, etc. (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000). In this manner, sociology reached beyond a narrow interest in economy and addressed broader questions of how societies negotiate membership and boundaries in the face of globalisation, technological innovation, and demographic change.

To some extent, sociology retained an interest in economic issues, but examined them within the social relationships in which economic actors and actions are embedded, as well as in relation to the role migrants play in the transformation of economic life. As Kasinitz (2012) highlights, sociological inquiries into economic aspects of migration reminded us that markets for labour and goods are social creations, shaped and governed by social norms and consensus, rather than part of the "natural" order of things, as much of economic literature treats them. Sociological theoretical and methodological framework remained closer to that of anthropology, given that they both

1 For a thorough analysis of the articles published in the *American Journal of Sociology* in the early 20th century see Phelan (1989)
 2 The main question occupying migration theory at that time was about the impact of migrants on the receiving nation and nation-state, particularly in terms of the national economy, labour market, consumption, wage system, tax-paying, populations' age structure and labour force, etc. (Kasinitz, 2012)

disciplines build on classical social theory, focus on social relations, identity and human experience of migration, and use qualitative and quantitative methods for gathering empirically grounded research data. Sociology on the whole, however, has remained devoted to studying social institutions using a macro-approach; questions of nation-states and borders came to the attention of sociologists, as well as questions around the impact of globalisation on societal membership, transnational identity, law, politics and the role of the state nation-state borders.

In terms of framing the research questions, Schmitter Heisler (2000) believes that sociologists have been interested in studying the triggers of migration as well as its contexts, effects, and consequences. In her view, there are two key questions that help us understand the kernel of sociological thought in the field of migration; firstly, why does migration occur and how it is sustained over time? Secondly, what happens to migrants in the receiving society and what are the economic, social and political consequences of their presence (ibid)? More recently, Kasinitz (2012) observed that a strong common thread in immigration research over the past two decades has been the continuing concern with *societal membership*; guiding questions for sociologists in this respect are: how does a society decide who is one of "us" and who remains one of "them" and how does a society construct its "outsiders". The next section presents key sociological theories and literatures that have attempted to explain the above-mentioned questions.

2.3 Explaining the causes and processes of migration

The decision to move from one country to another might, at first sight, seem like an individual action but sociologists are well aware that this is hardly ever the case. Migration may be a personal response, but this choice is always embedded in a variety of social, economic, and political contexts and is part of broader globalisation, economic development and social transformation. Migration processes, as noted by Castles and colleagues (2014), are related to people's aspirations and capabilities to travel in search for a different life, and are negotiated between micro-structures (e.g. family ties and migrants' aspirations), meso-structures (e.g. migrant networks, migrant communities, migration industry) and macro-structures (e.g. economic conditions, migration legislation, socio-political context in countries of origin and countries of destination); this explains why some scholars have used micro-, meso- and macro- approaches to study the causes of migration. Motives for migration are diverse, interconnected and are not easily generalised; for instance, war conflicts are often, if not always, accompanied by political violence,

economic degradation and adverse social situation at the same time, and it is not possible at all times to make a strict distinction between forced or voluntary migration.

In sociology, the question of why people migrate has been approached in different ways. Castles and colleagues (2014) divide migration theories in two main paradigms; firstly, **functionalist social theories**, which tend to see society as a system, a collection of interdependent parts (individuals, actors) characterized by an inherent tendency toward equilibrium exists and; secondly, **historical-structural theories**, which devote attention to unequal power relations, socio-political structures and interests of the powerful class. Other approaches to examining reasons for migrating in socio-legal research of migration include for instance theories of intervening opportunities (Stouffer, 1940) and push-pull factors (Lee, 1966).

Push-pull factors theories predict that migration decisions are facilitated by the economic, social, and political situation in migrants' country of origin, for example, population density, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, as well as by the economic, social, and political situation in the country of destination, for example demand for labour, availability of land, economic opportunities, and political freedoms. Despite the fact that these theories include major factors that positively or negatively affect the decision to migrate, they fail to recognize their complexity and may be inaccurate due to being overly simplistic (de Gami, 2011; Skeldon, 1990); for instance, push-pull models cannot adequately explain return migration, the simultaneous occurrence of emigration and immigration, or the fact that the same factor may motivate migration in some cases and hinder it in another:

population growth or environmental degradation do not necessarily result in migration, because 'population pressure' can also encourage innovation, (such as the introduction of irrigation, terraces or fertilizers), enabling farmers to maintain or even increase productivity. [...] Improved education and media exposure may increase feelings of relative deprivation, and may give rise to higher aspirations and, therefore, *increased* migration, without any change in local opportunities. People may also be so poor or repressed that they are deprived of the capability to migrate. This partly explains why most migration is nor from the poorest to the wealthiest countries, as predicted by push-pull models (Castles et al., 2014, p. 29).

Similar critiques have been targeted toward **neoclassical theory**. The basic assumption is that causes of migration are mainly related to geographical differences in labour markets and wage differentials; according to this theory, people decide to migrate based on a cost-benefit calculation and the tendency to maximize their income (Borjas, 1989). Similar arguments were developed by economists

in relation to human capital; here migration is seen as an investment, while the assumption is that people migrate if the benefits in the destination country (primarily derived from higher wages) are greater than the costs incurred through migrating. Both perspectives were criticized for being too unsophisticated, mostly because they treat individuals separately from wider socioeconomic processes that impact on their migration choices and paths; the decision to migrate and where to migrate may be influenced by structural factors such as social stratification, lack of opportunities in labour market, power inequalities, as well as personal preferences and factors such as age, gender, knowledge, networks, and ambitions.

After the 1970s, authors who followed a **historical-structuralist approach** argued that migration should be examined in the context of wider socioeconomic structures and the global political-economic situation rather than as the free choice of individuals. They have seen migration being dependant on processes such as global market economy, deregulation of markets, development of industrial monopolies and overwhelming power of international corporations, growing inequalities in the distribution of wealth, etc. In the historical-structuralist perspective mobilisation of migration is seen as providing cheap labour for capital, which serves to boost profits of the rich and deprives origin areas of valuable labour and skills. These arguments are found in the dependency theory and world-systems theory, which pays attention to powerful states and global actors, who contribute deepening the gaps in economic and social development centre and periphery regions. International labour migration is examined here as one of the mechanisms through which capitalists reproduce their dominance and power.

Historical-structural perspectives have been criticized for being overly focused on political and economic structures, while functionalist perspectives were deemed to neglect historical causes of migration and structural and institutional policy constraints. Since the 1980s, sociological research of migration therefore progressively focused on micro and meso levels to grasp migrant's agency in relation to structural contexts, examine migration motivations, identity transformation processes, migrant networks (Taylor, 1986) and transnational social spaces (Faist, 2000; Pries, 1999). The decision to migrate also entails individual relations to their families, local communities, migrant communities in the destination country, historical connections to destination country, etc. Some examined migration as a pro-active strategic decision, which is often within families and households (Stark, 1991), while migration has become seen related to relative deprivation rather than absolute poverty. **Migration network theory** examined how migrants create and maintain social relations with

their families and friends in their countries of origin and how these social networks affect migration processes. For instance, shared culture, language and geographical proximity, as well as labour recruitment and colonialism often play a role in people's decision, capability, and aspiration to migrate. Migration networks are an important source of information and reduce risk concerning travel, adaptation, work, and accommodation in new environments since in many cases they maintain their economic and social relations.

Globalisation theory emerged in the 1990s and saw migration as part of the broader context and a consequence of changes that occurred in transport and communication. The core idea behind globalization theory is that expanding the social, economic, and cultural interconnectedness of different regions across the globe has facilitated migration in at large (Salt, 1992). Castles and colleagues (2014) argued that there has been a "globalization of migration," which manifests in the trends that more countries are affected by migratory movements and that immigrant populations are increasingly diversified, while some authors debated migration in relation to transnational communities and transnational activities, which take place regularly across national borders.

2.4 Integration and identity

The concept of integration, when relating to migration, is open to a range of definitions. In the broadest and most basic sense, integration means the process by which people who are relatively new to a country (i.e. whose roots do not reach deeper than two or three generations) become part of society; it is a 'process of settlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that follows immigration' (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). In sociology, integration has been typically approached by examining at its legal-political, socioeconomic and cultural-religious dimensions, to examine the extent to which cultural values and patterns are shared among immigrant and natives, the extent to which migrant interact socially with natives, economic integration, the extent to which natives and migrants are equal in terms of unemployment, occupational status, self-employment and income and so on (Tubergen, 2006). One of the first questions that social science researchers in the field of migrant integration were keen to resolve was how the integration of migrants proceeds over their lifetime and between generations.

With the first migration theories in the field of sociology emerging after 1920s, we saw that the question "what happens to migrants in the receiving society" has been explained based on **assimilationist model**, which was founded and developed by scholars at Chicago School of Sociology, Robert E. Park, William Isaac Thomas, Ernest Burgess, Luis Wirth, William Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole (Alba & Nee,

1997). In 1921, Park and Burgess described assimilation as:

a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life/.../ In assimilation the process is typically unconscious; the person is incorporated into the common life of the group before he is aware and with little conception of the course of events which brought this incorporation about. (Park & Burgess, 1921, p. 735 - 736)

The **assimilationist model** assumes that ethnic minorities are gradually brought into the mainstream culture of the receiving society, particularly with the succession of generations the cultural differences between migrant communities and host society would disappear. The core assumption of the assimilationist theory was that migrants who arrive at a younger age, those who have lived in the country longer and successive immigrant generations will show a higher level of social, economic and cultural integration (Tunberg, 2006). After decades of vague use of the concept and confusion among various formulations of assimilation in the early sociological literature, Milton Gordon's (1964) provided the most systematic account of the concept and thereby confirmed that assimilation model was still dominant sociological paradigm applied when examining the processes of integration of newcomers and second-generation migrants.

However, after the 1970s assimilation perspective faced more profound critiques³, among others also due to increasing immigration trends, which challenged assimilationist assumptions and trajectories. Although the empirical evidence has confirmed this argument in many ways, after considering the influence of assimilation factors the theory fell short in explaining why differences between immigrant groups and between different cities or countries persist even after the second or third generation of migrants. The existing differences in, let's say, levels of language proficiency, inter/outer-group marriage, economic integration showed that society is not a 'melting pot' that brings assimilation of migrants in a pre-existing, unified social order, with a homogeneous culture and set of values. In addition to the relational dimensions between migrants and natives, which evolve through time, researchers have sought to approach macro differences of migrant integration; there were differences in levels of integration found between different immigrant groups in the same country, between same migrant groups in different countries (Tunberg, 2006).

³ For early critiques of the assimilation model see Kennedy (1944) and Glazer and Moynihan (1963).

The main criticisms of this one-sided assimilationist perspective concern three comments. The first critique goes to the *notion of "mainstream"* for its implication of more or less homogeneous and cohesive social environment and more or less granted assumption that migrants are assimilating to middle-class society without bringing significant changes to it. The second emphasizes the effects of *structural inequalities* of immigrants' integration, which means that integration does not necessarily result in upward class mobility. The third points to the *plurality of integration processes*, as they depend on the context (e.g. state policies, the culture of receiving society, economy, etc). After the 1970s, the processes of integration were still examined in relation to economic activity, labour market, and socioeconomic position. Many scholars examined the impact of ethnic communities on immigrant integration in economic terms, while highlighting complexities of the integration processes or emphasized the external context provided by the host society-at-large.

For instance, some highlighted that certain ethnic communities occupy small-business activities, which are not interesting for the members of the host society (Bonacich, 1973), are typical of ethnic micro-economies (Light, 1979) and conceptualized as ethnic enclave model. Dual or segmented labour market theory assumed the existence of two distinct labour markets, primary with good jobs and secure employment and secondary with unskilled jobs and low wages; while lacking skills for the primary market, migrants are often restricted to participate in the secondary market, where they have limited opportunities for social mobility and equal integration. The ethnic enclave model is relevant for those ethnic communities, where we can speak of a high level of territorial segmentation and in-group stratification due to enclave's internal economic diversification. This model is different from ethnic niche mode, which is typical of ethnicities that occupy a particular sector of employment and are privileged to other ethnicities.

Schmitter Hesler (2000) identifies four distinctive conceptual shifts in studying migrant integration; 1) a shift in research object, which manifested in focusing on interactions between migrants and local communities rather than migrants and their characteristics; 2) conceptual shift, which no longer saw integration as unified process but rather as being affected by economic, class, and ethnic strictures and inequalities; 3) shift from focusing on cultural variables to interest in economic variables and condition of labour market and immigrants skills; 4) shift from single model of integration process to models that assume variety of conditions and possible outcomes. Common to these areas of criticism is the claim that the receiving society, including civil society organizations and the state, does

matter in immigrants' integration (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). Building upon these standpoints, Tubergen (2006) pursues that the integration of migrants is affected by characteristics of their country of origin, where they are socialized ('the origin effect'), by the size, role, and functioning of the immigrant community in the host society ('the community effects') and by the characteristics of the receiving countries ('context of reception'), which differ in their immigration policies as well as in the structure of migration groups and in the level of migrant acceptance.

Moreover, host societies were increasingly perceived as less homogenous entities, which motivated sociologists, to see integration as a process involving relational, institutional and discursive aspects, which affect dynamics between diverse social agents. The relational dimensions, which manifest at the micro-level and involves a multiplicity of practices in the economic, political, cultural and inter-personal domains, are to certain extent governed by policy interactions at local, national, cross-national and supra-national level, and span across different policy domains (rights to residency, citizenship, and welfare, employment, health, education, etc.). In his view, it is through micro-level practices and institutional regulations that different discursive constructions of the 'integrated migrant' are actualised.

Central to sociology is also the empirical method to examine how these structured fields influence the way actors define social immigrant integration, how they conceive its aims, how different problems are approached, how integration is explained, how integration policies deal with different groups of immigrants and how people make normative claims in terms of what 'good' integration should be like. In this respect, several questions arise, such as whose integration is to be examined, what exactly is meant by the term integration, who defines it, by what means we integrate, etc. (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). In this sense, sociologists moved beyond the 'models-thinking' of assimilationism and multiculturalism, especially because models tend to simplify policies and over-emphasize the assumed coherency and uniformity of these policies, while policy practices and specific aspects prove to be far more diverse than a uniform vision of models would suggest (Scholten, 2011). Scholten calls this a **structuralist-constructivist** perspective to integration; the latter applies an empirical and dynamic approach to immigrant integration and adopts an empirical position when examining how integration is constructed in actual social relations and the practices of diverse actors in these fields.

2.5 (Post)national Citizenship and Migrants' Rights

Much of the conventional literature dealing with citizenship presumes that the community of citizens is bounded by solid boundaries that separate national polity from outsiders. These perspectives often fail to recognize the globalisation world-frame and the penetrability of national borders, as well as the fact that any kind of strict separation between national inside and outside is very difficult to draw. Consequently, these theories did not address the practices and institutions and experiences of citizenship as it is practiced within the nation-state as a consequence of contemporary migration processes. However, in the 1990s, after the end of the Cold War, when nation-state borders started to become more permeable and migration became easier due to globalisation, the development of communication and transport, migration has been increasingly seen as a challenge to the sovereignty of states. It is an indisputable fact, which also affects our understanding of citizenship, that contemporary societies are intrinsically plural and diverge from the conceptual design of the nations as culturally and ethnically homogeneous communities. The diversity of cultural forms, minorities, worldviews, and religions is increasing, which is why the multi-ethnic future of societies has become a fact.

Some scholars have assumed that globalisation processes – cross-border flows finance and trade, ideas, ideologies, knowledge, cultural and media products, and people – have an immense impact on national membership and the social construction of citizenship. Yasemin Soysal (1994) and Rainer Bauböck (1994) for instance anticipated and called for the recognition of “postnational” citizenship, that is citizenship that is based on universal personhood rather than on national belonging. Similarly, Castles and Davidson (2000) proposed that citizenship is being increasingly challenged and impacted by globalisation and international migration, since belonging no longer means being a part of the national community in ethnic terms, and that new forms of citizenship are inevitably found in shared civic cultures if tolerance and capabilities to communicate across cultural differences. These deliberations saw citizenship’s relationship to the nation-state contingent and historical, and subject to change in consequence of changing social practices such as e.g. intensity of cross-border relationships and transnational networks, which traverse national borders.

Moreover, Linda Bosniak (2006) persuasively argued that the regulation of national boundaries is not practiced only at the external nation-state’s physical or territorial border but extends into the interior of national society; this is especially seen in case of migrants

living within the national territory and enjoying important rights and recognition by virtue of their presence but who remain outsiders under the national regulating citizenship rules. For instance, migrants are often denied the vote, sometimes also the most significant welfare benefits, while their residence in the host country is potentially subject to deportation by the state. Despite this status that shapes their social life in profound ways, Bosniak (2006) highlights that the migrants are differentiated in many significant ways; important differences exist between regular and irregular or undocumented migrants as well as between temporary and permanent residents. Finally, there are also social differences, such as gender, ethnic, national, racial, and class distinctions, that affect migrants' experiences of alienage status. This makes it impossible to talk about migrants as a unitary class. Nevertheless, Bosniak (*ibid*) argues that there are certain characteristics of alienage that structurally shape the lives of most noncitizens, usually in disadvantaging forms; due to the lack of formal citizenship they are not only politically disenfranchised but also formally ineligible for many aspects of "social citizenship," or the public provision of basic needs. In her view, alienage is an intrinsically hybrid legal category that is simultaneously the subject of two distinct domains of regulation and relationship. The "external" regulation, which remains largely at state sovereign right to determine the conditions of immigration policy, governs membership in the national community through the admission and exclusion of aliens based on conditions on their entry. The second, "internal" domain governs the rights of persons within the national society. In this domain, the power of government to impose disabilities on people based on their status is more limited, especially since formal commitments to civic values, human rights, and equal treatment have significantly shaped public law during the past decades, and made migrants a social group that requires the law's protection.

Similarly, Seyla Benhabib (2004) believes that, while on the one hand immigration policies are getting more restrictive, on the other hand, migrants in many democratic societies enjoy more rights than they have in the past. Access to rights in this respect has gone beyond the traditional dichotomy between citizens and foreigners, as some rights which were once only available to citizens are now available to foreigners too. Similarly, Soysal (1994) claims that the scope and inventory of noncitizens' rights do not differ significantly from those of citizens. In this context, Soysal (1994) argues that modern citizenship has become increasingly post-national; she believes that the material realisation of individual rights and privileges is still primarily organized by the nation-state, however, the legitimacy for these rights now lies in a transnational order. Her argument is explained in two interrelated lines of socio-political developments.

The first one concerns an increasing interdependence and connectedness between states and intensified world-level interaction, which manifests also in the emergence of transnational political structures (e.g. EU, UN, CoE, etc.), which have an impact on nation-state sovereignty and jurisdiction, constrain the host states from dispensing with their migrant populations at will and obliges the states to protect them. Despite nation-states remaining the primary agents of public functions and retaining their organisational strength and formal sovereignty, they are increasingly impacted by global structures, which transcend territorialized identities and structures; in this sense, nation-state function concurrently with inter and transnational normative structures, ordering and organizing individuals' lives. The second major development, Soysal (ibid) highlights is the emergence of universalistic rules and conceptions regarding the rights of the individual, which, formalized in and international human rights law oblige nation-states not to make distinctions on the grounds of nationality in granting civil, social, and political rights. Starting from these general human rights principles, many aspects of international migration, including the status of migrant workers and their particular rights, have been elaborated and regularized through a complex of international legal and political documents. Soysal (1994) does not claim that the importance of nation-states has diminished, rather, the aim is to shift the focus to the multifaceted and diverse forms of rights and new circumstances in which they arise.

However, even if at the formal and legal level, the discourse on national citizenship is moving away from ethnicity as the main exclusionary criterion, it must not be neglected that instead, the other exclusionary aspects are being invoked, especially those implied in citizenship and immigration policies. Brubaker (2004) is very illustrative in this regard, stating that at the global level, citizenship is an extremely powerful instrument of social closure that constitutes national borders, identities, and communities to control the resources of one's group. Access to citizenship is everywhere limited; this "shields prosperous and peaceful states from *the* great majority of those who-in a world without borders and exclusive citizenries-would seek to flee war, civil strife, famine, joblessness, or environmental degradation, or who would move in the hope of securing greater opportunities for their children." (Brubaker, 2004: 141) In his view, this "civic" mode of exclusion is exceptionally powerful and bears more impact on shaping life chances and sustaining massive and morally arbitrary inequalities on a global scale, than exclusion based on ethnicity. Moreover, the civic mode of exclusion is invisible, for the most part it is taken for granted (ibid), universally accepted and legitimate – this kind of closure and exclusion is simply never questioned in wider spheres of public debate.

Illustrative in this regard is also Ayten Gündoğdu (2015), who debates the rightlessness of migrants (asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants in particular) in the context of the contemporary human rights regime. As she explains, human rights law can be seen as an attempt to address the problem of precarious legal standing, as it endows every individual with a set of universal, inalienable rights. However, human rights law leaves various categories of migrants with quite insecure legal standing because in practice, human rights law affirms the principle of territorial sovereignty and reinforces acts of sovereign statehood. The practice of human rights is clearly not particularly successful in diminishing the idea of the territory in regard to exercising state power. To be in the territory of one state is meant to be subject to its sovereignty and to be subject to sovereignty is to be recognized as entitled to human rights protection. One is subject to sovereignty while in the territory and not beyond.. In other words, the state legitimizes itself as the supreme legal institution in charge of the protection of all inhabitants in its territory, regardless of their nationality, which gives rise to problematic distinctions between those in the territory and those who are outside it, even when it comes to the question of who is entitled to rights (Gündoğdu, 2015). In the same vein, Kesby (2012) highlights that the territorial border is distinctive in that it eclipses the question of one's humanity in that it bestows human rights obligations exclusively to those under its jurisdiction in a territorial sense so that only those physically present in the territory trigger a state obligation to protect their human rights.

This inevitably results in creating divisions within humanity itself, thereby rendering the rights of migrants vulnerable to discretionary decisions. Even more, it creates a condition of *rightlessness*, which is different from the violation of human rights. In case of violation of rights, an identifiable entity can be held accountable, and the right that is violated can be restored even if the person who is denied this right continues to remain in the condition that gives rise to such violations in the first place (Gündoğdu, 2015). On the contrary, the condition of rightlessness makes it practically impossible to redress violations of rights since the plight of migrants is made void by their *de jure* or *de facto* statelessness. In other words, the condition of rightlessness refers to when the *de facto* violation of human rights is legally denied as *violation* since no judicial mechanism exists that would allow individuals, confronted with a violation, to legally claim restoration of their human rights. The condition of rightlessness disables the legal recognition of victimhood based on dismissing the accountability of the state in relation to migrants as legitimate right-holders. The impact of such politics is expressed not only in specific violations of rights but, even more importantly, in creating a legal vacuum that does not allow the individual to claim their rights and renders void even the rights that he or she formally has.

2.6 Nationalism and xenophobia

The concepts of postnational citizenship is built on the assumption that the intensified transnational modus operandi very much determines the discourse of membership and rights on the national level (Soysal, 1994) and that new forms of citizenship are developing as a response to globalization processes and increased population mobility. Therefore, the possibility of post-national belonging exists (Castles & Davidson, 2005). However, while it is true that a universalistic conception of rights has become formally institutionalized through the international law and human rights discourse at the national level, it seems oversimplistic to say that foreign residents share the same core rights enjoyed by citizens, thanks to the protection of an international human rights discourse/regime and the advent of post-national membership where personhood complements and partly replaces nationality (Soysal, 1994). Although in many democratic societies the rights of migrants and citizens are not significantly different, Bosniak (2006) highlights that differentiation between them is maintained precisely on the basis of alien status (*alienage*). Moreover, this separation is produced even when there are no legal differences between individuals; Bosniak (2006, p. 87) explains this relying on the concept of second-class citizenship, saying that the extension of civil rights in itself masks real sources of inequality.

While some authors consider globalisation as undermining national identity and increasing cosmopolitanism, others claim that it works in the opposite direction, possibly even reinforcing national feelings in the form of a backlash. In this context, some indicate that national identity is less important for people in a globalised world, others suggest the contrary. However, it can be observed that both processes are happening simultaneously and do not necessarily negate each other. The relational complexity identified through the various works indicates that nationalism and cosmopolitanism are not necessarily contradicting concepts⁴. Clearly, one can be proud of one's national identity and endorse human rights as a key principle of all political actions. One can simultaneously advocate the system of nation-states and defend cultural diversity, etc.

4 Authors have advocated for a distinction between *moral* and *institutional* cosmopolitanism, within which the former is regarded as consistent with the nation-state system; here, cosmopolitanism is explained as a moral basis – a standpoint based on human rights and the position that all persons stand in ultimate units of moral concern – on which the aim, policies, and measures of the nation-state institutions should be decided. Moral cosmopolitanism is thus not concerned with the question of establishing world government but represents an ethical line of reasoning regarding the nation-state institutions and their policies, which build on equal human worth, human rights, and dignity. In this way, it is not inconsistent with the existence of autonomous territorial states and not at odds with nationalism. On the contrary, moral cosmopolitan can defend national self-determination if one believes that the ideal of equal and impartial concern for individuals is best realised within the framework of national sovereignty.

Wieviorka (1997), for instance, describes that in contemporary societies, a national issue has become nodal and that in most European countries, political debates about nation, nationality, and citizenship has been activated. In this context, he says, nationalism has often been associated with the values of national cultural and ethnic identity, which is increasingly loaded with racism and xenophobia and less with an openness toward "others" and their rights. This tendency is motivated by the emergence of identities, which are external to groups, which define themselves as communities (e.g. ethnic and national communities) and can be sustained by the presence of migration. As Wieviorka (ibid) explains, racism may develop from nationalistic tendencies, however, racism always relies on virtuality, which is nurtured by the presence of migrants, which is sometimes exaggerated and fantasized, as well as by phenomena, which may even have nothing to do with it. Thus, national identity is reinforced in most alarming aspects, says Wieviorka (ibid), when national culture appears to be threatened by international culture or globalization of the economy.

The responses to migration trends in past decades evidently manifest in developments and trends of the third wave of populist radical right politics since the early 1980s. In Europe, the nativism of the populist radical right has often targeted 'immigrants' using ethnic, racial, and religious prejudices, which were often further justified with socio-economic and socio-cultural motivations. Their basic proposition builds on a combination of nationalism and xenophobia and advocates that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group, whereas non-native (or 'alien') elements, whether persons or ideas are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous national community (Mudde, 2017). Revival of nationalist ideologies have not been expressed only through the populist radical right parties, but also in more general socio-political context; in political discourse, migration has become overwhelmed with security preoccupations. In consequence, democratic politics and governance in Europe have faced turbulent times and have substantially changed by the advent of new parties, including Eurosceptics (Muis & Immerzel, 2017), who have called into question constitutional arrangements and basic principles which support modern democracies and human rights.

Radical and right-wing movements in Europe have also emerged as a response to contemporary trends in forced displacement. UNHCR has reported the highest levels of displacement on record in 2019 with unprecedented 70.8 million people around the world forced from home, among which nearly 25.9 million are refugees (UNHCR, 2019). Although only a small percentage of all forcibly displaced

persons reach Europe, forced migration has become increasingly highly politicized and brought at the top of national and international agenda. Forced migration has pointed to many challenges European democratic societies face; the EU refugee quota system from 2015 has manifested numerous deficiencies, while the Mediterranean countries, especially Greece and Italy, which have admitted high number of asylum-seekers, called for an efficient system of burden-sharing but were confronted with resistance or reserved response from EU member states. The trends of forced migration over the past two decades have brought Europe to confront an unparalleled situation and initiated new episode in debates, not only about migration *per se* but also about restrictions of (human) right to seek asylum and other related human rights issues, pointing to the very complexity and salience of contemporary challenges of European democratic societies.

The salience of challenges of forced migration concerns first of all obligations of European societies stems from the fact that because forced migrants, compared to other migrants, who come either through economic channels, on student visa or via family unification procedures, are in additional precarious position given that many of them go through emotional issues, which come as a result of going through traumatic experiences of loss and violence as well as experiences of social exclusion, feelings of insecurity, uncertainty, and helplessness during the asylum and migration procedures. Asylum seekers, irregular and undocumented migrants are put in extremely *precarious* legal, political position for their rights are in many cases rights turned into an object of charity, as always dependent on the generosity and goodwill of compassionate others (Gündoğdu, 2015). Evidently, the commitment of European countries to respect legally binding provisions of the international human rights law has been put to unprecedented trial.

European societies, demarcated by democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights have confronted fierce political vocabularies in migration rhetoric. Forced migration, which has been characteristically considered to be a humanitarian issue, has become overwhelmed with security preoccupations, repression and criminalization (Morrison, 2001). In response to the 2015 refugee crisis, many EU countries reintroduced border control at internal borders, some set up razor-wire fences, believing that events related to migration represent a serious threat to public policy and internal security as well as a threat of terrorism. Politicians called for a strengthening of the controls at the external borders through additional resources for Frontex and Europol and for assisting the front-line Member States to ensure identification, registration and fingerprinting of migrants.

In some countries democratic politics and governance have faced turbulent times since in some cases party systems have crumbled or been substantially changed by new parties, including populist parties, and Eurosceptics (Wodak, 2015; Muis & Immerzel, 2017), who have called into question constitutional arrangements and basic principles which support modern democracies and human rights.

The security concerns were also reflected in media. Existing scholarship established a few keyframes that consistently recur in media across countries. One of the media frames, which emerges in present media, is constructs refugees and asylum seekers as victims and points to a personalised perspective on unfolding events, and is thus related to the human interest frame (Steimel, 2010); such media representations often build on humanitarian stance in asylum policy, however, may at the same time depoliticize refugees for rendering their claims to generosity of rather political and legal obligation of signatories of the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees- On the other hand, forcibly displaced persons are often constructed as invaders and hence a threat to the society in economic, social, political and cultural, they are associated with illegality, terrorism, and crime or portrayed as undeservedly taking advantage of social welfare state. Framing of refugee and asylum issues in mass media coverage can be grouped into three common types: refugees and asylum seekers are represented as passive victims, as a threat to the culture, security, and welfare of the host country, or as dehumanised, anonymous (out-)group.

As is often the case, measures taken to govern migration movements are in constant negotiation between the realization of economic gains and respect for liberal values but also in the light of the effects they bear on national security, political cohesion, and defence of national territory. The parameters within this calculation do not primarily address the issue of human dignity but employ the logic of *raison d'état* to "minimalize the risks", "ensure the security" and keep the situation within the limits of "acceptable" and "controllable", where the "acceptable" is typically determined by the estimation of costs that refugees pose in terms of administration, integration support, provision of social care, public services and legal advice, in connection with the negative impact of asylum migration inflows on unemployment, social welfare systems, security, and national identity.

2.7 Conclusion

For sociology, the central questions posed to approach migration are: why does migration occur, what processes and social dynamics

are involved in migration processes, how does migration affect receiving societies and migrant communities, what are political, social and cultural effects of migration, how migrants become members of local communities and how they interact with local population, what influences integration processes, how people experience migration, how do migrants integrate, what is the role and implication of local communities, how migration is governed in national and international aspects and so on. Throughout the late twentieth century, sociologists had turned their focus to individuals as *social beings*, paying attention to migration processes, networks, and attachments, social interaction and belonging, cultural beliefs and political values, family and religious life, legal consciousness and migrants' rights (ibid). Despite their specific focus, sociologists share an interest with other social sciences, especially anthropology, but also law, political studies, economy and demography and a common theoretical framework with anthropologists and there is a good deal of cross-fertilization. In this manner, sociology reached beyond a narrow interest in the economy and addressed broader questions of how societies negotiate membership and boundaries in the face of globalization, technological innovation, and demographic change.

The chapter has highlighted that migration needs to be understood in a wider social-political context. Migration processes are negotiated between micro-structures (e.g. individual aspirations, family ties), meso-structures (e.g. migrant networks, migrant communities, migration industry) and macro-structures (e.g. economic conditions, migration legislation, adverse social situation), while reasons for migrating are often interconnected and it is not possible at all times to make a strict distinction between forced or voluntary migration. If the first sociological theories of migration focused more on economic and labour market in destination countries, the research interest since the 1970s moved closer to studying migration in the context of wider socioeconomic structures and the global political-economic situation, dependant on processes such as global market economy, deregulation of markets, development of industrial monopolies and overwhelming power of international corporations, growing inequalities in the distribution of wealth, globalization, etc.

In regard to the question of migrant integration, assimilationist theory was replaced by interactionist approaches. Many scholars examined the impact of ethnic communities on immigrant integration in economic terms, while highlighting complexities of the integration processes or emphasized the external context provided by the host society-at-large. A conceptual shift in studying migrant integration, which manifested in focusing on interactions between migrants and local communities, no longer saw integration as a unified process but

rather as being affected by economic, class, and ethnic structures and inequalities. Instead of relying on models-thinking sociologists started to assume a variety of conditions and possible outcomes of migrating and integration processes. Moreover, host societies were increasingly perceived as less homogenous entities, which motivated sociologists, to see integration as a process involving relational, institutional and discursive aspects, which affect dynamics between diverse social agents. Sociologists pursued that the integration of migrants is affected by characteristics of their country of origin, where they are socialized, by the size, role, and functioning of the immigrant community in the host society and by the characteristics of the receiving countries, which differ in their immigration policies as well as in the structure of migration groups and the level of migrant acceptance.

Additionally, the chapter has highlighted the question (post)national membership. Postnational citizenship has been problematized as a category that has emerged in the light of the fact that contemporary societies are intrinsically plural and diverge from the conceptual design of the nations as a culturally and ethnically homogeneous communities. The diversity of cultural forms, minorities, worldviews, and religions is increasing. These deliberations saw citizenship's relationship to the nation-state contingent and historical, and subject to change in consequence of changing social practices such as e.g. intensity of cross-border relationships and transnational networks, which traverse national borders; postnational citizenship has been explained in the light of decreasing importance of ethnicity of migrants, who, live within the national territory and enjoy important rights and recognition under their presence. It has been pointed out that while on the one hand immigration policies are getting more restrictive, on the other hand, migrants in many democratic societies enjoy more rights than they have in the past. However, even if at the formal and legal level, the discourse on national citizenship is moving away from ethnicity as the main exclusionary criterion, it must not be neglected that instead, the other exclusionary aspects are still being invoked, especially those implied in "second-class" citizenship and immigration policies.

The chapter concludes with a section on nationalism and xenophobia, where it highlighted that debates about asylum and human rights issues in the academic, political and legal domains have demonstrated the complexity and salience of migration challenges for contemporary European societies. The responses to migration trends in past decades have manifested in nativism of the populist radical right, which has often used ethnic, racial, and religious prejudices, justified with socio-economic and socio-cultural motivations. The revival

of nationalist ideologies have not been expressed only through the populist radical right parties, but also in more general socio-political context, public discourse and media reporting. As concluding section shows, we have also witnessed openly hostile attitudes toward refugees, predominately characterized by security concerns, which resulted in upholding restrictive border regimes and setting up the razor-wire fences to prevent refugees from entering their territory. It has shown that democratic governance in Europe has faced turbulent times and that the commitment of European countries to respect legally binding provisions of the international law has been put to unprecedented trial.

References

- Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 826-874. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791839703100403>
- Bauböck, R. (1994). *Transnational citizenship: Membership and rights in international migration*. Edward Elgar.
- Benhabib, S. (2006). *The rights of others: Aliens, residents, and citizens*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bonacich, E. (1973). A Theory of Middleman Minorities. *American Sociological Review*, 38(5), 583-594. doi: 10.2307/2094409
- Borjas, O. J. (1989). Economic theory and international migration. *International Migration Review*, 23(3), 457-85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791838902300304>
- Bosniak, L. (2006). *The citizen and the alien: Dilemmas of contemporary membership*. Princeton University Press.
- Brettell, C., & Hollifield, J. F. (2000). *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines*. Routledge.
- Brubaker, R. (2004). *Ethnicity without groups*. Harvard University Press.
- Castles, S., & Davidson, A. (2000). *Citizenship and migration: Globalization and the politics of belonging*. Macmillan.
- Castles, S., Miller, M. J., & Haas, H. (2014). *The age of migration*. Guilford.
- Faist, T. (2000). *The Volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces*. Oxford University Press.
- Galton, F. (1904). Eugenics: Its definition, scope, and aims. *American Journal of Sociology*, 10(1), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026104SP100104>
- Gamio, M. (1969). *Mexican immigration to the United States*. Arno Press
- Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. P. (1963). *Beyond the melting pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*. M.I.T Press.
- Grant, E. E. (1925). Scum from the melting-pot. *American Journal of Sociology*, 30(6), 641-651.
- Gündoğdu, A. (2015). *Rightlessness in an age of rights: Hannah Arendt and the contemporary struggles of migrants*. Oxford University Press.
- Hunt, M. B. (1910). The housing of non-family groups of men in Chicago. *American Journal of Sociology*, 16(2), 145-170. <https://doi.org/10.1086/211883>
- Kasinitz, P. (2012). The sociology of international migration: Where we have been; where do we go from here?. *Sociological Forum*, 27(3), 579-590. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2012.01336.x>

- Kennedy, R. J. R. (1944). Single or triple melting-pot? Intermarriage trends in New Haven, 1870-1940. *American Journal of Sociology*, 49(4), 331-339. <https://doi.org/10.1086/219427>
- Kesby, A. (2012). *The right to have right: Citizenship, humanity, and international law*. Oxford University Press.
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>
- Light, I. H. (1979). Disadvantaged minorities in self-employment. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 20 (1-2), 31-45. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156854279X00157>
- Morrison, J. (2001). The dark side of globalisation: The criminalisation of refugees. *Race and Class*, 43(1), 71-74.
- Muis J., & Immerzeel T. (2017). Causes and consequences of the rise of populist radical right parties and movements in Europe. *Current Sociology*, 65(6), 909-930. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392117717294>
- Penninx, R., & Garcés-Masareñas, B. (Eds.) (2016). *Integration processes and policies in Europe: Contexts, levels and actors*. Springer.
- Phelan, T. J. (1989). From the attic of the American Journal of Sociology: Unusual contributions to American sociology, 1895-1935. *Sociological Forum*, 4(1), 71-86. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01112617>
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2014). Theoretical overview: Theories of international migration and immigrant adaptation. In A. Portes, & R. G. Rumbaut (Eds.), *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. University of California Press.
- Pries, L. (1999). *Migration and transnational social spaces*. Ashgate.
- Reinhardt, J. M. (1927). The Negro: Is he a biological inferior?. *American Journal of Sociology*, 33(2), 248-261. <https://doi.org/10.1086/214384>
- Salt, J. (1992). The future of international labor migration. *International Migration Review*, 26(4), 1077-1111. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791839202600402>
- Schmitter, H. B. (2000). The sociology of immigration: From assimilation to segmented integration, from the American experience to the global arena. In C. B. Brettell, & J. F. Hollifield (Eds.), *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines*, (pp. 77-96). Routledge.
- Scholten, P. (2011). Framing immigrant. *Dutch research policy dialogues in comparative perspective*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Skeldon, R. (1990). *Population mobility in developing countries: A reinterpretation*. Belhaven.
- Soysal, Y. N. (1994). *Limits of citizenship: Migrants and postnational membership in Europe*. The University of Chicago.
- Stark, O. (1991). *The migration of labor*. Blackwell.
- Stouffer, S. A. (1940). Intervening opportunities: A theory relating mobility and distance. *American Sociological Review*, 5(6), 845-867. doi: 10.2307/2084520
- Taylor, J. E. (1986). Differential migration, networks, information and risk. *Migration, Human Capital and Development*, 4(11), 147-171.
- Tubergen, F. (2006). *Immigrant integration: A cross national study*. LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Wodak, R. (2015). *The politics of fear what right-wing populist discourses mean*. Sage.
- Woolston, H. B. (1916). Rating the nations: A study in the statistics of opinion. *American Journal of Sociology*, 22(3), 381-390. <https://doi.org/10.1086/212624>

Further suggested readings and other resources

Brettell, C., & Hollifield, J. F. (2000). *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines*. Routledge.

Castles, S., Miller, M. J., & Haas, H. (2014). *The age of migration*. Guilford.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, K., & Sigona, N. (2016). *The Oxford handbook of refugee and forced migration studies*. Oxford University Press.

Gold, S. J., & Nawyn, S. J. (2012). *Routledge international handbook of migration studies*. London:Routledge.

Guibernau, B. M. M., & Rex, J. (2011). *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*. Polity.

3 Chapter 3 Psychology

Psychology and Migration

Evrinomy Avdi • Kyriaki M. Chrantá

Learning objectives

Upon completion of this module students will:

- 1) Become familiar with key social psychological theories concerning group relations.
- 2) Acquire a theoretical background for understanding the main psychological processes involved in the experience of migration
- 3) Recognize some clinical implications of migration on mental health.

Migration can be broadly understood in terms of mobility defined as “the movement of a person from one location to another” (Fawcett, 1985, in Sakız, 2015, p. 152). It has been shown that whatever the type of location (e.g. city or country) or movement (e.g. voluntary or forced), the process itself includes multiple individual, social and psychological factors (Sakız, 2015). The term migration includes different categories of migrant, such as economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular migrants (see Glossary). In this chapter we use the term ‘migrant’ as a general term and refer to refugees when referring to people who have left their country and cannot return owing to fear of persecution.

This chapter concerns the contribution of psychology to the study of migration and consists of two sections. Psychology as a discipline that studies human experience, functioning and relating, within their context, can contribute to the study of migration in several different ways (Palmary, 2018). In this chapter, we draw upon key theories from social psychology and discuss findings from the field of clinical psychology and discuss their theoretical contributions to the exploration of the dynamics, processes and consequences of migration for both migrants and the host country; such knowledge can be used in the design and development of individual, community-based and institutional interventions to support both populations and their relationship. The first section contains a presentation of key theories from social psychology, that can help conceptualize social psychological processes involved in migration. More specifically, we outline Social Identity Theory and the Theory of Intergroup Relations, with

reference to the social psychological processes of prejudice and discrimination, as well as theories around Acculturation. In the second section, we focus on key findings concerning the mental health of migrants and refugees with a focus on refugee trauma.

3.1 Social Psychology and Migration

Social Psychology aims to study phenomena that occur within people's social realities and affect people as entities, as members of an interaction and as members of a group. Important points in human history, such as the atrocities of World War II, have functioned as triggers for the development of research and theoretical attempts to understand the social psychological processes and conditions in which such processes have taken place (Chrysochoou, 2011). In the social reality of the 21st century, migration is a topical and important aspect of human history. For example, the last few years, Europe has received a continuous flow of immigrants and asylum seekers, due to economic or socio-political reasons, such as war. Social psychology is a discipline that can contribute to better understanding of migration.

3.2. Social Identity Theory

In social psychological theories, identity is approached as a continuum with two poles, personal and social identity. **Personal identity** refers to all the distinct idiosyncratic traits and personal relationships of an individual that structure and are in line with his or her self-perception. On the other hand, **social identity** relates to the individual's membership in a social category or group and entails the degree of agreement with and investment in this social category (Beauchamp & Dunlop, 2014; Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Stets & Burke, 2000).

Social Identity Theory, initially articulated by Tajfel and Turner (1979), largely provides an understanding of how the inclusion of an individual in a group affects his/her functioning at a social level (Beauchamp & Dunlop, 2014). As reported by Hogg and Vaughan (2014), we each have as many social identities as are the groups in which we belong. Thus, our different group memberships and associated identities result in different behavioural patterns we display across diverse contexts (Beauchamp & Dunlop, 2014).

Social Identity Theory largely entails cognitive processes that affect the ways in which individuals are involved in and interact with the group. One central process of social identity is categorisation (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Stets & Burke, 2000). Individuals tend to

categorize and define themselves, as well as others, based on the limited perceptual data available in each specific condition, as well as on the cognitive categories (schemata) that are most accessible in the specific context. Usually, for each social category there is a so-called "prototype", which represents the ideal type that entails all the representative meanings and norms that define the given category. Take yourselves as an example. You are members of different groups and you have different roles that derive from the specific social categories you belong to. In this sense, in the context of academic status you are students, in the family context you are sons or daughters, brothers or sisters etc. As students, you identify some people as members of your own group (other students), while some other people (e.g. professors) as members of another group and you define them according to this categorisation.

In this framework regarding intergroup context and phenomena, individuals categorize themselves (Self-categorisation Theory) in relation to the various existing social groups (**social categorisation**) and in this way structure their social identity. Then, individuals internalise this social identity and evaluate themselves based on the characteristics of the group to which they belong (Beauchamp & Dunlop, 2014; Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Stets & Burke, 2000). These characteristics (e.g. beliefs, values, behavioural patterns, emotional reactions, etc.) form the basis upon which individuals discriminate in-group from out-group members, and evaluate themselves based on this discrimination (Stets & Burke, 2000).

When membership in a group is internalised as part of one's self-concept, his or her self-esteem (i.e. the individual's "feelings about and evaluation of oneself", Hogg & Vaughan, 2014, pp. 135) is in some cases dependent on the value attributed to the group in which he or she belongs (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This connection activates various cognitive and behavioural mechanisms, such as **social comparison**. More specifically, it is argued that each individual seeks to enhance his or her self-esteem. When joining a group, this need is expressed through the selective application of comparisons, which are biased in favour of his or her group (the so-called in-group)- and by extension of him- or herself. This comparison takes place with either a negative or neutral disposition towards the other groups and their members (in-group bias). In other words, each member of a group seeks to secure a favourable result for his or her group in comparison with other groups (Beauchamp & Dunlop, 2014; Brown, 1995; Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Stets & Burke, 2000). All of the above reflect an effort to ensure the salience of social identity, that is to "to increase the influence of one's membership in that group on perception and behavior" (Oakes, 1987, p. 118, as mentioned in Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 229).

Tajfel and his colleagues (1971, as mentioned in Hogg & Vaughan, 2014) conducted a series of experiments that illuminated the necessary conditions for the formation of competitive relations between groups. The minimal group paradigm was an experimental method aiming to understand the role of social categorisation in group relations. More specifically, in one version of this experiment, British students were divided in two groups according to their supposed preference between Kandinsky and Klee paintings. In reality, the division was random, and the students had no contact with the other members of their group. Then, the students were asked to allot points - with a monetary value - between the two groups, using templates with proposed split-ups for them to choose. For example, the student could choose for a member of his group to take 19, 18, 13 or 9 points, while the other group would get 1, 3, 13, or 21 respectively, due to a pre-determined distribution. Each template contained money distributions that would follow one of the four principles, fairness (equal distribution), maximum shared gain (taking the greatest amount of points from the experimenter, regardless which group would gain it) maximum in-group gain (favouritism, the greatest amount of points for the in-group) or maximum divergence between the groups (creating a great distance between the groups in favour of the in-group). Note that each student was unaware of the rest of the students that formed the in-group or out-group and he or she could not give money to him- or herself (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Wetherell, 1996). Participants tended to choose according to the principles of maximum in-group gain and maximum divergence between the groups. Interestingly, the lack of relationship with other in-group members did not affect the influence that group membership, based on the mere categorisation according to preference in paintings had on participants' choices. There was a strong bias towards favouring the in-group and against the out-group in participants' choices (Wetherell, 1996). This basic experimental design has been repeated several times; even when the process of social categorisation was further simplified, such as dividing participants based on a coin flip or by removing the monetary element, the same effects were found (e.g. Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Tajfel & Billig, 1973, as mentioned by Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Wetherell, 1996).

Based on the key principles of social identity theory, a consequence of belonging to a group is **depersonalisation**; this process can be seen to be implicated in social phenomena such as ethnocentrism or social stereotyping. Each time the individual's social identity is activated, all the normative elements of the prototype are triggered, which leads the individual to act according to them, accompanied by a reduction of personal agency and perception of oneself as an independent entity (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Stets & Burke, 2000).

Another psychological process associated with group membership is **the need for 'positive distinctiveness'** of the group. This concerns the need for positive feelings towards the social category one belongs to and is activated when members belong to a group that is being undervalued (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), when a group experiences impermeable boundaries with another group and their group is negatively evaluated, several different mechanisms, associated with group membership, may be activated. Group members may redefine the meaning of the comparison as proof of their own superiority; they may make comparisons along a different dimension; they may change their negative values to emphasize their positive qualities. These different responses are aspects of a mechanism called social creativity. On the other hand, in-group members may be involved in an open challenge of and confrontation with the dominant group (social competition). Finally, one mechanism that concerns individual members, and occurs when the dividing lines between the members are perceived as permeable, is the psychological abandonment or actual departure from one's devalued group (individual mobility) (Beauchamp & Dunlop, 2014; Hernandez, 2009).

Social identity theory can help understand various aspects of migration. Ethnicity and race, for example, are categorisations that involve all of the above processes. In fact, according to Hogg and Vaughan (2014), social identity mediates ethnicity, which is an important source of self-esteem, while phenomena, such as prejudice between social groups (because of ethnicity) can be understood based upon the principles of social identity theory. The theory can also help conceptualize the experience of migrants when they arrive in a majority culture, different to their own. In this situation, there is the group of migrants (in-group) and the group of people of the host country (out-group), and so processes of social categorisation and social comparison are activated interactively. The need of the group of migrants to maintain positive self-esteem activates the mechanisms described above, when the outcome of the comparison with the group of natives is not positive and in cases where the in-group is being undervalued (Hernandez, 2009). Accordingly, the indigenous group uses some of the above processes to be able, *inter alia*, to maintain its influence position (Brown, 1995).

As is evidenced from the above, issues of power and position emerge between groups, and this cannot be understood simply through the concept of categorisation between in-group and out-group. In the next section, we present theories concerning intergroup relationships, in order to enrich our understanding of some of the processes relating to migration.

3.3 Intergroup relations

As is evident from the previous section, a key factor in social phenomena is the notion of the 'group'. Several different definitions of the term 'group' have been articulated in the social psychological literature, each definition focusing on some of its central aspects and functions. Overall, a group is defined as a set of individuals, who perceive themselves as members of the same social category, interact with each other, are interdependent upon each other and affect each other. For example, the number of the members in a group (Ringelmann effect) or the role that a person has in the group - e.g. leader - can influence the effort or action of an individual (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014). The members of a group (in-group) share some emotional involvement in the context of their belonging in and investment to the group and share common goals (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Several reasons exist for an individual to become a member of a group, for example proximity, the need for positive support and inclusion, shared goals and being able to cope with challenging or stressful situations. Each group has a set of rules and norms under which it operates, and which distinguish it from other groups; furthermore, groups have processes for assimilating new members (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014).

The distinction between two groups leads the members of each group (in-group) to act on the out-group in certain ways. Intergroup behaviour involves any action directed by some individuals towards others, based on the perception that these two parties belong to different social categories (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Sherif, 1967, as cited in Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to Sherif (1967), intergroup behaviour is significantly influenced by the goals of each group. If the two groups share the same goals or have compatible goals that require cooperation with other groups, then there is intergroup harmony. However, if the goals of the groups are mutually exclusive, then intergroup competition arises and this leads to social conflict. Because of this conflict, both prejudiced and discriminatory behaviours are manifested between the groups, with a strong in-group and out-group segregation (see section on Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism), as well as increased coherence, morale and cooperation within the group (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Wetherell, 1996).

3.3.1 *In-group and Out-group relations*

As Tajfel and Turner (1979) point out, the mere existence of an out-group is sufficient to trigger intergroup conflicts - competing or discriminatory behaviours - as demonstrated by the experiments of the minimal group paradigm of Tajfel and colleagues (Billig & Tajfel,

1973; Tajfel et al., 1971; Vaughan et al., 1981 as cited in Hogg & Vaughan, 2014). As mentioned above, in these, experimental conditions involved mere categorisation based on a common trait of individuals, whose task was to allot points between the two groups. In some versions of the experiment, the researchers even eliminated the condition of existence of common interpersonal elements that predispose in favour of the in-group. However, individuals showed again a clear preference towards the in-group, a minimal in-group bias (Brewer, 1999; Hogg & Vaughan, 2014).

Thus, a key finding of Tajfel's studies is that mere categorisation into a group functions as both a necessary and sufficient condition for the preference and/or discrimination to be made in favour of the in-group. This relationship, however, does not seem to be linear. Other incentives seem to play a role too, such as the need for assimilation in a group as well as differentiation from other members (Optimal Distinctiveness Theory) or the need for individuals to reduce social uncertainty (Brewer, 1999; Hogg & Vaughan, 2014). Drawing upon social identity theory, individuals tend to favour their in-group over the out-group. This bias can take the form of ethnocentrism, where the in-group becomes the centre of everything and the out-group the recipient of hatred or unfair treatment. A typical example is the slavery of the Blacks in the 15th century AC (Molina et al., 2016). It is worth noting, however, that love for the in-group and hatred for the out-group do not necessarily co-occur; in other words, positive prejudice towards and love for the in-group does not necessarily imply hatred for the out-group (Brewer, 1999). We should briefly note that such intergroup responses rely on the evaluation of the in-group of relative costs and benefits. Usually, the cost is associated with the members of the out-group, while the benefit with the members of the in-group. It is worth noting that the functioning of the members and the experience of these emotions is based on identifying oneself with the group. Therefore, the evaluation of the cost or benefit to the group is directed towards the collective self of the individual (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014).

An extreme manifestation of discrimination between the in-group and the out-group includes the stereotypical evaluation of the members of the latter by the former. There is a tendency for the in-group to overestimate similarities within its members as well as its differences in relation to the other social categories (accentuation effect); at the same time the in-group tends to perceive its members as differentiated -despite the central similarities that unite them- as opposed to homogenizing the out-group members (relative homogeneity effect). Research has shown that these phenomena are influenced by the number of members of groups. Thus, out-group homo-

geneity usually refers to out-groups that are perceived as minorities. Conversely, if the out-group is the majority, then the members of the in-group tend to exhibit in-group homogeneity and to identify themselves more closely with their social group or, in terms of social identity, to depersonalise (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014). Following from the above, the relations between majority and minority groups will be briefly discussed.

3.3.1.1 Minority and majority relations

The in-group and the out-group may differ in the number of members, resulting in the development of intense relations between the majority and minority. This, in combination with the prestige and status of each group, may influence the way they perceive and relate to other out-groups. Moscovici's (1976, 1985 as cited in Hogg & Vaughan, 2014) theory of social change refers to the ways in which minority groups and their conflict with majority groups can bring about change. According to his theory, there are three forms of social influence related to conflict between the two groups: a) *conformity*, when the majority persuades the minority to adopt its position; b) *normalisation*, when there is mutual compromise and convergence of the two groups; and c) *innovation*, when the minority amplifies the conflict and urges majority to adopt its opinion (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014).

In cases where the majority is perceived to be stronger – for example due to larger numbers, higher prestige, power or status – the minority will comply and may even end up being subjected to injustice and prejudice. In terms of social identity, this is associated with the minority's lack of self-esteem and confidence. At the same time, however, the mechanisms for achieving positive in-group distinctiveness (social creativity and social competition) that unites group members may also be activated (Alexandre et al., 2016). When the minority is stronger, in terms of power and status, social conflict can result in changing the attitudes and behaviours of the majority. Moscovici (1976) described a model of social influence of the minority (genetic model), which was later revised. According to his original model, the minority group is able to influence the majority because of aspects of the minority group's behaviour. The primary element is the perceived consistency of the minority by both its own members and external observers; in other words, consistency entails all of the minority group members conveying the same message. This consistency, however, should balance with a more flexible way of negotiating, so that the minority group is not perceived as dogmatic, which would lead to its eventual rejection (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014).

The conversion effect phenomenon supplemented Moscovici's (1980) view resulting in the model of two processes. According to this model, both the majority and the minority groups apply their influence through different processes. The former influences primarily by means of direct persuasion, with its views being passively accepted, while minority group influence occurs indirectly via the cognitive conflict of the hitherto held beliefs with the minority's divergent beliefs that result in the reconstruction of majority's beliefs (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014).

Returning to migration, groups of migrants (in-group) arriving in a new country tend to be smaller in number than the host society; furthermore, the group of immigrants faces practical difficulties (e.g. unfamiliarity with language) and tends to be disadvantaged compared to the host population (out-group). Belonging to a minority group does not necessarily involve negative in-group evaluation (for example highly-skilled migrant workers from developed countries may in fact experience positive in-group evaluation); but in cases where being categorised as a minority group implies a negative in-group outcome, this group membership is likely to be associated with negative self-esteem, according to social identity theory. This seems to lead to the emergence of the social influence of conformity, with in-group members becoming passive recipients of even unfair measures against them. However, in subsequent stages of the process of settling in the majority culture, processes of social creativity and social competition may be activated to enable in-group individuals to secure their individual self-esteem and value by ensuring their social identity and cohesion. Thus, innovation is likely to emerge as a form of social influence.

3.4 Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism

Drawing upon the brief overview of the main points of social identity theory and the description of the dynamics that develop between groups have shown that some sort of prejudice or discrimination is inevitable when groups interact. It is important to understand these concepts and, subsequently, discuss them in the context of social relations, as they systematically emerge in the social phenomenon of migration. Before doing so, it is useful to briefly describe the social processes implicated in stereotyping.

A stereotype refers to a cognitive association of some characteristics or qualities with a specific group. It is a process that involves an evaluative dimension; in other words, it is the outcome of a categorisation that 'prejudges' the members of the reference group (Brown, 1995; Chrysochoou, 2011; Wetherell, 1996). Stereotypes stem from

the need of individuals to belong to a group, and reflect the relationships between groups (Chrysochoou, 2011). In the context of intergroup relations, stereotypes comprise a common conviction of in-group members regarding the out-group, which results in a common way of communicating and organizing behaviour (Chrysochoou, 2011). Such stereotypes can be used either in favour of the in-group or for the devaluation of the out-group (Wetherell, 1996). This process sets the risk for the specific categorical criteria to be 'reified', that is, to be treated as factual elements rather than cognitive constructs (Chrysochoou, 2011). The use of reified stereotypes for the devaluation of the out-group may result in a negative evaluation of the out-group, due to specific characteristics assigned to it, that is stigma (Hogg & Vaughan, 2010).

Stereotypes constitute judgments that are fundamentally biased and do not fully respond to reality but rather contain shreds of truth. There has been a plethora of experimental attempts to understand the processes involved in stereotyping, while many theorists have advocated their inadequate nature in processing various situations (cf. Duncan, 1976; Hamilton, 1981; Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963 as cited in Wetherell, 1996) (Chrysochoou, 2011; Wetherell, 1996). Stereotypes do not constitute inherent cognitive distortions, but self-contained reactions to social realities in the service of social or ideological interests of the groups (Oakes et al., 1994 & Tajfel, 1981, as cited in Wetherell, 1996), such as presenting their group in the best possible way over the others (Chrysochoou, 2011).

Importantly, stereotypes have a significant impact on the reference group both directly and indirectly. Again, a significant number of experiments have highlighted the self-fulfilling prophecy phenomenon displayed by the members of the group stereotypes are directed at (cf. Jussim, 1989; Levey & Langer, 1994; Rosenthal, & Jacobson, 1968; Snyder et al., 1977 as cited in Brown, 1995). The conclusion of several studies is that the behaviour of individuals who have a stereotype for some other people influences the latter to behave in correspondence with these stereotypes (Brown, 1995). Snyder and his colleagues (1977) provide us with an illustrative example in the dyadic interaction. They created an experiment where male and female undergraduate students were divided in unacquainted pairs. They were led to believe that the aim of the study was the understanding of the processes involved in social acquaintances, one of which would be the telephone conversation. The male participants were provided with real information about their female pair as well as an attractive or less attractive snapshot of the supposed partner - the photographs were not the ones of the real female participants. This way a stereotype of physically attractive or unattractive female was created randomly to the male participants. The main finding

was that the impressions formed by the males according to attractiveness - e.g. the attractive women were expected to be more sociable or outgoing - would lead to the behavioural confirmation from these women, as independent observers judged. In other words, the female participants ended up acting in ways that matched the initial stereotype attributed to them by the male participants (Snyder et al., 1977).

Following from the above, stereotypes can function as the background for the emergence of the phenomenon of prejudice. **Prejudice** refers to negative beliefs and emotions as well as biased actions directed at members of a group, due to the very reason that they belong to this group (Brown, 1995; Chrysochoou, 2011). Taking into consideration that modern societies are governed by the principles of tolerance towards difference and egalitarianism, the expression of prejudice towards the out-group has taken on more latent forms of manifestation (Chrysochoou, 2011; Kessler & Mummerdey, 2008). It is worth noting here something that has been repeatedly highlighted in the previous sections; prejudice can take a positive form as well, that is, to be in favour of the in-group and its members and can also be in favour of the out-group and its members, as is described below.

Prejudice in most cases implies discrimination. Social discrimination is defined "as negative disadvantaging or derogatory behaviour" (actions or judgements/decisions) "towards a social group and its members" (Kessler & Mummerdey, 2008, p. 292). Discrimination can take direct or indirect forms of expression. An interesting form of discrimination is the systematic support for the out-group and its members to a rather greater extent than for the members of the in-group itself (reverse or positive discrimination). However, this response may be associated with the out-group members ending up with lower self-esteem, sense of effectiveness and self-worth (Kessler & Mummerdey, 2008).

In the context of racial discrimination, which is implicated in the phenomenon of migration, the aforementioned phenomena are expressed –albeit implicitly to a large extent– through racism, which constitutes the substance of the combination of prejudice with the element of power of the dominant group (Chrysochoou, 2011). Some contemporary forms of implicit racism that have been described in the literature are a) *aversive racism*, where the individual has a non-racist self-image, but manifests his prejudice in specific circumstances and justifying it, in this way retaining his self-image, b) *ambivalent racism*, where the individual expresses overly positive assessment of the achievements of the out-group but also negative assessment of its failures, and c) *modern racism*, where the individual undermines and attacks modern measures in favour of the out-

group on the grounds that they are against meritocracy and social equality (Chrysochoou, 2011; Kessler & Mummerdey, 2008).

The emergence of prejudice and discrimination can be explained through theories that are based on group dynamics and relations, such as for example Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the Theory of Realistic Group Conflict (Campbell, 1965; Sherif, 1966), as well as Tajfel's understanding for cognitive processing of categorisation and ethnocentrism (cf. In-group & out-group relations). According to the first theory, prejudice and discrimination stem from the acceptance and desire of a group for social hierarchy between the groups, with the strongest group assuming dominance over the 'inferior' group. In contrast, Campbell (1965) and Sherif's (1966) theory is grounded on the assumption that the mere competition for resources - material or abstract - is sufficient to bring two groups in conflict, even in cases where individual members of both groups were positively associated before categorisation. However, the existence of a common objective (subordinate goal) is able to restore the conflicting relationships between the members of the groups (Chrysochoou, 2011; Hogg & Vaughan, 2010; Kessler & Mummerdey, 2008).

All these are illustrated by Sherif and Sherif's (1969) experiments in children's summer camps. They conducted the same experiment three times and reached the same conclusion each time. The experiment consisted of four stages. In the first phase of each experiment, all the children in the camp (white, middle class, 11 to 12 year-olds) were gathered in the same area, were involved in several activities and were free to form friendships between them. In the second phase, the camp was divided in two different units and "coincidentally" the children who had formed friendships in the previous phase were allocated in different groups. The two groups had no communication with each other, and their members were involved in activities that facilitated bonding between them. When both groups had developed a sense of belonging, with norms, inner jokes and group name, they were engaged in a competitive intergroup condition, a tournament. Their scores were kept really close during all the tournament. As you may assume, there was a rapid development of intense rivalry, and even aggression, between the two groups; both groups praised their in-group and overrated their group's achievements. In the final stage, these two groups were required to cooperate in order to achieve shared goals (subordinate goals). These goals were mostly about dealing with a common threat (solving a common problem, having a shared enemy etc.) and this process mitigated any existing rivalry between the two groups (Hogg & Vaughan, 2014; Wetherell, 1996).

As discussed in the section on intergroup relations, the perceived prestige and status of a group against another significantly affects the phenomena of prejudice and discrimination. In majority and minority relations, for instance, both groups are involved in discriminatory behaviours towards each other, albeit for different reasons. The majority experiences a numerical superiority that supports its dominance over the other group by rights, as described by Social Dominance Theory. Minorities, on the other hand, engage in discriminatory behaviours to compensate for their precarious position and identity (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991). Indeed, there is some evidence that depending on the status, power and number of members, discriminatory behaviours differ. More discriminatory behaviours were displayed from high status dominant majorities (to maintain their social identity) or high-status dominant minorities (due to threat in numbers). In contrast, the least discriminatory behaviours were displayed by low status, subordinate minorities that even reached out-group favouritism (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991).

Referring again to the Theory of Realistic Group Conflict (Campbell, 1965; Sherif, 1966), Sherif and Sherif's (1969) experiment showed - in its fourth stage - conflict can be lifted when there is a shared subordinate goal. This is probably related to the idea of similarity between groups. Indeed, research has shown that similarity in multicultural contexts makes the out-group more attractive, regardless of minority or majority status, bringing about greater willingness in the in-group to have contact with the out-group, especially when the latter is the minority (Osbeck & Moghaddam, 1997). This idea seems to fit migrants' intergroup contact with the host population, as the limited similarity of the two groups in combination with limited knowledge about the members of the host country reinforces the non-similarity - non-attraction relationship (Berry, 2001).

Let us apply all the above ideas to the phenomenon of migration and the entry and adaptation of migrants to the host country. As already mentioned, migration flows are usually minorities compared to the numbers of the host population. By simplifying the picture, as we leave out of our account the processes of acculturation (which are described in the next section), migrants build or possess a minority identity which, irrespective of the feelings it causes in general (e.g. pride), can be significantly underestimated and/or devalued by the dominant group (Chrysochoou, 2011; Hernandez, 2009). Prejudice and discrimination that are experienced on a daily basis in all conditions and activities - even the most essential for survival - lead to a variety of reactions, from passivity (cf. Intergroup conflicts) to social rupture and mobility (cf. Social Identity Theory), which in turn can result in the marginalisation of migrants. These reactions are

usually triggered both by the susceptibility of people to rejection (e.g. attributional ambiguity: the confusion between the attribution of an individual's behaviour of the dominant group to his or her personal preference or the stigma attached to the recipient of the behaviour (Chrysochoou, 2011)) and the fear that their behaviours will verify the stereotypes of the dominant group towards them (stereotype threat), internal processes that often become sources of behaviour of self-fulfilling prophecy (Chrysochoou, 2011).

In the following section, we will discuss the processes of acculturation for an integrated understanding of the phenomenon of migration from the perspective the social psychological theory.

3.5 Theories and processes of acculturation

Acculturation - or alternatively *biculturalism, multiculturalism, integration, & globalization* (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 473) - can be broadly defined as a process of change that occurs when members of two different cultures come into contact. Changes, psychological and cultural, are usually reciprocal, although they tend to affect mostly the non-dominant population and its members (Berry, 2001; Sam & Berry, 2010). The consequence of acculturation is the adaptation of individuals and groups, which is defined as the "individual psychological well-being and how individuals manage socioculturally" (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 472).

According to Sam and Berry (2010), psychological changes relate to three central axes, namely **A**ffect, **B**ehaviour and **C**ognition, forming the acronym **ABC**. Emotional *consequences* are associated with acculturative stress, which stems from two factors. Firstly, life events and challenges involved in the processes of migration and acculturation that are perceived as problematic and, secondly, situations where the individual does not proceed to adaptive behaviour change. *Behavioural changes* concern the approach of cultural learning. People who move and settle in a new environment may not have the necessary cultural skills to respond to daily interactions with the dominant group (e.g. language). Therefore, they need to learn all these skills that are necessary to meet the new cultural context (Sam & Berry, 2010). Finally, *cognitive effects* relate to the perception and identification process with the non-dominant in-group as well as the dominant out-group. These cognitive changes can be understood through social identity theory and the process of categorisation and identification with categories. Migrants are confronted with the management of their already existing identity, which is rooted in their cultural heritage, as well as their potential identification with the new, dominant culture. Each of the two identifications leads to the

construction of an identity: ethnic identity and civic/national identity respectively (Berry, 2001; Sam & Berry, 2010).

These identifications and identities were initially considered mutually exclusive. According to Gordon's (1964) model, the maintenance of cultural identity and the adoption of a new one (dominant culture) constituted two ends of a continuum. Adoption of the dominant group's cultural identity was seen as a successful adaptation to the new environment, whereas biculturalism (= adoption of both cultures) was the means of eventually achieving the transition to the successful pole (Chrysochoou, 2011). In contrast to this one-dimensional model, Berry (2001) suggested that all of the above changes occur as a result of an interaction of the non-dominant (the migrants) with the dominant group (individuals in the host country), each facing the dilemmas of cultural maintenance and contact with the new group. These two axes lead to four different acculturation strategies for the non-dominant group (integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation) and four ways of handling the process for the dominant group (multiculturalism, melting pot/pressure cooker, segregation and exclusion).

In this framework, members of the non-dominant group may be willing to embrace both cultures, maintaining their own culture but also adopting elements of the new culture (integration). However, if the adoption of the new culture can for some people be accompanied by a complete denial of their cultural heritage, then we would refer to assimilation. On the other hand, individuals may remain strongly attached to completely rejecting the dominant culture (separation) or completely rejecting both cultures (marginalisation). It is worth noting that all these attitudes take place in interaction with the respective attitudes of the dominant group. For instance, integration is impossible if the dominant group is not open to accepting the non-dominant group (Berry, 2001; Chrysochoou, 2011; Sam & Berry, 2010). Indeed, in situations of fusion of the two cultures, the dominant group may be willing to accept contact with the new non-dominant culture, while maintaining an attitude of cultural diversity without prejudice and discrimination (multiculturalism). However, there is the possibility of adopting an assimilation policy (melting pot) - which can develop to an intense pressure (pressure cooker) - or rejecting it. Rejection may include the enforcement of separation (segregation) or the total marginalisation of out-group individuals (exclusion) (Berry, 2001; Sam & Berry, 2010; Chrysochoou, 2011).

Migration involves a series of dynamic processes for individuals in the non-dominant group. According to Chrysochoou (2011), individuals

in the non-dominant group experience the loss of social status and are confronted with the need to survive - physically and psychologically - in a new environment. One of the processes that are activated is that of social comparison between groups, in which migrants at a disadvantage. An interesting and related research finding is a phenomenon termed 'asymmetry' between personal and group perceptual discrimination, in which individuals in the non-dominant group perceive their existing discrimination as directed more towards their group rather than towards themselves as individuals (Chrysochoou, 2011). Two other processes relate to feelings of threat that can be directed towards the minority group's identity or values and beliefs. According to Social Identity Theory, individuals in the non-dominant group experience a threat to their individual identity, because of the negative self-esteem that results from the disadvantageous status of the group to which they belong. Therefore, the individuals engage in the coping behaviours that we have already described (social mobility, social creativity, social competition). The theory of Mechanisms of Identity Processing argues that this intense identity threat results from the degradation of the familiar self. The resolution comes through the reconstruction of an identity that is no longer threatened. On the other hand, the threat to the personal values and beliefs of individuals is greatly associated with the similarity of the two cultures as well as individual social factors, such as the sense of security of first generation migrants in the host country, the educational level of families, the host country's education system and its culture strategies and more (Chrysochoou, 2011).

3.6 Migration and mental health

The process of migration often entails several stressors, related to leaving one's home country and to adapting to a new environment, a culture that can be very different to one's own and a new life situation, changes that are often accompanied by changes in social and economic status (Bhugra, 2004). Furthermore, especially when migration is forced, migrants and refugees are often exposed to traumatic events prior to departure and during their travel, as well as difficult conditions and uncertainty regarding their legal status after arrival to the host country. Moreover, many migrants face stresses in the resettlement process, such as financial and employment stressors, dissonance between their own sociocultural values and those of the host country, substandard living conditions, and social isolation. As such, the context of the migration experience, as well as the context of the reception migrants and refugees experience in the host country significantly affect the level of stress experienced. Moreover, depending on the migrant group one belongs to (e.g. economic migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, irregular migrant) these stresses can

vary significantly. It is evident from the above that any discussion concerning the mental health of migrants and refugees will entail a wide range of experiences.

It has been suggested that, in order to best understand the effects of the migration experience on mental health, it is important firstly to recognize that migrants and refugees are resilient and resourceful, and, secondly, to take into account the social and cultural factors that shape any individual's experience. Media representations as well as political discourse generally represents immigration as a social problem that needs to be solved. Although research in this field is relatively limited, there is evidence from many different disciplines that migrants and refugees, despite the stressors they experience, demonstrate remarkable resilience and strengths, which are evidenced in several different measures of wellbeing (Chiswick, 2011).

As already mentioned, there is great variation between different migrant groups in terms of social context and sociocultural resources available to them, as well as in terms of the characteristics of the settings in which they settle. Given that context is crucial in shaping individuals' experience, several authors suggest that, in order to conceptualize the experience of migration, there is a need to adopt the **social-ecological framework** (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The social-ecological model suggests that human experience results from reciprocal interactions between the individual and his/her environment (including culture and social context) and varies over time. From such a perspective, when trying to understand the experience of migrants and refugees one needs to take into account the influence of context on individual experience and adaptation, including the risks and protective factors that either limit or enhance adaptation and wellbeing. For example, there is evidence that migrants often benefit from culture-specific protective factors, such as the use of stronger family networks and coping strategies that are associated with collectivistic cultures (Escobar et al., 2000).

In the sections that follow, we present key findings regarding the mental health needs of migrants and refugees and make special reference to refugee trauma.

3.7 Prevalence of mental health difficulties associated with migration

The research evidence on the prevalence of mental health difficulties in refugees, especially long-term refugees, is scant and provides mixed results. Prevalence is a statistical term used in epidemiology that refers to the number of individuals presenting a specific condition, problem or disease (in this case a specific mental health diag-

nosis) in a given population, at a given time. Prevalence is usually reported as a percentage of the population. For example, according to the World Health Organization (WHO, 2017) the global prevalence for depression in the general population is 4.4%. This means that 4.4% of the global population is expected to have symptoms that fulfil the diagnostic criteria for depression at any one time.

The most common mental health difficulties experienced by migrants and refugees are **depression** and **anxiety**, a finding that parallels evidence regarding the mental health of the general population. Anxiety disorders (a group of disorders characterized by increased anxiety that can manifest in many different ways, e.g. panic disorder, phobias, generalized anxiety disorder etc.) and major depressive disorder (characterized by low mood, lack of interest in and enjoyment of activities, sense of hopelessness and helplessness, as well as several disturbances in appetite, sleep, energy, concentration etc.) are the most common mental health difficulties globally (WHO, 2017).

Epidemiological evidence on the prevalence rates of mental health difficulties in refugees and migrants is mixed, with different studies reporting very different prevalence rates (WHO, 2018). More specifically, in a recent systematic review of existing evidence, the prevalence of depression in refugees and migrants was found to range between studies from 5% to 44%, as compared to prevalence of 8-12% in the general population (Close et al., 2016). Anxiety disorders in refugee and migrant groups also show great variability between studies, with prevalence rates ranging from 4% to 40%; this compares to prevalence of anxiety disorders in the general population of about 5% (WHO, 2018). There is significantly less research on psychotic disorders (i.e. severe mental health difficulties, characterized by hallucinations, delusions, social withdrawal and severe difficulties in everyday functioning), and existing evidence suggests higher prevalence of these severe mental health difficulties, especially in refugee populations (Fazel et al., 2005). One mental health difficulty that is consistently found to be present with higher prevalence in refugee populations is post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), a collection of symptoms that commonly follow the experience of trauma with often devastating effects on the individual's life. PTSD will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

An interesting finding in the literature is that the mental health of refugees that have lived in a host country for over five years clearly show higher prevalence rates for all common mental health difficulties. Although there is again variability in the prevalence rates reported in different studies, anxiety and depression in settled refugees seems to be high, with some studies reporting rates of over

80% (Bogic et al., 2015). Lack of social integration, as reflected in unemployment rates, seems to be a key factor in this process (WHO, 2018). Interestingly, research that examines the wellbeing of immigrants across generations shows that first-generation immigrants fare better in most aspects of wellbeing, including mental health, as compared to their counterparts who remain in their country of origin as well as second generation immigrants, a finding that contradicts conventional expectations (APA, 2012).

There are several factors that may affect the great variability in prevalence rates reported in different studies, primarily reflecting **methodological issues**. One such factor, concerns the population studied. As has already been mentioned, refugees and migrants are not a unitary group and there several important differences are likely to exist in their social characteristics (e.g. background, education, professional qualifications), in their motivations to leave their country of origin and the conditions in which this occurred (forced or elected migration), in their experiences prior to arriving at host country (experiences of trauma or war), as well as their experiences upon arrival, all of which may affect adaptation. Unfortunately, these factors are not always well documented in individual studies and, as such, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions regarding the effects of different aspects of the migration experience on migrants' mental health. Other methodological issues concern the way in which data is collected in terms of methods used (for example whether interviewers were native speakers of the language of the migrant or refugee) and the ways in which mental health difficulties are assessed (whether standardized, appropriate and culturally sensitive measures are used). The latter issue is particularly salient as there is evidence that cultural factors can affect greatly the way in which mental distress is expressed and experienced in different populations. There is evidence that studies that are better designed (i.e. those that use random sampling and have a more representative sample; use interviewers who are native speakers of the language of the refugees and migrants; use standardized and well validated measures for diagnosis) tend to show lower prevalence of mental health difficulties (WHO, 2018).

Although full discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of this chapter, the imposition of a western diagnostic system in cross-cultural settings has been heavily criticized on many grounds and critics argue that linguistic, cultural, social, religious and spiritual factors greatly affect how people express and describe their experiences of mental distress. Often, terms from western diagnostic terminology (such as 'depression') may not exist in local language and vice versa. Furthermore, even if similar terms do exist, it has been argued that the diagnosis itself may have very different meanings in different cultures (Kleinman, 1977).

As is evidenced from the above, several aspects of the migration experience can act as catalysts for the development of mental health difficulties. Migrants experience separation from and loss of their home, family and country of origin, sometimes forcibly; they also lose their familiar language, traditions and customs and need to adapt to a socio-cultural context that may be very different to that of their country of origin. Refugees and asylum seekers in particular, often flee discrimination, persecution, war and other atrocities, and many face dangerous and traumatic travels to the host country. There is some evidence that exposure to stressful events prior to departure and during travel, as well as difficulties with integration in the host countries are associated with increased prevalence of mental health problems, and as such are considered key risk factors (Ottisova et al., 2016). Upon arrival to the host country, many migrants face changes to their social and socioeconomic status combined with the challenge of navigating unfamiliar cultural contexts. Contextual factors, such as poverty, discrimination and xenophobia in the host country, are important factors for migrant mental health. Any of these aspects of the migration experience can negatively affect migrants' mental health. It is important to note, that migrants also often face both socio-cultural and structural barriers in accessing mental health support when they need it, and many may be unfamiliar with and hesitant to access help, and suspicious of the systems of care in the host country.

In sum, existing research evidence suggests that refugee and migrant groups are at a higher risk of depression and anxiety than the general population, although it is worth noting that several studies have failed to find significant differences. Current research is not conclusive with regards to whether migrants experience more mental health problems than the host population (APA, 2013; WHO, 2018). On the other hand, it is important to recognize that refugees, especially those that flee war, persecution and other traumatic experiences, are a particularly vulnerable sub-population of migrants (APA, 2010).

When immigrants do experience mental health difficulties, these are often related to the immigration experience itself. As already mentioned, this process entails many potential stressors that can affect the development of psychological difficulties. The different mental health difficulties that migrants experience can be conceptualized as falling into three main categories, namely acculturation-based difficulties, trauma-based presenting problems and problems arising from discrimination, racism and xenophobia (APA, 2012). These are briefly described below.

3.8 Acculturation-based difficulties

Acculturation-based difficulties are thought to be associated with tensions inherent in adapting to the new physical and sociocultural environment (Berry, 1997). As already mentioned in previous sections in this chapter, acculturation refers to the dynamic process of adaptation to a new culture and this process is affected by several contextual features (Berry, 1980). It is a multi-dimensional process that takes place over time and concerns many different aspects of the immigrants' lives, such as language competence, cultural identity, values, religion and attitudes, social customs etc. (Yoon et al., 2010). Migration often produces stress both for the majority culture in the host country and the minority society, represented by the migrants and refugees; this is termed **acculturative stress** (Ruiz & Bhugra, 2010).

As already mentioned, several different strategies of acculturation have been described in the relevant literature. In some instances, migrants may integrate in the majority culture. Integration broadly refers to the process through which migrants becomes accepted into the host society, both as individuals and as groups. It is a two-way process of adaptation of immigrants and the host society, that takes place on both private and public domains. Integration is associated with social cohesion (associated with practices that promote anti-discrimination and mutual understanding) and social inclusion (whereby immigrants participate fully in economic, social, cultural and political levels in the host society). Immigrants can also assimilate to the host culture, that is gradually become indistinguishable from members of the majority culture. Assimilation can be described is a process of boundary reduction, which blurs an ethnic or racial distinction and the social and cultural differences and identities associated with it. Alternatively, immigrants may reject the majority culture or marginalise themselves within the host society.

As such, the process of acculturation may be associated with stressors that may affect immigrants' mental health. Conflicts around acculturation are often at the root of mental health difficulties for migrants; these may include, for example, changes in gender-roles, intergenerational conflicts, family conflicts, loneliness and isolation resulting from difficulties to adapt to and become integrated to the host country (APA, 2013). A common stressor in immigrant families relates to intergenerational differences in acculturation, as parents and children acculturate in different ways and at different rates, and the resulting acculturation gap can adversely affect family functioning as well as individual members' mental health.

Several factors affect the trajectory and outcomes of the acculturation process including sociodemographic variables (e.g. age, gender, marital status, ethnicity, religion, education level, economic conditions etc.); characteristics of the host society (e.g. whether it is pluralistic, tolerant, or racist); 'type' of migrant, that is migrant, asylum seeker, refugee, irregular migrant; and socio-psychological characteristics of migrants themselves, such as individual coping styles, previous experiences, attitudes, prejudices etc. (Ruiz & Bhugra, 2010). Recent evidence supports the view that there is no one 'best' acculturative style but that this depends on context (Birman et al., 2005). Furthermore, it seems that acculturation to both the old and new culture seems to be associated with positive mental health, as this provides migrants with access to different resources (APA, 2012)

3.9 Trauma-based difficulties

Although fleeing from human rights abuses and other causes of prolonged physical and emotional distress is a common experience for all refugees, there are many differences in the experiences of refugees at all stages of the migration process (pre-migration, during travel and post-migration). Kunz (1981) has suggested a distinction between anticipatory refugees, i.e. people who sense danger early and depart from their home country in a relatively orderly fashion, and acute refugees, who are forced to flee often with no preparation, with increased risk of witnessing traumatic events.

Trauma-based presenting problems can occur at various stages in the immigration process, e.g. prior to leaving country of origin, during travel as well as upon arrival to the host country. Many refugees, especially those fleeing warzones, experience extreme violence and the loss of family members and friends. Furthermore, the conditions of travel and of life in refugee camps often entails highly stressful and often traumatic experiences, such as substandard living conditions, poverty, poor physical health, lack of social support, community violence, interpersonal violence, uncertainty about the future, and feelings of persecution and distrust of authorities and institutions in the host country (Alegría et al., 2006). Undocumented and unaccompanied children and youth are at particular risk of traumatic experiences in this process (APA, 2013).

Despite differences in circumstances and context, all refugees suffer losses - loss of home, family and close friends, place, social identity, culture, social and economic status, livelihood, support systems (George, 2010). Such losses, especially if accompanied by traumatic experiences, such torture, sexual and other violence and war, often lead to loss of meaning in life (Alcock, 2003). Indeed, several psy-

chological theories suggest that trauma can shatter our fundamental assumptions about the world and be experienced as an assault on meaning, in turn associated with feelings of hopelessness, helplessness, lack of purpose and a sense of inner depletion and emptiness, as people lose touch their inner resources (Janoff-Bullman, 2002).

A mental health issue that shows greater prevalence particularly in refugees is post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). **Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)** is a relatively new addition to psychiatric classification systems⁵, and has been formulated following the experiences of US veterans from the Vietnam war. Below, we outline the key features of PTSD and discuss its prevalence in refugee populations.

In contemporary classification systems, an event is classified as traumatic when it involves exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury or sexual violation (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Exposure to a traumatic event can take place through direct experience, witnessing the traumatic event, learning that the traumatic event occurred to a close family member or close friend, or experiencing first-hand repeated or extreme exposure to aversive details of the traumatic event. The experience causes clinically significant distress or impairment in the individual's social interactions, capacity to work or other important areas of functioning. The key symptoms of PTSD can be classified in four categories, including: re-experiencing, avoidance, negative cognitions and mood, and arousal. More specifically, **re-experiencing** can occur through spontaneous memories of the traumatic event, recurrent dreams related to it, flashbacks and emotional and physiological reactivity to reminders of the traumatic event. **Avoidance** refers to the person's attempts to avoid distressing memories, thoughts, feelings or external reminders of the event, such as places, people or activities that can act as reminders; numbness and subdued affect are another possible symptom of avoidance. **Negative cognitions and mood** can include many different feelings, such as persistent and distorted sense of blame of self or others, feelings of detachment and estrangement from others, markedly diminished interest in activities, inability to remember key aspects of the event, etc. Finally, **arousal** is marked by aggressive, reckless or self-destructive behaviour, as well as by hyper-vigilance, sleep disturbances, irritability and difficulty in concentration (APA, 2013). Furthermore, it is recognized that exposure to multiple, cumulative or prolonged traumatic events, such as torture, may lead to more **complex traumatic stress responses** with profound impact on the person's personality and general functioning.

⁵ The most commonly used psychiatric classification systems are the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association, now in its 5th edition (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) and the International Classification of Diseases of the World Health Organization, now in its 11th edition (ICD-11, World Health Organization, 2018)

These can include a permanently hostile or distrustful attitude towards the world, social withdrawal, persistent feelings of emptiness or hopelessness, enduring feelings of being 'on edge', a sense of being different from others, difficulties in affect regulation, self-harm and others (Grey et al.,).

There has been controversy regarding the cross-cultural validity of Western psychiatric classifications more generally, and PTSD in particular. Critics argue that there is such individual and cultural variability in traumatic stress responses that a core concept such as PTSD is invalid cross-culturally. Others argue that the PTSD diagnosis is based on a biased and ethnocentric view of mental health that prescribes how refugees should respond to stress. Still others argue against the medicalisation of responses better conceptualized as 'cultural bereavement' rather than a psychiatric diagnosis (for a discussion and review see Boehnlein & Kinzie, 1995). More recently, however, there is evidence that the core PTSD symptoms tend to occur cross-culturally, despite differences in the spiritual, social and moral meanings attributed to traumatic events in different cultural groups (Rasmussen et al.,). Nevertheless, it is widely recognized that responses to traumatic events can be complex and idiosyncratic and that understanding these responses in their cultural context is imperative, yet challenging (Boehnlein & Kinzie, 1995).

Prevalence rates for PTSD in groups of refugees varies depending on several factors, such as country of origin and duration of displacement. Furthermore, methodological issues in different studies, such as language of interviewer and assessment method used, tend to affect prevalence rates reported in the research literature. In a systematic review of studies that examined PTSD in general refugee population living in developed countries, Fazel, Wheeler and Dabesh (2005) found prevalence rates averaging at about 9% across studies. Other reviews report studies finding prevalence rates of PTSD of up to 26% in the general refugee population (WHO, 2018). These rates are significantly higher in refugees in clinical populations (i.e. refugees that seek help for mental health problems), where rates of over 50% are generally reported (Grey et al., 2010). Furthermore, there seems to be a 'dose effect', i.e. more frequent and more severe trauma is associated with higher rates of mental health difficulties more generally and PTSD in particular. In sum, the prevalence of PTSD in refugee populations is significantly higher than that in the general population, which is between 1-2% (APA, 2012; WHO, 2018).

Moreover, it is estimated that over 40% of refugees are children (APA, 2010). It must be recognized that refugee children, particularly those displaced from war zones, as well demonstrating profound resilience, have endured intense trauma and adversity that can

impact their wellbeing and have long-lasting adverse effects in their development (Birman et al, 2005; Lustig et al., 2004). The research literature on children exposed to war and refugee shows higher risk of PTSD, as well as elevated symptoms of depression, anxiety, somatic complaints, sleep disturbances and behavioural problems in these children (APA, 2010).

Although clearly an important mental health problem for many refugees, especially those fleeing war, torture and persecution, PTSD is not the most common mental health condition in the refugee population. Several authors have argued that there has been too strong an emphasis on PTSD for refugees, although it is not the most common difficulty they encounter. Furthermore, the tendency to focus on PTSD has been criticized for shifting emphasis from framing torture and war as human rights issues, to medicalizing and individualizing distress and individuals' way of coping with experience of atrocities (Grey et al., 2010).

3.10 Effects of discrimination, racism and xenophobia

Finally, some of the difficulties migrants experience are thought to result from *discrimination, racism and xenophobia* they encounter in the host country (APA, 2012). The current anti-immigrant climate that exists in many European countries represents immigrants as a threat – as taking away jobs from the host population, bringing undesirable cultural habits and practices, and a threat to the host population's safety and wellbeing. There is ample evidence that immigrants, especially those that are racially distinct from the majority culture, experience discrimination in many aspects of their lives, including the workplace, schools, neighborhoods and health and other services (APA, 2012). Furthermore, there is evidence that living with prejudice and discrimination has many negative consequences; experience of racial and ethnic discrimination is associated with mental health problems, such as stress, anxiety, depression, substance abuse, and thoughts about suicide (Rogers & Pilgrim, 2014). This is compounded by the fact that cultural and structural barriers to seeking help, combined with many immigrants' distrust in the system affects their access to mental healthcare (APA, 2013).

3.11 Conclusions

Migration is a phenomenon that can be understood by both social and clinical psychology. Social Identity Theory, Theory of Intergroup Relations and Acculturation Theory synthesise a framework of understanding the main processes and mechanisms activated when an individual belongs to a certain culture, while he/she is trying to adapt in a new environment with an already existing culture. In different phases of this process, migrants and refugees are most

likely to experience difficulties that may result in the development of mental health difficulties. These difficult experiences may start before entering a new country (e.g. traumatic events) or during the process of settling in (e.g. discrimination or racism) and usually are associated with anxiety, depression and PTSD.

Key bibliography

American Psychological Association (2012). *Crossroads: The psychology of immigration in the new century*. <https://www.apa.org/topics/immigration/immigration-report.pdf>

Bhugra, D., Craig, T., Bhui, & K. (Eds). (2010). *Mental health of refugees and asylum seekers*. Oxford University Press.

Hogg, M. A., & Vaughan, G. M. (2014). *Social psychology* (7th ed.). Pearson Education Limited.

Wetherell, M. (1996). *Identities, groups and social issues*. Sage

References

Alexandre, J., Rosa, M., & Waldzus, S. (2016). Intergroup relations and strategies of minorities. In J. Vala, S. Waldzus, & M. M. Calheiros (Eds.), *The Social developmental construction of violence and intergroup conflict* (pp. 55-81). Springer International Publishing.

Alcock, M. (2003). Refugee trauma - the assault on meaning. *Psychodynamic Practice: Individuals, Groups and Organisations*, 9(3), 291-306. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1353333031000139255>

Alegría, M., Canino, G., Stinson, F., & Grant, B. (2006). Nativity and DSM-IV psychiatric disorders among Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans and non-Latino Whites in the United States: Results from the National Epidemiological Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions. *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry*, 67(1), 56-65. doi:10.4088/JCP.v67n0109

American Psychological Association (2010). *Resilience and recovery after war: Refugee children and families in the United States*. https://www.apa.org/images/refugees-full-report_tcm7-102019.pdf

American Psychological Association (2012). *Crossroads: The psychology of immigration in the new century*. <https://www.apa.org/topics/immigration/immigration-report.pdf>

American Psychological Association (APA) (2013). *Working with immigrant-origin clients: An update for mental health professionals*. Report of the APA Presidential Task Force on Immigration. American Psychiatric Association.

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: DSM-5* (5th ed.). American Psychiatric Association.

Berry, J. W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 615-631. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00231>

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), 5-68. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x>

Beauchamp, M. R., & Dunlop, W. L. (2014). Social Identity Theory. In R. C. Eklund & G. Tennenbaum (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of sport and exercise psychology* (2nd ed.) (pp.692-694). Sage Publications.

Bhugra, D. (2004). Migration and mental health. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 109(4), 243-258. doi: 10.1046/j.0001-690X.2003.00246.x

Bhugra, D., Craig, T., Bhui, & K. (Eds). (2010). *Mental health of refugees and asylum seekers*. Oxford University Press.

Birman, D., Trickett, E., & Buchanan, R. (2005). A tale of two cities: Replication of a study of the acculturation and adaptation of immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union in a different community context. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 35(1-2), 87-101. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-005-1891-y>

- Boehnlein, J. K., & Kinzie J. D. (1995). Refugee trauma. *Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review*, 32(3), 223-252. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136346159503200301>
- Bogic, M., Njoku, A., & Priebe, S. (2015). Long-term mental health of war-refugees: A systematic literature review. *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 15(1), 29-70. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12914-015-0064-9>
- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: In-group love or out-group hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3), 429-444. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00126>
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp. 993-1023). Wiley.
- Chiswick, B. (Ed) (2011). *High-skilled immigration in a global labor market*. AEI Press.
- Close, C., Kouvonen, A., Bosqui T., Patel, K., O'Reilly, D., & Donnelly, M. (2016). The mental health and wellbeing of first-generation migrants: A systematic-narrative review of reviews. *Global Health*, 12(1), 47- 60. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-016-0187-3>
- Escobar, J.I., Nervi, C. H., & Gara, M. A. (2000). Immigration and mental health: Mexican Americans in the United States. *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, 8(2), 64-72. doi: 10.1080/hrp_8.2.64
- Fazel, M., Wheeler, J., & Danesh, J. (2005). Prevalence of serious mental disorder in 7000 refugees resettled in western countries: A systematic review. *Lancet*, 365(9467), 1309-1314. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(05\)61027-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(05)61027-6)
- George, M. (2010). A theoretical understanding of refugee trauma. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 38(4), 379-387. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-009-0252-y>
- Grey, N., Lamb, D., & Young, K. (2010). Post-traumatic stress disorder. In D. Bhugra, T. Craig, & K. Bhui (Eds.), *Mental health of refugees and asylum seekers*. Oxford University Press.
- Hernandez, M. Y. (2009). Psychological theories of immigration. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 19(6), 713-729. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911350902910898>
- Hogg, M. A., & Vaughan, G. M. (2014). *Social Psychology* (7th ed.). Pearson Education Limited.
- Janoff-Bullman, R. (2002). *Shattered assumptions: Towards a new psychology of trauma* (2nd ed.). The Free Press.
- Kessler, T., & Mummendey, A. (2008). Prejudice and intergroup relations. In M. Hewstone, W. Stroebe, K. Jonas (Eds.), *Introduction to social psychology: A European perspective* (4th ed.) (pp. 290-314). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Kleinman, A. (1977). Depression, somatization and the new 'cross-cultural psychiatry'. *Social Science and Medicine*, 11(1), 3-9. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0037-7856\(77\)90138-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0037-7856(77)90138-X)
- Kunz, E. F. (1981). Exile and resettlement: Refugee theory. *International Migration Review*, 15(1-2), 42-51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918381015001-207>
- Molina, L. E., Tropp, L. R., & Goode, C. (2016). Reflections on prejudice and intergroup relations. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 11, 120-124. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2016.08.001>
- Osbeck, L. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1997). Similarity and attraction among majority and minority groups in a multicultural context. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 21(1), 113-123. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(96\)00016-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(96)00016-8)
- Ottisova, L., Hemmings, S., Howard, L. M., Zimmerman, C., & Oram, S. (2016). Prevalence and risk of violence and the mental, physical and sexual health problems associated with human trafficking: An updated systematic review. *Epidemiology And Psychiatric Sciences*, 25(4), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045796016000135>
- Palmay, I. (2018). Psychology, migration studies, and their disconnections: A review of existing research and future possibilities. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 48(1), 3-14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246317751276>
- Rasmussen, Smith & Keller (2007). Factor structure of PTSD symptoms among West and Central African refugees. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 20(3), 271-280. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20208>

- Rogers, A., & Pilgrim, D. (2014). *Sociology of mental health and illness* (5th ed). Open University Press.
- Ruiz, P. & Bhugra, D. (2010). Refugees and asylum seekers: Conceptual issues. In Bhugra, D., Craig, T., Bhui, K. (Eds.), *Mental health of refugees and asylum seekers*. Oxford University Press.
- Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1991). Power and status differentials in minority and majority group relations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 21(1), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420210102>
- Sakız, H. (2015). Establishing an inclusive psychology of migration: An alternative model. *Göç Araştırmaları Dergisi/The Journal of Migration Studies*, 1(1), 150-175.
- Snyder, M., Tanke, E. D. and Berscheid, E. (1977). Social perception and interpersonal behavior: On the self-fulfilling nature of social stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35(9), 656-666. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.35.9.656>
- Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(3), 224-237. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2695870>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *Social psychology of intergroup relations*. Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.
- Wetherell, M. (1996). *Identities, groups and social issues*. Sage
- WHO. (2018). *Mental health promotion and mental health care in refugees and migrants*. WHO Regional Office for Europe.

4 Chapter 4 Pedagogy

Human mobility, pedagogy of migrations and cultural intelligence: Founding elements of transformative pedagogy.

Giovanna Del Gobbo • Francesco De Maria • Glenda Galeotti
• Gilda Esposito

Learning objectives

Upon completion of this module students will:

- 1) Get to know contemporary challenges of pedagogy of migrations
- 2) Understand the capability approach applied to the phenomenon of human mobility
- 3) Comprehend the construct of cultural intelligence applied to transformative learning
- 4) Know the opportunities offered by art-based education in expressing own cultural awareness
- 5) Become aware of the necessary competences needed by professional of education and training, social workers (starting from the case of intercultural mediator)

4.1 Toward a pedagogy of migrations: Introductory reflections

Giovanna Del Gobbo

The disorder creates malaise: the disorder that makes the fragments of a large number of possible orders sparkle in the dimension, without law and geometry, of the heteroclite ... The heterotypies worry because they secretly undermine the language, because they forbid to name this and that, because they break and tangle common names, because they devastate syntax prematurely and not only the one that builds the sentences, but also the less obvious one that makes words and things hold together (alongside and in front of each other) (Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les Choses*)

Foucault's phrase at the opening of this contribution is intended to represent a suggestion for introducing a pedagogical perspective in analysing the migratory phenomena.

In recent years, pedagogy has been challenged by new scenarios characterized by the rapidly increasing migratory phenomena. Many questions arose, as: what does dealing with human mobility and migration mean for pedagogy? What relationship exists between

education and migration? What educational action is needed, for whom and on what principles should it be based?

The connections between migration and education achieved in recent years an increasing attention in the literature on children's and young people's migration (Hashim, 2005; Adams & Kirova, 2006; WDR, 2007). Researches have also addressed the emerging issue on how to deploy strategic approaches to address the cultural diversity of students in higher education (Gesche & Makeham, 2008; Ghazarian & Youhne, 2015). After all, the term "migration" refers to a cluster of multifaceted phenomena relevant to education that produce different educational trajectories and are therefore of importance to educational institutions – including higher education institutions. In fact, there are many levels and areas of research and educational action with respect to which it has been and is necessary for pedagogy to question and try to offer answers: from the presence of immigrant children in school to the job expectations of adult migrants who must learn quickly a new language; from the expectations of young people who migrate to improve their level of education to the necessary training of professionals in the education and school system to develop skills to manage cultural diversity. Just to name a few.

After a phase, that we could define as "emergency", which saw the education systems focused on finding forms aimed at facilitating social inclusion and learning of the second language, it is currently becoming a priority to understand how to go beyond "traditional" concept of intercultural pedagogy, and moving on what is being recently defined as a Pedagogy of migration (Mecheril, 2018; Oberlechner, 2019). The current debate is shifting, especially in the context of cultural studies and migration studies, on the meaning of education in contexts characterized by migratory phenomena of different types (economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, etc.). The conditions of heterogeneity and diversity, as well as of illegitimate inequality, seen democratically, visibly show the precarious state not only of habitual practices and institutionalized forms of educational practice, but also of pedagogical concepts and programs (Oberlechner, 2019).

Foucault's reflection helps to shift the point of view to go to the deep roots of the educational question, that is the need to offer adequate educational answers to a society that is transforming itself, which cannot be limited to "include" and "integrate" to maintain a cultural order, but one that must learn to transform itself through new dialogical ways among cultures.

Foucault invites us to reflect on the "unrests" that have characterized our European culture in history, often leading us to a discontinu-

ity of the episteme that is now a global characteristic: a discontinuity that presents itself as a global characteristic involving different local and national cultures. The fundamental codes of a culture - those that govern its language, the perceptual schemes, the exchanges, the techniques, the values, the hierarchy of its practices - define for each person the empirical orders with which he/she will have to deal with: they are modalities of order recognized and necessary for the experience, to make experience, and they represent the basis of knowledge and learning processes. However, today it seems we live, more than in other moments of history, in a phase of questioning the security of these codes and the set of "other" knowledge, different from "ours" is perceived as "dangerous", as a cause of insecurity. Our "we" often arises from the contrast with other identities and our belonging is built on exclusion of someone, above all when we feel that the order on which we founded our identity and belonging is not so certain and reassuring. Migratory phenomena make the contact between different ways of giving order to reality concrete and tangible and that seems to challenge and upset the legitimacy and functionality of institutions, language and cultural practices. It puts into question the concepts of belonging and citizenship.

The sensation of a widespread loss of centrality, in a world in which distinct systems of meaning coexist, generates defence mechanisms and entrenchments on positions that seek continuity and stability of orders. In reality, cultures (and therefore knowledge and "orders" with which we organize reality), always in history, have been created through complex dialogues "between cultures". We can say that dialogue with the other is intrinsic rather than extrinsic to culture itself (Benhabib, 2003). Cultures, as complex practices of signification and representation, organization and attribution, divided internally, by their very nature are subject to being questioned, characterized by intra-cultural transformations, cannot take on an exclusive character or tend towards conservation. Identity can only be mixed, relational and inventive. It is configured as a hybrid process that oscillates between loss and innovation, in an often discontinuous way.

It is possible to argue that the "disorder" that we are experiencing today requires a new epistemology: it requires the definition of new conditions of possibility for the enormous variety of knowledge that today constitutes the episteme with which we must deal with. A plurality that frightens, but which in reality is nothing more than the multiplicity of answers that humanity has been able to find throughout history and in different contexts of life to find solutions to their problems and to the management of the environment and social systems. It is possible to hypothesize that it is not necessary to build a new order in terms of guarantee of continuity, but to

identify suitable tools to manage the discontinuity of a series of orders, and therefore tools are needed to negotiate possible relationship, to build a new and dynamic balance that necessarily seems to pose itself as potentially transcultural. If the prefix "inter" connotes the word "culture" highlighting the connection and a bond of reciprocity, the prefix "trans" seems to refer to what goes through and overcomes cultural differences giving rise to something new. The prefix trans- intended as crossing, marks the passage from one condition to another, qualitatively different, which requires individuals to take upon themselves the challenge that our era imposes (Del Gobbo, 2007, 2009).

As Paul Mecheril (Mecheril, 2018) says, a pedagogy of migration must go beyond the field of intercultural education that focuses its attention on particular targets (migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, etc.) to define educational programs aimed at promoting integration and assimilation. In traditional approaches to intercultural pedagogy the primary focus is usually the improvement of the skills of migrants (for example with respect to the knowledge of the language of the host culture, for the new generations often also at the expense of learning the language of origin) or the optimization of integration processes. Migration pedagogy, instead "explores the question of how the capacity to act with dignity might be cultivated under given conditions without unreservedly affirming and accepting these conditions" (Mecheril, 2018, p. 130). The recognition of the right to cultural diversity becomes fundamental: it is starting from the recognition of the value of one's own culture that one can learn to dialogue with other cultures; it is the awareness of being recognized as bearer/carrier of culture and knowledge who can guarantee processes of self-efficacy, motivation and empowerment.

The educational system and uncritical pedagogical approaches can contribute to the affirmation and reproduction of social models that do not provide for the recognition of cultural plurality and that base the mechanisms of belonging on inclusion and exclusion processes, thus promoting the strengthening of discrimination attitudes. "Migration pedagogy focuses on the effects of [...] coded orders on people and their learning processes, on processes of becoming a subject as well as on educational practices that reaffirm, yet also shift and sometimes transform these orders. The societal circumstances and realities that are connected to postcolonial and transnational migration concern all area of education, including elementary education, art education, adult education, and all levels of educational activity, including organizational forms, methods, contents, and the skills of professionals in the educational field. Educational institutions play a central role in the processes of affirming iteratively generating, and, often, naturalizing [...] coded orders of belonging" (Mecheril, 2018, p. 131).

Migration pedagogy, therefore, intends to offer a contribution to a new “order” of things. The object of study is not so much the factors that favour inclusion, but the factors that favour a transformation of subjects and contexts within the framework of a possible dialogical relationship, to enable each person to be able to learn in respect for personal cultural identity and to live “freer and more dignified lives”.

Migration pedagogy intends deal with some key questions:

- to contribute to the “liberation” of potentialities and capability of the learner and to reinforce self-directed learning skills involving the ability to manage learning tasks without having them directed by others.
- to consider human mobility and integration into host countries as contemporary systemic challenge that needs inclusive learning as an innovative way to offer thriving paths to migrants and to host communities
- to focus on non-formal and informal learning, including at the workplace or in civil society activisms, culture and arts, sports and leisure, etc.
- to overcome integration and inclusion strategies that often implicitly assume a deficit model in which migrants require intervention in order to be included or integrated, while the institutions and broader society remains largely unchanged.
- to overtake dichotomy between “migrant” and “autochthone” since if that is maintained in education system there is no space for innovative learning, where both sides are mutually transformed.

In this framework it becomes necessary to identify constructs, theories, areas of intervention that can facilitate effective educational actions for transformative learning. In the following pages some of these areas are addressed. The common thread of the analysis is precisely the transformation of educational action in a global and local context that has profoundly changed with respect to the past and that needs new skills and knowledge to guide, in the general population as well as in leaders and professionals, in order not to be overwhelmed by the on-going change. These are:

- capability approach in learner agency, social change, human
- cultural intelligence and education trough art
- competences and skills for transcultural professionals profile that can contribute to govern change

References

- Adams, L. D., & Kirova, A. (2006). *Global migration and education: Schools, children and families*. Laurence Erlbaum Associates.
- Astrid, H. G., & Paul, M. (2008). Creating conditions for intercultural and international learning and teaching. In M. Hellstén, & A. Reid (Eds.), *Researching international pedagogies* (pp. 241-258). Springer.
- Benhabib, S. (2002), *The claims of culture: Equality and diversity in the global era*. Princeton University Press.
- Del Gobbo, G. (2007). *Il processo formativo tra potenziale di conoscenza e reti di saperi. Un contributo di riflessione sui processi di costruzione di conoscenza*. Firenze University Press
- Del Gobbo, G. (2009). Più formazione per lo sviluppo: il sistema formativo integrato come comunità che apprende. In G. Del Gobbo & M. Frati (a cura di). *La scuola transculturale nel sistema locale di accoglienza. Politiche, percorsi e strumenti educativi in Mugello* (pp. 43-53). Firenze: CD&V
- Foucault, M. (1996). *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines*. Gallimard.
- Gesche, A., & Makeham, P.M. (2008). Creating conditions for intercultural and international learning and teaching. In M. Hellstén, & A. Reid (Eds.), *Researching international pedagogies* (pp. 241-258). Springer.
- Ghazarian, P.G, & Youhne, M.S. (2015). Exploring intercultural pedagogy: Evidence from international faculty in South Korean higher education. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 19(5), 476-490. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315315596580>
- Hashim, I. (2005). *Exploring the linkages between children's independent migration and education: Evidence from Ghana*. Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, University of Sussex.
- Mecheril, P., & Oberlechner, M. (2016). Migration bildet. Anforderungen an pädagogisches Handeln. In S. Kronberger, C. Kühberger, & M. Oberlechner (Eds.), *Diversitätskategorien in der Lehramtsausbildung: Ein handbuch* (pp. 153-166). Studienverlag.
- Micheril, P. (2018). Orders of belonging and education. In D. Bachmann-Medick, & J. Kugele (Eds.), *Migration: Changing concepts, critical approaches*. De Gruyter.
- Oberlechner, M. (2016). Migration pedagogy and early school leaving. *International Dialogues on Education: Past and Present*, 6(2), 61-67. Retrieved December 30, 2019, from <http://www.ide-journal.org/article/2019-volume-6-number-1-migration-pedagogy-and-early-school-leaving/>
- The World Bank. (2007). *World development report 2007: Development and the next generation*. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/5989>

4.2 A contemporary pedagogy for human mobility and migration flows: Applying the capability approach in learner agency, social change, human development

Francesco De Maria

Human mobility is a complex phenomenon that affects the freedom people have to decide whether to move or not: "Mobility is a freedom. Movement is the exercise of that freedom" (UNDP [United Nations Development Programme], 2009, p. 14-15). This type of approach is centred on the expansion of human freedoms and capabilities and leads to significant implications for the way in which human mobility can be thought of and is closely related to the concept of Human Development. The latter, starting from the first UNDP Human Development Report, has been understood as that process of broadening people's choices in which, even before the expansion of income, it is the person him/herself who assumes centrality, together with access to opportunities, capacity building and the use made of them (UNDP, 1990). Human Development assumes a primary role in the way the phenomenon of human mobility and international migration can be read and interpreted. In fact, human mobility concerns the ability of individuals, groups or families to choose their place of residence. The subjective dimension is central as it affects the construction of the migratory project. Therefore, theories that take into account only economic driving factors do not capture the more complex social framework within which the choice itself matures, or is induced (UNDP, 2009). From the existing scientific debate in the literature of Migration Studies emerges - with respect to the evolution of the concepts of causes, determinants and drivers of migration (Carling & Collins, 2018) - a multidisciplinary theoretical-interpretative framework that goes beyond the classic distinction between push and pull factors. What influences the construction of a migration project can be traced back to a multiplicity of factors that can combine different economic, political, social, but also environmental, demographic, symbolic and psychological elements. One of the most recent studies (Van Hear et al., 2018) has highlighted a conceptual framework related to the drivers of migration as it follows: on the one hand, it recognizes the criticism of a too structuralist view of push-pull factors that does not take into account the subjective dimension linked to individual motivations, family strategies, social networks, groups, etc.; on the other hand, it invites to reduce the risk of underestimating how much migration can be shaped by macro structural dimensions present in a certain context.

Human mobility can be understood as a process that arises both as a reaction to macro-processes of social and structural transformation of the context, as well as a micro expression of people's capacity,

action and freedom of choice (De Haas & UNDP, 2009). The structural components of the context define the migratory condition and the objective elements of reality; the subjective ones concern the experiences, ideas and hopes of the migrant, but also the experience of the social actors and the perceptions of reality itself: "a person becomes a migrant not because his country is poor and the country of arrival is rich, but because these characteristics are perceived by him as such" (Kaczyński, 2004, p. 115-116). The United Nations' Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015) highlights this procedural dimension through which each person increases his or her capabilities, accesses individual life and growth opportunities and is able to broaden his or her possibilities of choice and fulfilment in his or her own context. These are some of the central elements that make up the human development and capacity approach (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1989), which, in recent decades, has guided international strategies for development and North and South cooperation between countries.

In the framework of Agenda 2030, Particular attention is given to the phenomenon of international migration, first and foremost the inclusion of migrants among vulnerable groups and therefore recipients of effective measures and actions aimed, specifically, at removing obstacles and constraints that prevent the particular needs of people living in areas affected by humanitarian emergencies from being met; at the same time, the positive contribution of migrants to inclusive growth and sustainable development is recognised. Human development, capacity-building approach and human mobility are inextricably linked to the centrality of the migrant person, his or her aspirations and capacities and to the construction of intentional life and professional projects: in the countries of origin, for the economic, social and democratic development of the contexts of origin; in the countries of destination, for the creation of fair, inclusive and democratic coexistence paths in the host societies. Human Development in terms of education and training implies that human capacity building can be seen as an instrument of citizenship (Alessandrini, 2019). Human mobility involves people with personal aspirations, motivations, skills, professional expectations and life experiences: starting from these characteristics, which cannot be ignored at the arrival in the host countries, it is possible to build effective inclusion paths, focused on the person's needs and implemented through self-directed learning processes (Knowles, 1973/1993; Merriam, 2001).

The International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2018), through the monitoring of migration flows and the analysis of migratory phenomena, provides a wide range of categories and data on inter-

national migration that contribute to distinguish between specific problems and different targets: international students, women and children victims of trafficking, victims of forced labour, environmental migrants, irregular migrants, returning migrants, missing migrants, relocated migrants, etc. It is clear that there can be different types of migration – be it forced labour, labour-related and economic, educational, family, circular and environmental - each with characteristics that vary according to the contexts and actors involved, so that migrants are carriers of specific needs that require appropriate and targeted educational responses. In all cases they are people, women and men, with aspirations and life plans that depend and are conditioned both by the opportunities available to them in the context in which they live and by their personal resources and skills.

The classic categorisation most commonly used to identify different types of migrants distinguishes forced migration from economic migration; while the former is widely recognised and, at least under international law, protected, the latter would not have the same level of political and media citizenship because it is based on voluntary migration caused by an the income differential between a rich and a poor country. There is a need to look at international migration flows with more realism, considering the social and economic costs incurred by migrant workers and their families, recognizing their dignity in the debate on migration issues in terms of human rights, within the migration-development nexus and using the skills approach as a theoretical and interpretative framework (Preibisch et al., 2016). In this sense De Haas (2010b) states that: “If we conceive migration as a response to spatial opportunity rather than mere economic differentials, it is possible to achieve a more inclusive migration theory covering most forms of migration instead of contending with the current state of migration studies characterized by a rather artificial distinction between ‘voluntary’ (economic) and ‘forced’ migration” (De Haas, 2010b, p. 18).

This does not seem to be the case and, in fact, de Hass adds “aspirations have remained conspicuously absent from mainstream migration theory, which generally assumes that the utility people derive from migration is primarily defined by ‘exogenous’ factors such as income and employment differentials. This assumes that preferences are constant, and that different people will react similarly to similar external stimuli. This exemplifies the limited role these models ascribe to agency” (ivi, p. 17). Aspirations and desires shape the life of the subject living the present in connection with a possible or potential future (Carling & Collins, 2018). The concept of spatial aspiration (Carling, 2014) broadens the debate to include personal desires and ambitions related to both the choice of migration and

the possibility of choosing to stay. Space aspirations can be realised or repressed, leading to results of forced or voluntary mobility or immobility. By preventing someone from being in the place where they would like to be, by repressing their aspiration with constriction and against their subjective will, a double effect is determined: migration, despite the desire to stay; non-migration, despite the desire to leave.

Estimates of potential migration monitored by the Gallup World Poll (GWP) investigating the desire, planning and preparation of migration project and the IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (Laczko et al., 2017) on the measurement of potential migration show that 15% of the world's adult population, according to the latest estimates 2015-2017 (about 750 million people), express a general desire to leave and move to another country if they have the opportunity. The same surveys show that this figure drops to 1.3% (66 million) if we consider only those who say they are planning to leave in the next 12 months, reaching 0.4% (23 million) isolating those who are actually preparing to leave. Investigating potential migratory profiles may be useful to better understand these phenomena, but thinking of identifying a general and unique migratory profile, assuming that only one type of migration may exist or imagining a hierarchy between different types of migrants and migrations, is not effective and functional to the analysis of the complex phenomenon of human mobility. Data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2019), compared to the number of international migrants in the world (272 million people living in places other than their birthplace), tell us that the average age is 39 years, the percentage of women is 49.3% and three out of four international migrants are of working age (20-64 years). The latest estimate made by the International Labour Organization (2018) shows that migrant workers represent about 64%. One in four migrants - refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, returning migrants, unaccompanied minors (children under the age of 18 make up about half of the refugee population) - fall into the category of forced migration that had to leave their country due to conflict, persecution, violence or natural disasters (UNHCR, 2019). A recent research carried out by Afrobarometer (2019) identified young men between 18 and 25 years of age, living in the urban area and with a secondary school diploma, as the most common profile of those who would want to leave their country, mainly for reasons related to economic difficulties and job search (44%). Some variables - useful to define the socio-cultural background and understand the educational conditions of the potential migrant - such as young age, male gender, presence of an international network of relatives and friends, level of education, income level, employment

status, perception of quality of life and personal satisfaction, have been identified as the most frequent standard factors related to the preparation of an international migration project (Migali & Scipioni, 2019). Migration appears to be a deliberate attempt by social groups to improve their socio-economic status and can be seen as a function between a person's abilities and their migration aspirations; the latter, in turn, grows in function of the differential between personal aspirations and limited opportunities offered by the context (de Haas, 2010b). The theoretical model proposed by Carling (Carling, 2002; Carling & Schewel, 2018) describes a framework in which aspirations and abilities are related to the migratory event. Aspiration is represented as something fluid that varies according to the degree of choice and coercion; the relationships between individual factors and the characteristics of the context that influence the models of those who wish to migrate or stay are decisive in this sense. However, migration aspiration does not automatically determine migration; the capacity to carry out the migration project is constrained by the obstacles and opportunities of the context that the subject encounters during the process of constructing his or her personal project, which becomes one of the possibilities that can be accessed in order to aspire to better living conditions. Migrants are therefore those who, in the presence of a migratory aspiration, have managed to overcome all the obstacles of the context, thanks to their ability to realize their migration project. Starting from the assumption that the drivers of migration represent those structural elements that allow and limit the exercise of the agency by the actors (Van Hear et al., 2017), it is possible to insert the subject within a system of relationships, actions and feedback, characterized at micro, meso and macro level by factors that, on the one hand, affect its agency, on the other hand, are modified by its individual and collective action. Learner agency is understood as the ability that a subject has to actively transform its own context by intervening on obstacles and opportunities and - through the implementation of actions aimed at achieving a specific purpose - to realize its aspirations (Bandura, 1989). Within this framework, agency and related events are determined by the interaction of various personal, emotional, cognitive and environmental factors (Ibidem), which may already be present or may have a potential connotation that is not yet explicit.

In this perspective, the local context determines the extent to which people are able to be and do, and therefore to function, according to the human development or capacity approach that links the evaluation of quality of life to the evaluation of people's ability to function (Sen, 1989). Martha Nussbaum (2011) states that "human abilities appear in the world in an embryonic and newly developed form and require all possible support from the environment

[...] in order to mature in the manner which is most appropriate to human dignity" (p. 131). In fact, the local context determines to what extent people have the possibility to grow and develop their capacities, favouring or inhibiting access to an experience or opportunity (Federighi, 2007). Human dignity turns out to be the main element of what has been called "a new paradigm for the world of development and politics [...] it starts from a very simple question: what are people actually able to be and do? What are the real opportunities available to them?" (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 7-8). The author goes on to say that "the concept of dignity is closely linked to the idea of activity" (ibid., p. 37), therefore supporting an idea of procedural development, based on human capabilities and potential means creating "the necessary conditions for the ennoblement of human life and its increasing progress" (Diaz Argueta, 2010, p. 43). The potential dimension of the realization of the migration project calls into question previous experiences, personal aspirations, professional expectations, motivations, skills, resources and desires for change of the migrant; these are aspects that can be conjugated in the individual/personal/subjective dimension and at the same time in the collective/social and contextual dimension of the category of knowledge potential (Del Gobbo, 2018). The absence of migratory capacity does not imply that the person with a migratory aspiration cannot in any case be the bearer of a baggage (in unlimited power) of knowledge, skills and abilities that make up his/her personal knowledge potential, in the double subjective and context-related dimension. In this sense, the ability to aspire and have different life expectations, in order to be able to seize better opportunities, allows, if strengthened, to have a future-oriented look (Appadurai, 2007); this kind of awareness represents the first step to reckon a problem and find the necessary resources to challenge and transform one's life conditions (Freire, 1968/2002; Mezirow, 1991/2003). The dimension of self-efficacy influences the way of feeling and thinking, the motivations and behaviours and determine in people the perception of their own capacity of control within the context of reference, of influencing of events that in turn influence them (Bandura, 2010).

It is clear that the issue of human mobility is much broader and more complex than it can emerge from an exclusively European perspective linked to international migration flows to the continent and arrivals along the central Mediterranean route. Even development aid - such as the European Union emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF) - to combat the root causes of migration, going beyond a security logic of control and deterrence of flows, must come to terms with a demographic reality which, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, includes an estimated 800 million workers expected to increase by 2050 (Clemens & Postel, 2018). One should believe in the

development of an approach to migration on the one hand anthropological - made up of people, cultures and knowledge systems - and on the other political - through which migration is seen not as a social problem but as a problem of society (Gandolfi & Rizzi, 2013). One of the most interesting contributions within the scientific debate, which since the Second World War has focused on the relationship between migration phenomena and development processes (de Haas, 2010a), is that of the transnational perspective; this approach recognizes the possibility for migrants and their families to acquire a transnational identity (Vertovec, 1999), developing a double loyalty towards the receiving society and the society of origin. The transnational perspective challenges the assimilatory models of migrants' integration and "the implication is that clear-cut dichotomies of 'origin' or 'destination' and categories such as 'permanent', 'temporary', and 'return' migration are increasingly difficult to sustain in a world in which the lives of migrants are increasingly characterised by circulation and simultaneous commitment to two or more societies" (de Haas, 2005, p. 1273). Integration into the receiving society and commitment to the society of origin are not incompatible paths: the former does not coincide with the gradual loosening of ties with the country of origin. One can be present - and not absent (Sayad, 2002) - on the one hand, even if at a distance, in the development dynamics of one's own countries of origin; on the other, in the countries of destination, where one can perceive oneself as an active part of the community and integrated into society. Studies have shown that migrants can maintain strong transnational links, that these links can even become trans-generational and that migrants' commitment in their countries of origin is not conditional on their return. Especially in the case of diasporas - in the role that diasporas have and can have in the development of countries of origin - social bonds cross the borders of nation states and allow them to maintain a connection with the local important and constant for their lives (Sinatti & Horst, 2015). The hypothesis that the departure of migrants would automatically represent a loss of human capital for the country of origin in the form of brain drain is also questioned. Moreover, brain drain can be seen from the perspective of a significant gain in knowledge and skills acquired - brain gain - through the realization of the migration experience outside the country of origin (Stark et al., 1997). The contribution of research in recent decades has also highlighted the potentially positive role of migrants and remittances in the processes of social, economic and political transformation in societies and communities of origin. Remittances are an expression of strong transnational social links and the desire to improve the lives of those who remained in the countries of origin: "social remittances are the ideas, behaviors, identities, and so that flow from receiving-to sending-country communities" (Levitt, 1998, p. 927).

By correlating the theme of human mobility with that of human development and the capacity approach, the areas of intervention in the fields of education, training, professional development and support for employment are now particularly important in the sustainable management of migratory phenomena in a win-win logic that involves the countries of origin, transit and destination. The interest of research is not, and could not be, to find effective solutions to stop migration flows, but to understand which actions are more effective and can be implemented to promote the development and social and labour inclusion of people in the local socio-economic fabric of their countries. Understanding the reasons for people to plan a migration project, identify the drivers of migration and define the migration profiles involved can also be useful from the point of view of destination countries and the creation of inclusive reception systems. The issues of vocational training and the construction of expendable skills in the labour market are central because, if implemented with appropriate policies and measures, evidence-based and informed about the characteristics of potential migration profiles, they can:

- promote access to life opportunities in the countries of origin alternative to the desire to transform one's own migration aspirations into a real migration project;
- create systems and services in host countries that are functional to the inclusion of migrants;
- encourage circular migration paths that do not exclude the possibility of leaving and returning with a wealth of knowledge/competence that can be spent in the countries of origin.

The human factor of knowledge potential becomes the field of intervention of the educational-transformative action and a fertile ground for the creation of effective educational strategies capable of influencing the training potential of life and work contexts. From the point of view of the University and scientific research of educational area, it can be an opportunity to explore new issues and new fields of investigation in the fields of training and the world of work, through research projects and development cooperation actions to be carried out within international and inter-institutional partnerships in and with countries affected by the phenomenon of human mobility. A change of perspective of the research itself - which looks at and integrates the disciplinary and geographical but also historical and cultural points of view of the countries affected by the phenomenon of human mobility in a circular and not unidirectional way (De Maria & Dicko, 2019) - can be useful both on the side of the countries of origin, for the analysis of the drivers of migration and the implementation of actions that can lead to the reformulation of migratory

aspirations working on skills and knowledge potential; and on the destination countries' side, for the improvement of the effectiveness of reception systems and the development and dissemination of already existing inclusion practices.

References

Afrobarometer. *A pan-African series of national public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, and society*. Afrobarometer. <http://www.afrobarometer.org/>

Alessandrini, G. (Ed.). (2019). *Sostenibilità e capability approach*. FrancoAngeli.

Appadurai, A. (2007). The capacity to aspire: Culture and the terms of recognition. In D. Held, & H. L. Moore (Eds.), *Cultural politics in a global age* (pp. 29-35). Oneworld.

Bandura, A. (1989). Human agency in social cognitive theory. *American Psychologist*, 44(9), 1175-1184. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.44.9.1175>

Bandura, A. (2010). Self-Efficacy. In I. B. Weiner, & W. E. Craighead (Eds.), *The Corsini encyclopedia of psychology* (Vol. 4). John Wiley & Sons.

Carling, J. (2002). Migration in the age of involuntary immobility: Theoretical reflections and cape verdean experiences. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(1), 5-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830120103912>

Carling, J. (2014). The role of aspirations in migration. *Determinants of International Migration, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, 23-25 September 2014*.

Carling, J., & Collins, F. (2018). Aspiration, desire and drivers of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), 909-926. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384134>

Carling, J., & Schewel, K. (2018). Revisiting aspiration and ability in international migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), 945-963. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384146>

Clemens, M., & Postel, H. (2018). *Deterring emigration with foreign aid: An overview of evidence from low-income countries*. CGD Policy Paper. Washington, DC: Center for Global Development. Retrieved from <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/deterring-emigration-for-foreign-aid-overviewevidence-low-income-countries>

De Haas, H. (2005). International migration, remittances and development: Myths and facts. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(8), 1268-1284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590500336757>

De Haas, H. (2010a). Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227-264. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00804.x>

De Haas, H. (2010b). *Migration transitions: A theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration* (IMI working paper 24). International Migration Institute. <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:63b0a544-2b39-45a5-b9fe-cffdb5f4c654>

De Haas, H., & UNDP. (2009). *Mobility and human development* (Human Development Research Paper 2009/01). <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/mobility-and-human-development>

De Maria, F., & Dicko, B. (2019). University social responsibility and the research role in the analysis of migratory phenomena. An international and multidisciplinary consideration between Italy and Mali. *Lifelong Lifewide Learning*, 15(33), 26-46. doi: 10.19241/lll.v15i33.158

Del Gobbo, G. (2018). Approccio olistico tra ricerca e azione educativa. Riflessioni introduttive. In P. Federighi (Ed.), *Educazione in età adulta Ricerche, politiche, luoghi e professioni* (pp. 112-122). FUP.

Diaz Argueta, J. C. (2010). Una visione etica dello sviluppo umano locale nel rapporto tra saperi locali e globali. In G. Del Gobbo, P. Orefice, & R. Sampson Grandiera (Eds.), *Potenziale umano e patrimonio territoriale. Per uno sviluppo sostenibile tra saperi locali e saperi globali* (pp. 33-64). Liguori Editore.

Federighi, P. (2007). Le teorie critiche sui processi formativi in età adulta: Tendenze e aspetti problematici nei principali orientamenti contemporanei. In P. Orefice (Ed.), *Formazione e Processo Formativo. Ipotesi interpretative* (pp. 29-55). FrancoAngeli.

Freire, P. (2002). *La pedagogia degli oppressi*. EGA. (Original work published 1968)

Gandolfi, S., & Rizzi, F. (2013). *Diritti dell'uomo e cooperazione internazionale: L'etica della*

reciprocità. Bergamo University Press.

GWP. Gallup World Poll. Retrieved from www.gallup.com

International Labour Organization. (2018). *ILO global estimates on international migrant workers. results and methodology* (2nd ed.) International Labour Office.
https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_652001/lang--en/index.htm

International Organization for Migration. (2018). *Global migration indicators 2018*. IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre.
<https://www.iom.int/news/iom-releases-global-migration-indicators-report-2018>

Kaczyński, G. J. (2004). Emigrazione ed immigrazione. Postilla sociologica. In G. Catelli (Ed.), *Migrantes. Migrazioni e relazioni sociali* (pp. 107-122). Bonanno.

Knowles, M. (1993). *Quando l'adulto impara. Pedagogia e andragogia*. Franco Angeli. (Original work published 1973)

Laczko, F., Tjaden, J., & Auer, D. (2017). *Measuring global migration potential, 2010-2015*. IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre.
https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/gmdac_data_briefing_series_issue_9.pdf

Levitt, P. (1998). Social remittances: Migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *International Migration Review*, 32(4), 926-948.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/019791839803200404>

Merriam, S. B. (2001). Andragogy and self-directed learning: Pillars of adult learning theory. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 89(Special issue), 3-14.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ace.3>

Mezirow, J. (2003). *Apprendimento e trasformazione. Il significato dell'esperienza e il valore della riflessione nell'apprendimento degli adulti*. Raffaello Cortina (Original work published 1991)

Migali, S., & Scipioni, M. (2019). Who's about to leave? A global survey of aspirations and intentions to migrate. *International Migration*, 57(5), 181-200.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12617>

Nussbaum, M. C. (2012). *Creare capacità. Liberarsi dalla dittatura del Pil*. Il Mulino. (Original work published 2011)

Preibisch, K., Dodd, W., & Su, Y. (2016). Pursuing the capabilities approach within the migration-development nexus. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(13), 2111-2127.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1176523>

Sayad, A. (2002). *La doppia assenza. Dalle illusioni dell'emigrato alle sofferenze dell'immigrato*. RaffaelloCortina.

Sen, A. (1989). Development as capability expansion. Reprinted in S. Fukuda-Parr & A.K. Shiva Kumar (Eds.) (2003), *Readings in human development* (pp. 3-16). Oxford University Press.

Sinatti, G., & Horst, C. (2015). Migrants as agents of development: Diaspora engagement discourse and practice in Europe. *Ethnicities*, 15(1), 135-152. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796814530120>

Stark, O., Helmenstein, C., & Prskawetz, A. (1997). A brain gain with a brain drain. *Economics letters*, 55(2), 227-234. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0165-1765\(97\)00085-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0165-1765(97)00085-2)

United Nations (2015). Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. *Transforming our world: the 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. A/RES/70/1, 25 September 2015. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2019). *International migrants numbered 272 million in 2019, continuing an upward trend in all major world regions* (Population Facts No. 2019/4). Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationStock2019_PopFacts_2019-04.pdf

United Nations Development Programme. (1990). *Human Development Report 1990*. Oxford University Press. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/219/hdr_1990_en_complete_nostats.pdf

United Nations Development Programme. (2009). *Human Development Report. Over coming barriers: Human Mobility and development*. Palgrave Macmillan. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/269/hdr_2009_en_complete.pdf

UNHCR. (2019). *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018*. Geneva.
<https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/>

Van Hear, N., Bakewell, O., & Long, K. (2018). Push-pull plus: Reconsidering the drivers of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), 927-944.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384135>

Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 445-462. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329558>

4.3 Cultural intelligence, as a key skill for the future of learning and work

Glenda Galeotti

“La compréhension est à la fois moyen et fin de la communication humaine” (Edgar Morin)

4.3.1 Cultural awareness and expression as a key competence for inclusive European society

Cultural intelligence is the capability to relate and work effectively across cultures (Earley, 2002; Earley & Ang, 2003). It can be defined as “a person’s capability to adapt as s/he interacts with others from different cultural regions”, and has behavioural, motivational, and metacognitive aspects.

The concept is related to that of cross-cultural competence, or the knowledge, skills, and affect/motivation that enable individuals to adapt effectively in cross-cultural environments. Cross-cultural competence is defined here as an individual capability that contributes to intercultural effectiveness regardless of the particular intersection of cultures. Although some aspects of cognition, behaviour, or affect may be particularly relevant in a specific country or region, evidence suggests that a core set of competencies enables adaptation to any culture (Hammer, 1987).

This capability requires what Habermas defines as “intercultural sensitivity”, or the recognition of equality of rights and values to all cultures, in the sense of communicative action through a dialogue without dominance and subordination between the individual interlocutors who mutually recognize themselves as subjects free, with the same rights and mutually engaged in mutual understanding (Habermas, 1986).

This sensitivity is a necessity of our time, in which human mobility creates increasingly complex spaces of contact and interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds.

In Europe, migrants as well as people belonging to minority groups represent a large percentage of the population. They are at constant risk of social exclusion and have a number of specific educational needs that are currently not met by traditional educational policy. It represents a challenge for the building the European society of the future.

In 2018, the Council of the European Union revises and updates the key competences for lifelong learning adopted in 2006. In twelve

years, competence requirements have changed because the jobs are more subject to automation, technologies play a bigger role in all areas of work and life, and entrepreneurial, social and civic competences becoming more relevant in order to ensure resilience and ability to adapt to change (CoE, 2018).

In this document, the set of competences is accompanied by some suggestions. First of all, the relevance of non-formal and informal learning in supporting the development of essential interpersonal, communicative and cognitive skills and the establishing better cooperation between different learning settings helps promoting a variety of learning approaches and contexts. In addressing the development of key competences in a lifelong learning perspective, support should be ensured at all levels of education, training and learning pathways, including workplaces, through a variety of learning approaches and environments, including the adequate use of digital technologies.

Among the new key competences, there are "Cultural awareness and expression competence". It "involves having an understanding of and respect for how ideas and meaning are creatively expressed and communicated in different cultures and through a range of arts and other cultural forms". Being engaged in understanding, developing and expressing one's own ideas and sense of place or role in society in a variety of ways and contexts is an essential part of this competence.

Therefore, the cultural intelligence finds its expression thanks to this competence. In terms of European Competence framework, it is described through the following table.

Cultural awareness and expression competence (CoE, 2018)		
<i>Knowledge and understanding</i>	<i>Skills</i>	<i>Attitudes</i>
<p>Knowledge of local, national, regional, European and global cultures and expressions.</p> <p>Knowledge of European and global languages, heritage and traditions, and cultural products.</p> <p>Understanding how cultural expressions can influence each other as well as the ideas of the individual.</p> <p>Understanding the different ways of communicating ideas between creator, participant and audience within written, printed and digital texts, theatre, film, dance, games, art and design, music, rituals, and architecture, as well as hybrid forms.</p> <p>Understanding of one’s own developing identity and cultural heritage within a world of cultural diversity and how arts and other cultural forms can be a way to both view and shape the world.</p>	<p>Ability to express and interpret figurative and abstract ideas, experiences and emotions with empathy, and the ability to do so in a range of arts and other cultural forms.</p> <p>Ability to identify and realise opportunities for personal, social or commercial value through the arts and other cultural forms</p> <p>Ability to engage in creative processes, both as an individual and collectively.</p>	<p>To have an open attitude towards, and respect for, diversity of cultural expression together with an ethical and responsible approach to intellectual and cultural ownership.</p> <p>To have a positive attitude also includes a curiosity about the world, an openness to imagine new possibilities, and a willingness to participate in cultural experiences.</p>

“Culture” can be understood as referring to specific but also very fundamental areas of life. It encompasses customs and beliefs, habits and modes of living – including the arts. It is referred to as ‘the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group, [including] not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs’ (UNESCO, 2001). It can be compared to a diverse stock of renewable resources passed on from generation to generation (by education), upon which people draw inspiration and through which they express the meaning they give to their existence. Moreover, quality education and training passes from the fully respect cultural identity of all persons, which have the right to participate in the cultural life of their choice and conduct their own cultural practices, subject to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (*ibidem*).

Cultural education, in a suitable environment and with suitable infrastructure, is able to contribute to reaching this goal by fostering attitudes, skills and knowledge in a comprehensive way, especially if it is applied in conjunction with related fields. It can also promote this objective and shape the means of reaching it, particularly in today’s Europe, which faces huge challenges with regard to migration.

Different approaches can be distinguished, each of them of equal value:

- the multicultural approach, emphasising coexistence of different and diverse ways of living or cultural backgrounds;
- the pluri-cultural approach, considering self and others as complex rich beings which act and react from the perspective of multiple identifications.
- the intercultural approach, stressing dialogue, interaction and relations between groups and lifestyles with regard to defining the self and the other;
- the trans-cultural approach, focusing on merging processes and emergence of new and hybrid forms in multiple and variable settings.

Their adoption depends on the context. Cultural education in the context of multiculturalism offers specific possibilities, e.g.:

- to experience and appreciate different, unfamiliar cultural forms of expression and to evaluate their relevance in respect of oneself;
- to observe cultural differences and use the resultant knowledge
- to enrich one’s own life and to improve communication with others;
- to perceive objects, habits and forms as creative solutions for different cultural tasks in specific contexts;

- to compare cultures, appreciate diversity as a value in itself, and explore and shape individual spaces of experience;
- to be able to evaluate and select.

In the intercultural context, cultural education can foster the following skills:

- to understand culture as a construct and to relate and link cultural concepts;
- to interpret and evaluate cultural phenomena with regard to individual, group and universal criteria;
- to initiate and create ways of dialogue and interaction;
- to detect, understand and estimate conflict potential;
- to develop forms of cultural interaction within the framework of human rights.

A transcultural approach will emphasise the following aspects:

- to discover overarching or universal processes in developing culture;
- to decode specific cultural phenomena as transcultural phenomena;
- to gauge intentions and consequences;
- to experience and create hybridity;
- to act in the public space.

A pluricultural approach considering the follow aspects:

- to experience identity or identities as the by-products of experiences in different cultures.
- to develop multiple identifications, which create a unique personality instead of or more than a static identity.
- to feel to belong to multiple groups with different degrees of identification.
- to act plurilingualism

4.3.2 Arts and heritage for the education of the future

The description of the key competence recalls to the importance of art and cultural heritage both as content to be known, but also as tools to activate the dialogue between different expressions and cultures. Art and heritage, as part of cultural education, also contributes to debate on “education of the future”.

In recent years, international organizations and researchers expressed an increasing interest in arts and heritage education and studies on application of arts in education have been intensified, (UNESCO, 2006, 2010; Eurydice, 2009; CE, 2016).

In 2006, UNESCO published its Road map for Arts Education containing basic comments on arts and cultural aspects as essential components of a comprehensive education leading to the full development of the individual. Therefore, arts education is a universal human right, for all learners, including those who are often excluded from education' (UNESCO, 2006, p. 3). Further in this document two 'arts in education' approaches are described:

The arts can be taught as individual study subjects, through the teaching of the various arts disciplines, thereby developing students' artistic skills, sensitivity, and appreciation of the arts, and seen as a method of teaching and learning in which artistic and cultural dimensions are included in all *curriculum* subjects" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 8).

In 2010, the World Conference on Arts Education produced the document Seoul Agenda: Goals for the Development of Arts Education, which identifies the following objectives for the artistic development of Education:

- A) Ensure that arts education is accessible as a fundamental and sustainable component of a high-quality renewal of education.
- B) Assure that arts education activities and programmes are of a high quality in conception and delivery.
- C) Apply arts education principles and practices to contribute to resolving the social and cultural challenges facing today's world.

In line with UNESCO's approaches, in the report Arts and cultural education at school in Europe by Eurydice (2009) it is affirmed that Member States share many aims for the arts curriculum and some goals are defined: "developing artistic skills, knowledge and understanding, engaging with a variety of art-forms; increasing cultural understanding; sharing arts experiences; and become discriminating arts consumers and contributors. But in addition to these artistic outcomes, personal and social-cultural outcomes - such as confidence and self-esteem, individual expression, teamwork, intercultural understanding and cultural participation - were expected from arts education in most countries" (Eurydice, 2009, p. 10).

These documents underline that "art" is a concept that should not be restricted to know art or to become an artist, but rather art as method that should assist the individual to develop oneself. Capable of opening minds and fostering creativity, in the broadest sense of the term, art helps our society to imagine and "to shape" the future.

Heritage education also followed the same path. From education based on the contents of cultural heritage (UNESCO, 1994) to education that sees it as an educational resource capable of developing interdisciplinary knowledge and transversal skills (Del Gobbo et al., 2018).

Therefore, the “learning in art/heritage” approach stresses the value of cultural perspectives, multi and inter-cultural and culturally-sensitive languages through learning processes. This kind of approach contributes to engender understanding of the importance of cultural diversity and reinforce behaviour patterns underlying social cohesion.

Using the arts and heritage as a way to teach subject matter places the learner in the position of truly working with ideas and taking control of learning in a manner that is at once intellectual, personal, meaningful, and powerful.

The arts and heritage provide the teacher with an expanded repertoire of actions and activities to introduce subject matter. By exercising their imaginations through subject-matter-related artwork, people are more likely to make new connections and transcend previous limitations. Imagination is an attribute that serves all people in all endeavours—not only artists. Creativity is fundamental to any field. The power of the imagination as a practiced skill must not be over-looked or lost in learning. The arts and heritage, as a teaching methodology, empower students to practice those skills. The arts and heritage are both humanity’s expression of life itself and they present many kinds of knowledge, and learners may learn a tremendous amount by examining their content (Margiotta, 2015).

More than a content, art and heritage, as methodology, become a *process toward learning*. They require an on-going and dynamic process, that involve content, and both stress process through attention to active participation, learning environments, learning styles, culture, and language abilities. From educational point of view, this is played out in infinite ways.

Art and heritage *are languages* of expression and communication that has always been, and will always remain a fundamental aspect of the human condition and the perpetuation of cultures.

Art and heritage enable us to see things that are both there and not there; they provide us with an opportunity to imagine and reflect on our lives.

Art and heritage provide humankind with modes for reflecting on, expressing, and documenting experiences, as well as providing a body of knowledge from which to draw upon.

Art and heritage provide a method for expressing ourselves, while at the same time; they serve as a unique document of cultures and history. Art can stimulate our imagination or reflect our

experiences. Through creating a work in art, a person can explore the complexities of an idea or situation more fully than if they were to read about it or listen to a lecture. As a tool, the arts enable us to cross boundaries that are usually closed to us, or to join together in ways that are new.

In this way, it seems therefore essential to let learners develop their creative talent and it would be desirable that school or training programs reserve a significant role to education through art and heritage. At the same time, they are powerful tools for inclusion, which has become increasingly relevant.

4.3.3 Building inclusive learning environment for innovating education

Within the debate on “education of the future”, the opportunity to go beyond “learning art” and to operationalize learning through art as a methodology and to use art-based or heritage-based education could introduce changing in education.

Art and heritage as tools in the discussion of equality and integration/inclusion of minorities groups by promote individual and group competences, diversity-approaches and bringing about changes in organisations and educational systems as a whole. They provide enabling-factors for building inclusive learning environment, where learners actively participate and express themselves independently of their cultural backgrounds (Del Gobbo & Galeotti, 2018):

- Art as a tool for promotion of cultural diversity, accessibility and equality of opportunities and the counteraction of discrimination and exclusion
- Art as an educative instrument for strengthening personality development and for enhancing key competences for lifelong learning
- Art as a tool for holistic learning processes among formal, – no formal and informal education
- Art needs qualification (preparation and training) of teachers and artists to really bring changes in school life
- Art as method to face intra-cultural dynamics and intergenerational relations in process of definition of open identities.

These key factors suggest a transition from schooling to open learning environments, for looking beyond the conventional categories of education organization and to define the education system in terms of learning processes (OECD/CERI, 2017). This means that there is balance between informal, no formal and formal learning, and partnerships share learning leadership, capable to conjugate cultural and art resources, arts-based teaching and learning sessions, network

communities and initiatives with cultural, arts, migrant and minority organizations. This level is largely weak in formal system, but it is critical for growing and sustaining inclusive learning.

Arts and cultural heritage demonstrated to be powerful and effective tools if used with intentionality and awareness, paying attention to some conditions. Del Gobbo and Galeotti (2018) identified some recommendations for teachers, educators, school and training systems:

- Educational experts and practitioners should recognize that all have talents and potentialities that can be elicited valuing their cultural background; the knowledge of the cultural background (also through history and life path) of each allows to focus on his/her own characteristics in constant and open dialogue with others.
- Each educational institution should develop a diversity management plan as part of an organizational change in order to foster inclusion and find the most suitable methodological devices, among these in particular art and cultural heritage-based didactic.
- Teachers and experts should explore and assess more potentialities of art-based education for inclusion of children with special educational needs, different abilities and coming from different cultural backgrounds.
- Teachers should be trained during initial, early career induction – and in-service training on innovative methodologies based on art and cultural heritage based education.
- Teachers and educators should be supported in the use of diverse and innovative assessment methods to detect and address students' needs and learning styles, according to their cultural background.
- School and training systems should mainstream art-based education to develop and strengthen transversal competences and soft skills of children, as well as of teachers'.
- School and training systems should increase involvement of parents and extended families through valuing their cultural heritage and their own forms of arts and cultural expression.
- Evidence based research and impact evaluation needs to be strengthened and financed.

By restoring confidence in the worth of own cultural background, art education may be a way to shift the risks of a choice between two identities, that of the impoverished minority and that of the mainstream society.

That appears possible when education is equitable and context of learning are inclusive (Deardorff, 2013, 2009), when they support students to reach their learning potential without either formally or informally pre-setting barriers or lowering expectations. In other words, art allows individuals to take full advantage of education

and training irrespective of their background (Faubert, 2012; OECD, 2012). Art and heritage education could represent an innovative field for intercultural dialogue if school and training organization will be supported to give value to them not as “another content to learn” but as a method to construct competences for life.

References

- Council of Europe (2018). Council Recommendation of 22 May 2018 on key competences for lifelong learning. *Official Journal of the European Union*, 189, 1-13. [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32018H0604\(01\)&from=EN](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32018H0604(01)&from=EN)
- Council of Europe (2016). *Competences for democratic culture: Living together as equals in culturally diverse democratic societies*. Council of Europe.
- Deardorff, D. (2013). *Promoting understanding and development of intercultural dialogue and peace: a comparative analysis and global perspective of regional studies on intercultural competence*. UNESCO.
- Deardorff, D. (2009). Implementing intercultural competence assessment. In Deardorff, D. (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of intercultural competence* (pp. 477-491). Sage.
- Del Gobbo, G., & Galeotti, G. (2018). Intermediate and final evaluation. Survey Result Templates. Restricted document of META Project.
- Del Gobbo, G., & Galeotti, G. (2018). Education through Art for intercultural dialogue: Towards an inclusive learning ecosystem. *Formazione & Insegnamento*, 16, pp. 213-229. doi: 107346/-fei-XVI-03-18_18
- Del Gobbo, G., Torlone, F., & Galeotti, G. (2018). *Le valenze educative del patrimonio culturale. Riflessioni teorico-metodologiche tra ricerca evidenza based e azione educativa nei musei*. Aracne.
- DeMoss, K., & Morris, T. (2012). *How arts integration supports student learning: Students shed light on the connections*. Chicago Arts Partnerships in Education.
- Dumont, H., Istance D., & Benavides, F. (2010). *The nature of learning: Using research to inspire practice*. OECD.
- Earley, P. C. (2002). Redefining interactions across cultures and organizations: moving forward with cultural intelligence. *Research in organizational behaviour*, 24, 271-99 [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0191-3085\(02\)24008-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0191-3085(02)24008-3)
- Earley, P. C., & Ang, S. (2003). *Cultural intelligence: Individual interactions across cultures*. Stanford University Press.
- Education Ministers and the European Commission (2015, March 17). *Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education*. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/epale/it/node/13529>
- Eurydice (2009). *Arts and cultural education at school in Europe 2009*. EACEA.
- Faubert, B. (2012). *A literature review of school practices to overcome school failure*. OECD Education Working Papers. <https://doi.org/10.1787/5k9flcwwwv9tk-en>
- Habermas J. (1986). *Teoria dell'agire comunicativo*. Il Mulino.
- Hammer, M. (1987). Behavioral dimensions of intercultural effectiveness: A replication and extension. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 11, 65-88. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767\(87\)90032-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(87)90032-0)
- Library and e-Resources Centre. (2015). *Selected publications on the inclusion/integration of refugees and migrants in European societies through culture and arts*. European Commission. http://ec.europa.eu/libraries/doc/inclusion_refugees_and_immigrants_by_culture_arts.pdf
- Margiotta, U. (2015). META Methodology. Retrieved from https://www.meta-project.eu/images/resources/pdf/EN_META-Competences-synthesis.pdf
- Margiotta, U., & Del Gobbo, G. (2017). Meta Competence Framework. Available at: https://www.meta-project.eu/images/resources/pdf/EN_META-Competences-synthesis.pdf

McGregor, E., & Ragab N. (2016). *The role of culture and the arts in the integration of refugees and migrants*. European Expert Network on Culture and Audiovisual (EENCA). <https://migration.unu.edu/research/migration-and-culture/the-role-of-culture-and-thearts-in-the-integration-of-refugees-and-migrants.html#outputs> .

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2010). *Reviews of migrant education closing the gap for immigrant students: Policies, practice and performance*. OECD Publishing.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2012). *Equity and Quality in Education: Supporting disadvantaged students and schools*. OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264130852-en>

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2015a). *Immigrant students in school: easing the journey towards integration. OECD reviews of migrant education*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264249509-en>.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2015b). *European Union, indicators of immigrant integration 2015: Settling in*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264234024-en>.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2015c). *Education at a glance 2015. OECD indicators*. OECD Publishing.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2018). *Education policy outlook 2018. Putting student learning at the centre*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264301528-en>

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development/CERI (2017). *The OECD handbook for innovative learning environments*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264277274-en>.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development/CERI (2015). *Schooling redesigned. Towards innovative learning systems*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264245914-en>.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development/CERI (2013). *Innovative learning environments*. OECD Publishing.

Stern, M. J., & Seifert, S. C. (2010). Arts-based social inclusion: An investigation of existing assets and innovative strategies to engage immigrant communities in Philadelphia. *Arts-Based Social Inclusion and Immigrant Communities, 1*. http://repository.upenn.edu/siap_social_inclusion/1

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (1994). *World heritage education programme*. Retrieved from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000224659>

UNESCO (2001). *UNESCO Universal declaration on cultural diversity*. Available at: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2006). *Road map for arts education. The world conference on arts education: Building creative capacities for the 21st century*.

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/CLT/pdf/Arts_Edu_RoadMap_en.pdf

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2010). *Seoul agenda: Goals for the development of arts education*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/CLT/pdf/Seoul_Agenda_EN.pdf

Zimmermann, K. F. (2016). *Refugee and migrant labor market integration: Europe in need of a new policy agenda*. <https://www.eui.eu/Documents/RSCAS/Research/ArchivesInstitutions-GovernanceDemocracy/20181205-Keynote-lecture-labour-market-integration.pdf>

4.4 Cultural intelligence in action

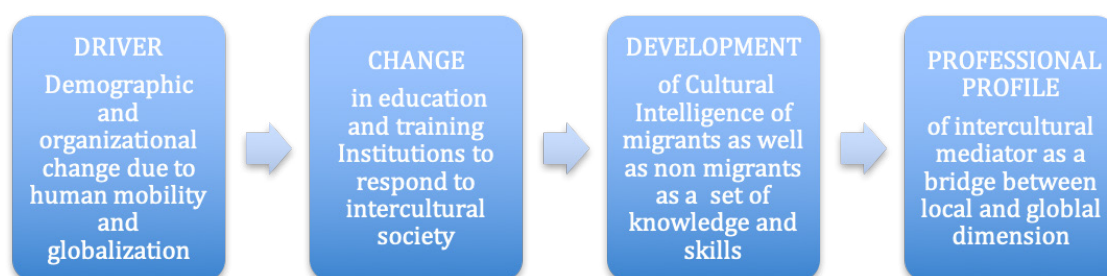
Gilda Esposito

As introduced in the first paragraph, education and training can play a key role in offering and concretizing opportunities for personal and collective development of migrants in countries of receipt. A sound welcome and receipt, as well as integration, policy should therefore include and recognize education and training as basic needs of migrants and refugees, that, when realized in adequate ways, can lead to a more successful and sustainable life project of the migrant in the host country.

At the same time, meeting and interacting in challenging and diverse education setting, School, University, Vocational Training agencies and non-formal training at the workplace, can create chances for carrying out transformative education experiences (Mezirow, 1991-2009) that become available to autochthone population as well.

Moreover, a renewed vision of education (in a globalized context), and an innovative mission (through active and self-directed learning), can also impact the necessary development of Educational institutions themselves. Since those are largely the products of historical and social circumstances of the past (Institute for the Future, 2011), in particular the Industrial revolution and having the landscape changed so abruptly both in human and technological terms, educational institutions are obliged to adapt quickly in response. Beside technology, which is nevertheless key but cannot be discussed here, in this paragraph we are interested in the human dimension of change entailed by human mobility and how it can impact educational change for all, migrants and autochthone alike.

Educational change, in terms of theoretical approach and methodology, could consequently interest and influence all other networks of Services that should look at how educational institutions can change and adopt a renewed approach to designing and delivering services to the population, again, be it migrants or non migrants. In this approach, human mobility becomes a driver of change and profound transformation for receiving society, rather than a problem to be solved or an argument for political quarrelling.



In the scheme above, it is resumed the hypothesis of this paragraph: in a deeply changed society the professional profile of intercultural mediator with a background in pedagogy should be equipped with a set of knowledge, competences and attitude that puts him/her in the conditions to facilitate social cohesion and co-design of a renewed social pact in hosting societies, contributing to guaranteeing the respect of equal rights and the fulfilling of duties alike by migrant and non migrant population. The reflections that follows steam from three different editions of the qualification training course for intercultural mediators realized in the period 2015-2019 in La Spezia, Italy where the author lectured and held participatory workshops on intercultural pedagogy, communication and mediation. This can be seen as a training-action-research project where the final research result is a renewed professional profile. Of course the intercultural mediator cannot be seen as a final solution for integration on itself and the evidences are limited to the Italian experience, but the set of competences can remain to be mainstreamed in other professional profiles as well.

According to the results of an Erasmus project TIME (Train Intercultural Mediator for a multicultural Europe): "Intercultural mediation has been considered to be the most proper, low cost and win-win approach to ensure migrants integration in the host society. Cultural mediators have to integrate this crucial point to act as a bridge between institutions and migrants. Their role and status is a key issue in building the local intercultural management policy. The European comparison is fruitful to better understand the difficulties and national specificities in order to propose a relevant local policy in migration and integration. Intercultural mediators remind of the legal framework of immigration and integration in order for migrants to find their place to live and work in the host societies. The third person at the heart of the mediation is a key element – no mediation would be possible without this third person. A mediator "enables individuals and even more so social or cultural groups not to live in isolation, withdrawn, un-recognised by the rest of the population, ignored, despised or rejected in meaninglessness and violence". (Theodosiu-Aspioti, 2015).

In the Italian experience in particular, for years now, intercultural mediation has been confirmed to be an articulated professional device, increasingly in demand and necessary in the processes of reception and integration of immigrants. The competence framework of the mediator has been put into discussion and under the lens of research lately due to a profound change in human mobility phenomenon in Europe, in particular with the refugee wave that started in 2013 and interested in particular the Mediterranean and Aegean Sea.

In Italy nowadays, the mediation service is practiced by a significant and growing number of people (it is estimated that there are about 8,000 mediators on a national scale), mostly women (about 70%) working in schools, in the health sectors, in asylum seekers reception centres, at public counters, in the field of adult and juvenile justice, in police headquarters and in many situations where the confrontation between the diversity of culture, language and religion risk to generate incomprehension, conflict, or relationships based primarily on stereotypes or other forms of discrimination.

The experience of many mediators in the field accumulated over the years has indicated with some clarity not only the complexity and breadth of expertise required of them, but also the boundaries of their profession.

In an increasingly pluralistic society, the need to convert many aspects of life into intercultural dynamics in social life of citizens is now a priority of civic living that goes well beyond the objective of integrating the immigrant population in the host society. As introduced above, it is an opportunity to develop potential of local and migrant population and has a strong pedagogical dimension. Knowing how to favour these dynamics becomes a necessary competence for anyone involved in social work. Intercultural mediators in Italy have a level 5 in the European Qualification Framework, but in some cases, it may even be necessary to employ a specialist figure, an "operator of interculturality", sensitive above all to the decoding of stereotypes, that is able to design and implement interventions that foster dialogue and understanding. This competence does not necessarily hinge on knowledge of languages and could also be acquired in higher specialized training courses (Bachelor and Master courses), especially in Education.

Such professional profile should act on micro-dimension of educational process of citizens and be an expert in pedagogy, education and training, seen as the discipline/science of the human educational process, as "taking form" as a human being (Cambi- Frauenfelder, 1995).



Fig. 1 Prigioni, by Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1513-1530 Louvre and Accademia of Firenze

It is useful here to introduce the category of “formare” (difficult to translate into English, literally “give form”, more similar to German *bildung* and at the crossroad of education and training). From Latin “fōrmare”, it has the meaning of “giving shape to something”. Referring to people and in a figurative sense (it is very suggestive to imagine as an explaining metaphor the “Prigioni” by Michelangelo, fig. 1, where the human figure takes shape in the marble) forming takes on the meaning of leading to maturity of form or development. To train/educate someone on one side, or putting the subject in the condition to lean his/her own learning process on the other, means to affect, intentionally or unintentionally, his or her growth process which, as such, is global and constantly in progress and characterized by continuous break-ups and reconstructions.

Learning can happen through intentional and unintentional actions. These can be traced to what EU calls formal, non-formal and informal learning (Council of Europe, 2019).

1) *Formal learning* happens in recognized educational systems, such as Schools, Universities or vocational training agencies. It is intentional as it follows a syllabus and has clearly stated learning objectives and expected results, that will be measured through ad hoc evaluation tests or other forms of assessment (project work, dissertation, practical tests)

2) *Non-formal learning* is also intentionally structured (probably more flexibly than in formal learning settings) upon desired learning objectives, but it happens outside formal learning environments. The most interesting spaces for non-formal learning are the job-place and civil society/cultural/sporting settings. Non formal learning

often relies more on active methodologies that engage the learner and puts him/her in the condition of taking a stronger lead in the training process, giving more relevance to learning by doing and previous experience.

-*Informal learning* is whatever learning process not comprised in the above. It is incidental, it does not have any clearly defined learning purpose and can even be involuntary. In fact it refers to the human experience that offers a daily, continuous opportunity of learning, also as a mean to survive and thrive. Informal learning takes place reading a newspaper, surfing on the Internet or taking a coffee with friends at the pub.

If in common language the expression "to be formed or shaped" means to have taken the mature form or to have grown up, in pedagogical terms it cannot be read in terms of completeness. It is a composition through union, i.e. the configuration of a harmonious union of several faculties or elements (like in music the union of different sounds that contribute to forming a harmonious composition).

Forming is part of a unique and unfinished process: a lifelong process constantly linked to cultural, social, political and economic transformations. The formative process is a process of constant growth and change in which the subject-person is an active protagonist in its taking shape throughout life, in interaction with the environment, through a dialectic game between subjectivity and objectivity. It is a "bio-anthropological process [...] that takes place through an intense dialogical exchange with social and cultural objectivity".

Coming back to the double process of "shaping" migrants and non migrants alike through education and training, the XXVIII report on Migration recently issued by Caritas (Caritas Migrantes, 2019) has a very suggestive title in this sense: "*Non si tratta di solo migranti*" (It is not only about migrants). It can be read as a promising perspective on immigration studies and policies, from the pedagogic point of view. The subject of the migration phenomenon is multiple: it is extended to citizens of the receiving countries, that interact and influence/are influenced by the migrant person/groups. The educator/education facilitator that we have identified as the intercultural mediators interact with prismatic identities, diverse not only in terms of nationality and religion, but also of age, sex, education and economical status, where he/she facilitates the process of identifying commonalities and differences in all fields.

The hypothesis of this reflection is in fact that investing in innovative education and socio-educational practices can open to experimentation of new learning contexts that are nowadays necessary both

for migrants and non migrants, since we are all, at the end, citizens of a globalized world. Three are the targets as well as protagonists of the needed transformation in education and training policies and methods: citizens (migrants and non-migrants), teachers/education experts and educational institutions, seen as a learning organization (Senge, 1991) or "organizations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together."

Why and how we can find commonalities and shared practices between migrant and non-migrant learners? In this reflection we introduce the figure of the global citizen who need to develop a cultural intelligence to interact and develop in the planet. According to OXFAM (Oxfam, 2015) a global citizen is someone who is aware of, and understands, the wider world - and their place in it. They take an active role in their community, and work with others to make our planet more equal, fair and sustainable." In order to exert global citizenship migrants and non-migrants alike should develop the necessary knowledge, skills and values to engage with the world and act for its thriving. In such an approach, any global citizen, home or abroad, should not passively bear the negative influences of globalization, those human consequences devised by Bauman (Bauman, 1998) in the dilemma "inside vs. outside, here vs. there, near vs. far away", margin vs. center", that keeps the post-modern person restless in his "certain uncertainty", but can feed the belief that we can all make a difference through thought and, especially, action or better, agency.

In this chapter, we would like to introduce a further elaboration, in terms of concrete and pragmatic measures and the necessary professional profile, of the concept of developing migrants' human potential through education and at the same time enhancing in all, notwithstanding their national, migrant/non migrant or cultural background, "cultural intelligence", as already introduced above. Here, we see cultural intelligence as a framework of analysis and action that can overcome the traditional approach of intercultural pedagogy, seen from a impair power relations perspective between the local teacher who knows and take care of the differences of non-autochthone children or adults. Intercultural Pedagogy in Italy for instance was born at the end of the '80s as a special pedagogy for foreigners (Scaglioso, 2018), that were at that time very few (from 211 thousands in 1981 to more than 5 million in 2016; ISTAT, 2016), In order to respond to problems of education and emancipation of migrants and refugees, in particular in the primary/secondary school

classroom. In Italy there are in fact today more than 840 thousands non Italian students (9.7% of the total student population, almost one every ten students, and 63% born in Italy, the so-called second generation), but at the time of the first reflections on the issues there was a need for special regulations and compensatory actions for social, economic linguistically disadvantaged; groups, this type of pedagogy, that we can call "special" and "compensatory", has not managed to eliminate the structural inequalities of weak and disadvantaged minorities, but it can be even argued that has concealed and helped maintain them.

Cultural intelligence should at the contrary identify and navigates to the set of knowledge, competences and attitudes of the global citizen, in his/her diverse conditions: surely a South/North Migrant, a refugee, but also a student, a professor, an entrepreneur, just to mention a few.

Overall, the idea at the basis of introducing the concept of cultural intelligence is included in a general approach of active and transformative learning. But what do we mean by transformative learning and education?

Transformative learning theory was first developed by the US sociologist Jack Mezirow in the 90ies. It starts from the consideration that people can put into discussion and change their worldview, in terms of ideas, values and concepts, during the learning process. In order to transform, not only increase, their knowledge and therefore mindset, the learner should develop and use critical self-reflecting and re-consider his/her beliefs and experiences under a new perspective. In practice, the starting point of the learner should be to critically reflect and look for that pre-existing dysfunctional knowledge or sometimes even prejudices/stereotypes that impedes full comprehension of a problem. Being in contact with people who hold different experiences and understanding can definitely offer an opportunity to "walk in the other's shoes" and see problems differently, even coming to new terms and ideating new solutions. Mezirow in fact describes transformative learning as "learning that transforms problematic frames of reference to make them more inclusive, discriminating, reflective, open, and emotionally able to change." (Mezirow, 2001)

The Cultural Intelligence Centre (Cultural Intelligence Centre, 2018) defines cultural intelligence, also known as Cultural Quotient (CQ), as the capacity of relate and work effectively with people from different background. It is to be noted that working on the concept of cultural intelligence, rather than intercultural pedagogy, opens up

the reflection not only to formal learning in Schools as defined above, but also to the work-place, to the diverse world of culture heritage and civil society activism since it moves the perspective from an impair relation of power teacher/student to horizontal interactions among different people, bearer of diverse cultural backgrounds, experiences, needs and resources.

We can look at cultural intelligence in this reflection in two ways: both as a cross cutting competence of all citizens at large and as the specific set of competences of the intercultural mediator whose objective is also in fact to disseminate and promote cultural intelligence in society, in particular with migrants and with local service providers (in the education, health, justice, security and economic sectors, just to mention the principal ones).

The Cultural Intelligence Centre identifies four skills that need to be developed in order to relate and work effectively with people from different backgrounds, on which we would like to elaborate

1) Driver—the curiosity and motivation needed to work well with others. It is the opposite attitude of fear and mistrust, that is unfortunately so spread in our time. It is at the basis of education and training seen as a generative relationship where difference and variety represent the very reason and scope to interact and not at the contrary an excuse to hide or deny the other. It could be stated with the sentence “since I do not know you yet but I inherently trust that we can exchange meaningful knowledge and experience, I open my mind and I engage with you”

2) Knowledge—understanding the kinds of differences that describe one group versus the next, without resorting to stereotyping specific cultures.

Stereotyping is an easy simplification and a short cut in multicultural society where it is difficult to keep pace to the immense variety and complexity of cultures living together without simplifying. Nevertheless, at the basis of cultural intelligence there is In fact open and dynamic knowledge: not only as a content, wide as it is, but also as the capacity of “learning to learn” (EU, 2006) and looking for information where they are available, discerning valid and invalid fonts. It entails the skill to avoid superficial and abstract judging of the other for a sincere understanding and cultural decentring. It could be stated with the sentence “Even if I do not understand yet, I look for more information, starting from asking you, in order to avoid prejudice.

3) Strategy—learning how to plan effectively in light of cultural differences. Here comes the centrality of governance (intended as an intentional and clear management of network of services available to all citizens) of receipt, but also of globalization, as contemporary phenomena. The figure of the intercultural mediator, as a professional who acts in order to facilitate dialogue and encounter of migrant and local population, especially in exerting their rights and duties, plays a role in ensuring that integration policies and practices in the different fields are put in place and realized according to a shared vision of transcultural society. The mediator should also support other experts in mainstreaming the cultural dimension in all policies and practices.

4) Action—being able to adapt behaviour when the situation requires it. Transitioning from planning policies to delivery (educational) actions, this aspect encompasses all necessary actions that lead to developing citizens, migrants and non, full potential: accessing to information, data, services, gate keepers that can make a difference in all realms of life. It is important to underline that adaption is meant to be mutual, and here comes the educational aspect of the intercultural mediators who become a facilitator of learning differences and commonalities, both from the host and migrant population.

Having introduced the concept of cultural intelligence we can now offer a more detailed description of the intercultural mediator:

According to the result of a research realized by the Ministry of Interior of Italy in 2016 (EU MdI, 2016) “The intercultural mediator is a social operator able to carry out interventions of linguistic-cultural mediation, non-professional interpretation and translation and social mediation; promote intercultural mediation as a systemic device in integration policies; optimise the network and improve the organisation and delivery of services; strengthen the professional role of the mediator and transfer know-how to junior mediators and service operators”.

The Intercultural mediator is therefore able to operate two types of mediation: 1. linguistic-cultural mediation, 2. social mediation.

1. Linguistic-cultural mediation: A mediator must be able to translate from one or more languages into one or more other languages. But his/her role goes well beyond just a language translator. It translates not only words, but also cultural, social, religious and institutional codes, norms and traditions. This in fact a peculiar aspect of the intercultural mediator, compared to the traditional interpreter/translator, that holds an educational value. The mediator in fact

request to create a bridge among not only languages, but the symbolic worlds those languages represent. This is often undervalued and not completely understood in the realm of services where an active role of the mediator can be sometimes seen as a threat to the protagonist of the local public servant (social worker, teacher, doctor, nurse, judge, lawyer, just to mention a few).

2. Social mediation: Social mediation is about helping to resolve or prevent social conflicts through mediation between various components of society and between citizens and the administration.

Some of the activities carried out by the intercultural mediator are as follows:

- Realization of linguistic-cultural mediation interventions in a variety of formal and non formal situation
- Accompaniment and direct support to the immigrant in carrying out administrative and bureaucratic procedures
- Optimization of the relationship between the foreign user and the institutions in emergency contexts (first reception, public security) and ordinary services (health care, school, public administration, justice, etc.)
- Orientation of the users in the network of services and opportunities and offers of the territory, for the satisfaction of the citizenship rights of immigrant communities
- Implementation of social mediation interventions, prevention and management of conflict situations, both individual and social
- Information and guidance on rights, duties and opportunities (work, housing, health, training, administrative) in immigrant communities
- Facilitating the processes of dialogue and mutuality
- intercultural understanding among different immigrant communities
- Design of interventions of intercultural integration between foreign and hosting communities
- Support to institutions and operators in the sector, to the design and reorganization of services according to "migrant friendly" policies and practices
- teaching, researching on the improvement of the mediation services and training junior mediators.
- Assistance to the research and investigations on the migratory reality and on the social and cultural integration needs of immigrant communities,

Finally, having mentioned in the hypothesis that the professional profile of the intercultural mediator has a strong educational role in shaping a transcultural society, he/she should use and experiment innovative methodologies. We would like to suggest and briefly introduce, without going into details, an innovative methodological

framework that is more supportive to exert “cultural intelligence” as defined above and in chapter two. There is no possibility here to develop all of them but plenty of literature is available in order to deepen the issue:

Design Thinking: developed by the Stanford University in the 2000s, it is a creative inquiry process that put the learner/operator at the centre in understanding and facing of a meaningful problem (Brown, 2008). It can be defined as a design methodology that provides a solution-based approach to solving problems. It has proved to be useful in tackling complex problems (the so called wicked problems, of difficult solutions) that are ill-defined or unknown, by understanding by re-framing the problem in human-learner-centric ways, by creating many possible responses and by adopting a hands-on approach through immediate and reiterate experimentation and on-going evaluation. It can also be seen as a process of challenge-based learning, meaning that learning happens in response to a meaningful problem that needs to be faced and solved. Design Thinking follows a methodological flux or five stages (D-school 2009):

- Empathize: agreeing together why the problem is meaningful and deserve a creative solution
- Define: describe the problem in its complexity, gathering quantitative and qualitative available evidences
- Ideate: brainstorming on a series of possible solutions and prioritizing the most valid ones
- Prototype: transform ideas into a sustainable project action
- Test: Experiment and evaluate results on the basis of sound evaluation indicators, including long term impact (change)

As a conclusion, the main lessons learnt in inquiring the transformative action of education in the human mobility phenomenon is that education systems and learning methodologies need innovative professional profiles and settings, based on the set of competencies comprised in cultural intelligence. The intercultural mediator can be such a figure and is called to collaborate with other interdisciplinary and inter-sectorial ones, as a learning facilitator.

References

- AAVV 2019, <https://dschool.stanford.edu/>
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: The human consequences*. Columbia University Press.
- Brown, T. (2008). Design thinking. *Harvard Business Review*, 86(6), 84-92.
- Cambi, F., & Frauenfelder, E. (1995). *La formazione. Studi di pedagogia critica*, Unicopli.
- Caritas Migrantes. (2019). *XXVIII rapporto immigrazione 2018-2019: Non si tratta solo di migrant*. Tau Editore.
- Institute for the Future. (2011). *Future work skills 2020*. Phoenix Research Institute.
- Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. (2016). *Italia in Cifre*. ISTAT. <https://www.istat.it/it/files//2016/12/ItaliaCifre2016.pdf>
- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. Jossey Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (2009). Transformative learning theory. In J. Mezirow, & E. W. Taylor (Eds.), *Transformative learning in practise: Insights from community* (1st ed.). Jossey-Bass.
- Ministry of Interior of Italy. (2016). *La qualifica del mediatore interculturale: Contributi per il suo inserimento nel futuro del sistema nazionale di certificazione delle competenze*. http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Documenti-e-ricerche/DOSSIER%20DI%20SINTE-SI%20QUALIFICA%20MEDIATORI_28_07.pdf
- Oxfam. (2016). *Education for global citizenship: A guide for schools*. <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/education/resources/education-for-global-citizenship-a-guide-for-schools>
- Scaglioso, M. (2018). *Modulo 1: di pedagogia interculturale*. http://reteintegrazione.xoom.it/in_rete02/Pedagogia%20Interculturale/mod_1_pedagogia_interculturale.pdf
- Theodosiou, A., & Aspioti, M. (Eds.). (2015). Research report on intercultural mediation for immigrants in Europe. European Commission. <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/research-report-on-intercultural-mediation-for-immigrants-in-europe>

5 Chapter 5 Humanities

Cultural and Literary Studies

Luísa Antunes Paolinelli

Learning objectives

Upon completion of this module students will:

- 1) Understand the evolution of the concepts of culture and multiculturalism;
- 2) Identify and characterize issues related to multiculturalism, recognizing the relationships of continuity and rethinking of previous traditions;
- 3) Know and problematize the panorama of multiculturalism and migrations, the relationship with literature and its characteristics;
- 4) Acquire methodological skills to work with cultural text;
- 5) Acquire methodological skills to work with the literary and cultural text.

The approach of Cultural Studies to Literature, as Terry Eagleton defends in *After Theory* (2003), allows, due to its anthropological character, to reflect on fundamental aspects about the central issues of life. Cultural Studies paved the way in Literary Studies for a challenge from the canon, being responsible for extending the scope of studies to digital text, graphic literature, etc., but also developed a different way of considering and analyzing texts, based on interdisciplinarity and in reflecting on themes such as power relations, migrations, gender, post-colonial issues.

The joint perspective allows the texts to be considered in the context of their production, relating characters and events to a given culture, to interpret reality as criticism and intervention in a given historical period and to ask whether a text does or does not take part of a continuum with other historiographical and cultural texts. It also can focus on understanding how marginalized populations are described, mapping traditional and/or subversive discourses that emerge from a given literary work.

Both the concepts of culture and that of literature establish deep connections with each one of us, either because of what the former mean for the very conception of individual and collective identity, because of the feeling of belonging, or because of what literature

allows, such as the development of intimate capacity to form our personal and intrapersonal identity, sensitivity and critical and reflective capacity about the world and about life.

The first section of this chapter deals with the development of the concept of culture, multiculturalism and cultural diversity. It also focus on migrations and its importance on the way culture reflects them with different conceptualizations, such as pluriculturalism, transculturalism and co-cultures. In the second part, the objective is that through the literary text we pay particular attention to what surrounds us, what happens and how we form our personal choices and positions.

This means that the discourse never slides to a "solitary" vision of identity, as Amartya Sen called it in his book *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, that is, that sees the human being as belonging to a single social, national, civilizational or religious group. As the author writes, human identities are not formed as a single, immutable essence, which would lead to the conception of humanity as a series of boxes, closed and different from each other, "miniaturizing" what, on the contrary, is at its core diverse, dynamic and multiple. Literature shows us the world of migrations as displacement, fragmentation, multicultural, violent, but also with hopeful.

5.1 Cultural Studies and Migrations

5.1.1 Theoretical Framework - Culture

The word "culture" (from the Latin *cúltus*, which is linked to the act of cultivating, *còlere, colo*), in Latin civilization, indicated cultivation, care and work of the field, making furrows in the earth, turning the soil over so that new life could germinate, but also caring for the soul. Cicero uses it in this last sense, referring to the *cultus deorum* as cult of the gods performed virtuously, according to *pietas* and *sanctitas* (*De Senectute*, LVI). In the Roman Religion, the individual who fulfilled his obligations - activities, rituals, duties and devotion - was a *cultor deorum*, a "cultivator" of the gods from a material and spiritual point of view. Caring for the soul, like caring for the earth, required commitment and, according to Cicero, educating and cultivating the soul with study could make it finer and more elegant (*Tuscolanae Disputationes*, 2, 13). Basically, as Daniela Marcheschi sums it up, it is about cultivating, inhabiting a place, and taking care of it physically and spiritually, "so I love it, honor it, venerate it." (Marcheschi, p. 78)

According to Marcheschi, this scope of meanings “returns to the vision of an individual - always inserted in a wider cosmic or mundane context, in an orderly community - who, through the humble, tenacious and tiring exercise of culture, becomes ennobled, noble, acquiring a superior wisdom and humanity: what makes it worth living.” (Marcheschi, p. 78) The cultivated sense of spiritual knowledge belongs, however, to a narrow group, to the elites who can devote themselves to studies for the purpose of giving strength to the spirit and to exercise reason. It also had a noble aspect of the man, since knowing, caring for the soul would make man completely human, better.

Culture as a synonym for knowledge still remains today in the idea of a cultured man, as an individual who has acquired through study not only scientific and academic knowledge, but who, because of this, has an ethical and practical posture that distinguishes him. However, the acceptance of culture that we have today, broader and with another ethical weight in relation to the humanistic tradition, only developed mainly with the nineteenth century discussion around concepts such as people, civilization and national identity. The meeting with other peoples that the maritime expansion had allowed from the fourteenth century forward with ever greater contacts, the result of colonization, trade, and in XIX century, the industrialization, together with the contribution of philosophy - mainly through Voltaire and Johann Gottfried Herder in the mid-eighteenth century, and Nikolay Karamzin in the early nineteenth - and the development of modern anthropology with Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), proposed a new sense of culture and paved the way for a debate that still involves many scholars, from the humanities to the social and natural sciences.

Earlier, Voltaire, especially in *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations* (1756), in which discusses civilizations and customs (*moeurs*), considers that its variety characterizes the domain of culture, opposing concepts as universal / particular and referring to the possibility of the existence of cultural universals, linking history to culture and culture to progress. German philosophers, such as Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) - although he warns that *Kultur's* term and concept, like *Bildung*, is only limited to the use of literary language - underline *Kultur's* idea as belonging to a human group, while civilization has a universal character. Samuel von Pufendorf (1632-1694), in *On the Law of Nature and Nations*, had already used the term “culture” in a collective and social perspective, but making the difference between the universality of the notion of culture of scholars and the culture of peoples.

Herder (1744-1803) makes the difference between *Bildung* (erudition) and *Kultur*, defending the idea of the presence of culture in more primitive human groups through their own language, techniques and customs. *Kultur* is particular to a people, their genius, spirit, the *Volksgeist*. For the philosopher, the most natural state was the existence of a people with a national character that recognizes and nourishes. Civilisation corresponded to law and technique, and if nations can share civilization, they will always be distinct in their culture, since culture is their spirit. Based on the notion of organic development, it conceived the idea of people who are moving towards a goal of historical development, which is the ultimate goal of all humanity, containing each nation in itself the mechanisms that would enable it to reach perfection. Like Herder, defender of *Humanität*, Karamzin (1766-1826) never loses sight of progressive and humanitarian goals in his *History of the Russian State*, considering culture very close to historical development - the bigger the development, the bigger the culture, the better the man.

German romantics, such as Schelling, Schiller, Fichte, Hegel, and Holderlin, are heirs to the Herderian conception of culture as the essence, the spirit (manifested through the customs, beliefs, and practices of a people) that define a nation. Culture shapes language, art, religion, science and history. Gustav Klemm (1802-1867) broadens the notion to encompass customs, information, techniques, domestic and public life, religion, science and art, dividing humanity into "active" (German best) and "passive" races (Negroid, Mongoloid, Egyptian, Hindu, etc.).

Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) presents a different concept of culture, more linked to classical heritage, relating it to cultivation, study and intellect, not natural growth common to all. The culture thus understood, that is, in the hands of an elite who would be distinguished by their ability to learn and watch over transmission, is echoed in the theories of Mathew Arnold, John Powys, Werner Jaeger, TS Eliot and Ezra Pound, who conceive it as owned by a group of scholars, artists and scientists interested in humanity in its highest forms of expression, as a whole, in the art, knowledge and literature of other peoples, and sympathizing with human life in all its highest forms and aspirations. Fernando Pessoa also conceives culture as a form of growth and improvement: "There are two forms, or modes, which we call culture. It is not culture but the subjective improvement of life. This improvement is direct or indirect; the first is called art, science the second. By art we perfect ourselves; through science we have perfected in us our concept, or illusion, of the world." (Pessoa, 1966)

Kroeber and Kluckhohn pointed to the not only ethnocentric but also absolutist character of the concept of culture of Arnold, Powys and Jaeger: considering the existence of "perfection", in terms of human concretization, divides peoples and considers the existence of "lower" cultures (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 32).

The anthropological point of view is, on the contrary, relativistic. Rather than starting from a hierarchy of values, it assumes that each society seeks, and to some extent finds, values, and that the scope of anthropology includes the determination of the type, variety, constancy, and interrelation of these innumerable values. For Tylor, mainly in *Primitive Culture* (1871), but also in *Anthropology* (1881), culture, or civilization - being something non-biological, that is, that must be learned - understood in a broad ethnographic sense, is the complex whole which includes the knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other capacity and habit of man as a member of a society: "Culture, or civilization, [...] is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society." (Tylor, 1871, p. 1) This acceptance replaces that of culture as erudition, that is, that it binds to a single, great tradition, based on knowledge and writing, an elitist transmission of certain thoughts and values that excludes the illiterate part of society and also societies without writing.

Franz Boas, however, partly recovering Herder's teachings, reacts against Tylor and social evolutionists. Boas emphasizes the unique character of the many and diverse cultures of different peoples and societies, highlighting the particularisms of their history, without the value judgments that criticized both Arnold and Tylor, since one should never differentiate high from low culture and value a culture as civilized, as opposed to savage. Among his students and followers stood out Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict and Alfred Kroeber.

The question of high and low culture is equally problematized by Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) and Ernesto De Martino (1908-1965), who, from the lessons of Vincenzo Gioberti (1801-1852), consider culture as a whole, without neglecting that produced by less learned fields. In *Quaderni del Carcere*, written between 1929 and 1935, Gramsci understands the term "cultural world" as a whole. Both educated and simple individuals develop common thinking, the conscience of the average man, who acts as a citizen in society. As Giorgio Baratta writes, non-intellectuals do not exist for Gramsci and every man is a "philosopher", an artist, a man with taste, who participates in a given conception of the world.

In the twentieth century, Leroi-Gourhan (1911-1986) puts the issue of culture in the plane of collective memory and man's ability to create external devices for adaptation to the environment. For this adaptation and the transmission of external devices, he considers essential the memory, classifying it into three types: specific, ethnic and artificial. The specific corresponds to animal behavior, the ethnic to the reproduction of behavior in human societies and the artificial to the type of memory that uses artificial means of fixation. According to this author, the history of collective memory, essential to the transmission of culture, can be divided into five periods: the "oral transmission, the written transmission by tables and indexes, the simple tokens, the mechanography and the electronic serialization" (Leroi-Gourhan, 1964/1981, p. 59).

The anthropologist also reflects on an opposition between nature and culture: animals have innate devices, while humans receive culture, which allows them to survive as a species. It is in the relationship with other men, through the exchange of actions and gestures, forms of perception and awareness, conventions and symbols that the individual acquires skills that allow him to be in a given community. Each of these communities adopts cultural (material and spiritual) elements that distinguish it from other communities, and within a community there may be different groups or categories with their own devices.

For his part, Roy Wagner, in *The Invention of Culture*, 1975, points out that it is in social practices that the dialectic between invention and convention, between meaning and use exists. For the scholar, the idea of culture puts the researcher in a position of equality with the object of his study: both belong to a given culture. The researcher, rather than analyzing and examining, must create an intellectual relationship, an understanding that involves the subject studied, and who has his own culture, and the object, also with his culture, abandoning claims of absolute objectivity.

Clifford Geertz moves away from the objectivity-subjectivity debate, positivist-impressionist position, to consider culture as a "perennially" acted "document", starting from the idea that human behavior is, for the most part, "symbolic action", which is like phonation in speech, pigment in painting, line in writing, or sonance in music, thus losing the importance of whether or not culture is a standardized conduct or mental scheme, or a mixture of the two. Concerned about what culture is and what role it plays in social practice, Geertz, in *The Interpretation of Culture*, also looks at the relationship between culture and biological evolution. From a concept that describes as essentially semiotic, believing, with Max Weber, that man is "an an-

imal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning." (Geertz, 1973, p. 5) The aim of the scholar is thus to construct social expressions, which, on the surface, appear as enigmatic.

Also the linguist and anthropologist Roger M. Keesing situates culture as a "text" that is variously "commented upon," even though it questions the ancestry of symbolic anthropology that had brought the study of culture to a purely interpretive field or an interpretive-constructionist tradition. Although it does not consider this path without merit, it suggests that the views of culture as a collective phenomenon need to be qualified by a controlled way of knowing - one must also know who creates and defines cultural meanings, and for what purposes. Cultures as texts allow for alternative readings, without forgetting that cultural meanings must be clearly linked to the real individuals who live their lives through them. Culture bearers are social actors, so culture does not have a separate dimension from man, he is responsible for it.

Marking boundaries between one culture and another functions as a heuristic and conventional element in Lévi-Strauss. The clear boundary between nature and culture that many authors had defended is questioned, and the scholar invests in the connection between the natural and social spheres, permeable to each other. It therefore rejects the attitude of simply repudiating other people's cultural forms based on the pure realization of the difference with one's own culture. This behavior of non-acceptance of the existence of a specific culture in the 'other', an attitude rooted in man since ancient times, which leads to the refusal of diverse moral, religious, social and aesthetic forms ('Habitudes de sauvages'; 'cela n'est pas de chez nous', 'on ne devrait pas permettre cela' "), is linked to the non-admission of "diversité culturelle; on préfère rejeter hors de la culture, dans la nature, tout ce qui ne se conforme pas à la norme sous laquelle on vit." (Lévi-Strauss, (1952/ 2002), p. 19-20)

Also, for Fredrik Barth in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, published in Norway in 1969, culture is a semantic operator of ethnic identity and otherness in the members of a certain human group. It is a social representation, and each culture produces a simplified and segmented picture of natural discontinuities. Each group attaches significant value, emphasizes differences, and naturalizes ethnic boundaries (as if they were naturally determined and delimited). Ethnicity, according to the author, has to do with social organization ("the social organization of culture difference"), and ethnic identity is created

from “self-ascription and ascription by others in interaction”, being the cultural aspects boundary issues, which make it possible to judge whether members of the group

In the late twentieth century, Theodore Schwartz, uniting the views of anthropology and psychology, proposes culture as the derivative of more or less organized experience, learned or created by individuals in a population, including images and codes and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted by previous generations, by contemporaries or formed by individuals themselves. British philosopher and literary critic Terry Eagleton, already in the year 2000, with *The Idea of Culture*, is one of the scholars who is consciously aware that the “key concept” of culture needs to be updated from modernity and its postmodern use. Passing through a group of authors, from Shakespeare to Nietzsche and Freud, and linking with history, it seeks to renew the idea of culture by freeing it from a discussion and use that has been worn out (with the notion too broadened by anthropology and too restricted and rigid by aesthetics). Returning to Edward Said’s idea in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) that capitalism is heterogeneous, Eagleton situates culture in the social as well as in the political realms, referring to its various ‘versions’, ‘crisis’ and ‘cultural wars’.

As a normative way of imagining society, for Eagleton, although culture is widely used by postmodernists, it maintains its premodern roots and sources. It is therefore used when referring to society, linked to the discourse of social change, that of the arts, that of emancipation, and when an imperialist power has to deal with those it subdues. It is this last notion of culture that most marks contemporary life - our modern idea of culture has much to do with nationalism and colonialism, and also with migratory flows. According to the author, culture is more important for nationalism than for the issues of hunger control, civil rights, class struggle.

In *Culture*, published in 2016, Eagleton returns to the concept of culture, starting by stating that “is an exceptionally complex word” and then identifying four main meanings in its use: 1. a body of artistic and intellectual work; 2. a process of spiritual and intellectual development; 3. the values, customs, beliefs and symbolic practices by which men rule and live; 4. a whole way of life. Eagleton, beyond definitions, offers an insight into culture and its value in today’s world through a discussion of the forces that condition or reify it, and the role of consumerism in its exercise.

The truth is that the concept of culture almost took, in the discourse of many authors, the meaning of collective identity, replacing society,

conjugating itself with forms of nationalistic rhetoric, as can be read in Adam Kuper, especially when dealing with the issue of culture, difference and identity. Francesco Remotti, for his part, considers the functionalist and utilitarian dimension of the concept of culture for the character of security and assertiveness it gives to a human group: the reification and naturalization of the daily life of a culture are joined by the forms of sacralization, the myths, the beliefs and rituals that legitimize a group and make sure that it is on the side of truth. Remotti underlines the identity obsession that has taken hold of political, religious, didactic and corporate discourse, often linking it to the idea of culture as a cohesive, coherent cultural identity, a sphere in which harmony and order reign, and that only an identity diverse cultural background can disturb. Any diverse culture would open a kind of breach that would threaten homogeneous cultural identity. But this cultural identity thus conceived is a myth that it considers to have no empirical foundation. Cultures are heterogeneous, mutable constructs exposed to contamination by other cultures.

In 1976, Richard Dawkins, with *The Selfish Gene*, based on Darwinian evolutionary theses, sought to oppose relativism by suggesting that cultural transmission is analogous to genetic transmission, explaining, for example, how certain behaviors are adapted and replicated. Ideas and principles would thus be passed on through a cultural transmission. Dawkins was given this type of information as a meme, and would be the gene analog. Daniela Marcheschi sums up the theory as follows: "In short, a transmission of acquired, non-congenital characteristics of a huge number of human behaviors through learning, through information, imitation or imprinting, the use of past artifacts or manufactures. generation to generation - and language with its symbolism. Such a passage would in particular have been made possible by larger brains, higher protein consumption, and biologically versatile bodies." (Marcheschi , op.cit, p. 81) "Memes" would have no other purpose than to spread without the will or acquiescence of the subject.

Other authors, such as Agnes Fog, have adopted a more versatile theory of cultural selection, equating other variables that contribute to the development of ideas and culture beyond the "memes". However, memetics, which explores the transmission and evolution of cultural ideas in a scientific way, has developed, but nonetheless causes perplexity in the world of cultural scholars.

In recent years, Ronald Inglehart, regarded as the founder of the theory of modernization, has come up with the idea of cultural

evolution, linking it to changing individual motivations. According to the author, cultural evolution presents a new version of the theory of modernization, which explains the rise of environmentalist parties, the defense of gender equality and phenomena such as nationalisms. Their position is that people's values and behaviors are shaped by their degree of survival and security. For most of man's history, survival was difficult and group solidarity was essential, rejecting outsiders and obeying strong leadership in maintaining security. A high level of security and prosperity, on the contrary, encourages openness to change, diversity and new ideas. The crisis of recent years, with diminishing wealth and social inequality, can change cultural behavior again.

Daniela Marcheschi, after a systematic study of various proposals, concluded by a definition that rejects the idea of culture as an exclusively super-structural phenomenon and late in the process of evolution or reduced to any dualistic or reductionist conception. The idea of a network of dialogical traditions and the possibility of transformation places culture within the realm of man, in his rational and choice capacity, of interaction with the world and with others.

The concept of hybrid culture, subject to contact, *mestizaje* and creolization, developed by Tzvetan Todorov, will be applied by Néstor García Canclini to characterize Latin American cultures, preferring to those of *mestizaje* and syncretism, considered traditional or pre-modern processes (*Culturas Híbridas – Estratégias para Entrar e Sair da Modernidade*, Miguel Hidalgo, Editorial Grijalbo, (1989/ 1990). Hybridism has relevance for Argentine scholars in sociocultural processes in which structures and practices combine to generate new structures, practices and objects. These processes of cultural confluence are not free from tensions and conflicts, as they are often characterized by inequalities in power, prestige and economic power. Therefore, they cannot be understood as simple forms of reconciliation or homogenization. In a world where globalization means more than economic and cultural exchanges, fluidly linked, identity sedimentations - ethnicities, diverse communities, nations - are continually restructuring.

In conclusion, it is important to overcome the monolithic view of culture, crystallized in the idea of "tradition", to adopt a dialogical perspective, of traditions that intersect, often in tension, to create new forms and revive cultures. Polyphonic, rewritten, traditions are reinterpretable, negotiated, acted, in time and space, in history. Culture - all culture - as Donald Sassoon writes, feeds on itself and others to make progress (SASSOON, 2008, p. 12-13). The artistic forms by which culture expresses itself and that create it proceed,

according to the author, vertically, building on what already exists, sometimes resorting to already confirmed and consolidated forms, sometimes bringing radical innovations. Progress is thus made of continuity and spirit of innovation, diversifying from a past that is observed and reflected upon.

5.1.2 Culture and nation, ethnic groups, race and identity

Both in nonacademic discourse and in part of academic discourse, **culture and nation** are used as equivalents. However, nation is a concept mainly of political science and is linked to the idea of a government, with legal mechanisms that support and characterize it. The members of a nation see their lives regulated by the decisions that are taken in the various organs of government, justice, military, etc. Nations have physical boundaries recognized by other nation states that have nothing to do with cultural boundaries. Even accepting that the culture or cultures of a given state may weigh in terms of choices of government and relations with others

States and culture cannot be equated with a nation. Take, for example, Brazil. To speak of Brazilian culture as a Brazilian nation would be erroneous, since Brazil has several cultures - from European matrix, indigenous (also several), from migrant communities that have settled in the country (from the Middle East to Asia), Afro, Afro-Indians.

It is true, however, that, not as a nation's equivalent, but as part of its formation, culture is one of the most important components of the construction, legitimation, affirmation and guarantee of the future, developing in its members the idea of the collective, the unity and cohesion. Stuart Hall has developed, for example, studies in the area of national culture and the relevance of how narratives of national cultures are told. Considering "nation" in the modern and political sense, but also in the older concept of family and community (Hall, 1996, p. 615-616), it defines national culture as "a discourse - a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizations both our actions and our conception of ourselves [...]" (Hall, 1992, p. 292-293). National cultures create meanings with which individuals can identify (usually, "contained in the stories which are told, memories which connect with its past, and images which are constructed"), incorporating events, figures and symbols. These meanings build a strong and solid idea of the past and of an imagined / guaranteed future. They are a kind of identity capital that, growing, can sustain the nation, decreasing, can lead to its extinction.

Hall identifies five elements in the discourse of national culture: the nation's narrative; origins, continuity, tradition (certain aspects of culture that have stood the test of time and have existed since the birth of the nation; essential to national character); the invention of tradition (practices, rituals or symbolics) of recent invention, which inculcate certain values and behavioral norms); the foundational myths (history of origins, situated in a mythical time); the people (not the people who hold the power, but what can be defined as 'popular', kind of the nation's heart). As national culture is a discursive instrument, it represents and perceives the difference (various cultures within national culture that may even have divisions among them) as a united identity. In reality, no nation is made up of a people, culture or ethnicity, modern nations being culturally hybrid.

We are thus faced with the idea of the modern nation as an imagined community, as Benedict Anderson defined it, avoiding reducing the nation to an institutional phenomenon and a synonym for state. From the idea of modernity and the lessons of historians such as Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner, Anderson, in 1983's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, states that there is a communion between the members of a community that, although do not know each other personally, recognize and share common identity aspects.

Race and ethnicity, as terms linked to the political and social field, are concepts related to culture. Both are linked to cultural constructions and interpretations.

However, there still seems to be some confusion in the definition of terms, as Roger Ballard suggests: despite their relevance to the contemporary world, "a little reflection soon reveals that their precise meaning is still surrounded by clouds of conceptual confusion" (Ballard, 2002, p. 1). Ballard considers that race and ethnicity are not exactly constructions of culture *per se*, but are better understood, especially ethnicity, as a result of the articulation of cultural distinction in situations of political and / or economic rivalry (Ballard, 2002, p. 28). With modernity and the idea of equality for all members of the group, while moving towards homogeneity in terms of opportunities, the collective manifestation of a group's difference seems to paradoxically endanger the culture that it defends precisely the right to difference.

In fact, ethnicity, when referring to a group that shares the same language, historical origins, religion and identification with a nation or cultural system, can give rise to ethnic groups in a space other than the culture of origin and tensions with the host culture. It can

also live with other ethnic groups without conflict. In the contemporary British landscape, for example, there are cases in which different ethnic groups maintain the same relational problems outside their home territory as they did in the past, transporting tribal behaviors to the host land: this is the case with groups of young people from Somalia, Nigeria, Haiti, etc. In the United States, there are ethnic communities strongly linked to the land of origin, identifying themselves as American, but also, for example, as Greek, Italian, Irish. In this case, the conviviality is peaceful and the difference is often seen as an asset to the host culture. However, if we look at the process of the American census, there are a number of distinctions ranging from race to ethnicity that still prevail in social and cultural organization and representation: there is recognition of four racial groups - American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, black and white; when they are "Spanish / Hispanic" they can put the country of origin. Thus, there are still racial and ethnic distinctions that continue to weigh on issues of cultural identity.

The identity of an individual or group is linked to the question of belonging. Based on images, stereotypes and mutual emotions, identity can be compared to layers, like those of an onion, without including, according to Hofstede, values. Populations that conflict because of their "felt" identities may well share the same values. Examples are the linguistic regions in Belgium, the religions in Northern Ireland, and tribal groups in Africa. A shared identity needs a shared Other.

The question of **identity** is closely linked to that of otherness and diversity. Patrick Charadeau says it in a funny way: "I don't want to know how to diffuse the *conscience identitaire*. The perception of the difference of the author constitutes the concern of his own identity: «il est différent de moi, donc je suis différent de lui, donc j'existe». Il faudrait corriger légèrement Descartes et lui faire dire: «Je pense *différemment*, donc je suis»." (Charadeau, 2006)

Identities are built by judging oneself and others, acts and representations. These configure collective imagery, which relates to collective memory and represents the values of a group and in which members recognize each other. In the field of the imaginary, the historical-mythical events and personalities that enhance identity capital, language, space, past symbolic moments, myths, rituals and practices stand out. Linguistic identity, for example, is linked to a particular tradition and historical dimension, and, as Dionísio Vila Maior points out, the "social and practical meaning involved in the updating of its language in a particular community" must be considered (Maior, 2011, p. 3) identity, dynamic and evolving, there are also identity substrates that act at different levels, composing the

identity of each group. Substrates that can be compared to drawings on transparent sheets that, placed on top of each other, do not cancel each other, but form other drawings that serve the discourse of identity: a three-time discourse “past-present-future” and in a space, which serves to shape the group.

5.1.2.1 “Multi” and other affixes: multi, pluri, trans, intra, cross and co-culture

Although the main element of the composition is ‘culture’, the affixes open it to new proportions, as if the meaning were thickened. The distinction between prefixes opens up as new expressive possibilities and functionalities, combining qualitative (“intra”, “cross”, “inter”) and quantitative (“multi”, “pluri”) reinforcements. The meanings they create are complex, and some concepts, even linked to the description of facts, are true theories of the preference for different areas of knowledge, from anthropology to literature, from communication sciences to business sciences.

The displacement of men in space, as travelers, traders, conquerors, settlers, refugees, has always been a constant in the history of mankind. This, as a result of these movements of displacement, therefore presents, as something that is part of the human existential condition, the encounter between diverse ethnicities and cultures. The question of cultural contacts is therefore as old as man’s ability to move and, save in cases of great geographical isolationism (as with some tribes, for example, in the territory of the Amazon), always the societies of a one way or another came into interaction. Hence it cannot be considered that modern societies are suffering from a particularly new phenomenon when it comes to the issue of **multiculturalism**.

There are a number of factors that drive cultures to constant change, such as the development of information technologies, economic globalization and the intense migratory flows that increasingly affect our societies, breaking the borders. If multiculturalism was linked, mainly from the 16th century, with the interrelationship of hitherto isolated worlds and with cultural globalization, mainly through colonial expansions and political and commercial relations between the various territories, today, there is an homogenization process linked to movements of populations of cultural and religious miscegenation widespread through the world, mainly in the European area.

This places the issue of challenges linked to cultural change, culturally based problems and conflicts, belonging to cultural identities, among others. This led, and this is where the novelty lies, the issue to the political field, as Will Kymlica states, with the idea that the state:

may have the duty to 'recognize' and take into account institutionally (acommodate) this ethnic diversity, and not simply for reasons of convenience or charity, but for reasons of justice and law. This idea - which stands at the heart of the multicultural movement - is a modern idea that has appeared at the heart of the past forty years. (trans.from French edition) (Kymlica, 2006, p. 802)

As the author writes in *Multicultural Citizenship: The Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, most modern-day countries have culturally different characteristics, since, according to the estimates at the time, independent countries contained over 600 language groups and 5,000 ethnic groups (Kymlica, 1996).

We can thus distinguish multiculturalism, which is the fact that several cultures coexist in a given space (regardless of the weight each of them has in that space and communicate with each other or not) - in the image shown below the different size of the spheres intends to give this notion), "multiculturalist movement" or "multiculturalism movement", which, according to Kymlica, presents tendencies, struggles for particular policies, defenders and opponents, evolutions, evaluations, linked to the claim of minority groups and a true revolution of rights of peoples, groups, ethnic groups and even genders.

The social changes that the world has been undergoing in recent years, which pose questions that are not always easy to solve in terms of the management of democracy and the code of values of society (the defense and respect for diversity, the recognition of the needs of all, etc.) have therefore made cultural issues somewhat central in terms of national and international policies, claiming the interest of institutions such as the European Community or UNESCO. From education to immigrant rights, from law enforcement to language rights, governments' concern has been central to preventing cultural conflicts and providing stability to peoples.

A person living in a multicultural society can be **pluricultural**. That is, it may have adopted aspects and forms of a culture to which it did not originally belong in terms of origin. In the case of migrant groups, there is often the phenomenon of pluriculturalism and plurilingualism, since belonging to minorities, even for the sake of adaptation, there is an adoption of values, beliefs, practices and language of the host culture. However, even host culture, even though it is an

ethnically homogeneous area, is forced, with the influx of migrants, to change its own dynamics. Therefore, many individuals become aware of different cultures and may adopt practices of the cultures with which they are in contact.

Pluriculturalism involves the identification with more than one culture, through the acquisition of practices necessary to participate in them, either through language, knowledge of beliefs and values, or through the acquisition of behavioral skills. In an ever closer world, with easier mobility, there are many individuals who move between cultures for professional and even family motives, sometimes alternating between codes and practices and having multiple cultural alliances, such as those with parents of different cultures. Alternation can be substituted by a form of hybridism comprising the fusion of elements and syntheses, often with intra and interrelational tensions.

Interculturalism means the process of interaction and connection based on relations between peoples and cultures, overcoming stereotypes and prejudices of race, religion, gender, ideology, in order to establish a dialogue that leads to the transformation of one's own members of cultures in communication. According to Jurgen Bolten, interculturality corresponds to a culture that is built through cultural contact, involving ethical choices and concerns (Bolten, 2012). Interculturalism nullifies the gap between cultures considered superior and inferior, valuing mutual knowledge, diversity and otherness, based on dialogue between subjects at the same level. The incorporation of elements of one culture into the other and the modification of the two cultures in contact, without, however, having forced assimilation or acculturation, are considered important for social integration and to reach new levels of consciousness in a democratic conjuncture. Culture is not seen as an inaccessible block, but as a "plurality of points of view, of ever-changing forces and factors".

"Inter" would allow us to overcome the "multi" of multiculturalism, since it implies a true and effective exchange of cultures, a mutual enrichment, a harmonization of various elements to renew one's own culture. Seen as utopian by many authors, it can be considered that in situations of multiculturalism, with the coexistence / existence in a given space of two or more cultures, there may be moments of interculturality. There are also multicultural spaces in which cultures live in the same space / nation / community but never intersect or communicate in a dialogic manner.

Over the last twenty years, both in the field of education, communication and political science, scholars have analysed, stimulated and created strategies for the development of intercultural competences,

understood as the performance of an individual in situations of interculturality or contact between cultures.

The concept of **transculturalism** has several definitions: from the idea of Fernando Ortiz, in the 40's of the twentieth century, who considered it as a synthesis of past mestizaje with the present, reinventing a new common culture, to this day, the notion has been changing themselves and gain different implications. If for some authors transculturalism opposes the traditional cultures of nation-states, pushing down boundaries between them to seek common past cultural heritage, for others, especially in the literary sciences, the concept is developed as operative in the context of comparative literatures. Take, for example, the work *Transcultural Writers and Novels in the Age of Global Mobility* 2015, by Arianna Dagnino (Dagnino, 2015), who analyzes the movements and artistic flows developed in a context of internationalization and globalization. "Transcultural" literature is considered by the author to be that produced by writers who write at the crossroads of cultural and national boundaries, and their creative production cannot be confined to one culture.

The scholar explores the cultural orientations and the often unconscious process of cultural and imaginative metamorphosis that lead narratives and their characters beyond birthplace or identity formation in a path of seeking belonging, translinguism, hybridity, wandering. cultural, visions of the other, deterritorialization, neonomadism and also new narrative techniques and gender treatment. It thus seeks to characterize and identify the main features of the "transcultural narratives".

Transculturalism is, for Jeff Lewis, characterized by cultural fluidity and the dynamics of cultural mobility (Lewis, 2008). The idea of a sharing of meanings and experiences, existing conditions for transfer and transmission, goes beyond the idea of multiculturalism, which is based on difference. Transculturalism, on the contrary, is based on the intermittence between difference and similarity, which allows adaptations and adoptions of discourses, values and systems. Other authors see the possibility, through transculturalism, of discovering values, beliefs, customs that cross borders and are common to many peoples.

The concept of **intracultural** is mostly used in communication as opposed to intercultural communication. While the latter contemplates communication between subjects of different cultures, the former addresses the issue between subjects of the same culture. In fact, as the prefix indicates, it is something that goes on within the same culture, and members share the same conventions. In communication, from a pragmatic perspective, the main difference

between intracultural and intercultural communication is the shift in emphasis from the communal to the individual.

By “**cross-cultural**”, from the anthropological point of view, is meant any operation aimed at comparing cultures, corresponding to the “real effort to understand how different cultures act towards one another or can communicate with each other” (Daniela Marcheschi, “Cross-cultural/Cross-culture” in *PINOKIO Project Glossary*, *op. cit.*, p. 5). For this reason, it is also the recognition of the variety of uses, beliefs, values, positions, myths, etc., that characterize human cultures.

The concept of **subculture** is used to characterize the culture of minority groups that share the culture of the nation-state but maintain a culture of their own. The more complex and organized (classes, region, ethnicity, religious groups, etc.) a population is, the more complex the cultural map becomes, requiring the notion of subculture. Some authors have doubts regarding the use of “subculture”, since it seems to infer a subordination to a larger culture, preferring the term “**coculture**” to avoid hierarchical relations between cultures. “Coculture” contains within itself the idea of mosaic, but also raises problems of cross-cultural representativeness and redundancy.

5.1.3 Cultural Diversity

The concept of **cultural diversity** and the way it is understood and represented is particularly present in the last years of the twentieth century and the first decade of the XXI.

In fact, the ever-increasing intensity of people-to-people contacts, the more massive and continuous migrations, the rapidity of the information circulation system, economic interdependence and globalization bring to the fore the similar but also ‘dramatically different’ aspects, in the view of Ugo Fabietti and Angela Pellegrino (Fabietti & Pellegrino, 2002, V). According to these authors, it is precisely these factors that lead to the opening of literary narratives, previously centered on “descriptions” of spatially circumscribed local realities to the multicultural scenarios of the contemporary world (p. XIII).

However, the encounter of the “I” with the “other”, of different race, culture, history and imaginary, was always present with a minor or greater place in literature, in an asymmetrical way, either based on romantic era, by philosophical theories such as those of Rousseau, in the case of the Indian view, whether influenced by ideologies such as Gobineau in *Essai sur l’Inégalité des Races Humaines*, or closer to the cultural relativism that had already been announced by

the vision of novelists like the Brazilian José de Alencar in the late nineteenth century. Works such as those by Chateaubriand, *Atala*, Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, or the Brazilian Indianist novels put the European's encounter with the Indian in the foreground. The crisis of colonial empires and the consciousness of colonizers and colonists are reflected in works such as Edward Forster, *The Passage to India*, Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Ennio Flaiano, *Tempo di Uccidere*, or Antonio Tabucchi, with *Notturmo Indiano*, by the part of the colonizers, and Vidiadhar S. Naipul, Amitav Ghosh, Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, Édouard Glissant, among others, who represent the otherness of the "non-Western" point of view, emphasizing contacts, exchanges, hybridity and mestizaje, in an ever more global and globalized world.

The issue of cultural diversity is not limited to the context of relations between the Western world and non-Western cultures, since the theme of the "other" is also included in the literature that portrays minority groups of different culture or race within a hegemonic culture. This is the case of Harriet Stowe with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, who raises the issue of the racial minority that blacks represent in American society, just as some Portuguese and Brazilian works of the time and contemporary are especially marked by migrations, such as in the nineteenth century, the works of Gomes de Amorim, and in the twentieth century, *A Selva*, by Ferreira de Castro, which portrays the lives of migrants (Portuguese and Northeastern) in the Amazon.

Primo Levi and Saul Bellow's texts also focus on the difficult relationship between Christian culture and the Hebrew world, while others also choose intra-European cultural diversity, such as the famous novel by Luigi Pirandello *Lontano* (1902), which narrates the love relationship between a Norwegian and a Sicilian and the difficult co-existence generated by the different cultures to which they belong.

The issue of cultural diversity cannot be separated from that of **cultural identity**. The "diverse" illuminates the self, allows the awareness of its qualities and its shortcomings. It acts, deep down, like the mirror where one sees and observes. This does not mean that this image is clear, in the sense that it corresponds to the reality of the self, since it can be deformed by **pre-existing stereotypes** or **cultural prejudices**.

We picture the world from a self construction built by a particular semiotic circuit and a series of visions made by the memories of past and contemporary writers, painters, philosophers, transmitted and acquired knowledge, the charge that defines us as part of a group,

nation. The "I" in relation to the "other" is always a place of subjectivity, the subject speaks of himself and from the perspective where he is situated, and even when speaking of the "other", however objective, it is always a discourse about the "I" and the "other", as the "I" sees and positions itself in the "other". Emmanuel Lévinas called it the philosophy of subjectivity and connected it to the tension perspective of otherness.

There is not always a tension of alterity in the relation between the "I" and the "other", but only of diversity or, in the opposite extreme, of total assimilation. However, diversity often does not include communication, relationship, as differences do not allow it - the 'other' is stereotypically taken as culturally and / or ethnically inferior or superior, and it is impossible to balance a "communication" at the same level or of a similar status.

In the second half of the twentieth century, especially in the last four decades, the concept of cultural diversity was associated with the **relativistic idea** that each society must be understood in its own terms and there are no objective terms of reference to interpret and judge, justifying even a certain ethical relativism. Assuming that cultures are diverse, so too are their codes of value and morals, each culture would have its own value system and its own morality and ethics, nullifying the idea of universal principles. This position goes beyond the questions of cultural studies and sociology, equally interesting the political sciences.

Several authors, however, have been in favor of the existence of boundaries in relation to cultural relativism, stressing that both the idea of relativity and the dependence on values, moral codes and contextual practices in relation to a given culture can open doors to a dangerous ethical relativism, as well as to the conception of culture as something incomprehensible to the "other" and, still, as a compact, coherent and unchanging whole, with differences that cannot be surpassed by those who are outside.

Extremely driven cultural relativism (whether based on a rigidity that nullifies the possibility of confrontation and encounter, or a permissive openness that invalidates critical judgment in intra and inter-cultures) cannot, moreover, be assimilated to the idea of **pluralism**. Pluralism allows confrontation and admits of conflict, making room for evaluation and change, for the existence of a plurality of values that are common and for codes that are not rigid and may be subject to conflict, reflection and transformation. Central to the discourse of pluralism is the existence of links that do not nullify differences but make them functional for interaction, negotiation, and consolidation.

Some authors' collage of multiculturalism to cultural relativism and a permissive tolerance of everything culturally based on the justification of a different cultural context has led to many misconceptions. Misconceptions that spread to other themes, such as **tolerance and hospitality**, and fears related to the expropriation of host culture spaces. At the other extreme, the disregard of pluralism and the belief that values themselves are universal and should be promoted without looking at means eventually lead to situations of visible and / or invisible violence in an attempt to create a new world order.

References

Ballard, R. (2002). Race, ethnicity and culture. In M. Holborn (Ed.), *New directions in sociology*. Causeway.

Bolten, J., & Groschke, D. (2012). Approaches to intercultural competences and its development. In *Taiwanese Journal of WTO Studies*, 23, 44-81.

Charadeau, P. (2006). L'identité culturelle entre soi et l'autre. In *Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve en 2005*.

<http://www.patrick-charadeau.com/L-identite-culturelle-entre-soi-et.html>.

Dagnino, A. (2015). *Transcultural writers and novels in the age of global mobility*. Purdue University Press.

Eagleton, T. (2003). *After theory*. Basic Books.

Eagleton, T. (2016). *Culture*. Yale University Press.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of culture - Selected essays*. Basic Books.

Hall, S. (1992). Cultural studies and its theoretical legacies. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson, & P. Treichler, (Eds.), *Cultural studies* (pp. 277-294). Routledge.

Hall, S. (1996). The West and the rest: discourse and power. In S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert, & K. Thompson, (Eds.), *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies* (pp. 184-227). Blackwell.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. XLVII, n.º 1.

Kymlica, W. (2006). Multiculturalisme. In Mesure, S., & Savidan, P. (Eds.), *Le dictionnaire des sciences humaines* (pp. 802-806). Puf.

Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1981). *O gesto e a palavra, memória e ritmos* (Vol. 2). Edições 70.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (2002). *Race et histoire*. Denoël.

Lewis, J. (2008). *Cultural studies*. Sage.

Maior, D. V. (2011). *Identidade linguística e 'Consciência da unidade espiritual'*. CLEPUL.

Marcheschi, D. (2004). *Prismas e poliedros. Escritos de crítica e antropologia das artes*. Pref., trad. e notas L. Marinho Antunes e F. Figueiredo. Atlântida Editores.

Pessoa, F. (1966). *Páginas de estética e de teoria e crítica literárias*. Edições Ática.

Sassoon, D. (2008). *La cultura degli Europei dal 1800 a oggi*. Rizzoli.

Sen, A. (2006). *Identity and violence: The illusion of destiny*. Penguin.

Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, art, and custom* (Vol. I). John Murray.

5.2 Narratives: How Literature Connects Man and Space

5.2.1 *Genesis and identity: texts of convergence and condensation and the search for identity*

Narrating is the moment of recording, marking, and fixing by means other than the memory of the individual man. Writing can thus be considered as the progressive externalization of memory. As Jacques Le Goff writes, "memory is an essential element of what is commonly called individual or collective identity, the pursuit of which is one of the fundamental activities of individuals and societies." (Le Goff, 1984, p. 36). Also Jan Assman underlines the importance of "narrating, telling", along with the normative aspect, for establishing the foundations of belonging or identity that allow the singular to say "we", since what connects individuals to a "we" It is precisely the "connective structure" of a common knowledge and self-image, based, on the one hand, on the bond of common rules and values, and, on the other, on the recollection of a commonly shared past" (Assman, 1997, p. XII). We might also add: a commonly lived present and a commonly dreamed future.

Eduardo Faria Coutinho states that national literatures are more than reflections of a national character, they are constructions that play a relevant role in the elaboration process of a nation, since they are "partial products and constituents of nation and its collective sense of national identity" (Coutinho, 2000, p. 517-518). Therefore, as this scholar argues, especially in the period when a literature is asserting itself as national, one cannot completely dissociate literary discourse from political discourse, "On the contrary, they were both involved in a common project, that of the constitution of the newly born nations; hence their preoccupation with the national language and themes, or with all those elements which might be representative" (Coutinho, 2000, p. 203). Here too we could add the periods of affirmation and the moments of crisis, in which the weakening of the present requires a reflection, a portrait, an analysis, in essence, an ontological process about the group to which it belongs. Thus, literature is seen as a constitutive part of the definition of national identity and its problematization.

A literary work is obviously not a treatise, and the narrative act is a consequence of an aesthetic and moral aspect: the author creates a structure that in his organization mirrors the real, seeking the true. It is in the tension between aesthetic choices and the representation of reality that literary creation finds ways to answer the need to explain the world, to assign meanings to it. That is why it is natural for literature, when the historical, social and cultural moment demands it, to become a spokesman or new awareness of a national identity,

while choosing and weaving its narrative forms and creating new forms and solutions.

It must be remembered that narrative identity is the form in which the human being can access the narrative function, as Paul Ricoeur defines it, and that, in this case, it is important not to fall into the semantic ambiguity that weighs on the notion of identity (Ricoeur, 1991, p. 35-47). In this, according to Ricoeur, two distinct meanings overlap in Latin expressed by *idem* and *ipse*. The first meaning, "identical," points to what is extremely similar, analogous. The second, of 'same', equality, implies almost a form of immutability in time, the opposite of 'different'. This second meaning, according to the author, does not imply fixation, but possibility of change and permanence, compatible with identity in the sense of "ipseity".

When it comes to the identity of a group in a narrative rather than a character, or rather when the characters and themes constitute the story of a group/community/nation identity, the discourse is also applicable: the meaning is that of "ipseity", of which, existing permanently, can be changeable, finding in that capacity the means for its survival.

The question that characterizes the narrative of identity is the movement - of the characters, events, the plot, the spaces and the times - of convergence towards an idea of unity, even though it may pass through finding an inevitable variety. Or, even, in the feeling of loss, of an unfulfilled memory and, therefore, erased.

Let's say this kind of narrative has a centre that ties into the heart issue of who we are. We may not have an exact perception of what it is and we are searching in the universe of words, which is, in the end, a journey through the real. A reality, which in the case of identity has three tenses - past, present and future. The narrative proceeds by several lines towards the centre, to reach the point where the tension is: from a horizontal line - space, place of rest, life and death - from a vertical line - time, spirit, sensations - and diagonal lines - the place of different possibilities and visions according to different points of view - builds a surface. Wassily Kandinsky considers that this "star conformation of straight lines organized around a common nucleus" (Kandinsky, 2006, p. 64), which can always be becoming denser as it develops, constitutes the birth of a new form, the birth of a surface.

The narrative dimension of identity is an interpretative scheme that has as its object the stories themselves, the narratives of others, popular or of the dominant culture, the reflections of intellectuals

and the works of artists. It does not exist out of nothing but is rooted in the production and thinking of the community itself, while at the same time helping to create something in which the community re-vises itself. It must also be borne in mind that if literature is a mirror of the nation, it is also one of the elements that transform a people into a nation. Thus, there is a convergence of memories, feelings, common myths, dynamic, changing, which brings men together in an identification.

Besides convergence, another trend of contemporary literature that can be explored in texts that have a strong thematic component of identity is concentration and attention, that can be perceived on the use of associated *topoi* - the importance of memory, the presence of defects and virtues of the people, the earth / the birth place, the use of historical-mythical or popular characters of strong identity capital, the identification of the self with the "we", among others. Attention and concentration allow anchoring in a given memory, opposing uncertainty, and, this way, warrants the survival in relation to forgetting. Thus, the text acts as a trigger through attention, affective memories, associations, recognition factors, emotions, conscious or unconscious, which activate the desire to analyze, to think about our identity.

It is not always a painless process. Narratives do not always leave us pacified with our identity, but they do alert us.

5.2.2 Displacement Narratives: Migrations, Uprooting / Rooting

In the age of migration, as characterized by Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas and Mark J. Miller in *The Age of Migration* (2003), the concept of displacement, with those associated with it, such as migration, uprooting, hybrid identities, imaginary and cultural memory, interests both the social sciences, in the field of cultural and linguistic studies, as well as the human sciences, as regards comparative cultural and literary studies, for example. The context of many European countries is historically made of wanderings (with a positive content, when they are voluntarily assumed as adventure or pursuit of a goal; and a negative content, when they are involuntary uprooting, focusing on the violence of the imposed crossings of territories, represented by figures of immigrant, refugee, exile, marginal, excluded wanderers), whether through exploratory travel, colonization, emigration, exile or, in recent years, linked to the postmodern context, the displacements due to mobility for study or professional upgrades that are different from migration restricted to the entry or exit of individuals from a country or region in search for better living conditions.

To move is to place oneself in different places, to move between spaces, which also means to circulate and inhabit new communities, diverse landscapes, reconfiguring oneself in the tension of living with various and different identities. In the transnational world we live in today, the concept of "dislocation / disintegration" has become definitive, since in "overflowing modernity", life is always fluid, changing and in permanent mobility. Modern culture is defined precisely by displacement, being the result of intersections, mobility processes; displacement and permanence are complementary moments and states in a world where identity is not fixed in one place, but related to location and relocation, so it is plural and multifaceted.

We live an existence between moving fragments. 'Cultural difference' no longer presents itself as a stable and exotic otherness and the "I-other" relations reveal themselves more than ever as relations of power. We live in cross-cultural itineraries, in constant movement between centralization/ decentralization, global/ local, unidirectional/ multidirectional.

This conception explains very well part of our world and the identities of today's migrations, living in intermediate spaces, often drawing creativity and dynamism from them. This does not, however, correspond to forced economic migrations because of social and political reasons, or to displacements that end up nowhere, such as in refugee camps, with the devastating sense of uprooting, or tensions between entities and cultures.

In displacement, "di" is a particle of separation and translates precisely the remoteness of a place. And the remoteness, even the voluntary, always creates, a sense of loss and a sense of expectation of what is to come. The self is in a movement of time and space that leads it to question the notion of itself, its place, and may manifest the lack or loss of a stable location and situate the core of identity in one place and in one time diverse from the present. The texts dealing with migrations, uprooting, relocating or returning contain traits that allow exploring the various forms of spatial, cultural and affective dislocation and the feeling of tension or conflict of identity and self-affirmation. This reflection excludes travel literature, the so-called personal identity formation literature, often involved with the environment, and the city literature. They have common elements with the migration-themed literature, but their focus is essentially different, as they do not address the issue of displacement as purpose, for an end linked to goals, projects and dreams.

The type of literature which deals with displacement shows an "identity shift", the ambivalence and the use of narrative as the history

of people, place and memory, which involves the category of time. Characters can show in the narratives the idea that they are “here” (host place) but their mind is actually there (homeland).

The fact is that migrants have “lost” one space and have to “adapt” to another, reviewing their image and that of others, and assuming multiple identities. In addition, there may also be a sensation of living in two worlds, of being divided in space, time. The psyche, with the loss of roots, the pain and unease pervade the texts.

Literature lives long on this inner tension and on the exploration of the identity issue, the awareness of otherness and stereotypes. Displacement also occurs at the level of adapting one’s own dreams and projects: the subject may have to review them, conscious of new influences and conditioning.

Ambivalence is established between past and present, here and there, in a reflection on what is best and what is worse, between the respect and opportunity offered by the new culture and the uncertainty, hostility, instability of behaviors and the difficulties of understanding each other. At the same time, there is the desire for the return and the myth of what is left (so many works tell the disappointment of the return, the return trip).

In a strongly multicultural world, there are also narratives of systematic problems such as racism and social exclusion. We can also add the psychosis of fear of immigrants. Language, skin color, and religious symbols are used as differentiation, linguistic and cultural marginalization on both the immigrant and host country. Displacement is a kind of wreck and men feel lost in unfamiliar waters.

Literature has the capacity to reflect on these complex realities and also has the cultural force to influence mentalities. Basically, to fulfill its ethical function of reminding man that he is part of a various humanity.

Narratives proceeding from broken lifelines, changing according to the impulses of alternating forces, present therefore many angles and directions. Lives composed of various zigzag parts have something epic and/or tragic inside. The narrative of displacement can also follow autobiographical or biographical paths to which adds a grandiloquent tone, as if it were a music accompanying the choice to discover new horizons, or a tragic tone, portraying a destiny that surpasses the will of man.

5.2.3 Narratives of Fragmentation: Racism and non-acceptance, violence, inequality

Literature has the capacity to reflect and act on complex realities and to influence mentalities, to create and transmit ideas through its weight in the structuring of the meaning we make of the world, the narratives (with its plot, characters, conventions and stylistic choices) can serve to sanction or criticize and denounce social situations, contexts and conjunctures. By writing, myths are perpetuated, but new mythologies are also created, situations are portrayed, and readers are also warned of the need to rewrite their own cultural and social contexts. If literature can portray dominant representations, it also can undermine and subvert these representations by reviewing the most common and most familiar narratives.

Literature is, therefore, an ideal place, like all art, to account for suffering and violence, mapping “geographies of pain” to denounce them, leading the reader to catharsis, a cognitive process of enlightenment and knowledge that allows him to act. The history of many European countries is marked by slavery, the arbitrariness and arrogance of the colonialism, the imposition of language, religion and customs, but there are also latent neocolonialisms imputable to nations that impose their power and situations like the violence of post-revolutionary wars, the dehumanization of immigrants and returnees, racism. But also, at present, society has to deal with the winds of nationalist pride that exclude others, the inequalities of class and economic power, poverty, exploitation and dehumanization of man, the pain caused to the weak, like children and women.

Violence is found in multiple forms: war (interethnic, ethnic, civil, conquest), state violence (repression, torture, imprisonment), personal relationships (marital violence, child maltreatment, etc.). For a long time, violence was conceived as limited to physical acts, but today it tends to extend to moral and other symbolic violence (school, urban, etc.). While some authors, such as Konrad Lorenz and René Girard, see in violence a destructive drive belonging to man, an aggressive instinct, cultural anthropology tends to regard it as social, Ruth Benedict, Albert Bandura and Stanley Milgram emphasize in their works the impact of the environment and models of conduct as causes of violence.

Still others prefer a combination of the two theses, being interested in the dynamics, linked to the environment, which, through a causal relationship, lead from individual to collective violence, from more contained violence to extreme violence.

But is it legitimate to separate the violence? Calixthe Beyala, Cameroonian novelist, in an interview explained his position: "A woman sold or prostituted; a dictator who goes into the street, meets a man and shoots him in the head. It is exactly the same; one should not separate the two worlds, going into the depth of a human soul" (Beyala, 1996, p. 609). What the author argues is that private and public violence have the same root and, therefore, literature should treat them in the same way, because both concern man.

Violence is expressed in the narratives as fragmentation, through the breaking of the self, society and man. It is something that destroys harmony, which does not live with lyricism and which overlaps the drama, marking time in such a way that there is no longer duration, only before and after violence, or sometimes a time without a future.

Violence based on cultural tensions such as racism, slavery, terrorism, etc. – can be found in literature in general, but has a definitive role in migrant and urban literature.

Concerning cultural tension, it develops in situations where a feeling of anxiety and distrust develops, which can cause conflict and violence. Strong cultural tension and conflict can even lead to the destruction or at least the subjugation of a given culture or cultural tradition. The dominating tension may not belong to a nation, it may be from a group or an individual. It can also, in addition to other conflicts, generate gender-based violence that hides (and is justified) behind racism, ethnic, religious, and power conflicts.

Prejudice, disrespect for human beings, discrimination and distance, on the one hand, inner suffering and pain, on the other, mark the narratives about migration. From the violence remain the fragments of spirit and body, relics that gain the persistence of the whole through writing. The words, telling, externalizing, make history of what was silenced, blowing the boundaries from within. The witnessing process makes up the puzzle, and the reader is the listener that the narrator has chosen to deposit what he knows and to see the puzzle in its entirety. Deep down, the fragmented being finds a unification through the "grand narrative", the narrative that shows and demonstrates.

5.2.4 "Non-Place" Narratives: The return, memories, ashes and destroyed walls

Studying the place is very important in migrant narratives, as literature is nourished by the different aromas, flavours, colours, shifts, sounds, textures and sensations that the vast variety of the world

offers. In the literary text, the central / peripheral places of public / intimate experience are significant as accomplices of the plot and the characters. In migrant literatures, hybrid places are not rare, crossed by elements of cultural, identity and personal experiences, which form a broad mosaic of testimonies of human experiences of shared histories and traditions.

Michel Butor, with the concept of "genius of the place", wanted to express the unique power that a city or place exerts in the spirit of its inhabitants or visitors (Butor, 2007): the subject who travels / lives the places can represent them through poetic forms, narratives, geographical, and find them in the multiple voices of the men who spoke or wrote about them. The world, with its varied spaces, is thus understood as a totality apprehended by the dialogue established between the texts. If man, for Julien Gracq, is built from the fragments of places that identify him, for Butor the places form a geometric solid, with various faces, corresponding to the various discourses.

We cannot forget that space is not indifferent to the performance of man and that the place is marked by the memories of his passing. Therefore, it can activate the recognition of the past in the present, similar to Marcel Proust's "involuntary memory", which starts from a gesture to discover a memory that is precisely linked by the gesture to the present. The place would thus be a space-time combination of possible continuous quotations from both the personal and the historical as well as the literary field.

It is from the expression of "genius of place" that Georges Didi-Huberman (2001) develops, like the other side of the mirror, the expression "genius of non-place", seeking, through it, to explain the presence that exists in the absence, that is felt in the marks, the traces, the shadows, the footprints, the ash and the dust, the remains that remained of what was. If the genius of the place evokes the power of the place, the marks of the ruined, the burned or the destroyed evoke the "non-place", because through the left traces of the life that is gone, one can glimpse the life of the "place-before". It is neither nostalgia nor a metaphysical idea of the pure form of absence, but the marks of an absence-presence that have the same evocative power as Butor's genius: the dust of things resembles the ephemerality of place, of the world, of life, of the disappearance, but also underlines the perpetuity of the memory, of the "haunting" that inhabits the "non-place". This is because the dust, the ashes, the marks are themselves places and still have the power to evoke other places, displaced in time. It is precisely the relationship between the powers of space, time, and the haunting / remembering / residue that are central to Didi-Huberman's conception.

The migration narratives often see the character go back to the places that are now non-places and feels time and former life as something he cannot recover. The ruins, the remains are proof of something he was and that his community was and is now lost.

5.2.5 A multicultural world - an actionable place

What is the role of the writer and the intellectual and what power do they have in a world where everything seems fluid to us, where the boundaries between good and evil, the just and the unjust, the true and the wrong are almost non-existent which is easier to disbelieve than to believe? This is the question posed to Magris and Xingjian, one theoretician of literature, and the other writer, playwright and literary critic, Nobel laureate of Literature in 2000 (Magris & Xingjian, 2012). The Chinese writer looks suspiciously at the literature that is subject to ideology: writers become vassals of a structure that attempts to explain the world, impose value systems, and give coherent foundations to a given political power and social order. Ideological literature - nationalist, liberalist, or Marxist, to give some examples - focuses on value judgments and sometimes dogmatism, which in their rigidity leave little room for questioning life and the world.

Moreover, the replacement of religion by ideology that took place mainly from the eighteenth century and sharpened in the twentieth century was, for the author, an act of blindness, since, with the dogmatism of utopia on this basis, the reality of the world has been so transformed that it has caused one of the greatest catastrophes that plague mankind. Even today, writes Xingjian, the invitation to a committed literature is part of the agenda. He warns, therefore, that using literature as a tool for changing society is equivalent to wanting to use it as a means of disseminating moral and ethical norms: the problem is that in modern times moral and ethical norms are generally subjugated to political correctness. And if there is nothing more common today on television, in literary festivals, in magazines than a writer or an intellectual discussing current politics, it is also not uncommon for literature itself to fall into the temptation to mediatize, to be part of society. front page of newspapers as a conditioner of politics.

The author, the one who engages in literary creation and not the author of commentary on political news, can only escape if he avoids following the effects of market fashion and mass tastes. His writing is that of inner necessity, which is born deep within himself, and his concern is the existential condition of humanity and human nature. It must fundamentally evade the ideological impositions, which are

often confused with fashions today. The writer is not a saviour, this is an illusory role, but a fragile, human, humble individual who observes reality, empathizes with men and the world, and seeks to maintain a lucid conscience. The writer is not a responsible family man. Rather, it is the child who experiences, who focuses on the world (and does not spend all his time concentrating on himself or his own literary research).

This does not mean that he should resign from reality. His concern, in fact, is the real and not the present, the true and not the apparent. Words, when emptied of ethics and the spirit of justice, without concern for not betraying the truth of the world, lead to the ruin of culture.

Freedom without truth is just a caricature of the servitude of men. And servitude does not only occur within relations and within the nation, it also exists, for example, between nations.

The aim is to "force intelligence" through imagination, giving man responsibility for the construction of his world. There is therefore a strong appeal, in one way or another, to ethics, to the heart aided by reason. The utopian values of love, peace and tolerance, respect, justice, peaceful coexistence between cultures, equality and solidarity are only utopian in the face of the irrationality or the overly rationality of man. If the literature drops them, one moves to give up.

The relationship between mobility and humanity is of all times. In the early days of the presence of humans on Earth, mobility was indeed an inseparable feature of the life of the hunter-gatherers who absolutely needed to be permanently on the move for their livelihood. The advent of the agricultural revolution implied the concomitant process of sedentism, but this phenomenon did not put an end to the need for man to move from side to side, which started to result from wars, invasions, bad agricultural years, and strong contexts. economic downturn, expansionist pressures, great instability in their places of origin or situations of political persecution, reasons that have remained until today and that continue to explain many of the migratory phenomena that still exist.

The beginning of globalization, which may be located at a time when Europe, through the Iberian expansions, unravelling worlds hitherto unknown, gave a new impetus to the movement of displacement of populations, which operated through the departure of European population contingents that settled in different parts of the globe, as well as of the peoples subjected to colonization who were forced to move under pressure from the presence of the new arrivals (see,

for example, the massive displacement of American Indians or the slave route from Africa to the Americas).

In modern times, to the old reasons that explain the more or less intense movement of the populations, such as economic and political reasons, others that are now linked with scientific work and educational purposes that promote mobility have been added - a context in which Erasmus-type student circulation projects are included, for example, or with people in a post-retirement situation who move away from the places where they exercised their activity and exchange them for others of better climate or greater calm.

The problems arising from these movements arise at different levels, and arise both from displaced societies and from host communities, as in both cases it is imperative to find solutions for coexistence between populations that, with language, traditions, religions, in short, of different identities, will have to, from then on, find ways of coexistence that allow them to subsist together.

The solutions found to face this problem have been varied over time, and not always successful, as can be seen by the existence of Jewish or Moorish quarters in the old Lisbon, for example, which are nothing more than ghettos where residents from different parts and diverse religions were isolated for various reasons and were forced to share a space with populations of other ethnic origins. The existence of communities that, displaced from their original lands, share common characteristics that they are not willing to give up, translates, for example, in the existence of neighbourhoods in large metropolises that are called Chinatowns or Little Italies, where the individuals from China or Italy reproduce as much as possible the context of their homelands, which, however, does not hinder their very peaceful integration in the host communities.

Regardless of their greater or lesser success, these solutions do not hide some segregationism that, if in some circumstances it is not critical, in others it slips towards an isolation heightened by little social protection on the part of the host entities, and ends up becoming a nursery of dissent and discontent that favour the emergence of movements of radicalization and violence. With the idea of minimizing these risks, the host countries have sought to develop integration policies that go through new ways of organizing coexistence between different populations, and this demand translates into the adoption of practices of multiculturalism or interculturalism, which propose different approaches to the problem.

Despite the efforts that have been made in order to minimize friction and facilitate coexistence between different communities, there is still a long way to reach a situation that really integrates migrants

in their new destinations and knows how to take advantage of all the potentialities that these movements are carriers, with repercussions on the demographic renewal of aged countries or on filling in jobs and positions that require great qualifications and that are often present among those who arrive and intend to settle in the host country.

Migrant literature describes migrations and the impressions of those who experience the dislocation of one country to another. A topic of growing interest in literary studies since the last decades of the XX century is linked to migratory flows, including the migration to North and South America, Australia, South Africa and the migration from the former European colonies to Europe. The mass migration from Africa, India and Pakistan, and the migration of the people which escaped the second world war is narrated from a migrant perspective, focusing on the country of origin, but also on the new residence. These narrations compare, put in contrast and are the voice of a story that is seldom told.

Migrant writers sometimes have been coerced to leave their countries and they are different from writers who travel in order to discover new places and write about them. Their displacement has brought them to new places as well, but they are seen as the context of their own life experience, sometimes even marked by violence and cruelty. To know and understand these narratives is important to reconsider the image of "I", the natives of the host country, and them, the migrants, and to start to think of "us" as an aggregator of both. Literature serves as a powerful tool to gain a better understanding of different cultures, since it stimulates the respect for differences, but also gives a status of value and empowerment to the culture of the migrants.

Authors such as Khaled Hosseini (*The Kite Runner*), Chinua Achebe, Alice Walker (*The Color Purple*), Sandra Cisneros, Ha Jin (*Waiting*), Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Christine Kohler or Amitav Ghosh, between many others, offer a multicultural, multi-ethnic world, with problems, but also with solutions, making of multiculturalism an actionable place. Is this utopic? Literature always thinks world can be changed and bettered.

References

- Beyala, C. (1996). Calixthe Beyala: entre le terroir et l'exil", entrevista de Emmanuel Matateyo. *The French Review*, 69(4), 605-615.
- Butor, M. (2007). *Génie du Lieu. Oeuvres Complètes* (Tome 5, Vol. 1). Éditions la Différenc.
- Castles, S. (2013). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. Palgrave Macmillan .
- Coutinho, E. F. (2000). Construction of Latin America's cultural identity. In M. A. Seixo, J. Noyes, G. Abreu, & I. Coutinho (Eds.), *The Paths of multiculturalism: Travel writings and postcolonialism* (pp. 191-204). Edições Cosmos.
- Didi-Huberman, G. (2001). *Génie du non-lieu. Air, poussière, empreinte, hantise*. Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Kandinsky, W. (1970/2006). *Ponto, linha, plano*. Edições.
- Xingjian, G., & Magris, C. (2012). *Letteratura e ideologia*. Bompiani.

Further suggested readings and other resources

- Arendt, H. (2000). *L'Impérialisme: Les origines du totalitarisme*. Seuil.
- Bauman, Z. (1991). *Globalization, the human consequences*. Verso.
- Bhabha, H. K. (Ed.). (1990). *Nation and narration*. Routledge.
- Bouchard, G. (2001). *Génese des nations et cultures du nouveau monde. Essai d'histoire comparée*. Les Éditions du Boréal.
- Breakwell, G. M. (1986). *Coping with threatened identities*. Methuen.
- Chabal, P. (1998). *The postcolonial literature of Lusophone Africa*. Hurst.
- Hron, M. (2009). *Translating pain: Immigrant suffering in literature and culture*. Toronto University Press.
- Kaufmann, J. C. (2005). *L'Invention de soi. Une théorie de l'identité*. Hachette.
- Kristeva, J. (1998). *Etrangers à nous-mêmes*. Gallimard.
- Ouellet, P. (2005). *L'esprit migrateur – Essai sur le non-sens commun*. VLB.
- Taguieff, P. A. (1994). *La force du préjugé. Essai sur le racisme et ses doubles*. La Découverte.
- White, P. (1995). Geography, literature and migration. In J. Connell, R. King, & P. White (Eds.), *Writing across worlds: Literature and migration* (pp. 1-19). Routledge.

6 Chapter 6

Migration and Cultural Rights

Monica Amari • Giovanni Carlo Bruno

Learning objectives

Upon completion of this module students will:

- 1) Recognize Cultural Rights as human rights in international law.
- 2) Give examples on the use of Cultural Rights for enhancing the integration of migrant communities.
- 3) Analyze how cultural rights can be implemented by recognition of the right to cultural identity;
- 4) Give examples of political actions to improve the cultural identity of migrants.
- 5) Identify actions carried out by States to promote cooperation by using cultural tools, and EU 'diplomacy through culture' actions;
- 6) Give examples of mobility schemes for highly-qualified migrants funded by the European Union.

6.1 Introduction

There were 70 million international migrants in 1970. Today there are more than 260 million and the movement of peoples is likely to become a defining issue of the 21st Century.

With globalization the opportunity and inclination to move is greater than ever. States continue to pursue the politically expedient fiction that they can unilaterally assert sovereign control over immigration. However, reality is more complex and the international community is struggling to come up with viable collective responses

People who fall outside the internationally recognized definition of a refugee, but nevertheless cannot achieve the basic conditions for life and dignity in their country of origin, are in an analogous situation to refugees. In theory, international human rights law should offer some form of protection to such people, but jurisprudence is generally conservative. One solution would be to develop a supplementary "soft law" framework in order to ensure meaningful protection of such people (Betts, 2013). This kind of "soft law" framework could be based on cultural rights which, although part of human rights, have not received the same attention as economic and social rights.

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) there is no official definition of cultural rights. They have often been described as underdeveloped in comparison to other human rights this is as-

sociated with an insufficient attention being viewed as rights of lesser priority (Donders, 2007; Meyer-Bisch, 1993; Symonides, 1988). When the UDHR was adopted, cultural rights in public opinion were seen as relating to the most vulnerable groups, including colonized people, minorities and indigenous people (Vrdoljak, 2008). Over the decades the concept of culture has come to be seen no longer as a series of isolated manifestations or hermetic compartments but as an interactive process, whereby individuals and communities, while preserving their specific characteristics and diversity, give expression to the culture of humanity by the awareness, the respect and the expression of their own cultural identity.

This approach has led to an investigation regarding which human rights can be considered cultural and to the content of these rights being further defined. As a result of this attention to cultural rights, the new concept of cultural sustainability has emerged and international policies, through cultural diplomacy, have been addressed to increasing cooperation, with an approach aimed at building bridges rather than walls between different cultures.

This chapter analyses how cultural human rights, as other human rights protected by international and domestic law, may be considered as a tool for enhancing the integration of migrant communities (Part 1). It provides insight how policy makers may use cultural rights - in particular the right to cultural identity - in the creation of integration policies (Part 2) and lastly it explains in which way intercultural dialogue may be intensified, using existing cooperation programmes funded by the European Union (Part 3).

6.2 Cultural Rights: International Legal Regime

Giovanni Carlo Bruno

6.2.1. Cultural Rights as human rights in international law

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, adopted on 19th September 2016, at the end of the high-level plenary meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, contains a reaffirmation by the Heads of States and High Representatives of their commitment for the human rights of all refugees and migrants and of their pledge to fully protect such rights. In paragraph 6 of the Declaration, they state that, "though their treatment is governed by separate legal framework, refugees and migrants have the same universal human rights and fundamental freedoms".

While the international community is considering the question of large movements of people and is promoting initiatives to answer

the challenges raised by migrations flows, questions arise to the range of human rights – civil, political, economic, social and cultural – to which the people concerned should be entitled in countries (or origin, transit and destination) linked to migration.

'Culture', 'education', 'active participation of migrants in the receiving societies', are essential for the empowerment of migrants and societies to realize full inclusion and social cohesion, as stated *inter alia* in one of the 23 objectives set up by the United Nations Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, adopted by the General Assembly on 19 December 2018, specifically in the objective No. 16.

There is an increasing demand for better protection of cultural rights, considered in general terms as a value strictly related to human dignity, necessary for the preservation of cultural identity. Protection of cultures and cultural diversities is needed to strengthen the reciprocal engagement of migrants and of the receiving countries and communities for the substantial reduction of disparities and inequalities.

As for all human rights, States have an obligation to respect, protect and fulfil cultural rights. Nevertheless, which cultural rights can be considered human rights internationally protected? What is their legal content? Which tools can be used by the peoples, communities, groups and individuals to push States, the most important subjects of international law, towards the full implementation of cultural rights? (UNESCO, 1970; Sepulveda, 2003; Saul, Kinkey, Mombray, 2014)

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) has recalled that "[t]he full promotion of and respect for cultural rights is essential for the maintenance of human dignity and positive social interaction between individuals and communities in a diverse and multicultural world." (CESCR, 2009, p. 1).

However, for decades, cultural rights have been considered "a neglected category of human rights" (Symonides, 1998). Among the possible explanations for this assumption are the difficulty linked to the legal definition of culture, as a value to be protected; the reluctance of States to recognize some of these cultural rights; the limited possibility of enforcing the said rights for their protection before courts and tribunals.

Moreover, the approach followed to identify cultural rights has been influenced also by the uses of 'culture' in the Cold War context; the political hesitancy of States when dealing with cultural rights, somehow connected to their fear of breaking up the unity of the na-

tion-state and its territorial integrity; the public debate on cultural relativism, undermining the fragile concept of universality of human rights, according to some practitioners and scholars.

Different definitions of 'culture' have been suggested and/ or included in a number of acts, legally binding and nonbinding, adopted by international organizations and accepted by States. Culture was firstly mentioned in a narrow way, including in its definition only fine arts and literature. Then, 'culture' has been considered and taken into account as a process, with different dimensions all of which are interconnected (i.e., language, religion, and education).

In order to assess the existence and the content of cultural rights in international law, reference will be made to relevant treaties and conventions (defined as *hard law*), containing binding legal provisions, and to the so-called *soft law*, which is not mandatory but constitute more an ethical and moral obligation. Resolutions, recommendations, decisions of international organizations, views and comments of supervisory boards are used as an instrument for 'authoritative interpretation' of binding conventional rules contained in a treaty, and, in some cases, they may express common expectations for the development of 'new' binding rules.

Almost all international human rights instruments, global and regional, deal with cultural rights (Ssenyonjo, 2009). This part will not enter into the details of all provisions and rules, but some examples are provided, to show how cultural rights are a category "overlapping other categories of human rights and linking individual rights and the rights of peoples and communities" (Donders, 2007, 233).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the UN General Assembly on the 10th December 1948, recognizes cultural rights among other human rights. The UDHR can be considered as a founding document of the modern conception of human rights, although as a soft law instrument it does not have any direct legal effect. It is based on the principle that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Article 27 states that "everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits".

The 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), in Article 27, affirms that persons belonging to ethnic, religious or

linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

More generally, Article 15 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) recognizes that:

1. *The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone:*
 - (a) *To take part in cultural life;*
 - (b) *To enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications;*
 - (c) *To benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.*
2. *The steps to be taken by the States Parties to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for the conservation, the development and the diffusion of science and culture.*
3. *The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity.*
4. *The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the benefits to be derived from the encouragement and development of international contacts and co-operation in the scientific and cultural fields.*

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage offers, in Article 2, a definition of this heritage as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.”

The 2005 Council of Europe Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society emphasizes the role of *heritage communities*, by assigning them the task of valuing *cultural heritage*, defined as “a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.” (Article 2):

It can be maintained that, despite the problems associated with their conceptualization and institutionalization, “cultural rights are an integral part of human rights, which are universal, indivisible and interdependent”, as states *inter alia* the 2001 UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity, in Article 5.

It has been noted that “the wording of international human rights instruments in terms of cultural rights may be elliptic, non-systematic or unclear – in short, imperfect – but a careful examination of international legal texts, the jurisprudence and other case law of international bodies and international and national practice reveals the normative elements of cultural human rights” (Stamatopoulou, 2011). The next section aims to provide a definition of cultural rights, based on the wealth of materials produced over the years.

6.2.2. The broad definition of cultural rights in the practice of international monitoring bodies, courts and tribunals

Whereas States have been ‘reticent’ about the legal definition of cultural rights, independent bodies – such as UN monitoring bodies, international courts and tribunals – crafted the content of legal provisions with an holistic approach, to overcome political difficulties and to offer adequate instruments to ensure comprehensive and effective implementation of the said rights (Grover, 2012).

The drafting history of the UDHR and of the two 1966 Covenants illustrates the difficulties in dealing with the content cultural rights (Stamatopoulou, 2011). Article 27, although worded as including terms such as ‘*community*’ and ‘*cultural life*’ (emphasis added), was mainly directed to include tools for the protection of minorities within States, and not to open societies to cultural pluralism and diversity. The text of Article 27 ICCPR confirms this special protection granted to minorities in international law, and greater respect for their own culture, language, religion.

The text of Article 15 of the ICESCR opens up the possibility for ‘cultural communities’ to have a role in the implementation of cultural rights (with particular reference to the right to take part in cultural life). Especially UNESCO, with the support of some States (Donders, 2007), brought up this broader context for cultural rights. But, their realization falls under the regime of the treaty, whose Article 2, para. 1, lays down that a duty is on States to take steps to the maximum of their *available* resources, to achieve the full realisation of Covenant rights *progressively* (emphasis added). The existence of such a provision has been considered as a limit for the implementation of important legal obligations of the Treaty, in particular in times of economic crisis (Nolan & Dutschke, 2010).

The ‘human approach’ to the concept of culture is well explained in the 1982 Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, issued by UNESCO at the World Conference on Cultural Policies. In one of its *considerandum*, it is affirmed that “in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or

social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs”.

Monitoring mechanisms (or treaty bodies), committees of independent experts set up by a high number of human rights treaties to oversee the implementation of conventional rules, have become of utmost importance for the clarification and widening of the content of cultural rights.

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), monitoring body of the ICESCR, in the General Comment No. 21, put forward in 2009 on the right to take part in cultural life, affirms that the “concept of culture must be seen not as a series of isolated manifestations or hermetic compartments, but as an interactive process whereby individuals and communities, while preserving their specificities and purposes, give expression to the culture of humanity. This concept takes account of the individuality and otherness of culture as the creation and product of society.” (CESCR, 2009, para. 12). Culture “encompasses, inter alia, ways of life, language, oral and written literature, music and song, non-verbal communication, religion or belief systems, rites and ceremonies, sport and games, methods of production or technology, natural and man-made environments, food, clothing and shelter and the arts, customs and traditions through which individuals, groups of individuals and communities express their humanity and the meaning they give to their existence, and build their world view representing their encounter with the external forces affecting their lives. Culture shapes and mirrors the values of well-being and the economic, social and political life of individuals, groups of individuals and communities.” (CESCR, 2009, para. 13)

The evolutionary wording of the General Comment No. 21 was based also on the 2007 Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights, drafted by a group of academics and experts gathered by the Interdisciplinary Institute of Ethnics and Human Rights at the Fribourg University (CH). This document is particularly important, although not legally relevant, because it registers the shift of attitude towards cultural rights, putting aside the ‘material’ dimension of the protection of culture as ‘cultural product’ or ‘cultural object’, to underline the connection between culture and identity of human beings.

Cultural rights cover individual rights as well as collective rights, since everyone, alone or in association with others, can act freely to exercise them, without any discrimination.

The European Court of Human Rights, established by the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), has offered to cultural

rights some space of protection under important ECHR provisions. Neither the Convention nor the Court recognize the 'right to culture', but in cases concerning the right to respect for private and family life (Article 8 of the Convention), the right to freedom of expression (Article 10) and the right to education (Article 2 of Protocol No. 1), issues related to cultural rights in the broad sense were discussed (European Court of Human Rights, 2017).

In this paragraph it has been shown how difficult is to get a comprehensive definition of cultural rights, since it includes issues such as education, academic freedom, artistic expression, access to culture, cultural identity, linguistic rights, cultural and natural heritage, historical truth. In addition, other human rights, namely freedom of expression, the right to education and the right to work, are essentially connected to and necessary for the full realization of cultural rights, based on non-discrimination and equality.

The relationship between cultural rights and other human rights is particularly meaningful when dealing with the question of the empowering role of culture and of the rights connected to culture to overcome social inequalities. Migrants are marginalized often in the communities of the receiving States because cultural differences among communities are perceived as unbridgeable and insurmountable. Instead, a recent report of the UN Special Representative in the field of cultural rights has highlighted the potential of actions in the field of arts and culture for promoting fuller enjoyment of human rights (HRC, 2018). Successful initiatives built on a thoughtful integration of diversity may contribute to reconciliation, to the improvement of social cohesion and may address radical ideologies incompatible with human rights.

6.2.3. Cultural rights and integration of migrant communities

"Cultures have no fixed borders. The phenomena of migration, integration, assimilation and globalization have brought cultures, groups and individuals into closer contact than ever before, at a time when each of them is striving to keep their own identity." (CESCR, 2009, 10)

It is uncontroversial that admission of foreigners on the national territory falls within the sovereign powers of a State. That said, for all persons admitted in the territory, it is also undisputed that they are entitled to the enjoyment of all the rules on fundamental rights of human beings provided for by international law (whether customary or conventional, for States being party to a Treaty). Moreover, it should be added that States have internationally recognized

obligations (basic human rights) towards all persons under their jurisdiction, regardless of their migration status (regular and/or irregular-undocumented migrants).

States and local communities should take appropriate steps to facilitate the coexistence of different cultures on their territories. Social scientists have analyzed the potential contribution of diversity to foster and improve the development (social, cultural and economic) of cities and communities (UNESCO, 2016).

With reference to the mentioned 2009 General Comment, States “should pay particular attention to the protection of the cultural identities of migrants, as well as their language, religion and folklore, and of their right to hold cultural, artistic and intercultural events” (CESCR, 2009, para. 34 (1)).

In local actions, there are several examples of initiatives and best practices based on culture for the inclusion of refugees and migrants. Cultural activities (including artistic expression and in general participation to cultural life) offer a ‘safe place’ to newcomers for interacting with locals, for learning the language, for expressing their cultural identities. Moreover, they may contribute to help migrants in acquiring skills to be used in their new country (AER, 2018).

International Organizations are supporting State initiatives, by providing useful tools for the enhancement of cultural rights in local actions. The *Intercultural Cities Programme* - a Council of Europe programme aimed at supporting local authorities for the planning and the realization of inclusive integration policies – developed an *Intercultural approach model*, as an alternative model promoting the active involvement of all participants to public life without any discrimination, for building inclusive and sustainable cities and societies (Bruno, 2019).

6.2.4. The role of universities and institutes of higher education: Examples from recent practice

Education plays a key role in the implementation of cultural rights as a tool for integration of migrants. A number of initiatives have been promoted to widen the knowledge of cultural rights. As the CESCR pointed out in its General Comment on the right to education, “Education is both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realizing other human rights” (CESCR, 1999, para.1). The ultimate aim of those initiatives is to provide ‘tools’ for mutual understanding.

A growing number of University courses, LL.M, Ph.D. programmes on Human Rights, with special focus on Migration and Culture, is of-

ferred to international students, to train professionals and specialists in human rights. They include theoretical and practical approach to the study of international protection of human rights, with an emphasis in public policies and international standards.

Moreover, “education is intrinsically related to culture and States should adopt appropriate measures to enable the children of migrants to attend, on a basis of equal treatment, State-run educational institution and programmes” (CESCR, 2009, para 34 (2)).

It is of the utmost importance to integrate newly arrived migrants into mainstream education structures as soon as possible, to overcome difficulties faced by students with migration background.

Besides, Universities and Institutes of higher education are becoming privileged partners in assisting public and private stakeholders when dealing with the planning of integration tools. Their contribution covers issues as schemes to assess migrants’ skills and qualifications, platforms for networking and share information on the national legislation, rules on the labour market.

References

- Assembly of European Regions. (2018). *Culture for the Inclusion of Refugees and Migrants. Handbook on Best Practices from Regions*. <https://aer.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Handbook-on-Culture-for-Inclusion-1-2.pdf>
- Bruno, G.C. (2019). “Intercultural” public services: Answering the needs of the “Society in change” using new tools for existing services. E. Reale (Ed.), *Eu-SPRI 2019 science technology and innovation policies for sustainable development goals. Actors, instruments and evaluation* (pp. 555-557). Rome.
- Donders, Y. (2007). The legal framework of the rights to take part in cultural life. In Y. Donders, & V. Volodin (Eds.), *Human Rights in education, science and culture: Legal developments and challenge* (pp.231-272). UNESCO.
- European Court of Human Rights. (2017). *Research Division - Cultural rights in the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights*. Council of Europe. https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Research_report_cultural_rights_ENG.pdf
- Grover, L. (Ed.). (2012). *UN human rights treaty bodies: Law and legitimacy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nolan, A., & Dutschke, M. (2010). Article 2(1) ICESCR and States parties’ obligations: Whither the budget?. *European Human Rights Law Review*, 3, 280-289. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1663230>
- Saul, B., Kinley, D., & Mowbray, J. (Eds.). (2014). *The International covenant on economic, social and cultural rights*. Oxford University Press.
- Sepulveda, M. M. (2003). *The nature of the obligations under the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights*. Intersentia.
- Ssenyonjo, M. (2009). *Economic, social and cultural rights in international law*. Hart Publishing.
- Stamatopoulou, E. (2011). Monitoring cultural human rights: The claims of culture on human rights and the response of cultural rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 34(4), 1170-1192. doi: 10.2307/23352241
- Symonides, J. (1998). Cultural rights: A neglected category of human rights. *International Social Science Journal*, 50(158), 559-572. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2451.00168>

UNESCO. (1970). *Cultural rights as human rights*. UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2016). *Culture Urban Future. Global report on culture for sustainable urban development*. UNESCO.

United Nations - Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - CESCR. (1999). *General Comment No. 13. The right to education (article 13 of the Covenant)* [UN Doc. E/C.12/1999/10 of 8 December 1999]. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4538838c22.html>

United Nations - Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - CESCR. (2009). *General Comment No. 21. Right of everyone to take part in cultural life (art. 15, para. 1 (a), of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)* [UN Doc. E/C.12/GC/21 of 21 December 2009]. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4ed35bae2.html>

United Nations - General Assembly. (2016). *New York declaration for refugees and migrants* [UN Doc. A/RES/71/1 of 19 September 2016]. https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_71_1.pdf

United Nations - General Assembly. (2019). *Global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration* [UN Doc. A/RES/73/195 of 19 December 2018]. https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_73_195.pdf

United Nations - Human Rights Council - HRC. (2018). *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights* [UN Doc. A/HRC/37/55 of 4 January 2018]. <https://www.right-docs.org/doc/a-hrc-37-55/>

Further suggested readings

Ferri, M. (2015). *Dalla Partecipazione all' Identità. L'evoluzione della tutela internazionale dei diritti culturali*. Vita e Pensiero.

Jakubowsky, A. (Ed.). (2016). *Cultural rights as collective rights. An international law perspective*. Brill/Nijhoff.

6.3 Cultural Rights as Recognition of the Right to Cultural Identity

Monica Amari

6.3.1. *Cultural identity and the migration process*

Over the last two decades the issue of cultural identity has become increasingly important. The social picture of a changing world complicated by the intensification and diversification of the phenomenon of migration has required reconsideration of the importance of cultural rights as legitimate norms regulating the coexistence of different ethnic groups in national states with an acknowledged ethnic majority as well as in multi-national states. Cultural identity has become an essential ingredient of individual dignity, a value which is affirmed by human rights legislation. Moreover, in the contemporary world, characterized by the growing importance of the knowledge-based society, cultural identity is destined to play a key role, having proved to be closely connected to cultural diversity, the actual promotion of which is not guaranteed by the formal right to culture. "It had to be assessed the normative relevance of cultural identity, the importance of this notion to formulate identity claims in public space, to understand the tensions between the universalism of human rights and cultural relativism" (Cojanu, 2017, p. 13).

Knowledge-based society refers not to machinery or algorithms but to "beings whose creativity combines reason with passion, calculus with inspiration, deduction with induction, logical reasoning with metaphysical appreciation, the contingent or the substance with transcendence or the immaterial, the value of truth with conjecture" (Dinu, 2008, p. 45). Knowledge-based society can be considered a post-ideological society which proposes new ways of development by using the inexhaustible resources of human intelligence, knowledge, the propensity to innovate, entrepreneurial capacity and the creative associateship. It can be considered both a cause and a consequence of global society that is characterized by the mobility of people, goods and information thanks to the rapid development of communication technologies. Recent academic and policy debates have focused on the concept/idea of the knowledge-based economy and the economic consequences of increasing international migration, it being argued that all migrants are potentially knowledge carriers and learners, and that they play an essential role in the globalization of knowledge transactions (William & Baláz, 2008) .

From 1492 until the end of the Second World War migratory flows had essentially moved from the "center" of the world system, the old Europe, to its "peripheries", the Americas, Asia, Africa, Australia

and New Zealand. Since the end of the Second World War migratory flows have changed direction. They have increasingly moved from the “peripheries” of the world system to its “center”, which (excepting China) includes the US (the center of the center of the knowledge-based society) and Europe. The migration process is destined to redesign the ethnographic map of the world in the long term (Melotti, 2004).

In order to understand the complexity of the concept of cultural identity the two basic sociological terms of culture and identity need to be briefly defined. “*Culture*” refers to the sum of the beliefs, value systems and modes of behavior of a specific group; “*identity*” refers to the totality of one’s perception of self, or how individuals view themselves as unique in relation to others. The concept of “identification”, however, mainly denotes three basic processes: a) identifying one’s environment; b) being identified by one’s environment; c) identifying with one’s environment (Graumann, 1983). Identity will change with development at a personal and social level throughout the process of migration and acculturation. Social roles, such as those of being a father, mother, friend, employer etc., characterize social identity⁶. Language, both written and spoken, religion (even if not followed as an adult), rites of passage, dietary habits including religiously driven taboos, food preparation and the symbolism of food, leisure activities, including music, movies, sport, are all cultural markers and make up a key component of an individual’s cultural identity (Bhugra, 2005).

For many years the right to cultural identity and, more generally speaking, cultural rights have been considered rights of minor importance, the attainment of which can be postponed until “more” urgent rights to health, food, water and so forth have been achieved (Ferri, 2017, p. 414-417). The traditional human rights law tended to protect cultural identity only in relation to indigenous people and so-called national minorities. However, cultural identity must nowadays be protected in relation to all the human beings, being inter-related with human dignity and the protection of cultural identity is becoming urgent and overdue, in particular for migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers.

⁶ For a thorough analysis of relationships between integration and identity see also chapter 2 Sociology and International Migration of the volume.

6.3.2 Recognition of the right to cultural identity under international law

The recognition and protection of cultural identity under international law can be considered a sort of milestone in the debate on cultural rights. It came about after a reflective and normative process that saw: a) the expansion of cultural rights from the narrow sense of creative, artistic or scientific activities to the broader sense of the sum of human activities, the totality of values, knowledge and practices which embrace the right to education and the right to information; b) the recognition of cultural rights as collective rights linked to the concept of cultural diversity (Symonides, 1998).

In terms of methodological approach it seems appropriate to frame and to underscore the process that has brought cultural identity to be considered one of the important aspect of cultural rights, as human rights, especially when it deals with contemporary migration processes.

The first international instrument to present a catalogue of human rights was the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, a non-binding conference resolution adopted by the Organization of American States (OAS) on 2nd May 1948 and addressed to 21 representatives of American States. According to the principle that a state could be responsible for its actions against individuals (Freire Sores, 2011), the American Declaration proclaims twenty-seven human rights and ten duties which apply to everyone by virtue of their being human. Article XIII thereof specifically guarantees the right to the benefits of culture.

Seven months later, the more famous Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), also a non-binding conference resolution, recognized, in addition to the right to culture (Article 27), that cultural rights, as well as social, political and economic rights, are formally an autonomous category, related to human dignity and human personality.

Under Article 22 of the UDHR: " Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality".

The UDHR contains no official definition of cultural rights or cultural identity (nor are there official definitions of "civil", "political", "eco-

conomic” or “social” rights). The UDHR was adopted by the United Nations in 1948, before the era of de-colonization, and thus this absence of definitions may be attributed to various factors: a desire to avoid the lurking dangers of cultural relativism and a concern, on the part of the United States and the European colonial powers, that cultural rights could be arrayed with group identities and, if accorded, would threaten the integrity of existing borders. Therefore, although cultural rights became human rights held by every individual human being, the most vulnerable groups, including colonized peoples, minorities and indigenous peoples, were not guaranteed such rights (Vrdoljak, 2008). Nevertheless, the UDHR also led to a historic process of generalizing the protection of human rights on a European scale with the European Convention on Human Rights adopted by the Council of Europe in 1950.

Indeed, cultural rights have often been described as “underdeveloped” in comparison to other human rights and insufficient attention has led to them sometimes being viewed as rights of lesser priority (Meyer-Bisch, 1993). Compared to civil and political rights, cultural rights have received very little attention from either the United Nations and international treaty bodies or from the public. “This can be observed not only in doctrine but in State practice. Thus one can hardly find a State Constitution which, when enumerating economic and social rights, has a chapter dealing with cultural rights. In the majority of cases, constitutions limit themselves to the mentioning of the right to education” (Symonides, 1998, p. 559).

The first significant step towards a new awareness of cultural rights occurred when the issue of cultural diversity was no longer considered an obstacle to or a brake on universality and progress but began to be considered a source of exchange, innovation, creativity and linked to the cultural rights of minorities by the issue of cultural identity.

At the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies (Mexico City, 1982) delegates emphasized people’s growing awareness of their cultural identity, of their pluralism stemming therefrom, of their right to be different and of the mutual respect of one culture for another, including that of minorities.

There was awareness of the need to overcome the “materialist or even mercantilist” definition of culture recognized by the two international Covenants (ICCPR and ICCESR, 1966) and to draw up a notion of culture which can encompass all human activities characterizing the way of life of a person or a group giving them a sense of identity (Ferri, 2017, p. 214).

It has been observed that affirmation of cultural identity has become a permanent requirement, both for individuals and for groups and nations (Symonides, 1998, p. 560).

The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (VDPA, 1993), adopted by consensus by the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, intensified discussions on relations between different cultural values and human rights and on the question of culture diversity and the plurality of cultures having to be seen as positive factors leading to intercultural dialogue. "At the same time the existence of cultural differences should not lead to the rejection of any part of universal human rights. They cannot justify the rejection or non-observance of such fundamental principles like the principle of equality between women and men. Traditional practices which contradict the human rights of women and children have to be changed" (Symonides, 1998, p. 563).

The large-scale human tragedy and instability caused by various conflicts during the 1990s in Europe led to growing acceptance of the fact that dependence on the universal application of individual human rights alone failed to protect victims who were targeted because they belonged to a particular ethnic or religious community. Many internal conflicts, in particular in Europe, seem to have been linked to the crisis of existing identities and the creation of new identities, with denial or rejection of the right to a different cultural identity and refusal to protect the cultural rights of minorities.

In response, new instruments which incorporated cultural rights were drawn up at international and regional level to protect minorities. The most significant of these are the United Nations' 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (UN Minorities Declaration) to protect the existence and identity of minorities within their respective territories and the Council of Europe's 1994 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (CE Framework Convention).

"The UN Declaration privileges individual rather than collective rights by referring to the rights of minority peoples. Nonetheless, it does provide a bridge between the individual right and its exercise in a collective context. While rights are granted to individuals, the duties of state extend to minorities as groups" (Vrdoljak, 2008, p. 65).

Article 5 of the first section of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), entitled "Identity, Diversity and Pluralism", refers to cultural rights as an "enabling environment for cultural

diversity”, highlighting the fact that cultural goods are “vectors of identity, values and meanings” (Art. 8). The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005) recognized that “cultural diversity forms a common heritage of humanity and should be cherished and preserved for the benefit of all”. Cultural diversity is not a goal in itself and yet it is a resource to be preserved by cultural rights when it does not claim to oppose the universality of human rights once traditions have become ossified, becoming fundamentalist and excluding the others with relativism and ethnocentrism. In the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Convention of Faro, 2005) the issue of identity is related to promoting the common heritage of Europe, identified as “all forms of cultural heritage in Europe which together constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity”. Article 1 of the 2005 UNESCO Convention recognizes the importance of giving “recognition to the distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity, values and meaning”.

Article 2 of the Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights (2007) provides the normative relevance of cultural identity in international law and of claiming in public spaces the importance of understanding the tensions between the universalism of human rights and cultural diversity. “The romantics of liberal orientation have brought the aesthetic argument in favour of culture diversity. It creates, they said, a more pleasant world, aesthetically speaking. But cultures contain normative systems, moral values and cannot be reduced to mere objects of contemplation. We have to point out that diversity has a moral justification, not only an aesthetic one. The liberal spirit recognizes the importance of cultural diversity since it encourages competition between different ideas and ways of life. Cultural diversity is good because it gives us the opportunity of contact and dialogue” (Cojanu, 2017, p. 16).

6.3.3. The definition of cultural identity proposed by the Fribourg Declaration

The Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights was launched on 7th May 2007 at the University of Fribourg and on 8th May 2007 at the Palais des Nations in Geneva. The text was presented by the Observatory of Diversity and Cultural Rights (whose headquarters are at the Interdisciplinary Institute of Ethics and Human Rights at Fribourg University) together with the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie and UNESCO.

The declaration, a non-binding document, brings together and clarifies human rights that have already been recognized in various key global and regional instruments. Their presentation in a single text should contribute to their clarification and development and to consolidation of the principle of the indivisibility of human rights. Cultural rights have often been presented in opposition to or alongside human rights, while they are an integral part thereof in accordance with the principle of indivisibility. Although rights can be organized, grouped and enumerated in various ways, the six substantive articles of the declaration identify eight cultural rights as human rights: identity and cultural heritage; references to cultural community; access to and participation in cultural life; education and training; communication and information; cultural cooperation.

What is at stake is restoration of the centrality of culture. Individuals want to be free to take part in society without having to detach themselves from the cultural goods they have chosen.

All human rights are development factors since they guarantee access, release freedoms and allow for responsibilities. But of these rights, cultural rights provide still more leverage with which to build upon acquired knowledge since they guarantee free access to references, heritage, education and the communication process. These are the rights that allow each person, alone or in common with others, to develop their abilities. They allow everyone to feed on culture as the first social wealth. They make it possible to communicate with others, with oneself, with things and with works. The violation of cultural rights is the most fundamental humiliation and the most radical social waste: men are separated from the resources of liaison (Meyer-Bisch, 2007).

The Fribourg Declaration states, in the preamble, that cultural diversity "cannot be truly protected without the effective implementation of cultural rights" and relates cultural identity to the issue of cultural dignity. Article 2 defines three terms: culture, cultural identity and cultural community: 1. culture "covers those values, beliefs, convictions, languages, knowledge and the arts, traditions, institutions and ways of life through which a person or a group expresses their humanity and the meanings they give to their existence and to their development"; 2. cultural identity "is understood as the sum of all cultural references through which a person, alone or in community, defines or constitutes oneself, communicates and wishes to be recognized in one's dignity"; 3. cultural community "connotes a group of persons who share references that constitute a common cultural identity that they intend to preserve and develop".

The Fribourg Declaration is essential for the purposes of demonstrating the fundamental logic specific to cultural rights and the cultural dimension of human rights as a whole. "In the current context the respect for the dignity of human individuals includes the recognition of their dimension of concrete historical human beings, which owes their own way of life to specific traditions, ethnic groups and culture of origin" (Cojanu, 2017, p. 19).

As a result of the Fribourg Declaration, cultural rights are starting to be linked to cultural identity by a broad range of issues, such as expression and creation, including diverse material and non-material forms of art; information and communication; language; identity and belonging to multiple, diverse and changing communities of shared cultural values, education and training; access and contribution to cultural life and participation therein (General Comment No 21 CESCR, 2009, paragraph 13). At international level, cultural rights protect the rights of each person, individually and in community with others, as well as groups of people, to develop and to express their humanity, their world-view and the meanings they give to their existence and their development through, *inter alia*, values, beliefs, convictions, languages, knowledge and the arts, institutions and ways of life.

A report of the Human Rights Council (14th session) recognized that ensuring mutual support between cultural diversity and human rights requires the fulfilment of certain conditions and some priorities. However, it also recognized that cultural rights may be subject to limitations in certain circumstances, in particular in the case of negative practices, including those attributed to customs and traditions that infringe upon other human rights (Shaheed, 2010, p.13).

6.3.4. How to implement cultural rights through the recognition of cultural identity

In a period characterized by increasing migration flows the question once more is: how are our societies, in Europe and in individual European countries absorbing new cultural diversity and respecting human rights? How can the different cultural identities of the European host countries and of the migrants' countries be matched (European Agenda for Culture, 2017)?

From the perspective of cultural rights, an approach based on the concept of cultural identity must consider certain values which are non-negotiable when European host communities and migrant communities meet during the acculturation process, assuming that the form of modernity and modernization is the one defined by Europe

and the Western world (Bruckner, 2017; Chabod, 1960). In other words, we are speaking about the capacity of both host and migrant communities to accept conflict and discussions which give rise to a plurality of opinions, faiths and beliefs in all fields and a critical spirit that is taught in schools. Nowadays European countries know democracy and practice the distribution of power.

Promoting cultural identity in an acculturation process means, first of all, promoting identification with specific values such as the idea that individuals are autonomous and that authority of any kind and in any field and membership of the groups representing these values may be criticised (Collier, 2013). "Cultural identities, first and foremost, are seen to have local roots. They are attached to local contexts, such as values, symbols and languages, and specified historically" (Hauser, 2009, 2). However, we must not forget that we are living in a global society. Anthony Giddens defines globalization "as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1991, p. 64).

What is the impact of cultural globalization on human rights? "The culturally homogenizing effect of globalization, the gradual process of adopting common values and behavioral patterns, reinforces the universality of human rights, establishes ties and linkages between various part of the world and helps to eliminate certain traditional practices which may be qualified as discriminatory. However, the mixed blessings of cultural globalization are linked with its negative consequences for the cultural rights of vulnerable groups like persons belonging to minorities, indigenous people or immigrant workers" (Symonides, 1998, p. 568).

Values relating to cultural identity can also be based on the non-identification or negation of the values of others and their symbolic expression. If cultural identity is understood in this sense it has an integrating effect, serving to mark group members and exclude non-members. As every individual is a member of several such communities of values the act of negotiating identification versus negation must be performed again and again.

If language and history promote the cohesion of society and constitute an initial background of cultural influence, education introduces individuals to and incorporates them into the organization of society and its institutions. Going back to migration flows we must not forget that migration involves the, voluntary or involuntary, movement of human beings. However, the human dimension is all too readily overlooked. "There is a crucial follow-up question: is the status of

being human enough to humanize an individual or a group? Do we possess rights merely by virtue of being human, or must we have some additional status that grants and protects our rights as humans, such as citizenship? If it is indeed the case that we need to belong to a recognized political community in order to ensure our “right to have rights” in Hannah Arendt’s expression, then the question of humanizing immigration shifts its focus from human attributes to political status” (Scott, 2019).

Universities, as the most accredited institutions for creating models and frameworks that may be adopted by society, can play a pivotal role in elevating awareness of how to bring migrant and host communities closer together from the approach of reciprocal respect for each other’s cultural identity (Tani, 2017) by:

- a) providing access to higher education to poorer migrant students living in difficult social conditions through low tuition fees, (text) book subsidies, student grants, special tuition fee discounts for students and social and educational services. The literature has highlighted the fact that generating new productive knowledge is favoured when highly skilled labour operates in a creative environment, as is the case when different cultures mix or when there are opportunities to interact (Florida, 2002; Sassen, 1991);
- b) supporting access to higher education in the vehicular language;
- c) organizing free courses in the host country’s mother tongue. This helps to increase economic interaction between natives and immigrants, and promotes the emergence of reciprocal spillovers: immigrants enjoy greater job opportunities and natives can access a more diverse set of skills, consumption goods, and networks;
- d) delocalizing the educational process: educational resources delivered online and free-of-charge access enable students and teachers to come together no matter where they are located;
- e) promoting social aggregation by organizing social intercultural events.

A cultural identity approach to matching host and migrant communities can be a tool in a framework in which the whole system of cultural rights is connected, according to the characteristics of human rights (of which cultural rights are part) which are universal, inalienable, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. “Cultural rights create the normative framework for individuals to be entitled to have access to a good meaningful life in their cultures of belonging” (Cojanu, 2017, p. 20).

6.3.5 Cultural sustainability: a theoretical framework for implementing the right of migrants to cultural identity

Over the last two decades the concept of cultural sustainability has developed in an international context in which there is growing awareness of the importance of cultural rights and the need to improve human development by respecting such rights.

Given these preconditions, cultural sustainability has been defined as a necessary process in a social system for the purposes of identifying, maintaining and increasing basic conditions which are indispensable for implementing the process of respecting cultural rights (Amari, 2012).

We may therefore assume that policies for promoting individual cultural identities can be considered a tool for implementing cultural rights and can be recognized as a basic condition for respecting such rights. The cultural dimension, in a globalized world, has now become an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect and human dignity. From this perspective cultural sustainability may be considered not only a concept but also a theoretical framework, a paradigm, and cultural rights the roots upon which it is based. Recognition of a new paradigm is proof that we are entering a new era, where processes that structure society are changing. More specifically, the cultural sustainability paradigm recognizes cultural processes as structural elements for sustainable **development**. These processes have to be supported and subsidized as much by public policies as by environmental, economic and social processes (Amari & Bruno, 2015).

Paragraph 5 of the VDPA (1993) states: "All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated (...) While the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of States, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms."

The inclusion of a cultural dimension in a debate on public policies is necessary in order to outline a development model with which to address the migration crisis as we know it today.

The process of migration, as a consequence of a globalized world, has been described as occurring in broadly three stages: 1. pre-migration, involving the decision to move and preparations relating thereto; 2. migration, the physical relocation of individuals from one place to another; 3. post-migration, "the absorption of the immigrant into the social and cultural framework of the new society".

It has been hypothesized that social adjustment may be influenced by the similarity or dissimilarity between the culture of origin and the culture of settlement, language and social support systems, acceptance by the 'majority' culture, access and acceptance by the expatriate community, employment, and housing (Bhugra & Becker, 2005).

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICRMW), adopted by the UN on 18 December 1990, is a core international human rights instrument that establishes fundamental human rights for all migrant workers and their families whether or not they are regular or irregular, and additional rights for regular migrant workers and their families. Article 31 provides that State Parties "shall ensure respect for the cultural identity of migrant workers and members of their families" without imposing any obligation to respect said identity.

Article 34 refers to the obligations of migrant workers to respect the cultural identity of the inhabitants of the States in which they live. Article 17 provides some fundamental guarantees for migrant workers and members of their families who are deprived of their liberty, equating cultural identity with human dignity. According to this provision, they must be treated "with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person and for their cultural identity". The Convention also recognizes other important cultural rights of migrant workers, in particular the right to be informed in a language they understand in the case of arrest, judicial procedures against them or expulsion (Arts 16(5) and 18(3) (a)).

The Convention also guarantees regular migrant workers the right to participate in political life, to access and participate in cultural life and the right to education. With regard to education, States must promote the integration of children of migrant workers in the local school system by teaching them the local language. They must also promote the teaching of the children's mother tongue and culture and, to this end, can provide specific "schemes of education" in the mother tongue (art. 45).

The Convention pays a great deal of attention to the protection of cultural rights. Its provisions confirm the urgent need to promote the cultural identity of migrant workers: in particular by equating cultural identity with human dignity, the Convention recognizes its critical nature. Identification of the right to cultural identity "opens some fundamental prospects to protect cultural identity of migrant

people; for example this right could assure the presence of intercultural mediators at schools, in hospitals and in some public authorities, the possibility to receive an education on one's language and culture, the use of traditional names and traditional dresses, the celebration of religious and cultural festivities and so on" (Ferri, 2017, p. 426).

The challenge involved in managing the migratory process is to try and bring together two different cultural identities, those of the host and migrant communities, by identifying new models of coexistence or interrelationship. The challenge for European society is to consider diversity a precious resource and to avoid expressions of "segregated communitarianism" where minority ethnic and religious communities tend to conduct a separate and disconnected existence, increasingly estranged from the society in which they live.

References

- Amari, M. (2012). *Manifesto per la sostenibilità culturale: e se domani un ministro dell'economia venisse incriminato per violazione dei diritti culturali*. Franco Angeli.
- Amari, M., & Bruno, G. C. (2015). Cultural rights and cultural sustainability: A chance for social responsibility. *Urbanistica Informazioni*, 263(Special Issue), pp. 3-6. <http://www.urbanisticainformazioni.it/-263-special-issue-.html>
- American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man*. (1948). Inter-American Commission on Human Rights /Organization of American States. Retrieved from http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/mandate/basic_documents.asp
- Betts, A. (2013). *Survival migration. Failed governance and the crisis of displacement*. Cornell University Press.
- Bhugra, D., & Becker, M. A. (2005). Migration, cultural bereavement and cultural identity. *World Psychiatry*, 4(1), 18-24. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1414713/>
- Bruckner, P. (2017). *Un racisme imaginaire. Islamophobie e culpabilité*. Grasset.
- Chabod, F. (1961). *Storia dell'idea di Europa*. Laterza.
- Cojanu, D. (2017). Cultural rights and the politics of recognition. *Revista de Științe Politice*, 55,12-21. <https://www.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=616670>
- Collier, P. (2013). *Exodus, immigration and multiculturalism*. Penguin Books.
- Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*. (2005). Council of Europe. Retrieved from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/199>
- Cultural rights: Fribourg declaration*. (2007). Cultural rights: culture and development. Retrieved from <https://culturalrights.net/en/documentos.php?c=14&p=161>
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (1992). United Nations: Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/minorities.aspx>
- Dinu, M. (2008). What is the knowledge society. *Theoretical and Applied Economics*, 2/2008(519), 45-50. <http://www.ectap.ro/what-is-the-knowledge-society-marin-dinu/a288/>
- European Agenda for Culture 2015-18. (2017). *How culture and the arts can promote intercultural dialogue in the context of the migratory and refugee crisis: Report with case studies*. Publications Office of the European Union. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4943e7fc-316e-11e7-9412-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF>
- European Convention of Human Rights*. (1950). European Court of Human Rights/Council of Europe. Retrieved from https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf

Ferri, M. (2017). The recognition of the right to culture identity: Some prospects to reinforce migrants' protection. In S. Pinton, & L. Zagato (Eds.), *Cultural Heritage – Scenarios 2015-2017* (pp. 413-429). Edizioni Ca' Foscari.

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. (1994). Council of Europe. Retrieved from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/at-a-glance>

Freire-Soares, R. M. (2011). Il sistema inter-americano di protezione dei diritti umani. *Democracy Security Review*, 2/2011. <http://www.democraziaesicurezza.it/Numeri-precedenti/2011/anno-I-n.-2-2011>

Giddens, A. (1991). *The consequences of Modernity*. Stanford University Press.

Graumann, C. F. (1983). On multiple identities in the political dimensions of psychology: Socialization processes and identities. *International Social Science Journal*, XXXV(2), 221-351. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000134615>

Harendt, H. (1951). *The origins of Totalitarianism*. Schocken Books.

Hauser, R. (2009). Cultural identity in a globalized world? A theoretical approach towards the concept of cultural identity. Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?cluster=14938800879507705876&hl=it&as_sdt=0,5&sciold=0,5

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. (1990). United Nations: Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CMW.aspx>

Melotti, U. (2004). *Migrazioni internazionali: Globalizzazioni e culture politiche*. Mondadori Bruno.

Meyer-Bisch, P. (1993). *Les droits culturels. Une catégorie sous-développée des droits de l'homme. Actes du VIII^e et Colloque interdisciplinaire sur les droits de l'homme à l'Université de Fribourg*. Editions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse.

Meyer-Bisch, P. (2007). Analyse des droits culturels. Retrieved from <http://crinord.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/DROITS-CULTURELS-PAR-MEYER-BISTCH.pdf>

Moore, N. (1998). *The information society*. Policy Studies Institute.

Sassen, S. (1991). *The global city*. Princeton University Press.

Scott, B. (2019, March 13). *Humanizing immigration: Taking the discussion further*. DiPLO. <https://www.diplomacy.edu/blog/humanising-immigration-taking-discussion-further>

Shaheed, F. (2010). *Report of the independent expert in the field of cultural rights submitted pursuant to resolution 10/23 of the Human Rights Council*. United Nations Human Rights Council. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/680585>

Symonides, J. (1998). Cultural rights: A neglected category of human rights. *International Social Science Journal*, 50(158), 559-572. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2451.00168>

Tani, M. (2017). *Migration and education*. UNESCO. *The 2005 convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions*. (2005). UNESCO: Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Retrieved from <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/convention/texts>

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (1948). United Nations. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. (2001). UNESCO. Retrieved from http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Vrdoljak, A. F. (2008). Self-determination and cultural rights. In F. Francioni, & M. Scheinin (Eds.), *Cultural human rights* (pp. 41-78). Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Williams, A. M., & Baláz, V. (2008). *International migration and knowledge*. Routledge.

Further reading and other resources

United Cities and Local Governments. (n.d.). *Culture, the fourth pillar of sustainability*. Culture 21. <http://www.agenda21culture.net/documents/culture-the-fourth-pillar-of-sustainability>

Dessein, J., Soini, K., Fairclough, G., & Horlings, L. (Eds.). (2015). *Culture in, for and as sustainable development: Conclusions from the cost action IS1007 investigating cultural sustainability*. University of Jyväskylä.

Films

Spielberg, S. (Director). (1997). *Amistad*. [Film]. HBO Pictures.

Farrelly, P. (Director). (2018). *Green book*. [Film]. Participant Media; DreamWorks Pictures; Universal Pictures; Innisfree Pictures; Cinetic Media; Amblin Partners; Alibaba Pictures; Louisiana Entertainment; Wessler Entertainment.

6.4 Cultural Diplomacy as a Soft Power to Promote Inter-cultural Dialogue between Host and Migrant Communities: The Role of the EU

Giovanni Carlo Bruno

6.4.1 Culture, art and cultural events as a tool for cooperation among States

States and non-State entities (i.e. religious bodies, voluntary organizations, etc.) promote cultural relations across national boundaries. Activities include exchanges of students and scholars, technical assistance programs, information events, mass media cooperation, cultural events – exhibitions, fairs, festivals.

Until the World War II, the elitist idea of culture that was popular in those years allowed States to consider cultural exchanges as a weak and optional adjunct to the conduct of foreign relations, with few notable exception of States as France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

The aim and the meaning of bilateral cultural cooperation changed significantly after World War II, when States recognized the importance of this form of cooperation as a diplomatic tool for achieving objectives of foreign policy. Moreover, the cultural dimension has become central to the work of most international organizations, not only through the promotion of the legal development of cultural rights and cultural values, but also through the realization of specific programmes for enhancing the opportunities of multilateral cultural cooperation, with special emphasis on initiatives dealing with ‘development through culture’ of States and communities.

‘Diplomacy through culture’ and ‘Cultural diplomacy’ are becoming more and more useful instruments for increasing cooperation, with an approach aiming at building bridges and not walls among different cultures (Lobasso, 2017). This part focuses on the European Union (EU) role in the area of cooperation and of ‘cultural diplomacy’.

While recognizing that other international organizations – i.e. UNESCO, the Organization of American States and the Council of Europe – are very active in the field of culture and cultural cooperation, the EU is becoming a key player in the same field, with a view on its external relations and on the link between culture, development and migration (Spence & Batora, 2015).

Firstly, the EU supports action to preserve cultural heritage and to support transnational cooperation in the cultural field. Article 167 of

the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union defines the role of the EU in the area of culture: it supports, coordinates or supplements the actions of member countries and seeks to bring Europe's common cultural heritage to the fore. The 1992 Treaty of Maastricht on European Union contained already a provision on cultural policies (Article 128).

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which is part of the EU law since the entry into force on 1st January 2009 of the Lisbon Treaty, proclaimed the indivisible and universal values on which the Union had been founded, including human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity. In its preamble, the text underlines the respect of the cultural diversity of the peoples.

Culture in EU external relations is one of the three pillars of the 2007 *European Agenda for Culture*. The development of a strategic approach on culture has been a priority of the Council's Work Plans for Culture since 2011. The outcomes of European Parliament's Preparatory Action *Culture in EU external relations* (2013-2014) showed the potential for culture in Europe's external relations and pointing out the advantages for the EU and its Member States connected with a streamlined cultural diplomacy.

A *New European Agenda for Culture* was presented by the European Commission (EC) on 22 May 2018. The *New Agenda* "will exploit synergies between culture and education and strengthen links between culture and other policy areas. It will also help cultural and creative sectors overcome the challenges and grasp the opportunities of the digital shift" (EC, 2018, para.2). One of the three strategic objectives of the *New Agenda* is on the external dimension of culture, aiming at strengthening international cultural relations. The EC highlights the need to: a) support culture as an engine for sustainable social and economic development; b) promote culture and intercultural dialogue for peaceful inter-community relations; c) reinforce cooperation on cultural heritage.

The Council adopted on 15th November of the same year conclusions on the Work Plan for Culture 2019-2022, affirming *inter alia* that "the EU should strengthen awareness of the vital role of culture and its positive socio-economic effects, which address important issues and challenges at global level. A strategic step-by-step approach to international cultural relations followed by concrete actions for its implementation is necessary. Such an approach should entail a bottom-up perspective, encourage people-to-people contacts and promote intercultural dialogue" (Council 2018, letter E).

6.4.2 Diplomacy through culture: Practices from the EU

The EU has strengthened the cooperation with third countries, also by empowering local cultural sectors as engines for inclusive and sustainable development, social and cultural progress, to foster cultural diversity, innovation and economic resilience (Pisano, Lange, Bergerand & Hametner, 2015).

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to take stock of all the programmes, initiatives, projects carried out directly or indirectly by the EU, but some examples from the EU practice will illustrate this approach in a more meaningful way (High Representative, 2016).

In the cultural and creative sectors, the EU funded many projects such as creative hubs' networks, through the cross-sectoral strand of the *Creative Europe Programme* (2014-2020), open to neighborhood and enlargement countries. *ACPCultures+* is a support programme to cultural sectors of Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, aiming at developing and consolidating viable and sustainable local cultural industries. A similar programme is included in the Eastern Partnership (EaP), a joint initiative involving the EU, its Member States and six Eastern European Partners: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

EU's support to the Anna Lindh Foundation – an international institution co-governed by the 42 Foreign Ministries of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), created in 2005 as the first common institution of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and was a founding body in 2008 of the Union for the Mediterranean, in charge of the Union's human and social dimension – in the South Mediterranean serves as another good example on how culture may bring result for EU's foreign policy.

In February 2016 a *Cultural Diplomacy Platform* was established, to issue advice on cultural policy, facilitate networking and carry out activities with cultural stakeholders. A group of Member States' cultural institutes, together with private entities and EU institutions, is managing the initiative.

It is interesting to mention a very new initiative, the European 'Houses' of Culture, carried out in ten third countries by the European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC), Europe's network of national cultural institute, in which art, culture and creative labs are involved to build up 'Houses' – symbolically named – as spaces, whether physical or digital, permanent or temporary, for cultural exchange, co-creation and people-to-people contacts.

Some thematic programmes and financing instruments contain tailor-made provisions to promote culture within EU's external relations. This is the case, for instance, of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), supporting medium and small scale civil society projects in third countries providing assistance for the consolidation of democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The promotion of freedom of opinion and expression, including political, artistic and cultural expression is among its aims.

The cross-cutting approach to culture, including cultural and creative industries, arts, science, education, tourism and cultural heritage followed by EU institutions from 2016 has been acknowledged by the Council of Ministers in the Council conclusions of 8th April 2019, establishing the *EU strategic approach to international cultural relations* and a relevant framework for actions.

6.4.3 Mobility schemes for highly qualified migrants

Mobility and inter-university cooperation programmes are instrument very valuable for establishing lasting academic and cultural ties. Students, researchers, academics have a common cultural ground for building cultural and scientific progress.

Erasmus plus is a flagship EU programme, and students and staff who benefitted of it rated the experience as having the biggest influence on their intercultural skills and competences (High Representative, 2016, 13). In the last 30 years, the programme enhanced cooperation with non-EU Member States, to increase the quality of education and training in the EU, also through comparative analysis between national education systems worldwide. At the same time, it offered a general scheme for mobility of non EU highly qualified students, belonging to EU partner countries.

It is also worth mentioning the *Intra-Africa Academic Mobility Scheme*, supporting higher education cooperation between countries in Africa. The Scheme is framed and financed by the EU within the *Pan-African Programme*, and provides support to the *Africa-EU strategic partnership*. Its objective is to improve the skills and competences of students and staff through enhanced mobility between African countries. By enabling and strengthening cooperation between Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in Africa, the Mobility Scheme aims at: *i*) increasing the number of African students to undertake postgraduate studies in the African continent; *ii*) allowing access to quality education; *iii*) facilitating mobility of staff (academic and administrative). They are all key factors to contribute to the

improvement of the quality of higher education. Culture's contribution to sustainable development is promoted through the Scheme, which ultimately play an important role in increasing the availability of trained and qualified high-level professionals.

References

- Council of the European Union. (2018). *Draft council conclusions on the work plan for culture 2019-2022 - Adoption, 13948/18*. EC Council of the European Union. <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-13948-2018-INIT/en/pdf>
- Council of the European Union. (2019). *Draft Council Conclusions on an EU strategic approach to international cultural relations and a framework for action – Adoption, 7749/19*. EC Council of the European Union. <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-7749-2019-INIT/en/pdf>
- European Commission - EC. (2018). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. A New European Agenda for Culture, COM(2018) 267 final*. EUR-Lex: Access to European Union Law. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2018%3A267%3AFIN>
- High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. (2016). *Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council. Towards an EU strategy for international cultural relations, JOIN (2016) 29 final*. EUR-Lex: Access to European Union Law. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=JOIN%3A2016%3A29%3AFIN>
- Lobasso, F. (2017). Knowing How to 'Make' Intercultural Diplomacy. *Calumet - Intercultural Law and Humanities Review*. http://www.windogem.it/calumet/upload/pdf2/mat_73.pdf
- Pisano, U., Lange, L., Bergerand, G., & Hametner, M. (2015). *The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their impact on the European SD governance framework. Preparing for the post-2015 agenda* (ESDN Quarterly Report 35). European Sustainable Development Network. [https://www.sd-network.eu/quarterly%20reports/report%20files/pdf/2015-January-The_Sustainable_Development_Goals_\(SDGs\)_and_their_impact_on_the_European_SD_governance_framework.pdf](https://www.sd-network.eu/quarterly%20reports/report%20files/pdf/2015-January-The_Sustainable_Development_Goals_(SDGs)_and_their_impact_on_the_European_SD_governance_framework.pdf)
- Spence, D., & Batora, J. (Eds.). (2015). *The European external action service: European diplomacy Post-Westphalia*. Palgrave.

Further reading

- European Parliament's Preparatory Action *Culture in EU external relations* (2013-2014): https://ec.europa.eu/culture/initiatives/external-relations_en - last visited on 15 November 2019.
- ACPCultures+: <https://www.acpculturesplus.eu/?q=en> - last visited on 15 November 2019.
- Cultural Diplomacy Platform: <https://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/> - last visited on 15 November 2019.
- European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/how/finance/eidhr_en.htm_en - last visited on 15 November 2019.
- Pan-African Programme: https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/regions/africa/continental-cooperation/pan-african-programme_en - last visited on 15 November 2019.

APPENDIX I

EU Agenda for migration & policies regarding integration⁷

Vlasta Jalušič • Veronika Bajt • Rachel Lebowitz

1 EU integration policies: a short overview

While immigrant integration policies fall under the jurisdiction of Member States and are therefore a national competence, there exist a series of EU measures since the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007, which support the EU mandate to 'provide incentives and support for the action of Member States with a view to promoting the integration of third-country nationals.' (see EU policy framework for migrant integration⁸). Periodically, 'the EU has set priorities and goals to drive EU policies, legislative proposals and funding opportunities since the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam' (ibid.). Yet, it was not until 2003 (European Communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment) that the European Commission formed a more comprehensive view on integration policies (Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016, p. 2). An important difference from the previous approach was the fact that integration was defined as a 'two-way process based on reciprocity of rights and obligations of third-country nationals and host societies' and that the aim was immigrants' 'full participation' (ibid., p. 1-2). Thereafter, the 2004 Common Basic Principles (CBPs) represented the first move towards a common framework 'to guide most EU actions in the area of integration' (EU policy framework for migrant integration, see also Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016, p. 2).

In general, explicit policies for the integration of migrants in the EU were, and are, meant for the integration of 'third-country' migrants, who are seen as in need of integration, while EU nationals who migrated from their own to another EU country are mainly not seen as a 'challenge' (that is, a 'problem') but as 'integrated by default' (Mügge & van der Haar, 2016, p. 81). While these categorizations have changed with some newer policy studies in education and recommendations for vulnerable groups, particularly children, they represent an important frame for understanding the aim and scope of integration policies. This is especially true given the restrictive

⁷ The report is based on: Jalušič, V., Bajt, V., & Lebowitz, R. (2019). *EU policy framework. Migrant children and integration through education*. Available at: <http://www.micreate.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/EU-Policy-Framework-for-Integration-of-Migrant-Children-.pdf>

⁸ <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/the-eu-and-integration/framework>

move of the EU's and the member countries' policies in the field of migration in the last decades, and also considering the fact that the (integration) policies always depend on definitions and categorizations of who is wanted and who is unwanted, who needs integration and who not and, therefore, produce target groups that may cause additional discrimination (Mügge & van der Haar, 2016, p. 77, 81). Migrants from the newer Member States, too, may 'face highly nationalized demands for integration' or even be placed in the category of unwanted, like the most extreme and violent examples of the treatment of Roma immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania in France have shown (ibid., p. 82).

The official EU website for integration (The European Web Site on Integration), which was established in 2009 and currently comprises a short overview of past and present policies and information on current actions in this realm, offers a periodization of EU integration policies comprising four main phases:

- 1) 1999-2004 (called 'Genesis of a common policy') from the *Treaty of Amsterdam* in 1999 to the *Tampere Declaration* in 2004, in which the 'Member States agreed that the aim of such policy should be to grant third-country nationals rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizen'
- 2) 2005-2010 (called 'Knowledge exchange'), from the *Common Agenda for Integration by EC* in 2005 (in which the strategy for the main framework for the 'coherent EU approach' and implementation of the EU integration policy was built with a series of supportive EU mechanisms and instruments to promote integration and facilitate exchanges between integration actors) until 2010;
- 3) 2011-2015 (called 'Funding for integration'), from a renewed *European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals*, adopted in 2011 (which focused on increasing the economic, social, cultural and political participation of migrants and fighting discrimination, with an emphasis on local actions and with increased funding for various actions. Additionally, this initiative explored pre-arrival measures and the role of countries of origin in integration, meaning that it added a third key actor to the process of migrants' integration and thus defined it as a 'three-way process' (Garcés-Mascreñas & Penninx, 2016, p. 2).
- 4) 2016 onward (called 'The holistic approach'): Since the 2016 *Action Plan of Third-Country Nationals* there has been an emphasis on the benefits of greater diversity, which can only be realised if integration becomes a two-way process. Such a process involves change in the EU receiving societies and their institutions. Therefore, 'successful integration requires meaningful interaction between migrants and the receiving society, which means integration must be conceived as a two-way process' (Action Plan of Third-Country Nationals, 2016). In fact, the Action plan includes 'pre-arrival measures' and,

therefore, treats integration as 'three-way process'. The area of education represents an important pillar in policies and actions that tackle the integration of migrant children, as well as in the fields of social inclusion, health etc., while leaning on several policies, resources, funding and networks.

Within these periods, Justice and Home Affairs (with the Council of Ministers) has set three five-year programmes that articulate policy goals and priorities for that period. These were the Tampere Programme (1999-2004), the Hague Programme (2005-2010), and the Stockholm Programme (2010-14). The Tampere Programme focused on fighting cultural, economic, and social discrimination in order to achieve a 'more vigorous integration policy' that would put the rights and obligations of Third Country Nationals (TCNs) on par with those of EU citizens.

The Hague Programme, initiated within the milieu of post-9/11 and the 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid, focused on border control and illegal migration in order to ensure security. In order to reach its goals of cohesion and stability through integration, the programme requested that member states create equal opportunities for TCNs so that they could fully engage in society. The programme conceived of integration as a two-way process between migrants and actors in the country of migration, which reached education and employment. The Commission's 2005 action plan 'defined integration as maximizing the positive impact of migration on society and economy', as well as 'preventing the isolation and social exclusion of migrant communities' (Huttova et al., 2010, p. 83). During the Hague Programme, the Council developed a set of eleven Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union (2005).

Finally, the Stockholm Programme called for consolidation and better evaluation, implementation and enforcement of existing legislation. It focused on economic market needs and circular migration, as it reacted to the economic crisis. The programme did not prioritize integration but did define integration as 'having rights, responsibilities, and opportunities at its core and as a policy area that should exist in coordination with other related areas, such as education, employment, and social inclusion'. The 2010 Action Plan that was developed under the programme addressed new possibilities in the wake of the Lisbon Treaty. It called for EU migration policy to centre on 'solidarity and responsibility' and urged both 'flexibility and a focus on achieving a uniform level of rights and obligations comparable to those of EU citizens'. Such obligations included migrants' responsibility for their own integration (Huttova et al., 2010, p. 87).

2 EU integration policy after 2014: developments, trends and main issues

From 2014 onward, the EU was faced with increased numbers of migrants coming to Europe, culminating in the migration crisis of autumn 2015, after which EU migration and integration policies took a restrictive turn. While the EU has played a supportive role in the integration policies of its Member States for several years, European Migration Network (2015, p. 33) reported in 2014 that 'third-country nationals were still significantly affected by difficulties in accessing the labour market, lower performances in education, or risk of poverty and social exclusion'. The Mipex study (Huddleston et al., 2015) stated that integration policies are, 'on average, ambivalent about equal rights and opportunities for immigrants' and that these individuals 'face greater obstacles,' such as with regard to accessing employment, education and health support (ibid., p. 9). Not only did integration policies differ significantly among EU countries, but several of them were becoming more and more restrictive due to the influence of populist parties. Moreover, access to basic services depended mainly on immigrants' legal status, while school and health services were slow to adapt to their specific needs (ibid., p. 12). There existed increasing demands for restrictions of migratory flows and the right to international protection, in several Member States. EU countries were increasingly using migration enforcement strategies to prevent migrants from even reaching their territories and the territory of the EU (Mitsilegas, 2015, p. 5). As migrants were pushed into irregularity due to increasingly limited chances to migrate regularly, they were consequently criminalized, and the existing division between wanted (or at least tolerated) and unwanted migrants intensified. Those who irregularly entered EU Member States did not have chances for rehabilitation or integration; instead, they were usually detained, and therefore excluded, and marked for deportation. With the crisis and migration policy responses, the number of migrants who were excluded and residing in limbo zones increased, which particularly affected children.

This was the new context after 2014, when the Justice and Home Affairs Council reaffirmed a then 10-year EU Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy, 'which set out a common approach to the integration of third country nationals across the EU' (European Commission, 2016, p. 2). From 2011 onward, when a European Agenda for the integration of third-country nationals was set out, the EC 'call[ed] for a strengthened and coherent approach to integration, across different policy areas and government levels' (ibid.). While the EU and Member States recognized 'successful integration of third-country nationals' as a 'matter of common interest

'for civil society organisations to discuss with the EU institutions about current challenges related to migration policy' (European Migration Forum, 2016). A first broad study of Indicators of Immigrant Integration – Settling in 2015 (released by DG HOME and the OECD International Migration Division) was published. It offered international comparison 'across all EU as well as OECD countries of the integration outcomes for migrants and their children', covering '34 key indicators in areas such as employment, education and skills, social inclusion, civic engagement and social cohesion' (ibid.).

One of the most important moves that the EC has made in terms of building a more coherent multi-level governance approach in the area of immigrant integration in the second half of the 2010s, was the 2016 Action Plan on the Integration of Third Country Nationals. As the EC wrote in its Communication, the Action Plan's purpose was to provide 'a common policy framework which should help Member States as they further develop and strengthen their national integration policies for migrants from third countries' (European Commission 2016, p. 3).

The Action Plan proceeded from the already widely disseminated research evidence that 'third-country nationals continue to face barriers in the education system, on the labour market, and in accessing decent housing' and that 'children are exposed to a particularly high risk of poverty' (ibid.). It put forward evidence 'that third-country nationals have a positive fiscal net contribution if they are well integrated in a timely manner, starting with early integration into education and the labour market' (ibid.). The EU should not allow 'failure to release the potential of third-country nationals', as this 'would represent a massive waste of resources', and, on the other hand, 'the cost of non-integration will turn out to be higher than the cost of investment in integration policies' (ibid., p. 4).

The Action Plan, which significantly addressed the importance of education, pleaded for integration policies that produce coherent systems in which integration goes 'beyond participation in the labour market and mastering the language of the host country' (ibid., p. 4-5). It also asserted that 'integration is most effective when it is anchored in what it means to live in diverse European societies' in line with the freedoms and values laid out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. (ibid., p. 5). Further, the Plan stated that the 'dynamic two-way [integration process] means not only expecting third-country nationals to embrace EU fundamental values and learn the host language but also offering them meaningful opportunities to participate in the economy and society of the Member State where they settle' (ibid.).

The Plan articulated 'policy priorities' in five areas:

- pre-departure/pre-arrival measures (in both the receiving country and the home country) (ibid., p. 5-6)
- education (ibid., p. 7-8)
- labour market integration and access to vocational training (including for migrant youth) (ibid.: 9)
- access to basic services (such as healthcare and housing) (ibid., p. 11) and
- active participation and social inclusion (focusing on migrants' active role in their own integration, as well as on 'gender aspects' and 'the situation of children') (ibid., p. 12).

On the basis of these defined priorities, some studies speak about EU redefinition of integration as three-way process, that is involving the situation in third countries too, which however did not really become a part of the concrete policy making actions until recently (Scholten & Penninx, 2016).

The Action Plan provided a more comprehensive and cross-sectional framework for the OMC regarding integration measures in several areas, including recommendations to the Member States. The progress (actions and outcomes) on the implementation of the Plan is presented on the European Web Site on Integration, which includes Migrant Integration Information and both a list and map of good practices. Outputs are listed alongside the crucial thematic areas, education and social inclusion among them. The Plan envisioned 50 actions to support Member States and other actors to foster migrant integration, for example, actions to prepare migrants and local communities for the integration process. The actions cover the education arena, as well, including actions to promote language training, participation of migrant children in early childhood education and care and teacher training and civic education. Finally, the actions also cover the EU's skills profiling tool, the European Integration Network and increased funding schemes. Along thematic areas, the website includes further actions and proposals, coordination mechanisms, the use of funding and monitoring.

Apart from the mapping of good practices, as a result of the Action Plan, a new list of indicators of immigrant integration was presented for the OECD and the EU, on top of the Zaragoza indicators. The European Commission contributed to the monitoring of integration outcomes of third-country immigrants by publishing jointly with the OECD Settling In 2018:

3 Indicators of Immigrant Integration (see OECD/EU 2018)

The Action Plan advocated for a 'stronger role' for EU policy 'in coordinating and liaising between the different actors and stakeholders in the field of immigrant integration' through several networks. These networks include, among others, European Integration Network (a key measure of the Plan was a strengthened Network of the National Contact Points on Integration with a stronger mutual learning mandate (European Commission, 2016, p. 14); European Migration Forum of civil society and EU institutions (formerly European Integration Forum) and Partnerships under the Urban Agenda for the EU, focussing on the integration of third-country nationals (with the EC, Member States, cities and civil-society representatives together developing concrete actions to promote integration).

4 Current EU organizational framework

The emerging EU policy framework has found its specific organizational expression in a series of EU institutions and mechanisms that are responsible for migration and integration policies, as well as for the integration of migrants and migrant children in the field of education. The institutional setup reflects the way that policy problems were/are articulated in this area, while also framing solutions and paths of policy implementation.

While there exist broader policy areas that intersect with and define migration and integration, these areas are parts of 'narrower' directorates general. For example, the DG area of freedom, security and justice (based on the Tampere, Hague and Stockholm programmes) deals with migration in a narrower sense, 'target[ing]' the 'early reception and integration of recent newcomers, of refugees and accepted asylum seekers, and also of third-country nationals until they have become long-term residents' (Scholten & Penninx, 2016, p. 103). The other relevant areas (and DGs) are Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, which work on social inclusion and cohesion, while the funding is widely used at local and regional levels and by civil society organisations (ibid.). Equality and antidiscrimination were first addressed by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), now the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), which was first linked to the abovementioned DG with more target groups than just immigrants. The focus was equal access and long-term integration, employment, education, housing and health.

After 2014, with more focus on migration, this structure changed, and the DG of Freedom, Security and Justice has been transformed.

Its areas are now dealt with by two DGs, Migration and Home Affairs and Justice and Consumers. (Equality and Antidiscrimination were also included under this DG.) The DG of Education, Youth, Sport and Culture is responsible for EU policy on education, culture, youth, languages and sport, while the executive agency manages most of the EU funding programmes that cover education, such as Erasmus+ (education, training, youth and sport) and the Eurydice network (working on analysis and comparable data on education systems and policies in Europe). Its activities mirror the ET 2020 implementation, which takes place through working groups, peer counselling, annual Education and Training Monitor reports on Member States, mutual learning through common reference tools and approaches, consultation and cooperation activities with stakeholders, including civil society and business and social partner organisations.

The DG Migration and Home Affairs policy portfolio, which comprises migration and asylum, divides migration and integration policies into two main areas. The first is related to legal migration and integration and the second to irregular migration readmission and return. This delineation correlates with the notorious issue of categorising migrants at the very beginning of their migration path, thus determining their prospects for integration (see Mügge & van der Haar, 2016, p. 80). As pointed out by Mügge and van der Haar (2016, p. 77, 80-82), these categorisations represent the starting point of integration policies.

5 Final remarks on EU integration policy framework

This text attempted to identify key legal and policy frameworks in the area of integration policies in some main EU documents that occurred and/or transformed over the last decades. These frameworks can be seen as defining the main paths that are promoted by the EU institutions in the area of integration policies for migrants. As underlined at the very beginning of this report, the integration frameworks are not independent from other policy areas, and this is a difficulty in studying policy measures regarding integration, in general, as it 'greatly expands the field of study' (Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016, p. 22). In the first place, integration policies directly depend on immigration policymaking, that is, defining the abovementioned categories of migrants who are the subjects of integration. This area also intersects with a series of specific and generic policies that are not necessarily directed at immigrants, but nevertheless shape and exert influence on integration processes. We have indicated, for example, how this policy area is being influenced by the frameworks of education, culture, social care and human rights, and moreover, by the area of security related to the immigration rules and laws. How integration is framed, therefore, does not stand separately from

other policy areas. Integration policies too are 'stretched and bent' (Jalušič, 2009; Lombardo et al., 2009), into different directions and topics, towards other problem definitions, while this stretching and bending depends on the power and influence of different actors in the EU, and Member States (as well as broader entities).

The EU integration policy framework, on the other hand, largely depends on the particular method of policymaking, which differs from other more forthright and binding EU policy areas: the open method of coordination as the main mechanism of EU multi-level governance. While in some areas, for example the Common European Asylum System, or in the field of family migration policies, there exists more significant power at the EU level (Scholten & Penninx, 2016, p. 91), in the field of integration and education this method is significantly determined by developments in Member States and by their understanding of problems and priorities in the policymaking process. The EU and its institutions, therefore, do not have much control in implementing the desired and proposed policies but, to a large extent, if not completely, depend on the willpower of Member States, their governmental players and national and transnational civil society actors' motivation. As a consequence, migrant integration and education policies are dispersed over various levels of government (ibid.). Indeed, there exists increased interest in uniting policies, various actors became 'Europeanised' and there are trends towards convergence in the area of integration (Joppke 2006; Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016). While in immigration policymaking a 'constant struggle between national governments and the EU' takes place regarding 'the amount of discretion states have in interpreting EU directives' (Scholten & Penninx, 2016, p. 91), researchers also claim that the level of Europeanisation in the field of integration has been rather 'overshadowed by "local turn" in policymaking', that there exists not only a further deepening complexity of policies at the level of both the EU and Member States, as well as at the local levels, but also additional fragmentation (ibid., p. 105).

In spite of the efforts to create a common framework, the trend that the studies illuminate is that there is 'as yet no common European policy aimed at migrant integration' due to the 'persistence of the connection between migrant integration and the nation state' (ibid., p. 101). Countries 'integrate "their" migrants', which is 'strongly related to conceptions of national identity, history, culture, and values and norms' (ibid.). This especially applies to educational policies and affects the efforts to strengthen the EU intercultural framework of integration. Moreover, a new 'assimilationist turn' has been noticed in several countries, including the Netherlands, France, Germany and

the UK (see Joppke 2006; Scholten & Penninx, 2016, p. 98). While there were some signals in the direction of a 'top-down centralist model of migrant integration' at the level of the European Commission, the 'coordinated multilevel governance', in spite of the institutionalisation of vertical relations between different levels of government, 'pertains mainly to restrictiveness and control of migration' and not to integration (Scholten & Penninx, 2016, p. 105). There is even an estimation that endeavours to create 'a more comprehensive, proactive immigration policies, as envisaged and proposed by the European Commission, have failed' (ibid.).

The implementation of otherwise already loose and non-binding policies that are formulated in terms of recommendations, exchange of good practices, and monitoring through indicators and reporting is therefore quite specific: the processes take place in a rather slow mode and are dispersed in content and results. There exist relatively large gaps between normative frames and practical implementation in the field of the education of migrant children, as well as quite specific and complex relationships among the macro, mezzo and local levels. Therefore, the 'policy frames and policy measures may differ significantly in their goals, dimensions of integration addressed, target groups, actors involved, and resources available' (ibid., p. 22), while contextual conditions created by institutions (e.g. schooling arrangements and labour market, citizenship, and welfare policies) are paramount to explain differences in educational and labour outcomes.

As observed by Joppke (2006), there was an inherent tension built into the initial EU approach towards integration—in spite of its definition as a 'two-way process'—between the previously mentioned 'illiberal civic integration policies' (which put forward labour market integration and economy and the immigrant as the sole responsible actor, who must earn equal rights and is not included in immediate civic citizenship provisions) and 'the emphasis on anti-discrimination laws and policies' (ibid., p. 8). The integration process, so writes Joppke, therefore starts with difficult civic integration that does not succeed (the first generation) and ends with necessary anti-discrimination policies to ameliorate produced inequalities and discrimination (in the second generation). This is why CPB 6 stated, 'Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration' (Council of the European Union, 2004, p. 21).

References

- Council of the European Union. (2004). *Common basic principles for immigrant integration policy in the EU*. European Web Site on Integration: Migrant Integration Information and Good Practices. <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/common-basic-principles-for-immigrant-integration-policy-in-the-eu>.
- European Commission. (2015). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A European agenda on migration*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2016). *Communication From the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Action plan on the integration of third country nationals*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160607/communication_action_plan_integration_third-country_nationals_en.pdf
- European Migration Network. (2015). *EMN Annual Report on Immigration and Asylum 2014. A Synthesis of Annual Policy Reports 2014 submitted by EU Member States and Norway*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/annual-policy/2014/00_emn_annual_report_on_immigration_and_asylum_synthesis_report.pdf
- European Migration Network. (2016). *EMN Annual Report on Immigration and Asylum 2015*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/annual-policy/annual-policy-emn_apr_synthesis_report_2015.pdf.
- Garcés-Mascareñas, B., & Penninx, R. (2016). Introduction: Integration as a three way process approach? In B. Garcés-Mascareñas, & R. Penninx (Eds.), *Integration processes and policies in Europe. Contexts, levels and actors* (1-9). Springer Open.
- Huddleston, T., Bilgili, Ö., Joki, A. L., & Vankova, Z. (2015). *Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX 2015)*. CIDOB and MPG.
- Huttova, J., Kalaycioglu, E., & Molokotos-Liederman, E. (2010). *The education of migrant children: An NGO guide to EU policies and actions*. Open Society Foundations.
- Jalušič, V. (2009). Stretching and bending the meanings of gender in equality policies. In E. Lombardo, P. Meier P., & M. Verloo (Eds.), *The discursive politics of gender equality: stretching, bending and policymaking* (pp. 52-67). Routledge.
- Joppke, C. (2006). Immigrants and civic integration in Western Europe. In K. Banting, T. J. Courchene., & F. Leslie Seidle (Eds.), *Belonging? Diversity, recognition and shared citizenship in Canada by Montreal* (Institute for Research on Public Policy, Vol III) (pp. 1-30). McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Lombardo, E., Meier P., & Verloo M. (Eds.). (2009). *The discursive politics of gender equality: Stretching, bending and policymaking*. Routledge.
- Mitsilegas, V. (2015). *The criminalisation of migration in Europe. Challenges for human rights and the rule of law*. Springer.
- Mügge, L., & van der Haar, M. (2016). Who Is an immigrant and who requires integration? Categorizing in European policies. In B. Garcés-Mascareñas, & R. Penninx (Eds.), *Integration processes and policies in Europe*. Springer Open.
- OECD/EU. (2018). *Settling In 2018: Indicators of Immigrant Integration*. Paris/European Union, Brussels: OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264307216-en>. [25 July 2019]
- Penninx, R., & Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2016). The concept of integration as analytical tool and as a policy concept. In B. Garcés-Mascareñas, & R. Penninx (Eds.), *Integration processes and policies in Europe. Contexts, levels and actors* (pp. 1-29). Springer Open.
- Scholten P., & Penninx, R. (2016). The multilevel governance of migration and integration. In B. Garcés-Mascareñas, & R. Penninx (Eds.), *Integration processes and policies in Europe. Contexts, levels and actors*. Springer Open.

APPENDIX II

Access of refugees and migrants to higher education in European Universities. Current state of affairs

Giovanna Del Gobbo • Gilda Esposito

"Throughout history, people have migrated from one place to another. People try to reach European shores for different reasons and through different channels. They look for legal pathways, but they risk also their lives, to escape from political oppression, war and poverty, as well as to find family reunification, entrepreneurship, knowledge and education. Every person's migration tells its own story. Misguided and stereotyped narratives often tend to focus only on certain types of flows, overlooking the inherent complexity of this phenomenon, which impacts society in many different ways and calls for a variety of responses."

– European Agenda on Migration, 2015

What is the role of Universities in facing the challenge of human mobility as a "megatrend" of our time and contribute to a reconceptualization of European identity, in a globalized world? The University represents an important pillar of our society: its social dimension and its contribution to sustainable and equitable development with its proactive solutions to societal and environmental challenges transcend space barriers. For several years the idea of cultural responsibility of the University has been joined by the idea of social responsibility. The issues of governance and accountability of the University are placed in relation to the two principles of autonomy and social responsibility: the latter is based on a stronger cultural bond that unites the University with broader society and recalls the responsibility of the University to generate social impact for the construction of a future with a view to sustainable and equitable development for all human being. This is a perspective that integrates and reinforces the relationship between cultural, social and environmental dimensions in the actions of training, research and third mission, and explains its function in terms of benefits and consequences, starting from the context within which the University operates.

The University is thus committed to accounting for the effectiveness of its activities in relation to aims and repercussions of public interest. Effectiveness, in this sense, is strongly associated with ethical quality. The performance of the University community (students, faculty and administrative employees) has to be evaluated in terms of responsible management of the educational, learning, labour and

environmental impacts produced in an interactive dialogue with society to promote a sustainable human development. So, it is possible to define University Social Responsibility (USR) as what underlines and strengthens civic commitment and active citizenship inside University policies.

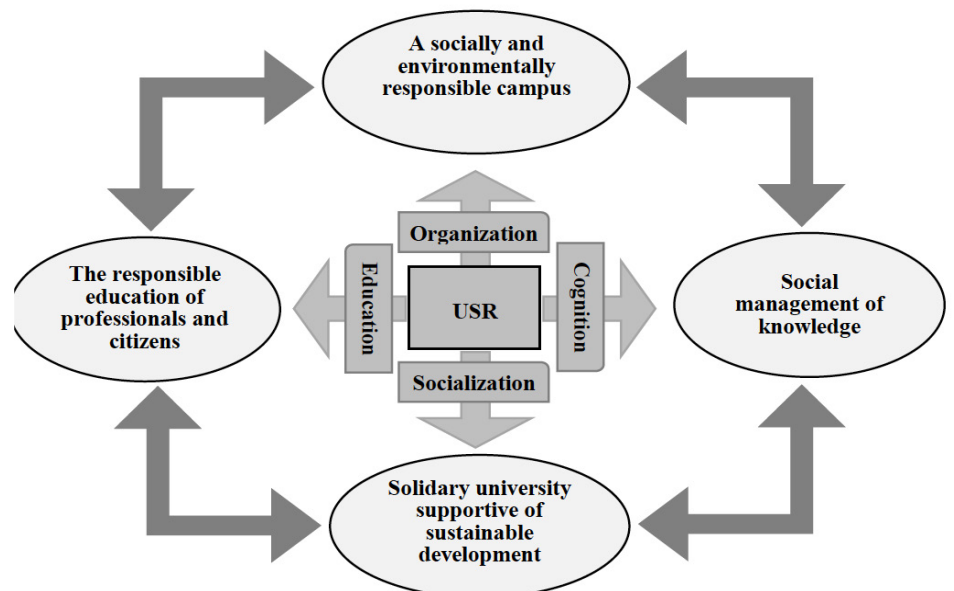
Universities play a pivotal role in raising awareness regarding social responsibility among its students, staff members and other employees, in a manner that makes them behave as social personalities professing collective views and not opting to adopt individual thinking.

According to ethical principles of a public body as the University, USR aims at developing a sense of civil citizenship by encouraging students and academic staff to provide social services to their local (or global) community or to promote eco-systemic commitment for local and global sustainable development.

Universities are committed to raising students' awareness to the needs of society, as fully involved and dedicated individuals, not as individual personalities but as social personalities. In terms of didactic objective, Universities train and prepare professionals to a serving mission and with a shared goal of equity, justice, protection and care. This accountability to the whole society involves personal improvement to the benefit of the whole society and to its main concerns: human mobility, distribution of and access to resources, human rights, global and national rule of law, climate change, global inequities and inequalities, environment protection, etc.

According to the model proposed by Bokhari (2017) a University's social responsibility is implemented by 4 key processes:

- 1) Management,
- 2) Teaching,
- 3) Research,
- 4) Extension



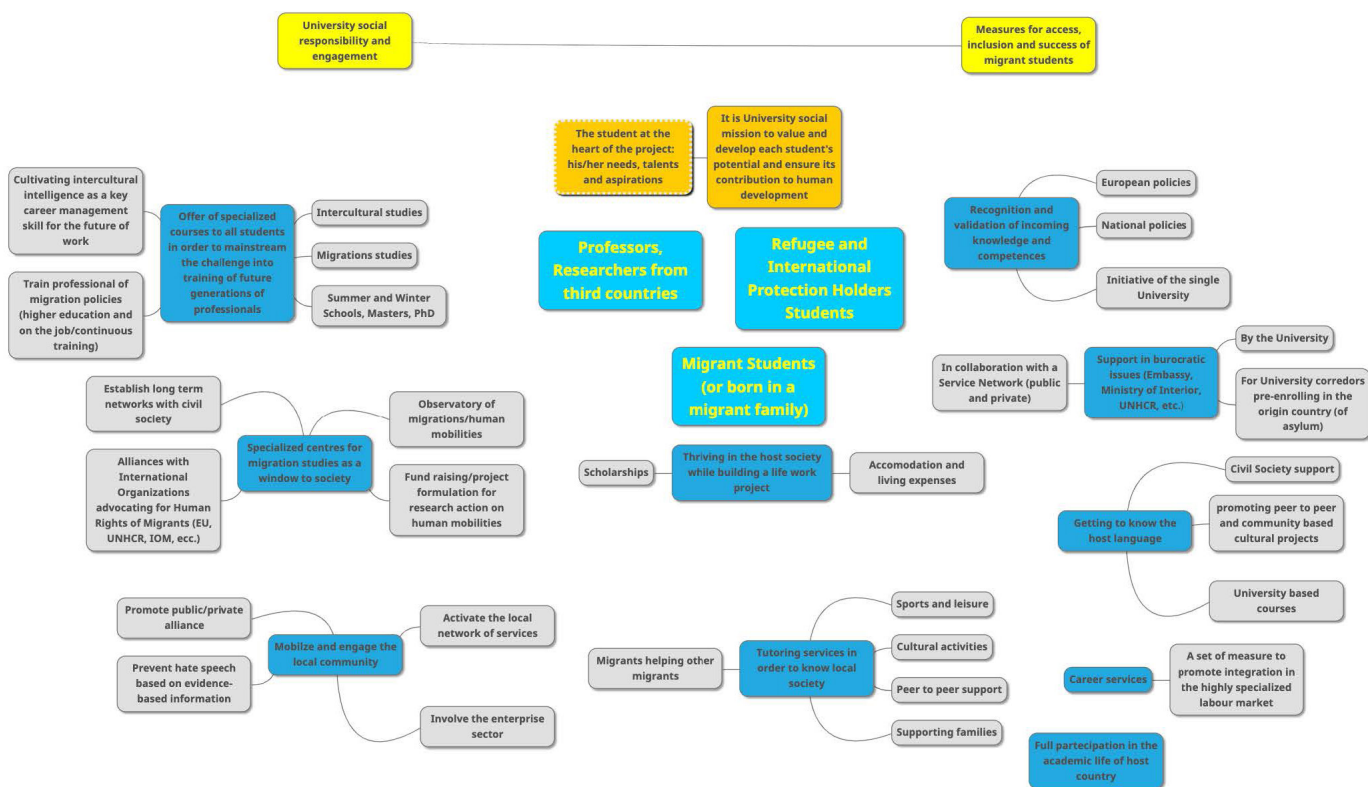
The REMix project aims to work in an integrated approach with all four aforementioned dimensions, with a focus on human mobility. More specifically, REMix aims to research and produce new knowledge on the following topics:

- Educational dimension: giving students, as future professionals, adequate resources to get to understand and act in relation with human mobility.
- Organizational dimension: reinforcing the University's commitment to its societal role by incorporation of SR in the University's vision or mission concerning human rights and human mobility.
- Cognitive or learning dimension: as the capacity to produce and share knowledge and innovation both inside and outside of the Institution
- Socialization dimension: playing a key role in re-thinking solidarity as an underlying principle of efficient and sustainable challenge/problem solving, in order to develop and experiment with new forms of social protection, for the benefit of all stakeholders.

In such framework, the REMix project has identified the following key operational strategies, starting on an evidence-based collection of practices in Europe. Among them:

- a) Access to higher education for all refugees and migrants belonging to any social category, regardless of their material resources and social conditions (through for example lower or special tuition fees, textbook subsidies, student grants, special tuition fee discounts for students, services, etc.)
- b) Recognition of titles, qualifications, formal and non-formal competences and skills, adopting all necessary measures for the establishment of a fair, transparent and effective mechanism for the recognition of diplomas, certificates and other qualifications obtained abroad, even in the absence of original certification by the State where the title or degree was obtained.
- c) Offering specialized tutoring and mentoring services, specifically tailored to migrants' and refugees' needs
- d) Supporting access to education in the student's mother tongue or in vehicular language and investing in local language learning
- e) Promotion of knowledge and culture on human mobility, geopolitics, human rights, rule of law and any other subject that might contribute to engage Professors, researchers and students in producing new knowledge and competences, for a better and more equitable society
- f) Sustaining full participation of non-autochthone students, researchers and professors in Universities' decision-making
- g) Delocalisation of the education process (by educational resources delivered online, free-of-charge access enables the appropriate connection between students and teachers, no matter where they are located.

MIND MAP OF THE MAIN INDICATIONS FROM COLLECTED CASE STUDIES



The mind map presented in Graph 1 shows the logical processes and connections collected in the case studies and lies is at the basis of the strategies introduced above. There is an on-going discussion among project partners on who are the main targets of the REMix project, which is still going on:

- Refugee and International Protection Holders Students
- Migrant students, both as second generation (born to foreign parents in the hosting country) or economic migrant
- Researchers and Professors from Third countries

Please note that the reflections included do not concern Erasmus students, who have better access to Universities facilities.

There are two main interlinked dimensions of intervention by Universities (vision and mission):

- 1) University vision that includes social responsibility and public engagement toward human mobility. This can be translated into an improved offer or teaching and research on the global challenge of human mobility (research centres, courses, scientific publications, networking with specialized organizations, involvement of the local community at large, represented by citizens, but also by the public and private sector, etc.)
- 2) University-based tangible services offered to students, such as economic support both for fees and living expenses, bureaucratic

and administrative support with legal issues related to own status, recognition of title and qualifications, language courses, offer of courses in international English, support to migrant-to-migrant help, guidance to get to know better the hosting society, etc.

With the same objectives, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNCHR) has produced a Manifesto on an inclusive University, facilitating refugees' access to tertiary education and University research, and promoting their social integration and active participation into academic life (UNHCR 2019)

Policy recommendations for University Decision Makers

According to UN figures¹⁰, there are around 260 million migrants and 70 million displaced people around the world. The Guardian¹¹ stated that human mobility represents one of the defining issues of the 21st century. Whether they are fleeing armed conflict or economic deprivation – or both – people will continue trying to cross borders in search of a decent life, and the global community needs to address this. Yet, Europeans are constrained from thinking ahead and planning smart and responsive policies by polarised discourse, rising nationalism, populism and xenophobia.

Recent initiatives, such as the global compacts on migrants and on refugees, signal a collective willingness to act more ambitiously. To be ready for the future of human mobility, we need to start changing our thinking about it now. Indeed we should see not only the “phenomenon”, but the people, women, men, children, who live and shape it and identify evidence-based responses, that could positively impact their lives and opportunities for the future.

The education system in each host country has a big responsibility and a role to play toward each person involved in the phenomenon: while primary and secondary education agencies have developed quite a number of years of experience and a rich repertory of lessons learned, Universities, i.e. tertiary education, is rather green in modelling and systematizing programmes and processes of successful inclusion of migrants in University courses. There are some **key messages** that need to be mainstreamed in University vision and mission:

10 <https://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/rbec/en/home/blog/2018/the-future-of-human-mobility-4-things-to-keep-in-mind-when-debat.html>

11 <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/20/migrants-refugees-asylum-seekers-21st-century-trend>

- 1) 1. Migration is not a problem to solve or a challenge to address, it is nothing new – nor is it an isolated phenomenon. Migration dynamics are interwoven with history, global politics, economics and lately, climate change. They are also reflective of the complexities of human nature: our fears and dreams, and our search for freedom, opportunities and a better life. It is not migration that needs to be solved, but the questions that it raises about root causes, statehood, citizen rights, belonging and identity.
- 2) 2. Decisions on migration are decisions about people's lives as are norms, policies, programmes that can contribute to increasing the dignity of migrants' lives, as well as secure safer and more peaceful communities in the hosting countries. Policies on migration and displacement are ultimately decisions affecting people's lives and futures. Good policy-making should reflect the perspectives, needs and goals of both migrants and the local communities.
- 3) 3. Education matters for all, at all levels and ages. Today only 3 percent per cent of refugees have access to higher education (Refugee Education 2030, UNHCR 2019). By 2030, UNHCR intends to help ensure that 15 per cent of refugees have access to tertiary learning. Higher education nurtures a generation of future change-makers that can take the lead in identifying solutions to refugee situations and contribute to hosting countries development and thriving

As presented graphically in the mind-map, Universities should make all possible efforts in order to:

- Include in their third mission (together with teaching and research) the enhancement of their role in recognizing and cultivating human potential in the human mobility phenomenon. Furthermore, Universities should increase research and teaching on the phenomenon of human mobility and the dissemination of evidence-based results among students, staff, educators, policy and decision makers and the population at large
- Provide ad hoc services for migrant and refugees students (well beyond Erasmus) to facilitate not only their access to University, but their completion of studies and insertion in the top level labour market.

Services and initiatives tailored for students identified as supportive in the case studies and that should be taken into consideration by Universities

Specialized **legal and administrative support** with legal papers and requirements to live and study in the host country, in accordance with local laws.

- **Inter-University corridors** for refugee students, funded by public-private alliances
- **Economic and tangible support for dignified living:** housing, board and other living expenses covered by grants and scholarships
- **Fee exemption** or at the minimum level for refugees or migrants with economic difficulties
- **Recognition of incoming titles, qualifications, skills** (including soft) **and competences** in order to enrol University, even in absence of proving paper from countries of origin
- **Intensive learning courses of the language of study** and local culture, in order to put all students in the conditions to follow the courses and thrive
- **Courses offered in International English** or other languages, rather than the local one, so to foster international classes on international level issues
- **Tutoring and mentoring for study** and research offered by specialized teachers, researchers and students (peer education) in different spaces (labs, library, faculties, open spaces, etc.)
- **Tutoring and mentoring** to facilitate knowledge of the social, civic and cultural **characteristics of the host society**, including tangible and intangible cultural heritage, sports and environment
- **Socialization venues** in order to foster intercultural solidarity and mutual help, including migrant to migrant
- **Full participation in academic life** so as to express their potentialities and needs
- **Career services following** the completion of degree courses in order to help them enter the labour market
- **Offer high-level courses on migration**, intercultural studies, international law and *altera*, with the objective of a better understanding of the human mobility phenomena both by protagonists and students at large
- **Affirmative actions and quota for refugee students** in undergraduate and doctoral/ post-doctoral studies

Glossary

Whenever possible, we followed the definition given by Eurostat 2017 (Eurostat), or European Council Recommendation of 20 December 2012 on the validation of non-formal and informal learning in this glossary (Council).

Acculturation are the cultural changes resulting from the encounters between groups of immigrants and the host society (Berry, 1997).

Assimilation means that the individual adopts the host culture and rejects the heritage culture and that individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures (Berry, 1997).

Asylum seeker (Asylum applicant) refers to a person having submitted an application for international protection. In countries with individualised procedures, an asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognised as a refugee, but every refugee is initially an asylum seeker. (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/>)

Citizenship could be defined as the legal registration of a person as a member of a national state (Chrysochoou, 2011).

Cultural intelligence also known as cultural quotient (CQ). It is applied in business, education, social and academic research. It can be defined as the capability to relate and work effectively across cultures and it overcomes the traditional definition of intercultural competence where the accent was still on an unbalanced division of power, from the dominant to the minority culture.

Immigration is the action by which a person establishes his or her usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country (Regulation (EC) No 862/2007 on Migration and international protection). (Eurostat) Different countries and organizations have different ways of defining the term immigrant, e.g. including length of stay as a factor or not.

Immigrant is a person undertaking an immigration. Immigrants are characterized by the desire to move (voluntarily) with the aim of permanently settling in the new environment (Chrysochoou, 2011, pp. 63).

Informal learning means learning resulting from daily activities related to work, family or leisure and is not organised or structured in terms of objectives, time or learning support; it may be unintentional from the learner's perspective; examples of learning outcomes acquired through informal learning are skills acquired through life and work experiences, project management skills or ICT skills acquired at work, languages learned and intercultural skills acquired during a stay in another country, ICT skills acquired outside work, skills acquired through volunteering, cultural activities, sports, youth work and through activities at home (e.g. taking care of a child). (Council)

Integration, according to John Berry, refers to the simultaneous attempt to retain attachment to the heritage culture, whilst adopting elements of the host culture. There is some degree of cultural integrity maintained. Berry further states that "Integration can only be 'freely' chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity." (Berry 1991)

Intercultural mediator is a professional profile that has been developed in Europe starting from the 90s, when the migration phenomenon increased and diversified in the different countries. They can be persons who have lived the migration experience themselves, and that was the preliminary model at the beginning, but also autochthone professionals who have developed pertinent set of skills. The definition of "intercultural mediation" evokes the nature of such role: on the one side, in fact, it intervenes by "mediating", as a tool of synthesis between the different identity, cultural, religious and ethnic components; on the other side, the word "intercultural" includes all those aspects that shape the identity of single individuals.

Learner agency is about having the power, combined with choices, to take meaningful action and see the results of one's decisions.

Learning outcomes means statements of what a learner knows, understands and is able to do on completion of a learning process, which are defined in terms of knowledge, skills and competences. (Council)

Migration refers to the number of **migrants**, people changing their residence to or from a given area (usually a country) during a given time period (usually one year). (Eurostat)

Multicultural means the characteristics of "any society in which different cultural communities live together" (Hall, S.: Conclusion: The Multicultural Question", in: Hesse, Un/settled Multiculturalism, 209 - 211).

Multiculturalism means “the strategies and policies adapted to manage and govern the problems of diversity and multiplicity which multi-cultural societies throw up.” (Hall, S.: Conclusion: The Multicultural Question”, in: Hesse, Un/settled Multiculturalism, 209 – 211).

National qualifications framework means an instrument for the classification of qualifications according to a set of criteria for specified levels of learning achieved, which aims to integrate and coordinate national qualifications subsystems and improve the transparency, access, progression and quality of qualifications in relation to the labour market and civil society. (Council)

Nationality - sometimes used as a synonym to ethnicity - refers to “the membership in a national state or in a group which aims to establish a national state” Hence, nationality in a state may potentially be identified to ethnicity or citizenship (Chrysochoou, 2011).

Non-formal learning means learning which takes place through planned activities (in terms of learning objectives, learning time) where some form of learning support is present (e.g. student-teacher relationships); it may cover programmes to impart work skills, adult literacy and basic education for early school leavers; very common cases of non-formal learning include in-company training, through which companies update and improve the skills of their workers such as ICT skills, structured on-line learning (e.g. by making use of open educational resources), and courses organised by civil society organisations for their members, their target group or the general public. (Council)

Open educational resources (OER) means digitised materials offered freely and openly for educators, students and self-learners to use and reuse for teaching, learning and research; it includes learning content, software tools to develop, use and distribute content, and implementation resources such as open licences; OER also refers to accumulated digital assets that can be adjusted and which provide benefits without restricting the possibilities for others to enjoy them. (Council)

Recognition of prior learning means the validation of learning outcomes, whether from formal education or non-formal or informal learning, acquired before requesting validation. Council)

Refugee means a third-country national who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group is outside the country of nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country, or a stateless person, who, being outside of the country

of former habitual residence for the same reasons as mentioned above, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it, and to whom Article 12 of Directive 2011/95/EU does not apply. (Eurostat)

Transients are defined by the desire to travel but without the intention of permanent establishment (Chrysochoou, 2011, pp. 63).

Transnationalism is a concept developed by Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton. The book "Nations Unbound" (1994) was the first theoretical work on transnationalism. Transnationalism are "processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992, p.1).

Validation means a process of confirmation by an authorised body that an individual has acquired learning outcomes measured against a relevant standard and consists of the following four distinct phases:

- 1) 1. IDENTIFICATION through dialogue of particular experiences of an individual;
- 2) 2. DOCUMENTATION to make visible the individual's experiences;
- 3) 3. a formal ASSESSMENT of these experiences; and
- 4) 4. CERTIFICATION of the results of the assessment which may lead to a partial or full qualification; (Council)